



Regional Assessment of the Status of the San in Southern Africa

An Assessment of the Status of the San in South Africa, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe

Steven Robins, Elias Madzudzo and Matthias Brenzinger

Legal Assistance Centre

REGIONAL ASSESSMENT OF THE STATUS OF THE SAN IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

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**AN ASSESSMENT OF THE
STATUS OF THE SAN IN
SOUTH AFRICA, ANGOLA,
ZAMBIA AND ZIMBABWE**

**Steven Robins
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LEGAL ASSISTANCE CENTRE (LAC)

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PREFACE

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

With a view to implementing the project, the EU commissioned Prof. Sidsel Saugestad at the University of Tromsø to prepare an inception report incorporating a broad work plan and budget. This report was revised in Windhoek in late 1998 by the implementing agency, the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC), and implementation commenced following the exchange of contracts between the LAC and EU in January 1999. A project co-ordinator was formally appointed in the same month, and a total of ten researchers were contracted to conduct the research and prepare a report on their findings. The outcome of the study is a series of five reports. The first in the series serves as an introduction to the study as a whole. The second, third and fourth are country-specific reports on the situation of San in South Africa, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe (combined in one volume), Botswana and Namibia. The fifth is the outcome of a specialist consultancy commissioned as part of the study to focus on gender issues in relation to San.

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

James Suzman
Study Co-ordinator

Windhoek
January 2001



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PART 1
SOUTH AFRICA

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for the

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Windhoek • Namibia • April 2001

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

This assessment of the situation of San focuses on the cultural, socio-economic and political circumstances of the two major San communities in South Africa: the !Xu and Khwe San at Schmidtsdrift and Platfontein near Kimberley, and the †Khomani San, most of whom live at Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve near Ceres or at Welkom and Witdraai near the entrance of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park (KGNP).

San communities in South Africa have experienced colonial violence, dispossession and dislocation over the past three hundred years. In 1999, however, the !Xu, Khwe and †Khomani San became the beneficiaries of two major land settlements. After centuries of being squeezed into the driest and most remote parts of South Africa, the †Khomani San were finally granted land of their own. Similarly, the !Xu and Khwe San – people who had fought alongside Portuguese and apartheid soldiers in Angola and Namibia – became owners of the Platfontein farm near Kimberley. This land deal offers the !Xu and Khwe the very real possibility of settling down to a more secure and sedentary lifestyle. After having been uprooted from Angola and Namibia, the prospect of settling down is extremely attractive for the !Xu and Khwe. The !Xu, Khwe and †Khomani can now for the first time begin to work towards creating more stable and sedentary communities. However, this will not happen without the development of viable and sustainable livelihood strategies at their new settlements.

This report examines the relationship between socio-cultural factors and economic development and concludes that San cultural development cannot be sustained without the creation of better livelihood prospects and material security. Although the post-apartheid Government has granted the !Xu/Khwe and †Khomani San political, cultural and land rights, these rights could become meaningless unless they are practically realised. Socio-economic development and livelihood security hold the key to the future of San.

This assessment of the status of South Africa's San populations will focus on the socio-economic and political situation of two of the largest San groups in South Africa, the †Khomani San at Witdraai and Welkom, and the !Xu and Khwe of Schmidtsdrift and Platfontein. Research into the situation of the much smaller and relatively unknown groups of //Xegwi and /Xam San is underway. At this stage, however, very little is known of these groups (see Crawhall 1999).

1.1.1 San land, cultural and language rights since 1994

On 21 March 1999, amid much celebration and national and international publicity, the †Khomani San signed an agreement in terms of which they received nearly 40 000 hectares (ha) of private and state land south of the KGNP and a further 25 000 ha inside the park. About 300 †Khomani San adults were involved in lodging the successful land claim.

While about 450 adult San have now emerged from the diaspora following the land claim, the †Khomani San community is estimated to comprise almost 1 000 adults spread over the Mier area in the Northern Cape, Botswana and Namibia (Chennels 1999). Although it is difficult to obtain accurate figures, indications are that the number of †Khomani San will increase significantly as the KGNP resettlement and development process unfolds.

The land claims process not only resulted in the return of land from which the ǀKhomani had been evicted in 1973, but also contributed to a cultural and linguistic revival of a people who were deemed to have become extinct. During the course of the land claim it was “discovered” that 15 San individuals still speak the ǀKhomani language which over 25 years ago was prematurely declared to be officially extinct. The land restitution process has stimulated renewed interest in San culture and language and breathed new life into an extremely marginalised San community.

A few months later, in June 1999, the African National Congress (ANC) Government granted title deeds to Platfontein farm to a group of 4 500 !Xu and Khwe San who had fled Namibia with the South African army in 1990. This group, originally from Angola, had lived in tents at the Schmidtsdrift military base near Kimberley for nearly a decade. They are now waiting for housing and infrastructural development at Platfontein so that they can finally leave the temporary military camp.

Since the ANC Government came to power in 1994 there have been no reported human rights violations affecting San people in South Africa. In fact, during the past five years San have enjoyed extremely good access to state and NGO resources. Two major San land settlements have been successfully signed and sealed within a relatively short period. Meanwhile thousands of land claims by other communities are still waiting to be processed by the Department of Land Affairs and the Commission on the Restoration of Land Rights (Land Claims Commission). In addition, Articles 6(2) and 6(5) of the Constitution recognise indigenous languages and provide for the establishment of a Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) to promote the use of San, Nama and Khoi languages. It is within this post-apartheid political context that this report assesses the situation of the San in South Africa.

1.2 Aims and objectives

The aim of the report is to draw attention to a number of key indicators and issues that impact upon the situation of the San in South Africa. The key objectives of the report were:

- to provide a description of the living conditions of the two major San communities in South Africa by including socio-economic data as well as information on San political, legal, cultural and language rights. This also includes an investigation of the perceptions of San people;
- to assess the social impact of resettlement of the !Xu and Khwe (“Schmidtsdrift San”) and the ǀKhomani San in the Northern Cape;
- to describe the opportunities for San development and the obstacles that must be overcome, and to evaluate the need for the development of infrastructure (e.g. housing and schools) as well as for institutional building;
- to identify empowerment strategies and areas for further state and NGO support, which includes descriptions of (i) infrastructural development (e.g. housing and schools) at the new resettlement areas; (ii) the process of institutional capacity-building (e.g. traditional leadership and communal property associations (CPAs)); (iii) livelihood strategies at the old and new settlement areas; and (iv) cultural development programmes including language, history and memorialisation projects;
- to evaluate the limitations and opportunities of existing government and NGO development interventions and policies;
- to identify opportunities for improving San access to information and state and NGO resources;
- to identify ways of eliminating obstacles in the path of the realisation and development of San rights to land and natural resources, the aim being to assist San communities, the donor community and the South African Government in developing appropriate strategies for socio-cultural and economic development;
- to describe the contributions made by the new Government in terms of promoting San political, land, cultural and linguistic rights;
- to identify the major San development challenges that are likely to surface once they occupy their newly won land, and to alert the State and the donor community to San needs in terms of logistical and institutional support;

- to assess the role played by NGOs such as the South African San Institute (SASI) in facilitating San land claims and development, this assessment including a focus on institutional capacity-building, income-generation opportunities, livelihood strategies and cultural and linguistic projects; and
- to evaluate what future role NGOs could play given the limited logistical capacity of both national and provincial government.

1.3 Methodology

The research was conducted from March to June 1999. It was based on anthropological fieldwork methods including participant observation, workshops, structured and semi-structured interviews and informal discussions, as well as on an extensive review of the secondary literature and official documentation on the situation of San in South Africa. A number of field trips were made to Northern Cape San settlements at Schmidtsdrift, Platfontein, Upington, Welkom, Witdraai and Rietfontein, and to the KGNP.

1.3.1 Interviews and discussions with key informants

Aside from the numerous informal conversations with San residents at Schmidtsdrift, Platfontein, Kagga Kamma, Welkom and Rietfontein, formal interviews (in most cases more than one interview per informant) were conducted with the following people during the course of 1999:

- Petrus Vaalbooi, †Khomani San CPA Chairperson (Upington and Rietfontein)
- Robert de Renge, Khwe leader (Schmidtsdrift)
- Mario Mahongo, !Xu leader (Schmidtsdrift)
- Abraham Meintjies, member of †Khomani San community at Welkom (Kalahari Molopo Lodge)
- Rozi Meintjies, member of †Khomani San community at Welkom (Kalahari Molopo Lodge)
- Fiona Archer, Director of SASI (Cape Town)
- Roger Chennels, SASI (Cape Town)
- Nigel Crawhall, SASI (Cape Town)
- Geoff Perrot, SASI (Cape Town)
- Andrew Hall, Department of Arts and Culture, Northern Cape (Upington)
- Henry Esau, Department of Arts and Culture, Northern Cape (Upington)
- Johan Beukman, Department of Constitutional Development (DCD) (Pretoria)
- Johan Meiring, Anthropological Services, DCD (Pretoria)

I was fortunate to be accompanied by SASI's highly knowledgeable Canadian linguist Nigel Crawhall on a number of field trips to Upington, Kimberley and the KGNP. Nigel introduced me to individuals and communities he had been working with for a number of years. This introduction was invaluable in terms of creating the necessary conditions for the research.

SASI also invited me to attend a workshop at the Kalahari Molopo Lodge on 26-27 May 1999. This particularly valuable experience gave me insight into the organisational dynamics involved in community development initiatives in the KGNP. Petrus Vaalbooi also assisted me by introducing me to the Rietfontein community and by allowing me to attend a meeting to discuss developments at KGNP.

1.4 Rationale for the study

The study aims to provide baseline information on the socio-economic and political situation of San in South Africa. It is part of the regional assessment that includes Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, Angola and Zimbabwe. The study resulted from a process that began at the 22nd session of the African/Caribbean/Pacific-European Union (APC-EU) Joint Assembly in Namibia in March 1996, at which a resolution was passed calling for a comprehensive study of San in southern Africa. After consulting with the European Commission (EC) in Windhoek, the co-ordinator of the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities

in Southern Africa (WIMSA) and the Namibian San traditional authorities called for the study to focus on socio-economic and political issues. In particular, the rationale of the study is to provide information on the impact of government policies concerning San, and to begin a process of developing ways of “enhancing the various international declarations and conventions governing policies in the southern African region” (EC terms of reference). It is for this reason that the report concentrates on the South African Government’s policies on San land, language and cultural matters.

1.5 Demographic data

With regard to statistical data, I relied quite extensively on the data used by Fiona Archer in her 1996 study of Schmidtsdrift. There was very little available in terms of demographic data on the †Khomani San. However, SASI and the !Xu and Khwe Trust are in the process of improving and updating the available data base.



Figure 1.1: Location of San in South Africa

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE SITUATION OF SAN IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 Introduction: an overview of ǀKhomani San history

At the beginning of the 20th century the southern Kalahari San had lived and hunted within an area of roughly 4 000 km² covering the southern half of the current KGNP, as well as the northern section of what is today the Mier Reserve. The ǀKhomani, N/amani and /Auni San were the dominant language groups represented among these San.

In the early 1930s, ǀKhomani San were evicted from land that became part of the newly established KGNP, but the most decisive evictions of San people from the park area took place in the early 1970s. It was only in 1999, some 60 years after the first evictions, that some of the ǀKhomani San were able to return to the KGNP area following a successful land claim.

2.1.1 Bain's "Bushman Reserve"

In 1925 Donald Bain initiated a process aimed at obtaining a tract of land for San people. He intensified his attempts to establish a San Reserve in 1931, when the 9 450 km² KGNP was proclaimed on land that had been surveyed as white farms but which had never been occupied except by San.

A number of San were being evicted from the new park while Bain was busy collecting San people for his Bushman Camp for the 1936 Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg (Gordon n.d.: 2). The Minister of Native Affairs visited the exhibition and promised that Bushmen would be allowed to continue their traditional hunting in the KGNP, but when the KGNP fell under the South African National Parks Board (SANPB), San found themselves being prevented from hunting there. This led Bain to gather a deputation of 55 San whom he took to Cape Town, where they succeeded in having their plight discussed in Parliament. But the SANPB claimed that these were "not pure Bushmen", and that these Afrikaans- and Nama-speaking people should not be allowed to live or hunt in the KGNP.

A number of prominent academics and scientists supported Bain's efforts to establish a Bushman Reserve. Meanwhile Bain was struggling to make a living and ended up taking his Bushman group on a number of financially disastrous tours to various cities in South Africa. The Bushman Reserve never materialised due to Bain's ineffectual political strategising and poor business acumen, and due to strong opposition from local farmers, many of whom were concerned that the proposed reserve would adversely affect their access to cheap labour.

2.1.2 The apartheid era

In the 1950s, following the electoral victory of the National Party (NP), the remaining small San groups were classified under apartheid as "coloureds" and reduced to living in extremely harsh and poverty-stricken conditions in remote parts of the Northern Cape. It was this invisibility and hyper-marginality as rural coloureds that has characterised their existence for the past four decades.

The status of San in South Africa has changed dramatically over the past decade. During the apartheid years very little was known about San living within the borders of South Africa. The public generally

assumed that San had become “extinct” as a result of colonial violence, disease, cultural assimilation and ethnocide.

2.1.3 Kagga Kamma and the launching of a land claim

In the late 1980s a group of former farm workers and their families were “discovered” by white farmers to be “Kalahari bushmen”. This led to the establishment of a “bushman” tourist village on a farm at the Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve near Ceres in the Cedarberg mountain range. Suddenly this San group, portrayed in the media as the last surviving group of hunter-gatherers, began to feature regularly in tourist literature, on television and in the newspapers.

In August 1995 the †Khomani San launched a land claim with the assistance of a human rights lawyer, Roger Chennells. On 21 March 1999 an historic land deal was signed at the Molopo Lodge near the KGNP by the South African President, Thabo Mbeki, the Minister of Land Affairs, Derek Hanekom, and the †Khomani San leaders Dawid Kruiper and Petrus Vaalbooi.

2.1.4 Miscast, the media and public culture

Another significant event that introduced San to the public arena was the 1996 Miscast exhibition on the material and cultural history of San. Miscast, an exhibition curated by Cape Town artist Pippa Skotnes, provoked considerable public and media debate and contributed to the creation of a number of new Nama, San and Griqua forums.

This awareness of San issues has also been spread by the work of sympathetic journalists, film-makers and photographers. However, it has also contributed to a proliferation of films and television adverts that have exploited and commodified the “bushman image”, often without really benefiting San. Perhaps the best known of these films was Jamie Uys’s *The Gods Must Be Crazy*. To this day San do not have cultural property rights to protect them from exploitative transactions with advertising agencies, film-makers, photographers, writers and academics. Roger Chennells is currently involved in ground-breaking legal work aimed at developing San cultural property rights.

Cape Times journalists Roger Friedman and Benny Gool recently brought to the public’s attention an extreme example of the exploitation of the “bushman image”. On 1 July 1999 they reported that the Kagga Kamma private game reserve was “passing off non-Bushmen as the genuine article” for the gratification of tourists (*Cape Times*, 1 July 1999). Headlined “Fake San on show: the great bushman tourist scam”, the article described how the owner of Kagga Kamma was trying to replace the members of the †Khomani clan, whose departure in May 1999 had left Kagga Kamma with no Bushmen to perform for the tourists. Friedman and Gool claimed that the management had recruited coloured people to act as †Khomani clansmen and women for tourists. This created considerable controversy and †Khomani San leaders expressed anger that San had once again been exploited for tourists’ dollars.

The question of “bushman authenticity” has been an ongoing saga for people of San ancestry. For decades they have had to present themselves as the “pure product”, as uncontaminated and primordial “bushmen”, in order to be taken seriously by outsiders. In other words, they have had to conform to the “bushman myths” and images of pristine hunter-gatherers that others (mostly of Western cultural orientation) have of them. This process has continued well into the post-apartheid era and finds expression in tourist and media representations of “bushmen”.

2.1.5 The post-apartheid era

At the time of the launching of the land claim in 1995 the †Khomani San claimant community was identified as the only known indigenous San group in South Africa. It was then estimated to comprise less than 250 individuals (whereas estimates put the †Khomani San at one hundred thousand a century ago.) It is therefore not surprising that in a speech to Parliament in 1996, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki

spoke of the tragedy of the genocidal extermination of the San. Yet from a position where only a few years ago they were perceived to be extinct, San are beginning to make their presence felt in the public arena. The tourism and media industries' interest in them and the widespread press and television coverage of the land claims process has facilitated this recent development. SASI has also played a significant role in identifying the few surviving San and creating public awareness of the living conditions, culture and history of San in South Africa.

2.1.6 The possibility of a San cultural revival

There are now about 450 adults who are known to belong to the ǀKhomani San group. However, this figure could increase to up to 2 000 as more San emerge from the diaspora in the Mier area, and from Botswana and Namibia (Chennells 1999: 1). By mid-1999 SASI socio-linguist Nigel Crawhall had documented the cases of 15 San individuals who still speak the original ǀKhomani San language. Whereas both the people and the language were previously believed to be extinct, there is now something of a San cultural revival, thanks largely to the successful land claim and SASI's pioneering work on San cultural and linguistic heritage.

2.1.7 ǀKhomani San cultural projects

University of Namibia linguist Levy Namaseb is also working closely with ǀKhomani San and Nama speakers to document these languages and train young San and Nama people on how to speak and record them. In addition, Nigel Crawhall and Canadian ethnographic film-maker and anthropologist Hugh Brody are recording the life histories of the 15 surviving speakers of original San languages on digital video. This invaluable archival material will be entered into a database that will be made available to the San community and their future generations.

2.2 The !Xu and Khwe San: a brief history

2.2.1 Introduction

In 1990 about 4 500 !Xu and Khwe soldiers and their dependants arrived at the South African Defence Force (SADF) military camp at Schmidtsdrift, 74 km west of the Northern Cape provincial capital of Kimberley. These SADF soldiers originally came from Angola where they had fought in the 1960s for the Portuguese security forces. They were relocated to Omega camp in the Caprivi Strip (Namibia) in 1974 when Angola became independent, and ended up fighting against SWAPO and the ANC in the liberation struggles. When Namibia gained political independence from South Africa in 1990 the !Xu and Khwe were relocated to the Schmidtsdrift military base.

2.2.2 The origins of the !Xu and Khwe

The !Xu originally came from central Angola around Serpa Pinta, where many of them had lived as cultivators and stock farmers alongside Bantu-speaking groups. Many of the men were recruited into Portuguese military units in the late 1960s, mostly as security guards at strategic infrastructural and fortified villages. After the Portuguese withdrew from Angola in 1974 the !Xu fled to South West Africa (now Namibia). Many of the !Xu were in fact recruited in Angola by the SADF and were brought across the border to the secret South African military camp at the Omega base in the Caprivi. Many of these soldiers now claim that the SADF did not present them with much choice.

The Khwe were mainly from south-east Angola where they lived as cultivators and cattle-keepers. In many instances the Khwe were the clients of Bantu groups from areas such as the Kavango. Khwe men were also recruited into the Portuguese military in the late 1960s, and were deployed in an offensive capacity in the bush war against União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA).

Following Angolan independence in 1974, the Khwe fled to south-west Zambia, north-west Botswana and the Caprivi Strip in South West Africa.

2.2.3 Ethnicity and the making of a divided community

One of the major challenges facing the !Xu and Khwe¹ is related to their history of division and segregation. Although the terms ‘!Xu’ and ‘Khwe’ did not refer to distinct groups in Angola, these labels (and their various synonyms such as Vasekela and Barakwena) have taken on considerable significance at Schmidtsdrift. This ‘ethnic’ separation is likely to continue at Platfontein where the !Xu and Khwe have called for two spatially segregated settlements.

Differences between these two groups have become ingrained and tend to be taken for granted. For example, during a recent visit to Schmidtsdrift I was told by the community’s public relations officer (PRO) that the !Xu are short and light-skinned while the Khwe are tall and dark-skinned. These are the identical phenotypical features and racial stereotypes that the SADF used to distinguish between the two groups. Drawing on these phenotypical, cultural and linguistic differences, the SADF actively promoted the social and spatial separation of the groups. This ethnicisation of the San community was of course in line with the broader framework of apartheid policy known as ‘Separate Development’. In the course of struggles over access to scarce resources, these artificial ethnic divisions have been reinforced “from below”, i.e. by the !Xu and Khwe themselves.

2.2.4 Relocation from Angola and Namibia: a history of war and exile

Five hundred veterans of the SADF’s “Bushman battalions”, along with 3 500 of their dependants, were relocated from Namibia to Schmidtsdrift in 1990. According to the SADF, the motive for this relocation exercise was to protect the soldiers from retribution at the hands of the new SWAPO Government in Namibia. It was believed that such retribution was inevitable since the “Bushman battalions” had fought against SWAPO in the bush war during the 1980s. As it turned out, the SWAPO Government did not take any action against those members of the “Bushman battalions” (more than half of the total) who decided to remain in Namibia (Sharp & Douglas 1996: 323).

The SADF arranged for all 4 000 people at Schmidtsdrift to be granted South African citizenship shortly after their arrival in South Africa. The political transition in South Africa had in the meantime rendered the situation of the Schmidtsdrift people uncertain. Not only did they perceive that their military jobs were under threat due to SADF retrenchments, but it was also unclear whether the ANC Government would in fact provide the community with alternative land for a permanent settlement. Given their history of fighting the ANC and SWAPO in Angola and Namibia, the Schmidtsdrift people believed they had reason to be pessimistic about their future if the ANC came to power.

Retrenchments of soldiers at Schmidtsdrift in the early 1990s had the effect of reinforcing the !Xu and Khwe perceptions that they would become a superfluous burden to the new Government. By May 1999 only 360 San soldiers had been integrated into the post-apartheid South African National Defence Force (SANDF). The onset of retrenchments was one reason why the !Xu and Khwe Trust was established in 1993. Anticipating an ANC victory in the 1994 elections, the army hoped that the Trust would take on the responsibility of addressing the needs of the approximately 890 families living at Schmidtsdrift.

2.2.5 The Sharp and Douglas study of 1996

In an analysis of !Xu and Khwe responses to war and relocation, Sharp and Douglas (1996) found that the !Xu were more beholden to the SADF by virtue of the fact that, unlike the Khwe, they did not have social networks and kin in the Caprivi with whom they could interact and assimilate. Their findings suggested that this social isolation explained why so many !Xu opted to come to South Africa in 1990,

¹ This section of the report draws on the work of Archer (1995), Uys (1999) and Sharp and Douglas (1996).

while many Khwe chose to remain in Caprivi. It appeared that !Xu fears and uncertainty about their future under an ANC Government motivated their desire to return to Namibia. In fact the majority of !Xu initially wanted to return to Bushmanland in Namibia, even though they had had problematical relations with the !Kung (or Ju/'hoansi) of Nyae Nyae when they had moved to Bushmanland from Omega in the late 1970s. These fears of ANC retribution and expulsion were allayed when the ANC came to power in May 1994, however, and the !Xu decided that they ought to remain in South Africa. Their decision was vindicated in 1995 when the ANC Government announced its intention to buy land for a permanent !Xu and Khwe settlement near Kimberley.

Senior non-commissioned Khwe soldiers interviewed by Sharp and Douglas in 1994 had also expressed the view that the former "Bushman" soldiers would be perceived as redundant mercenaries in the new South Africa.² Khwe leaders doubted that the South African army would go to great lengths to reward them for their services. They were realistic in recognising that the SADF regarded them as dispensable mercenaries, yet unlike the !Xu, they were confident that should the SADF abandon them, they would be able to assimilate with their Afrikaans or Tswana neighbours without much difficulty. In the meantime they would stay at Schmidtsdrift to assess how the army and the new State would respond to their predicament.

The Government's decision to resettle the !Xu and Khwe at Platfontein was influenced by the fact that the original occupants of Schmidtsdrift, Tswana-speaking members of the Tlhaping clan, were about to be given back the land from which they were forcibly removed in the 1960s. The Platfontein farm was bought in 1997. The purchase was followed by delays and stalled negotiations, which were complicated by opposition from certain ANC provincial leaders who were against former apartheid soldiers being given preferential treatment. On 18 May 1999, President Mandela visited Platfontein and handed over the title deeds. After almost a decade the !Xu and Khwe were still waiting to resettle on land where they could build permanent structures. Despite these delays and complications, the leadership at Schmidtsdrift told me in an interview days before election day that it was in the interests of their followers to vote for the ANC as the Mandela Government had taken their needs seriously.

2.2.6 A history of war and waiting

For almost a decade this community has been living in extremely difficult circumstances while waiting to be permanently resettled. Living in tents in the extreme heat and cold of the Northern Cape has created enormous hardships. This has been exacerbated by a range of social problems that are a result of the community's historical experiences of war, dislocation, poverty and unemployment. These problems have manifested themselves in serious intra-community tensions and 'ethnic' divisions between !Xu and Khwe, as well as in alcohol abuse, domestic violence and high school dropout rates. Despite these serious problems, the community is remarkably intact and relatively well organised.

2.2.7 The future

Both the †Khomani and !Xu/Khwe groups have been through long and difficult processes that have culminated in successful land settlements with the Department of Land Affairs. The challenge for the future is to develop ways of using their newly won land and cultural rights effectively. This will require capacity-building initiatives that allow community members to participate in decision-making processes

² Sharp and Douglas (1996) claim that the !Xu and Khwe responded very differently to conditions at the Schmidtsdrift military base. Whereas the !Xu were prepared to "court the army's favour, as well as their own public image as 'Bushmen'", the Khwe were generally more sceptical of the army's intentions and were less willing to play along with the SADF's stereotypes of "Bushmen". Although the SADF portrayed the "Bushman" battalion as comprising crack trackers and tough soldiers, it turned out that the better soldiers were the "unBushman-like" Khwe, whereas the "Bushman-looking" !Xu were deemed to be poor fighters and were generally confined to guard duties. Despite the problematic nature of these Bushman myths, these stereotypes have profoundly impacted upon the !Xu and Khwe. According to Sharp and Douglas (1996), the !Xu have been more predisposed to "acting out" the "Bushman" fantasies and stereotypes of their SADF employers. !Xu leaders have also recognised the value of this strategy in terms of attracting foreign donors keen to invest in the future of "proper Bushmen".

that influence their lives. Life skills and a better understanding of the processes and procedures of local and provincial government structures and ways of accessing information will also need to be developed.

2.3 The multiple meanings of 'indigenous' in South Africa

In South Africa there are currently a number of groups claiming indigenous status. These include the Nama (Khoi), San, Griqua and !Korrana. These developments are likely to have significant implications with regard to political alliances and strategies of San.

During the apartheid years San were simply consigned to the apartheid category of "coloured". In many instances people had little choice other than to accept this categorisation due to the derogatory connotations attached to the indigenous terms "Hottentot" and "Bushman" under colonialism and apartheid. The post-apartheid 1990s, however, have witnessed the positive reclamation of these submerged and repressed indigenous identities.

2.3.1 Nama

There are 5 000 to 10 000 Nama-speaking people concentrated in the northern Namaqualand area along the Orange (!Garib) River in the Northern Cape. Nama is the only surviving Khoe language in South Africa. Like the Griqua and San, the Nama were classified as "coloured" in terms of the 1955 race classification legislation introduced by the National Party Government that came to power in 1948. This legislation was accompanied by a vigorous state-led assimilation policy in terms of which Nama children were forced to use Afrikaans in school. An Afrikaans, Christian, coloured identity was imposed on the Nama through the institutions of state and church. The majority of Nama speakers live in the more remote communal reserves of northern Namaqualand. Nama language and culture has been more or less eradicated in the settlements most influenced by missionary initiatives, such the Leliefontein Reserve.

2.3.2 Griqua

There are approximately 300 000 Griquas in South Africa (Crawhall 1999). They constitute a socially and economically differentiated group ranging from rural farm workers to middle-class urban dwellers. Griqua identity emerged in the late 18th century when landless Khoe congregated around European churches seeking protection from settlers. Many Griquas have genetic and cultural ties to European settlers, but unlike the Basters they tend to stress their African and Khoe ancestry. These Afrikaans-speaking people identify with a range of at times extremely fractured Griqua factions. However, they have sought to develop a cohesive national organisation that has been at the forefront of demands for the Government's recognition of indigenous rights in post-apartheid South Africa.³

In recent years Griqua groupings such as Martin Engelbrecht's Khoisan Representative Council (KRC) have catapulted into the political limelight in the Northern Cape Province. Claiming to be speaking on behalf of "the Khoisan people", Engelbrecht threatened to boycott the 1999 elections unless the ANC Government recognised indigenous rights in the Constitution. Along with other indigenous rights activists such as Joe Little of the Cape Cultural Heritage Development Council (CCHDC) based in Cape Town, Engelbrecht has called for constitutional accommodation of Khoisan people through, for instance, the establishment of a House of Traditional Leaders. In their quest for cultural recognition they have also entered into alliances with political parties such as Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the right-wing Freedom Front under the leadership of the Afrikaner leader General Constand Viljoen.

San and Nama representatives have strongly objected to KRC claims that these initiatives represent their interests. ‡Khomani San leader Petrus Vaalbooi, for example, has condemned attempts by these groups

³ Another revivalist group claiming indigenous status, the !Korrana, has yet to emerge as a visible political presence.

to speak on behalf of San and Nama people. These political developments have also contributed to the emergence of a new form of “coloured” nationalism that draws on indigenous Khoisan identities.

2.4 The conundrum of “coloured” identity

There are some 3 600 000 South Africans who identify themselves as “coloured” (Statistics SA 1998: 2.5; Crawhall 1999: 12). The category “coloured” disguises the cultural heterogeneity of people, many of whom have European, African, Khoe, San, Indian, Indonesian and Malay backgrounds, often connected to the slave trade. The majority of so-called coloureds do not identify themselves as indigenous Khoe or San. However, the gains made by a growing indigenous rights movement could encourage many of these people to reclaim and recognise African, San and Khoe ancestry, which has tended to be suppressed in favour of their European and Christian ancestry.

These new developments could also encourage a conservative brand of coloured cultural nationalism in terms of which Africans and whites are seen as outsider intruders and settlers in “historically coloured” regions like the Western Cape. For such reasons the ANC Government is wary of an indigenous rights movement that could become a vehicle for exclusivist ethnic politics: the ANC is concerned that such developments could end up reintroducing apartheid categories and thinking through the back door.

The ANC’s concerns in this context have implications for traditional leadership. This attitude towards ethnicity is also likely to influence the Government’s position on aboriginal land rights and indigenous status. It is important to note that the †Khomani land claim was won because of a racially discriminatory forced removal that occurred after the 1913 land claims cut-off date and not on the basis of aboriginal land rights, which are not recognised in South Africa. San legal and political strategies will clearly need to take the Government’s stance on these matters into consideration.

CHAPTER 3

THE CURRENT SITUATION AND DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES OF THE !XU AND KHWE SAN

3.1 Introduction

When they arrived at Schmidtsdrift in 1990, the !Xu and Khwe were immediately granted South African citizenship. This meant that they could not qualify for refugee status or international protection. They were nonetheless accommodated as refugees normally are in the sprawling tent camp of Schmidtsdrift. The SADF provided the community with 900 tents, ablution facilities, drinking water, a food store, corrugated iron school buildings and a clinic (Uys 1999), as well as teachers for the school. The !Xu and Khwe organised their tents in rows on either side of a common area or buffer zone including the clinic, the food store and bottle store, an art centre, a community hall and the school buildings. This settlement pattern ensured that the !Xu and Khwe were physically separated from each other.

Life at Schmidtsdrift was shaped by a hierarchical and male-dominated military culture, as was the case at the Omega base in Namibia. There were also “bushman councils”, a Dutch Reformed Church attended mainly by !Xu speakers and a prophetic church comprising mostly Khwe speakers.

In 1993, when it had become clear that political change was on the horizon, the !Xu and Khwe Trust was established as a San development body that included San representatives, civilian outsiders and an army representative. The Trust brought in funding from overseas donors, assisted with media coverage on San and facilitated San representation at international forums of indigenous minorities. It also helped to expand distribution networks for San artwork. Despite these advances, the community came to regard outsider participation in the Trust with suspicion.

3.2 Recent developments at Schmidtsdrift

In February 1997, in response to widespread community mistrust of the powerful role of outsiders who seemed to dominate the running of the Trust, the !Xu and Khwe Vereniging/Association was established. Establishing this communal property association (CPA) meant that all land granted to the community in terms of Department of Land Affairs programmes had to be registered in the name of the CPA, this being a communal trust comprising all members of the community.

The current CPA has 3 000 !Xu members and 1 000 Khwe members, and the leadership is comprised of 15 !Xu and 10 Khwe. The current chairperson is the !Xu leader Mario Mahongo, while Robert Derenge and Nicholaas Tenda are the elected Khwe leaders. Despite this innovative attempt at proportional representation, considerable ‘ethnic’ conflict remains within the CPA, especially over the troubling question of traditional versus elected leadership.

In 1999, after almost a decade of living in tents at the Schmidtsdrift military base, the !Xu and Khwe were officially awarded the title deeds to the farms Platfontein, Wildebeeskul and Droogfontein by former President Nelson Mandela. These farms, located near the Northern Cape provincial capital of Kimberley, cost the Government R7 500 000. This land purchase was financed from the R14 214 600

allocated to the community in terms of the national housing subsidy scheme of R15 000 per household. Having purchased the farms, however, the community now has only half of the allocated amount available for housing development. According to available figures, only R4.8 million remains in the coffers to cover infrastructural and housing development for 1 000 households, the estimated shortfall being as much as R23 million (Uys 1999). This financial predicament is particularly worrying given that once the community moves to Platfontein, it is also likely to lose the annual R8.5 million that the SADF spent on operating the Schmidtsdrift military base.

3.3 Delays in infrastructure provision

To have to endure a long wait while funding is found for housing and infrastructural development at Platfontein could prove to be extremely disheartening. After having waited so many years to be resettled, it is therefore not surprising that community members are currently experiencing extreme frustration at the latest delays. This has also exacerbated existing intra-community tensions.

Delays in the resettlement process at Platfontein could further undermine the morale of the community and contribute to the already high incidence of alcohol abuse, conflict and domestic violence. As is the case with the ǀKhomani San, the Schmidtsdrift San are a divided community riven by deep distrust between !Xu and Khwe. These tensions have been exacerbated by bureaucratic and logistical delays.

3.4 Demographic data and social indicators for the !Xu and Khwe

In 1996 the Schmidtsdrift population comprised approximately 4 200 people living in 1 280 tents.⁴ There were 740 tents in the Vasekela (!Xu) section and 540 tents in the Barakwena (Khwe) section. Approximately 3 000 members of the Schmidtsdrift San community are !Xu and 1 000 are Khwe. The !Xu and Khwe live as two separate communities and distinguish themselves from each other along social, cultural and spatial lines. These lines of division are likely to be reproduced at Platfontein, where the two groups have once again opted to live in spatial segregation.

3.4.1 Places of birth

The majority of the !Xu and Khwe population were born in Namibia (48%) and Angola (42%). Of the children, by far the majority (74%) were born in Namibia. A significant percentage of children were born in South Africa (18%). This includes all those born after 1990, when the !Xu and Khwe arrived at Schmidtsdrift from Namibia.

It remains to be seen to what degree the younger generation born in South Africa will retain the cultural and linguistic heritage of their parents and grandparents. One is already witnessing a process of cultural assimilation through which many children of school-going age speak Afrikaans as a first language and are beginning to identify strongly with an urban-based (non-San) South African youth culture.

Table 3.1: Birthplace of !Xu and Khwe children

	!Xu	Khwe	Total
Angola	88	42	130
Namibia	1 053	379	1 432
South Africa	248	102	350
Other	4	13	17
Total	1 393	536	1 929

⁴ The following demographic data is from Archer (1996). As was mentioned earlier, this was the most current data available at the time of writing this report.

Table 3.2: Birthplace of total !Xu and Khwe population

	!Xu	Khwe	Total
Angola	989	473	1 462
Namibia	1 146	492	1 638
South Africa	250	104	354
Other	4	13	17
Total	2 389	1 082	3 471

3.4.2 Birthplace and cultural assimilation

The situation of children

The process of assimilation referred to above is likely to intensify with relocation to Platfontein, which is considerably closer than Schmidtsdrift to Kimberley. Whereas the military camp discipline and control kept youths relatively isolated from non-San youth culture, this is unlikely to continue once the !Xu and Khwe leave Schmidtsdrift. Many children at Platfontein are likely to attend schools in Kimberley where they will be exposed to Afrikaans, English and Tswana cultural influences.

Adults and assimilation

Of the adults, it is generally the soldiers who have best been able to adjust to the new conditions of South Africa. The financial security of permanent employment in a military environment similar to what they experienced in Angola and Namibia has made the transition to conditions in South Africa relatively smooth. For members of the older generation who do not have secure employment, however, there is a widespread sense of despair and disorientation. In many cases this has contributed to a sense of nostalgia about their lives in Angola prior to dislocation and resettlement. By far the majority of the adults (87%) were born in Angola.

Table 3.3: Birthplace of all adults

	!Xu	Khwe	Total
Angola	901	431	1 332
Namibia	93	113	206
South Africa	2	2	4
Other	0	0	0
Total	996	546	1 542

3.4.3 Language

The significant linguistic distance between the two indigenous San languages spoken at Schmidtsdrift is one of the key markers of cultural difference between the !Xu and Khwe. It ought to be remembered, however, that these cultural differences are to some degree being challenged by the younger generation for whom the experience of attending the same Afrikaans-medium school tends to break down the 'ethnic' and linguistic divisions that have kept their parents apart.

The younger generation not only speak the same language (Afrikaans) but also participate in a similar youth culture and have similar aspirations regarding lifestyle and employment. Some among the older generation of !Xu and Khwe are also fluent in Afrikaans, in most cases have learnt the language while employed in the military or on white farms. For this latter group there is a greater likelihood of interaction across the 'ethnic' divide, while for the majority of the older generation, language and cultural barriers are likely to persist.

San languages

Language is one of the most important factors affecting San identification. Whereas there are only a dozen ǀKhomani San speakers left in South Africa, the !Xu and Khwe languages are spoken widely at Schmidtsdrift. Language is both a divisive and a unifying factor among the !Xu and Khwe. It is the cultural cement that has reproduced the distinctive character of these two groups. This linguistically-based identity has been maintained despite the experiences of war, dislocation and resettlement. Language here expresses a deep sense of belonging and cultural continuity in ways that are not possible among the ǀKhomani San.

Table 3.4 indicates that whereas all !Xu children and adults speak the !Xu language, none speak Khwe, and that whereas all Khwe speak the Khwe language, approximately 15% speak !Xu as well. These figures give some indication of the difficulties that language can present in terms of reproducing the 'ethnic' divide. As the following section suggests, however, Afrikaans could prove to be a unifying language, especially for the younger generation schooled in South Africa.

Table 3.4: Home language of children and adults

	!Xu	Khwe	Total
!Xu	1 430	0	1 430
Khwe	97	556	653
Total	1 527	556	2 083

Other languages

Afrikaans is the most widely spoken non-indigenous language. Portuguese is also widely spoken as a result of the long association of the !Xu and Khwe with the Portuguese military prior to their departure from Angola. English and Tswana are spoken by a small but significant number of individuals.

Table 3.5: Other languages (all adults)

	Speak	Read	Write	Total
Afrikaans	783	549	511	1 843
Portuguese	187	62	54	303
English	112	108	104	324
Tswana	19	4	2	25
Other	141	29	15	185
Total	1 242	752	686	2 680

3.4.4 Gender

Males resident at Schmidtsdrift constitute 51% of the population. This situation contrasts with that of many black rural communities throughout South Africa where men are often absent migrant labourers. !Xu and Khwe males do not generally migrate in search of employment. The fact that the military has been able to provide a significant number of jobs to !Xu and Khwe living at Schmidtsdrift has meant that there has been less of a need for out-migration by male adults. Nevertheless, many of the males work on Northern Cape and Free State farms as security guards. White farmers believe that San are loyal and able trackers. !Xu and Khwe security guards are particularly in demand on Free State farms that experience a high incidence of cattle rustling. Formal employment for women is virtually non-existent, which has serious implications in terms of the reproduction of dependency and gender inequality at Schmidtsdrift.

3.4.5 Gender and the structure of households

Due to male labour migration, in most black rural settlements there is a preponderance of households with female heads. This is not the case at Schmidtsdrift, however, where only 16% of households have female heads. The limited incidence of male out-migration can be attributed to the fact that the SANDF provides a significant number of men with employment at the Schmidtsdrift military base.

Table 3.6: Gender of household heads

	!Xu	Khwe
Men	382	332
Women	83	56
Total	465	388

3.4.6 Education and training

With respect to education and training, the Schmidtsdrift San are probably better off than most rural black communities in South Africa. The SANDF has provided employment opportunities to local residents, and opportunities for !Xu and Khwe to be trained as soldiers (24% of the population), teachers (2%), drivers (3%) and clinic workers (3%). It remains to be seen what will happen when the military withdraws once the !Xu and Khwe move to Platfontein. The majority (62%) of !Xu and Khwe have never received any type of formal training, while other forms of training have been given to 6% of the population.

3.4.7 Age profile

The 0-19 age group is by far the largest within the Schmidtsdrift community (!Xu: 1 291; Khwe: 331), followed by the 20-39 age group (!Xu: 575; Khwe: 524). In the 40-64 age group there are 253 !Xu and 157 Khwe, and in the 65+ age group there are 64 !Xu and 30 Khwe. It remains to be seen how the younger generation will be able to integrate into the broader Kimberley community once they resettle at Platfontein. Indications are that they will become assimilated into the Afrikaans-speaking population. Finding employment in a shrinking job market will be their biggest challenge in the years to come.

3.4.8 Economic status

It would appear that the economic status of the !Xu and Khwe is better than that of most rural black communities, largely as a result of the fact that a significant number of male adults are employed in the SANDF. Nevertheless, serious unemployment problems certainly exist and are likely to be exacerbated by the retrenchments taking place within the SANDF. The move to Platfontein could also result in a reduction of community-based forms of employment, such as jobs at the clinic and stores and SANDF jobs. The SANDF remains the major local employer.

Job losses can be expected and there are likely to be fewer resources available for training. It is for these reasons that SASI and community members have called for a phased withdrawal of the military. The clinic, school, and water and sanitation services have been run quite efficiently by the military and the fear exists that once the military withdraws the community will encounter problems in the provision of these services. Current data on the economic status of the !Xu and Khwe indicate that 39% of all adults are unemployed, 31% are unpaid housewives, 6% are pensioners and 23% have paid employment.

Table 3.7: Economic status/occupation of all adults

	Khwe	!Xu	Total
Work - V	236	188	424
Work - D	47	65	112
Unemployed	146	456	602
Housewife	138	349	487
Pensioner	25	64	89
Other	9	13	22
Total	601	1 135	1 736

3.4.9 Sources of income

The major sources of income are various types of employment in the military (39%) and on farms (13%). Employment as a soldier (27%) is the most common, while other posts occupied by !Xu and Khwe include clinic worker (1%), farm labourer (9%), tracker (5%) and craft worker (3%). Pensioners account for 7% of the population.

Whereas 39% of Khwe adults are soldiers, only 20% of !Xu adults are employed by the SANDF. It is quite likely that such imbalances have contributed to tensions between the two groups. While !Xu make up the majority, Khwe are seen to have privileged access to SANDF jobs and occupy relatively senior ranks within the military hierarchy. It remains to be seen how these perceptions will impact upon the long-term development and resettlement at Platfontein.

Table 3.8: Sources of income of !Xu and Khwe adults (% adult population)

	!Xu	Khwe
Military	20	39
Clinic work	1	1
Teaching	0	0
Farm work	7	13
Tracking	2	8
Crafts	3	2
Pension	7	6
Other	2	4
No income	58	27

3.5 The role of SASI among the !Xu and Khwe

Since SASI is the major NGO working with †Khomani, !Xu and Khwe San, the following section will discuss its perspectives in some detail. SASI has played an extremely influential role in San communities in South Africa and is likely to continue to do so in the future.

SASI was established in 1996 in response to the need for support and access to resources identified by WIMSA. The latter NGO, also established in 1996, is a San-based networking organisation involved in advocacy work and lobbying on behalf of San in Angola, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. It has established a network for information exchange among San communities in the region and also provides training and advice regarding tourism, development projects and land tenure issues.

Whereas WIMSA operates at the regional level, SASI is confined to South Africa. SASI's key programme areas are advocacy and lobbying, the provision of legal resources, research and development, cultural programmes and tourism (SASI 1999).

3.5.1 SASI views on !Xu and Khwe military culture

SASI development workers share the view that some of the key challenges facing !Xu and Khwe are a product of their specific historical experiences as soldiers and refugees. Their collective experience of war and dislocation, and of having spent almost a decade living in tents at the Schmidtsdrift military base, has created numerous and serious social problems that have undermined community cohesion and solidarity and contributed to deep divisions and conflicts. The top-down, paternalistic military culture to which they have been exposed for almost three decades has also created problems in relation to the encouragement of community participation in San development issues.

3.5.2 SASI views on the military withdrawal

The !Xu and Khwe have been living in tents at the Schmidtsdrift military base for almost 10 years. Throughout this period the SANDF has provided jobs, social and healthcare services and infrastructure. With the move to Platfontein imminent, it is becoming increasingly clear to the community that they will not have the same degree of access to resources and services at the new settlement. The army has run a relatively efficient operation at Schmidtsdrift that is unlikely to be replicated at Platfontein easily.

Given that the !Xu and Khwe are unlikely to receive the same degree of state support once they move to Platfontein, they will need to develop creative ways of engaging with local and central government structures. One of their first major decisions will be to decide whether they want to establish a separate municipality or a transitional local council. This decision will need to be carefully thought through and will have important implications in terms of service delivery and governance issues. They will also need to engage with donor agencies and NGOs in order to secure funding for housing and other development projects.

SASI and Hennie Swart, the !Xu and Khwe CPA development co-ordinator, will have to continue to play a major role in institutional capacity-building as the Schmidtsdrift community begins to plan its move to Platfontein. However, the ongoing divisions between the !Xu and Khwe are likely to pose a number of serious development challenges in the years to come.

3.5.3 SASI views on the role of the Provincial Government

The Provincial Government is relatively receptive to the needs of the community and there is sufficient goodwill to make the resettlement scheme work. The major source of anticipated future problems, however, is probably the SANDF plan for further retrenchments of !Xu and Khwe soldiers. The army unit currently at Schmidtsdrift has moved its base to Upington, and within two or three years there are likely to be no more than about 300 !Xu and Khwe employed by the SANDF. The retrenchments raise troubling questions concerning what livelihoods will be sustainable at Platfontein.

SASI Director Fiona Archer believes that the two-year moratorium on development at Platfontein has undermined the credibility of local leadership structures, and that the Government ought to rectify the situation by adopting extraordinary measures to facilitate the development of the new settlement.

It also appears that the Provincial Government created unrealistic expectations that it would provide free housing at Platfontein. Instead of openly acknowledging that there are no funds for housing, it allowed the matter to become murky and uncertain. The Provincial Government could in fact cause considerable damage by not acknowledging its own limitations.

The SANDF currently spends R8.5 million per year on operational costs at the Schmidtsdrift settlement. It is unclear where such funding will come from once the !Xu and Khwe move to Platfontein. It would therefore seem that a phased withdrawal of the military over a period of five to six years would make more sense given the development needs of the !Xu and Khwe. Once they move from Schmidtsdrift they

will cease to be the responsibility of the SANDF and become that of the Department of Constitutional Development and Local Housing.

The Provincial Government's agendas and priorities will probably play a significant role in the ongoing saga at Schmidtsdrift and Platfontein. Having observed the opportunistic ways in which political parties vied with each other to win the San and coloured vote in the Northern Cape in the run-up to the 1999 national elections, it would seem that politicians have treated the !Xu and Khwe like political footballs. Nevertheless, these people are not simply passive victims of these political machinations. Instead, some of their leaders have demonstrated their ability to manipulate this process to serve both their own interests and those of their constituencies.

3.5.4 SASI views on intra-community divisions at Schmidtsdrift/Platfontein

The ongoing social distance and tension between the !Xu and Khwe is likely to be reproduced through the proposed spatial separation of their settlements at Platfontein. In addition, with the intensification of the struggle over access to jobs and housing, it is quite conceivable that 'ethnic' divisions and tensions between the !Xu and Khwe could escalate. According to Roger Chennells, however, there is some hope that the youth will be able to overcome this debilitating divide.

With the division of the two groups, some Khwe and !Xu are expressing their desire for separation more openly, and have raised some formerly unthinkable options such as liquidating Platfontein and buying separate places for themselves so as to end the linkage currently existing between them. This has been proposed a few times, but the youth, who are very influential even though they don't have a vote in CPA committee elections, oppose such a course of action. They all attend the same school, and unlike their parents, they don't want to go separate ways as they have friends and even lovers across the language divide – which acts as an interesting unifying factor. It will be a significant challenge for SASI to understand and accommodate these factors.

Another serious source of division and contestation is the question of traditional leadership versus democracy and accountability. While the Khwe have a traditional leader whose position complements that of their CPA committee member, Robert Derenge, there have been tensions among the !Xu over the question of traditional leadership. Mario Mahongo has been the key !Xu community leader for a number of years and attempts to establish a new position of traditional leader has upset this status quo.

Despite this quasi-ethnic division, there are signs that !Xu and Khwe are building alliances and creating solidarity both among themselves and beyond the confines of Schmidtsdrift. For example, the !Xu and the Khwe leadership have managed to forge links with other Northern Cape residents who are reclaiming Khoi and San identity. In 1995 a coalition of Nama, Griqua and San was established with the purpose of lobbying for state recognition of their traditional languages and leadership, and in March 1999 the Nama and San Forum was established with similar goals in mind. !Xu and Khwe San have relatively strong ties with †Khomani San and Nama groups, and they also participate in regional and international forums and networks alongside other indigenous peoples.

3.5.5 SASI perspectives on institutional capacity-building

SASI has identified leadership and institutional weaknesses at both Schmidtsdrift and Welkom. Also, SASI found that people did not initially understand the methods and objectives of formal decision-making and negotiation processes and procedures. However, they have been quick to learn and use these procedures.

Despite the enormous strides made by the !Xu and Khwe in terms of institutional capacity-building, entrenched divisions remain between these two groups and their respective leadership structures. One of the major problems encountered by SASI is that the democratic principle of 'one person, one vote'

appears not to work in a context where the minority Khwe feel swamped by the !Xu majority. SASI is reconsidering its strong emphasis on absolutely democratic representation. Roger Chennells explains:

I think the problem between the !Xu and the Khwe is really a leadership problem, and I would go as far as to say that it's become quite personalised. The Khwe were in the majority by far when they were in the SADF, so they were the powerful people. There was apparently quite a bit of status involved with being Khwe. Now the !Xu are the majority. That shift is uncomfortable for the Khwe, and I don't think that has been handled appropriately. I think that SASI certainly became aware of that last year in November, and we are now putting in a conflict manager to give us advice and to support people with that issue ...

3.6 Opportunities for and constraints on !Xu and Khwe development

While the Schmidtsdrift San appear to be more empowered than their †Khomani counterparts in terms of institutional capacity, they too are an extremely vulnerable community. Whereas the !Xu and Khwe have relatively strong leaders and community structures, their hierarchical military culture could become an obstacle hindering the creation of democratic and accountable community structures.

In addition, their history of war, violence and geographical and social dislocation have profoundly shaped the ways in which !Xu and Khwe have experienced conditions in South Africa. Having been displaced from both Angola and Namibia as a result of their participation in South Africa's apartheid wars, they continue to experience a sense of deep distrust of outsiders.

This distrust is particularly heightened in the case of the !Xu, who seek to maintain an insular, parochial and cohesive network of relationships and interactions (see Sharp & Douglas 1996). Whereas some Khwe soldiers have lost patience with the decade-long wait at Schmidtsdrift and purchased homes in Kimberley, very few !Xu have resettled elsewhere. It would appear that the social ties that bind the !Xu are stronger than those that bind the Khwe.

3.7 Socio-economic conditions of the !Xu and Khwe

While living in tents for nearly a decade, the !Xu and Khwe have had to endure the extremely harsh climatic conditions of the Northern Cape, where temperatures soar to almost 50°C in summer and plummet to below freezing in winter. They have also had to cope with the extreme social and physical isolation of living in a military base some 80 km from Kimberley. To exacerbate matters, the majority of Schmidtsdrift residents are unemployed.

Apart from the handful of women involved in art and craft projects or employed by the SANDF as clinic staff, cleaners and domestic workers, the vast majority of Schmidtsdrift women are unemployed. The situation of the men is somewhat better, with around 265 employed as SANDF soldiers earning roughly R2 000 per month depending on their rank, and another 400 earning roughly R750 per month as temporary security guards and labourers on farms in the Northern Cape and elsewhere in the country.

The popular perception among white farmers that "bushmen" are excellent trackers and disciplined soldiers, and the widespread belief that they are loyal to whites, has made them attractive to farmers facing ever-increasing rates of stock theft and farm murders, who often need temporary workers. The temporary !Xu and Khwe workers are generally hired for a three-month period, and between work periods they generally spend three months back at Schmidtsdrift. In addition a significant number of residents receive a pension, which is sometimes supplemented by a small income of R50 to R250 per month from crafts bought and then resold by the CPA.

In comparison to other black and coloured communities in the Northern Cape, the !Xu and Khwe appear to be relatively well off in terms of employment and access to services and infrastructure facilitated by the military. Schmidtsdrift's infrastructure includes corrugated iron school buildings, a reasonably well-equipped clinic with trained medical staff, a supermarket, a sewerage system and running water.

Nevertheless, this favourable impression of conditions at Schmidtsdrift is deceptive for several reasons:

- The tents and corrugated iron school structures are unbearably hot in the summer and extremely cold in winter.
- The paternalistic SADF military culture has produced a pervasive passivity and lack of initiative that could become a long-term obstacle to community self-reliance.
- Almost 10 years of waiting to move from this temporary relief camp to a formal settlement have demoralised many people and driven some to deep despondency, pessimism and alcohol abuse.
- Traumatic experiences of war and violence have predisposed the community to inward aggression and self-destructiveness, manifested in, for example, very high levels of alcohol abuse, domestic violence and rape.
- The community is likely to experience enormous problems once the military withdraws following the move to Platfontein. Not only will they lose access to SADF healthcare and social services, but they will also find themselves with far fewer military jobs due to retrenchments.

3.8 The possibility of a San 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission'

The appearance of members of the !Xu and Khwe community at South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) drew attention to the ways in which the Portuguese military and later the SADF used and abused the !Xu and Khwe in wars that were not of their own making. It also became clear at the TRC that San were exposed to extreme forms of discrimination, coercion and brutality at the hands of an apartheid army that was fundamentally racist. The SADF used racist stereotypes and myths about the extraordinary ability of "bushmen" to track enemy soldiers in ways that have had tragic consequences for the !Xu and Khwe. As a result, members of this community were not only exposed to the trauma of violence but were also uprooted and exiled from their homelands.

The military is now preparing to abandon the burden of responsibility for this tragic sequence of events. Although the !Xu and Khwe have been able to pool their state subsidies to buy the Platfontein farm, they now find themselves without sufficient funds to build houses at the new settlement. They also find themselves having to wait yet again, this time for infrastructural development (housing, water and electricity, clinics, schools etc.) at the new settlement.

Given the specific historical experiences of this community, a form of redress could be achieved through ongoing state and donor assistance. This could be granted as a form of reparation for the pain and suffering they have endured as pawns in the military machinations of the apartheid State. Although the ANC Government has responded sensitively and sympathetically to their plight, a special development package for this community would go a long way towards honouring the TRC's pledge to offer reparations to victims of gross human rights violations.

3.9 Healing the wounds of war and dislocation

There is an urgent need at Schmidtsdrift for some form of trauma counselling. Although the collective !Xu and Khwe trauma resulting from their experience of war and dislocation is generally hidden and repressed, their repressed memories occasionally rise to the surface. For example, a local artist attempted to convey images of the violence of war that !Xu and Khwe experienced in Angola and Namibia. He also depicted the taboo images of domestic violence that takes place on a regular basis at Schmidtsdrift. Considerable community pressure was brought to bear on the artist because it was felt that these images

of violence were inappropriate and created a negative perception of the community. This extraordinarily gifted artist was forced to restrict his work to ‘traditional’ craft images of animals, plants and hunters.

The artist’s succumbing to these pressures reflects a widespread tendency to repress memories of a painful and traumatic past. This legacy of war and violence, along with almost 10 years of living in tents, has produced considerable frustration and pent-up anger. There seems to be virtually no space to express this pain and anger except through displaced outbursts of domestic violence. The collective trauma of the bush wars has yet to be processed and ‘worked through’. Culturally appropriate forms of psychological counselling may be one way to bring the repressed traumas to the surface. In other words, incidents of murder, violence and alcohol abuse at Schmidtsdrift cannot simply be ascribed to individual pathology. I would argue that the collective experience of this community is largely responsible for this self-destructive behaviour.

!Xu and Khwe occasionally openly express their anger at having been used and abused by outsiders, including the SADF. I was told that many soldiers did not really know what they were letting themselves in for when they joined the military. It is also said that !Xu and Khwe were drawn into the military because of poverty and unemployment. Now that they have discovered that their participation in these wars has brought them considerable hardship, many of these soldiers are disenchanted with the military. At the same time, however, many of the soldiers recognise that they are far better off than they would have been had they remained in Angola. Having obtained South African citizenship, many of them are determined to build a decent life for themselves in their new country.

Reflections on the war are seldom shared with outsiders. The high incidence of domestic violence and alcohol abuse, however, may be an expression of an underlying collective trauma that could eventually undermine efforts to create a cohesive and empowered community. Such problems are likely to continue to plague the community once it moves to Platfontein. It may therefore make sense to initiate a culturally appropriate process of community counselling and occupational therapy. The decade-long wait to be permanently resettled has certainly exacerbated the situation.

3.10 Youth programmes

An Irish community psychologist who has been working with youths at Schmidtsdrift believes that they are generally psychologically well adjusted. Also they appear to be less caught up in !Xu and Khwe animosities. Unlike their parents and grandparents, they have not experienced the violence and trauma of war. For example, a 20-year-old Khwe told me that these divisions were not important to him and that he had a number of !Xu friends. These younger people attend the same school and socialise together. Many of them are more optimistic than their parents. Given that many Schmidtsdrift matriculants are still without work, however, the number of school dropouts is likely to increase in the near future. Alcohol and drug abuse is also likely to increase as a result of youth unemployment. This scenario makes the need for youth development programmes even more pressing.

3.10.1 Youth and cultural assimilation: from Schmidtsdrift to Platfontein

The better-off community members, such as the younger soldiers and educated youths, may attempt to escape these deeply embedded socio-economic and psychological problems by moving permanently to Kimberley. Those fortunate enough to be employed are likely to be more willing and able to assimilate with their non-San Kimberley neighbours. This assimilation scenario can be expected given the negative perceptions and stigmas attached to being San.

The attraction of urban life may also encourage the younger generation to abandon the insular and parochial world of their parents and seek to interact more with non-San youths in Kimberley. It cannot be taken for granted that they will remain committed to maintaining a separate San identity. This process

of assimilation could be facilitated by the fact that most !Xu and Khwe youths speak fluent Afrikaans and some speak Tswana.

Despite the lure of modern urban culture, values and commodities, aspects of !Xu and Khwe culture are likely to survive. The fact that San may not be able to swim against the tide of the homogenising culture of modernity does not mean that they will inevitably lose all access to their cultural heritage.

3.11 Cross-generational experiences

3.11.1 Experiences and aspirations of the youth

The gloomy scenario sketched above ought not to eclipse the optimism of younger people involved in youth development projects. A handful of youths are also directly involved in the work of the CPA and are developing extremely useful skills as development workers and community facilitators. For some of the younger generation the prospect of finding decent office-based work and living in modern homes is both attractive and realistic. For others, however, long-term unemployment is a grim likelihood.

Schmidtsdrift youths are drawn to urban youth culture and modern technology. Unlike the older generation, they do not look back and reflect nostalgically on a former lifestyle characterised by hunting and gathering or agriculture. Although their idealised future is a modern urban life, this does not preclude the preservation of certain aspects of their parents' cultural and linguistic heritage.

3.11.2 The experience of the elders

For many of the older generation who have no formal education, the idea of nine-to-five office jobs and a house in the suburbs is meaningless and beyond reach. They tend to reflect nostalgically on an earlier period when they lived in Angola as hunter-gatherers and agriculturalists. The wars in Angola and Namibia have destroyed any possibility of returning to this earlier idealised lifestyle.

3.12 New challenges for Platfontein

For the majority of !Xu and Khwe, the immediate priority is to make a decent living. This will require the development of viable and sustainable livelihood strategies at Platfontein. For the San community, SASI and the Government to make a success of Platfontein, the lessons of resettlement schemes elsewhere in South Africa will have to be borne in mind.

The new settlement at Platfontein is likely to comprise modern homes with electricity and running water, along with modern shops, a community clinic, a community centre and a school. The housing estate will include two separate !Xu and Khwe settlements with a 1 km 'buffer strip' between them. Platfontein is on the outskirts of Kimberley, and it remains to be seen whether this will intensify or reduce the social segregation and insularity that has characterised San internal relations at Schmidtsdrift.

It is also uncertain how the !Xu and Khwe will respond to the pending withdrawal of the military from the everyday provision of community services, and whether they will be able to fill the vacuum left.

3.13 Livelihood strategies

Another unknown factor concerns the livelihood strategies to be deployed at Platfontein. In the early 1990s local businessmen and !Xu and Khwe Trust board members attempted to introduce commercial agricultural activities such as ostrich-farming, olive production and cattle-ranching at Platfontein. These business plans were eventually shelved for a number of reasons, including the lack of interest expressed

by Schmidtsdrift San, many of whom claimed that they were not adequately consulted when these plans were formulated. To make matters worse, the !Xu and Khwe Trust soon had an overdraft of R850 000. This money has yet to be found, and the CPA is still saddled with enormous debt as a result of this financial miscalculation.

A !Xu resident told me that most of his people are not particularly interested in the agricultural pursuits mooted thus far. He conceded, however, that interest could be stimulated once the !Xu and Khwe are resettled. For far too long they have been promised housing and land, and as a result they have become extremely sceptical and cautious about taking planning exercises too seriously. As far back as 1996 they were told that within a year they would be living in proper houses at Platfontein. Three years later they have yet to be resettled.

The farm was a commercially viable cattle ranch under the previous owner and it is likely that a manager will be appointed to continue with this enterprise. At present 7 000 hectares of the 13 000 ha farm are being leased out at R12 000 per month. The farm also has a gypsum mine that generates approximately R40 000 per month, and the extremely profitable diamond mine on the property is being leased out at R36 000 per month. In mid-April a diamond was found on the property that was eventually sold for R2.9 million, with the CPA receiving 10% of the selling price.

3.14 Cultural constraints on resettlement and integration at Platfontein

The substantial development challenges facing the !Xu and Khwe include a number of socio-cultural obstacles. The military culture of this San community, for example, along with their longstanding patron-client relationships with the SADF and SANDF, seems to predispose them towards an acceptance of paternalistic practices and dependency relations with their powerful (mostly white) military patrons. It remains to be seen whether this will be reproduced at Platfontein, where there will be no military presence apart from the 200-300 !Xu and Khwe soldiers to be stationed at Upington.

The military culture has had a number of adverse consequences, including the reinforcement of patriarchal styles of leadership and hierarchical institutional structures. It is unclear to what degree it may be possible to democratise social practices given this patriarchal military legacy. It also remains to be seen whether SASI's institutional capacity-building programmes will have the effect of reinforcing or of transforming these male hierarchies.

CHAPTER 4

THE CURRENT SITUATION AND DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES OF THE ǀKHO MANI SAN

4.1 Introduction: the land claim

As a result of the violence and dislocation associated with colonialism and apartheid, the ǀKhomani San have been widely dispersed and their cultural practices and language have all but vanished. Their land claim process brought together approximately 300 San adults, many of whom were meeting for the first time as a community. Today's ǀKhomani San come from extremely diverse backgrounds. This diversity has made it difficult for them to forge a cohesive collective identity and has also contributed to the emergence of internal divisions and intra-community conflict at the new ǀKhomani settlement areas of Welkom and Witdraai near the entrance to the KGNP.

4.2 The ǀKhomani San agreement with the South African National Parks Board

4.2.1 Background to the agreement

The restitution land claim lodged by the ǀKhomani San culminated in an historical land deal in terms of which the Government allocated to them 25 000 ha of land inside the KGNP. In addition the parties undertook to enter further negotiations with a view to clarifying the commercial and symbolic rights of the San in relation to the park. This will conclude with an agreement in terms of which San will own a total of 37 000 ha of park land which will become part of a 'contract park' to be managed as a conservation area. This area would include 25 000 ha of the present contract area and an additional 12 000 ha of land inside the KGNP – 7 000 ha to be donated by the neighbouring Mier Transitional Local Council, and 5 000 ha to be purchased by the Government. The exact terms of the 'contract park' agreement have yet to be fully negotiated. The Government has also allocated R15 million towards the purchase of six farms south of the Mier area totalling 36 891 ha. This land outside the KGNP includes six excellent cattle and game farms.

4.2.2 Terms of the agreement

The agreement includes benefits of material and commercial value as well as intangible and symbolic rights that are of significance in terms of the socio-cultural requirements of San. These rights include the following (Chennells 1999):

Symbolic rights

- Park name changes (Khoi and San place names are almost entirely absent throughout the Northern Cape).
- An access gate for San from their adjacent land.

- Other cultural rights such as an annual gemsbok hunt, visits to ancestral grave sites and veld excursions for educational purposes, including instruction on veldcraft and hunting skills. This will also include educational tours for San community members without the payment of an entrance fee.

Commercial rights

The specific details and conditions of these rights still have to be negotiated, but they will include the kinds of income-generating activities that the San would have enjoyed had they not been dispossessed of their land.

- *Tourism activities*: These will involve taking tourists on guided walking trails, managing overnight facilities and constructing semi-permanent structures and infrastructures to support such activities.
- *San cultural village*: This non-residential village will be constructed adjacent to the KGNP and will include an information centre.
- *Permanent rest camp*: The details of such a camp have yet to be finalised.
- *Community gate levy*: The funds from such a levy will be paid into a trust account for San development projects.

Management and controls

The proposed agreement will ensure that the sovereignty of the SANPB over the KGNP remains in place and that the Park Warden has a veto right over every activity sanctioned by the Management Council in respect of San rights. The Management Council will have equal numbers of SANPB and San representatives. The San envisage that the Council will give effect to the agreement and will be guided by provisions in the Social Ecology Unit policy document, specifically regarding participatory processes and the integration of conservation and socio-economic development.

4.3 Post-settlement problems

Unfortunately several social and developmental problems have emerged subsequent to the successful conclusion of the land claim, as follows:

- Social problems such as alcohol abuse and violence have surfaced as a result of unemployment, poverty and general frustration with delays in the development process.
- Delays in infrastructural delivery have impacted upon housing development, land-use planning and the building of schools and clinics.
- Intra-community divisions between ‘traditionalists’ and ‘westerners’ have been exacerbated by these delays.

4.3.1 The implications of social problems and internal conflicts

Soon after the †Khomani San had received the R15 million land restitution settlement, serious conflicts surfaced in the resettlement area near the KGNP. These have been exacerbated by alcohol abuse and violence, both of which have become commonplace at Witdraai and Welkom. These problems are likely to surface as long as the †Khomani San have to wait for infrastructural developments to be put in place on their newly won land. Such a scenario could have serious adverse consequences for development in the resettlement area.

4.3.2 Divisions between ‘traditionalists’ and ‘westerners’

In addition to the delays in infrastructural development, there have been serious divisions between the traditionally-minded †Khomani San living at Witdraai under the leadership of David Kruiper and their more ‘westernised’ relatives living to the west at Rietfontein under the leadership of Petrus Vaalbooi.

Whereas David Kruiper is seen to be the ‘traditional leader’, Petrus Vaalbooi has taken on a ‘western’ leadership style as the chairperson of the †Khomani San Communal Property Association (CPA). This artificially constructed divide could negatively affect the long-term development of the †Khomani San.

4.3.3 Relations with the South African National Parks Board

Other post-settlement problems include the conservative and disabling political environment of the KGNP. Given that the park will soon be part of a trans-national Peace Park and Strategic Development Initiative, these political issues could have considerable consequences for the region as a whole.

4.3.4 San relations with Mier neighbours

The †Khomani land claim has also created serious divisions between this San community and the neighbouring Mier community. The conflict was resolved to some extent when mediators were able to broker a land settlement in terms of which both communities stood to benefit. This ‘win-win scenario’ seems to have allayed the Mier’s suspicions that San and the Government were busy creating a San *volkstaat* (homeland) in the Kalahari.

4.3.5 Unrealistic expectations

In mid-May 1999 the entire Kagga Kamma community packed up their meagre belongings and left the Cedarberg farm near Ceres where they had resided for almost a decade in order to join their relatives at Welkom and Witdraai on the border of the KGNP. This relocation to Welkom indicated the degree of urgency felt among †Khomani San, many of whom expected to be able to move onto the new land immediately. SASI has attempted to curb unrealistic expectations by pointing out to †Khomani San that after many years of waiting, the Schmidtsdrift San community has yet to be resettled on the new farm at Platfontein.

4.3.6 Problems at Welkom and Witdraai

The main problems encountered by †Khomani San people at Welkom and Witdraai relate to access to water, poor communication and a lack of transportation.⁵ Their geographical and social isolation has contributed to a situation where rumours and misinformation can easily spread and create anxiety and tension. For example, SASI and the CPA chairperson have in the past been blamed for not informing the Welkom San about meetings and other developments. This situation is likely to be rectified by the appointment of a SASI community facilitator at Welkom.

4.3.7 Housing and infrastructure problems

The †Khomani at Welkom and in the KGNP expect SASI to play a central role in the mammoth task of overseeing state housing and infrastructural delivery. The †Khomani have high expectations regarding housing and income. While the Government may be able to address some of their needs, SASI may find itself taking the flak for delivery hiccups and shortfalls.⁶

⁵ In response to complaints from †Khomani San about the inadequacy of information and communication, SASI appointed a Welkom-based community development facilitator. The facilitator will also conduct a census and needs assessment for the community and liaise closely with the †Khomani CPA and SASI.

⁶ The waiting and current uncertainty about developments in the KGNP could contribute to intra-community conflict and accusations that SASI and the Government are not delivering with sufficient commitment. Housing is likely to be a particularly thorny issue, especially since there is considerable confusion as to whether †Khomani community members stand to benefit from the R17 500 housing subsidy grant.

4.4 Livelihood and land-use options

4.4.1 The politics and economics of stock-farming

The workshop co-ordinated by SASI at Kalahari Molopo Lodge in May 1999 stressed the significance of stock-farming in the ǀKhomani equation. While there is a tendency to view the ǀKhomani as hunter-gatherers, it is clear that stock-farming could increasingly become one of their preferred livelihood strategies. Cultural tourism and traditional healing may indeed continue to bring in revenue for certain community members, but it is equally plausible that stock and game-farming will become the community's major sources of income in the years to come. This raises important questions regarding rules to regulate access to communal grazing, stocking rates, livestock management strategies and the like.

The workshop furthermore brought home the need to take into account the highly skewed distribution of resources (e.g. goats and sheep) within the community. On the basis of experiences with other resettlement schemes and communal livestock projects, it is quite reasonable to anticipate that better-endowed stock owners will end up asserting their authority and control over those without stock and social status. The socio-economic position of many ǀKhomani San is extremely precarious and it is possible that they will become clients of wealthier stock farmers who seek greater access to grazing land on the farms. Social differentiation of this nature could also lead to conflict within the community.

4.4.2 Income from tourism

It remains to be seen to what degree KGNP tourism initiatives will be able to increase the income that Kagga Kamma residents can earn through cultural tourism.

Newcomers to San tourism at Witdraai and Welkom will have to negotiate entry into the ǀKhomani San patronage network operating under the leadership of Dawid Kruiper. It is also quite possible that some former Kagga Kamma residents will decide to return to Kagga Kamma until the resettlement programme has reached the stage where infrastructure and housing are in place.⁷ The long wait for such development to take place could also create serious tensions and cleavages at Welkom and Witdraai. Meanwhile it is unclear whether the extended Kruiper clan will be able to establish their tourism activities in the KGNP successfully. The factors noted here could persuade the Kruipers that it is in their own interests to reopen negotiations with the Kagga Kamma owner. However, a return to Kagga Kamma would probably require significant improvements in living and working conditions.

4.4.3 Skills development: strengths and constraints

It remains unclear to what degree the social skills and knowledge derived from occupations such as farm work and cultural tourism at Kagga Kamma will be useful and relevant under the changed circumstances in the KGNP. It seems likely that many ǀKhomani San will have to expand their repertoire of skills in order successfully to participate in the management of development, eco-tourism and farming in their new environment. The obstacles and constraints that will have to be addressed are detailed below.

4.5 Basic needs for sustainable development

4.5.1 Institutional capacity-building

The major challenge facing the ǀKhomani is the development of cultural tourism and viable livelihood strategies in the KGNP. This will require considerable capacity-building in terms of the development of governance and leadership structures.

⁷ Another significant San tourist development proposal for the Cape Town area is in the pipeline, but it is too early to predict what impact this will have.

The historical background of the ǀKhomani could pose problems relating to self-reliance and institutional capacity-building. For example, the occupational history of many ǀKhomani who have worked as farm workers, as well as their involvement in tourism on white-owned farms, has meant that they have never had the opportunity to pursue a living under conditions of their own choosing. In other words, they have always been caught within paternalistic relations with powerful outsiders.

Their involvement in tourism at Kagga Kamma has provided the ǀKhomani with certain social skills and institutional capacities for engaging with outsiders, including tourists, NGOs and journalists. But these particular experiences have not given them the kinds of skills and institutional capacities that they will require to become economically independent in the KGNP resettlement area. SASI's specific challenge is to help build these through ongoing training workshops.

The ǀKhomani will have to develop viable livelihood strategies in the KGNP. To achieve this, they will first have to address complicated questions concerning livestock management rules and a range of other community-related issues. SASI will have to play a crucial role in the training of the ǀKhomani San CPA committee members.

4.5.2 Leadership and institutional capacity-building

Although a small cohort of independently-minded and assertive ǀKhomani leaders is now beginning to emerge, the current leadership structure is relatively weak and likely to encounter difficulties in dealing with inter- and intra-community conflicts that are already beginning to surface.

Given the experiences of development projects elsewhere in the world, it is to be expected that intra-community conflicts over access to resources will intensify in the years to come. For this reason there is a need for substantial ongoing NGO-supported institutional capacity-building among the ǀKhomani. Sustainable conflict resolution structures and mechanisms will have to be developed as well.

4.5.3 Community participation

Problems are likely to continue to arise if only very few ǀKhomani San are able to actively participate in decision-making. As matters stand, there are already tensions within the community over leadership styles, decision-making procedures and accountability. At the Molopo Lodge workshop in May 1999 there appeared to be consensus that tensions would continue to surface unless the entire CPA committee and a broader cross-section of the community become more involved in development planning and decision-making processes.

4.6 Conflict resolution: the Molopo Lodge workshop

As noted above, SASI co-ordinated the Molopo Lodge workshop held on 26-27 May 1999. Following the workshop, ǀKhomani traditional leader Dawid Kruiper stated that the community would "remember the 27th of May as a day when we decided not to *skinder* ('gossip') about each other again. We will speak directly and openly to one another. We will not *skinder* behind each other's backs."

It became clear at the workshop that ongoing conflict resolution mechanisms will have to be developed. Further, attention was drawn to the need to develop and democratise local institutions and leadership structures. The workshop dealt with a range of issues, including procedural matters relating to committee meetings, problems relating to the accountability of community leaders and committee members, and the relationship between the traditional leader (Dawid Kruiper) and the CPA chairperson (Petrus Vaalbooi). It was acknowledged that tensions between the two leaders were escalating and had to be resolved.

Although the members of the ǀKhomani San come from diverse parts of the Northern Cape, the success of the workshop confirmed that it is possible to forge a sense of communal solidarity and belonging,

provided that it is given ongoing support. This could include training to develop more effective and accountable community leadership and decision-making structures. It is nevertheless to be expected that conflict over access to resources will continue to surface in the future.

4.6.1 Workshop outcomes

The workshop identified the most serious problems currently facing the community as being:

- inadequate community consultation and communication between SASI, the Government, San and various other role players;
- a lack of clarity regarding the roles and responsibilities of the CPA chairperson and the traditional leader;
- poor financial management; and
- inadequate public transportation.

In response to the need for improved information and communication, SASI appointed a Welkom-based community facilitator to conduct a census and needs assessment in the community, to liaise and consult closely with the †Khomani CPA and to assist with communication and transportation.

4.6.2 Communication and transportation

†Khomani community members attending the workshop complained about not being kept informed of developments. Given the remoteness of the KGNP and surrounding Mier area, and the fact that there are virtually no taxis or buses travelling between the KGNP and Upington, this complaint is not surprising. The CPA leadership in turn complained bitterly about the difficulties they face in gaining access to their widely dispersed community members, and committee members expressed frustration at not receiving information and feedback regarding meetings and decisions. It was generally felt that the lack of transportation and poor communication are serious obstacles to the community's development.

SASI and the committee members discussed various options for remedying the situation, including the option of buying a vehicle with revenues from the sale of game on one of the farms that the Government bought for the †Khomani. Roger Chennells raised the possibility of buying a vehicle from the interest accrued from the R2 million left over from the R15 million state grant awarded to the †Khomani. The discussion of these matters brought home to the CPA committee the urgency of acquiring training so that it can begin to take some control over the financial management of †Khomani assets.

4.7 Making community a reality

The †Khomani San are extremely dispersed and fragmented, and many of them were brought together for the first time by SASI's San Language Project and the land claim. They have to create a sense of community solidarity virtually from scratch. The creation of a real sense of community and cultural identity, and the development of viable livelihood strategies in the KGNP, are two of the biggest challenges facing the †Khomani.

It is becoming increasingly clear to SASI that economic and cultural development cannot be divorced from each other. According to Roger Chennells, the two aspects of development need to reinforce each other if the process of San development is to succeed.

SASI's role is to assist the †Khomani to make their lives more meaningful. It is what they themselves do together as a community that will give meaning to the term †Khomani. They will need to consider how often they meet, whether they give jobs only to other †Khomani, whether affirmative action for †Khomani in a †Khomani homeland is advisable, whether they call it a 'cultural' homeland and whether they perceive themselves to be a 'tribe' or a 'people'. I think that SASI's role pertains to culture and

development, and to the cultural imperative of actually creating a community, because at present there is only a potential legal entity, a landowner. Some of the people who come to the meetings with SASI are curious because they have never actually seen any San themselves. They know their grandparents spoke a San language or were of San ancestry, so they have a potential affinity. They are almost like people visiting a club who are not quite sure if they should join. They are only going to join the club if we make it meaningful for them to join. The real challenge is to do this in a way that does not threaten their notion of what it means to be 'civilised'. It is envisaged that employment and income generation from tourism and game and stock-farming will centre around the six farms and the 'contract park', while housing development will take place in or near the town of Welkom and on the Witdraai farm. Creating effective community leadership structures will be an enormous challenge in the years to come.

4.8 Confronting a history of paternalism and dependency

Historically the ꞤKhomani San have been caught up in paternalistic client-patron relationships that have been asymmetric in nature. Their dealings with outsiders have generally been shaped by their dependence on either a farm owner's goodwill or that of tourists, individual benefactors, donors and NGOs. In other words, they have not generally been the architects of their own destinies and their leadership has not always demonstrated a capacity for independent planning and decision-making.

In drawing attention to the culture of paternalism, one risks reinforcing the perception of the ꞤKhomani as passive clients of powerful and paternalistic patrons. The Kagga Kamma San have not been passive victims of exploitative relationships with tourists, film-makers and the Kagga Kamma management. For almost a decade at Kagga Kamma, the ꞤKhomani have managed to obtain an income from tourism that far exceeds what they would have earned as farm workers, and they have furthermore participated in a successful land claim.

These experiences suggest that the ꞤKhomani are by no means helpless and destitute victims. Their ability to exercise agency was demonstrated in May 1999 when the Kagga Kamma San 'voted with their feet' and left De Waal's Kagga Kamma tourist camp for the KGNP. In addition, the fact that they were able at extremely short notice to access a large sum of money to pay for transportation suggests that they are not as helpless as some observers have suggested.

Despite these acts, which suggest agency and initiative, over the past decades the ꞤKhomani have found themselves in a position of dependence in relation to powerful patrons. Development and capacity-building strategies will have to address this historical legacy of paternalism, disempowerment, dependence and subjugation.

4.9 New possibilities for agency and self-reliance

Involvement in tourism at Kagga Kamma has provided the ꞤKhomani San with certain social skills and capacities for engaging with outsiders, including tourists, NGOs and journalists. It is not clear, however, whether these specific experiences and skills will be meaningful for future San development.

Developing viable livelihood strategies will require them to address complicated questions concerning livestock management rules and a range of other issues relating to natural resource management. Given their inexperience in dealing with bureaucratic language and procedures, SASI will need to continue to play a central role in the training of the committee members of the ꞤKhomani San CPA.

4.10 Concluding observations

The land claims process is perhaps the single most significant event in the recent history of San in South Africa. It offers the possibility of facilitating the emergence of a vibrant San culture and identity. But

this outcome will depend on whether viable livelihood strategies and community co-operation can be created in the new settlement area. While the land claim has provided the impetus and potential for community development, it has also triggered conflict over access to resources.

It remains to be seen to what degree the †Khomani San will be able to generate revenue from tourism in the KGNP. Whereas the tourism activities at Kagga Kamma were run by the farm owner – who benefited considerably more than the San – the new context of the KGNP offers the prospect of more independent and lucrative San involvement in cultural tourism. It also remains to be seen what other livelihood strategies will emerge at the new resettlement area.

The major challenge facing San is the development of cultural tourism and viable livelihood strategies in the KGNP. This will require self-reliance and institutional capacity-building. It should be noted, however, that the experience of the †Khomani San as farm workers and their involvement in tourism on white-owned farms has meant that they have never had the opportunity to pursue a livelihood under conditions of their own choosing. The land claim is the first real opportunity to break this historical cycle of dependency.

CHAPTER 5

POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

Under apartheid the San were classified as “coloureds”, and like millions of black and coloured South Africans, they were discriminated against on racial grounds and their human rights were violated. The new South African Constitution of 1996 forbids discrimination on the basis of race, gender, language, religion and sexual orientation. Despite such democratic rights being enshrined in the new Constitution, testing and protecting these rights requires considerable resources, which in most cases are beyond the reach of impoverished communities. Protecting the constitutional rights of groups like the San requires NGO support and legal resources.

5.1 Constitutional and political issues

5.1.1 Language rights

When the South African Constitution was finalised in May 1996, it included the first-ever constitutional references to Khoe and San people (see Crawhall 1999):

- Article 6(2) states:
“Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.”
- Article 6(5) states:
“A Pan South African Language Board established by national legislation must promote and create conditions for the development and use of ... the Khoi, Nama and San languages.”

It is noteworthy that Article 6(2) uses the term ‘indigenous’ with reference to the majority languages recognised under apartheid, which became the 11 official languages of the Republic in 1994. Article 6(5) has nevertheless opened a whole new constitutional chapter by recognising the presence of Khoe and San people and their languages.

The National Language Project (NLP) and SASI have co-operated to consult with Khoe and San communities to ensure that they are aware of the implications of these constitutional provisions on language. SASI has also been involved in assisting Khoe and San communities in making applications and recommendations to the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB).

Despite such assistance, the San and Khoe groups have been unable to use Article 6(5) effectively to address their needs. PanSALB can only assist through grants, and grants can only be made where there is the capacity to make applications as well as to take responsibility for implementation (Crawhall 1999). This means that only communities with substantial resources and access to researchers, linguists and project managers will be able to benefit from Articles 6(2) and 6(5). This observation has more general implications for San communities seeking to take advantage of constitutional provisions and rights.⁸

⁸ Crawhall also points out that in practice San and Nama language rights are not being adequately protected in terms of Article 35 provisions, which place the onus upon the State to communicate its actions.

5.1.2 Language matters: a ǀKhomani San perspective

In May 1999 a PanSALB delegation arrived in Upington to hold a meeting with and to interview prospective members of the Nama and San Language Board. A small Griqua breakaway group disrupted the meeting and delayed the interview proceedings. The Griqua delegation, under the leadership of Martin Engelbrecht of the Khoisan Representative Council (KRC), demanded that Grikwas be included in the Nama and San consultation process with PanSALB and the Government. However, Nama and San representatives had decided to establish their own Nama/San institutions and consultative processes, the argument being that the Griqua national bodies were well organised and had a head start compared to the extremely marginalised Nama and San communities.

Petrus Vaalbooi drew attention to ǀKhomani San perceptions of the importance of the survival of their language and culture, and of the reasons why they and the Nama had decided to work closely with the Government:

We will be very much better off if we can plough the language back to our children and our children's children; to the generations that come after us. They could use it in book form, video cassettes, tapes and various other ways of obtaining information. Those of us who still have the language are all very old. For example, my mother [Elsie Vaalbooi] is 97. This shows how serious the situation is. I am very worried. I myself cannot speak the language. I am very concerned that my mother is so old. She is one of the strongest speakers of the language. PanSALB and the Government immediately recognised the significance of this and they are willing to help us We are willing to make our own contributions to the government of the day The San people almost died out. In fact, in 1974 Professor Tony Trail announced that the language was dead. And then he met my mother in 1996 and he told the world that the language was not dead; the language had survived ... (PanSALB meeting, Upington, May 1999 – author's translation from Afrikaans).

5.1.3 Place names

San and Nama are disadvantaged with respect to place names. There is not a single correct Khoe or San place name in the Northern Cape despite the fact that indigenous peoples occupied this area up until the end of the last century. The procedural problems faced in changing names through the South African Geographical Names Commission once again reflect how difficult it is to give practical application to rights without adequate infrastructure and bureaucratic know-how.

5.2 Traditional leadership and San political challenges

Article 26(1)(b) of the South African Constitution concerns local government and states:

A traditional leader of a community observing a system of indigenous law and residing on land within the area of a Transitional Rural Council or Transitional Representative Council referred to in the Local Government Transition Act, 1993, and who has been identified as set out in section 182 of the previous Constitution, is ex officio entitled to be a member of that council until 30 April 1999 or until an Act of Parliament provides otherwise.

The merits and demerits of traditional authorities have been and continue to be a very thorny and controversial topic. The apartheid State used and abused traditional authorities and African tradition to buttress its 'ethnic homelands' (bantustan) policies. This apartheid manipulation of tradition and ethnicity had the effect of undermining the legitimacy of these traditional institutions. Upon achieving independence, a number of southern African countries such as Mozambique and Zimbabwe attempted to dismantle the power and authority of chiefs. This was done on the grounds that chiefs were supposedly the puppets of their colonial masters and that they were in any event inherently undemocratic, anti-modern, patriarchal and sexist. After a few years of independence, however, it became clear that chiefs are here to stay and that in many instances they have considerable credibility in rural villages.

5.2.1 Department of Constitutional Development perspectives on traditional leadership

While certain groupings within the ANC, for example civic activists from SANCO, would have liked to abolish the chieftaincy, the pragmatists recognised the political costs of such a course of action. Soon after coming to power the ANC established a House of Traditional Leaders to accommodate traditional authorities. It is within this post-apartheid context that Griqua and Khoisan activists are calling upon the ANC Government to recognise their traditional leaders.

In an interview with the DCD's Johan Beukman it became clear that the Government was ambivalent in its response to traditional leadership. It recognised that the chieftaincy is deeply embedded in the social fabric of many rural communities. Beukman pointed out that in some rural contexts it was the chief rather than democratically elected local government structures that functioned effectively. He also pointed out, however, that traditional authority is perceived by the ANC Government to run against the grain of modern democratic values and practices. Given the way in which ethnicity and patriarchy were manipulated under apartheid, it is not surprising that the new Government is so ambivalent about the authority of tribal chiefs. Beukman understands the need for compromise and sensitivity in dealing with the traditional leadership issue:

There was a lot of controversy with the old system of local government in the beginning in terms of the position of traditional leaders. And I think the route of identifying them as stakeholders is the correct one. There have been successes in certain areas where traditional leaders are strong and where they've still got a lot of influence on the ground. I mean some of these democratically elected local government structures have had no impact in these areas. People don't know their councillors – these are people who are elected but who just vanish into thin air When you're doing development work, trying to impose structures on traditional communities will fail But at the same time we're living in a democratic state and we need to move towards democratically elected bodies. So you must look at other ways of incorporating chiefs into democratic structures.

Until recently the Khoen and San systems of governance and 'traditional' leadership were not recognised. In practice their institutions of leadership have been systematically undermined through processes of colonialism, apartheid and land dispossession. Attempts have nevertheless been made by San communities to reconstitute traditional leadership, and some communities are interested in using Article 26(1)(b) of the Constitution in order to ensure a voice in local government.

5.2.2 Government anthropologists on traditional leadership

Anthropologists attached to the DCD informed me of the enormous difficulties involved in attempting to address traditional leadership matters. They expressed reservations about reinforcing ethnic-based politics, but at the same time recognised that the politics of tradition could not be ignored. They stressed the need to research the current situation and consult with Khoi and San communities before embarking upon any processes of constitutional reform.

DCD anthropologists recently began a study on Nama, San and Griqua leadership structures. The task teams include DCD officials, experts and representatives from the Nama, San and Griqua communities. DCD officials believe that a Khoisan House of Traditional Leaders could play a significant role in facilitating interaction between these communities and provincial and national government structures. They envisage that such a body could be adapted to the specific needs of these communities. Possible adaptations to the House of Traditional Leaders model could include, for example, the incorporation of democratic features such as elections. They also anticipate that it will be a purely advisory body.⁹

⁹ The Anthropological Services section of the DCD recently completed a survey of Griqua communities and found that their notions of community leadership differ significantly from traditional leadership structures generally associated with Bantu-speaking Africans. They found that church leadership, which is passed down through certain family lines, often plays an important role in these communities. This form of leadership does not conform with conventional notions of African traditional leadership.

Nama, San and Griqua groups may opt for traditional leadership as a strategy for ensuring the Government's recognition of their specific cultural and developmental needs. In the past they were ignored by the apartheid Government and were simply assimilated within the homogenous generic category of "coloured". This is the first time that the state Anthropological Services has embarked on research into the history, resource base, social organisation and political structures of these communities.¹⁰

DCD anthropologists believe that 'traditional' leadership needs to adapt to the democratic and developmental challenges of post-apartheid South Africa. They are aware of the need to strike a balance between tradition and democratic values and practices. They are also sensitive to the dangers of entering into complicated chieftaincy disputes that could ultimately become an obstacle in the path of development. Their experiences in other parts of the country suggest that traditional leadership structures (e.g. chiefs and headmen) can play a valuable role in service delivery. This is particularly evident in parts of the country where local government is incapacitated and unable to ensure the effective delivery of social services.¹¹

5.2.3 The Constitution and San rights: the views of SASI's legal advisor

The land, language and cultural rights gains made by San under the ANC Government raise the question of whether an indigenous rights policy framework is in fact necessary in South Africa. This is a question that will need to be extensively debated by San communities.

According to SASI legal advisor Roger Chennells, the Constitution and the State's commitment to land restitution and redress provide an adequate framework for addressing San needs in South Africa. Rather than deploying scarce resources by taking such matters to the Constitutional Court, Chennells suggests that it may be strategically advisable to focus on the substantial task of translating existing San legal rights into social reality.

From this perspective, UN legal frameworks and debates on indigenous rights are not necessarily the key to unravelling the challenges facing San communities that are struggling to develop viable livelihood strategies on their newly won land. Chennells' perspective is a critical and strategic one that recognises the urgent need to address institutional weaknesses and intra-community divisions. These objectives are essential if socio-economic and cultural development is to take place at the KGNP and Platfontein.

Chennells' observations echo one of the key findings of this report, namely the need to translate land, cultural and political rights of San into reality. While San have made considerable gains in terms of land and language rights, they now need to give effect to these rights. Unless this happens, San rights could become toothless paper tigers. It would thus seem that it is in the spheres of institutional capacity-building, language development projects and livelihood strategies that the San ought to concentrate their efforts.

5.2.4 San civil society organisations

Table 5.1 outlines current details concerning San leadership and organisational structures. These are in constant flux and are likely to change in the near future.

¹⁰ The DCD anthropologists I met stressed that the constitutional accommodation of San and Khoi institutions would emerge through a systematic process of research and consultation. Meiring believes that this constitutional accommodation can only emerge following a process of ethnographic research, consultation and dialogue with the communities themselves. The Griqua National Forum has already submitted detailed proposals for the formulation of new institutional arrangements.

¹¹ Although DCD officials I spoke to stressed that the Government is attempting to be non-prescriptive, it would appear that the ANC has reservations in this regard. During the 1999 elections the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) sought to woo Nama, San and Griqua voters by promising to recognise their chiefs within a specially constituted House of Traditional Leaders. These promises have created expectations, conflict and confusion within some of these communities.

Table 5.1: Current San civil society organisations

Organisation	Chairperson or spokesperson	Approximate numbers	Settlement and province
!Xu Council and !Xu and Khwe Communal Property Association	Mario Mahongo	3 500	Schmidtsdrift, Northern Cape
Khwe Council and !Xu and Khwe Communal Property Association	Robert Derenge	1 100	Schmidtsdrift, Northern Cape
ǀKhomani Communal Property Association	Petrus Vaalbooi	250-400	Rietfontein and Gordonia District, Northern Cape, and Kagga Kamma, Western Cape
//Xegwi, no structure	Simon Segudu, spokesperson	30 adults (may be others)	Lothair, Lake Chrissie area, Mpumalanga
!Kung, no structure at present	/Uku/e Nai, spokesperson	200	Ngwaatle and Masetleng Pan, Botswana
/Xam, no structure	None (claims made by Khoesan Representative Council)	Unknown	Hopetown, Prieska, Colesburg, Brandvlei, Calvinia, Kenhardt

Source: Crawhall 1999

5.3 Representation, leadership structures and institutional culture

5.3.1 The Nama and San Forum

The establishment of a Nama and San Forum in March 1999 was the first step in the process of establishing a representative structure for dealing with Khoi and San issues. At this stage it is not yet certain what role 'traditional' leaders will have in this structure. According to DCD officials like Johan Meiring, all this needs to be established through ongoing research, consultation and community participation.¹²

5.3.2 Nama and San relations with Griqua

The DCD officials I spoke to acknowledged that it may be necessary for Nama and San to establish their own forum, just as the Griqua did when they established the Griqua National Forum (GNF). Since the San and Nama do not have the same level of institutional and political organisation as the GNF, the latter could end up dominating proceedings and marginalising the less-organised San and Nama communities. It was precisely this scenario that prompted the San and Nama to establish a separate forum at a March 1999 workshop in Upington.

The DCD and SASI are both aware that San and Nama do not have anything like the kind of institutional capacity of the Griqua. DCD anthropologist Johan Meiring pointed out prior to the formation of the GNF in 1997 that there was considerable tension and division among the various Griqua groupings. The more cohesive character of the current GNF leadership is the product of a lengthy process of negotiation and dialogue between the various Griqua communities. Under the leadership of Cecil le Fleur, the GNF has to some degree consolidated itself. Le Fleur was instrumental in promoting the idea of including Nama and San in a broader Khoisan National Forum. The DCD, SASI and San leadership envisage a similar process of consolidation but are acutely aware of the institutional difficulties facing them.

¹² According to Johan Meiring of the DCD's Anthropological Services, "The [DCD] task team will look at who represents these communities, whether it is a traditional leader, or an elected representative or a nominated person ... So it's not confined to traditional leadership; it's also concerned with social and political organisation more broadly ..."

5.3.3 Relations between ǀKhomani and Schmidtsdrift San leadership structures

Although the relationship between the leadership structures of the two major San groups is cordial, there are clearly marked differences between them regarding institutional culture, attitudes and aspirations.

The !Xu and Khwe leadership is drawn from the officer ranks within the military. These soldiers have little in common with the ǀKhomani San in terms of institutional culture and historical experiences. In addition, unlike the ǀKhomani, the !Xu and Khwe are deeply immersed in church-based organisational and cultural life.

5.3.4 The implications of differences in institutional culture

The situation of the ǀKhomani San differs significantly from that of the better-organised !Xu and Khwe at Schmidtsdrift. For over a decade the !Xu and Khwe have been exposed to the hierarchical military structures of the SADF, and they have evolved well-organised local community structures that reflect this exposure. They have also been exposed to NGO-driven institutional development initiatives for a considerably longer period than the ǀKhomani.

While this long-term involvement in military culture may have created opportunities for the development of leadership skills, especially among ranked soldiers, it has also reinforced patriarchal practices. By contrast, the ǀKhomani have a more flexible and informal leadership system built on the charismatic qualities of individual leaders such as Dawid Kruiper and Petrus Vaalbooi. It remains to be seen how these different San leadership and institutional legacies and capacities will impact upon development and governance issues in the future, but it seems likely that the bureaucratic institutional culture of the !Xu and Khwe will enable them to gain better access to government structures and resources.

5.3.5 Legal rights

Land, water and natural resource rights

The most urgent concern of San has been the acquisition of access to land and natural resources for agricultural and eco-tourism purposes. SASI has played an invaluable role in the successful land claim settlements at the KGNP and Platfontein. The key challenge now is to ensure that the land is used effectively and that resources and infrastructure are available to the benefiting communities.

Intellectual property rights

Roger Chennells has been involved in creating awareness of intellectual property rights by drawing attention to the capacity of communities to enter into collective contracts with outsiders. This could be particularly important given the evident interest of advertising agencies, film-makers, photographers and tourists in San.

South African law and indigenous rights

Indigenous rights are not recognised in South African law and there are no indications that this is likely to change in the foreseeable future. In fact, there remains considerable confusion over the meaning of the term 'indigenous'. As yet there is no accepted South African definition of the term, even though it appears twice in the Constitution (Articles 6 and 26). The Constitution's use of the term derives from the common South African usage of the word 'indigenous' in the context of the languages and legal customs of the Bantu-language speaking majority.¹³ In South Africa, as in other parts of southern Africa,

¹³ Of all South Africans, 76.7% are considered to be 'African', i.e. their mother tongue is a Bantu language. Whites of European descent comprise 10.9% of the population, coloureds 8.9% and Indians 2.6% (Statistics SA 1998).

the term ‘indigenous’ is used to distinguish the black African majority from the European and Asian settler minorities (Crawhall 1999).

5.3.6 Government’s position on indigenous rights

The Government’s use of the term ‘indigenous’ contrasts with that of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations (UNWGIP), which refers to non-dominant groups of people of aboriginal descent with distinct territorial and cultural identities. The ANC Government seems to be reluctant to take on board this UN definition of indigenous rights. One of the key reasons for this is its belief that the majority of “black” and “coloured” South Africans are in fact indigenous to South Africa.¹⁴ For example, when asked by a journalist whether the successful resolution of the †Khomani land claim reflected an intention on the Government’s part to recognise Khoi and San as ‘First People’, Minister Hanekom responded in the negative. He claimed that virtually all black South Africans had suffered under colonialism and apartheid and that it would not make sense to privilege one group on the basis of their autochthonous aboriginal status. From this perspective, redress of wrongs suffered would have to take account of the needs of all South Africans disadvantaged by racial legislation.¹⁵

The Government’s hesitancy to adopt international definitions of and conventions regarding indigenous rights stems from a belief that South Africa has specific and unique circumstances to address, which, it is argued, militate against the uncritical embracing of international conventions and legal policies pertaining to indigenous people. DCD anthropologist Johan Meiring corroborates this view:

We can only look into the definitions once we have a very good understanding of what’s really going on here on the ground. I think we should really understand the African, South African situation of these people very well before we can just accept international definitions or even the Convention itself.

Another important reason for the Government’s caution concerning indigenous politics is its distrust of ethnic politics, which it sees as divisive. Given the country’s historical legacy of apartheid and right-wing Afrikaner nationalism, and the bloody clashes between IFP and ANC supporters in KwaZulu/Natal and Gauteng over the past decade, it is not surprising that the Government is unwilling to encourage ethnic separatism.

5.4 Regional and international foreign policy implications

5.4.1 Human rights and the international community

The San land claim settlements at the KGNP and Platfontein and the Government’s excellent track record on San human rights have created a precedent that could have significant implications within the broader southern African region. Neighbouring countries will no doubt have taken note of South Africa’s sensitive and progressive policies towards Khoi and San communities. The Government’s positive and sympathetic engagement with these issues is also likely to have significant international ramifications as Nama, San and Griqua groups increasingly become regular contributors at UN forums and in global debates on indigenous rights.

The Government is beginning to recognise San as a national asset not only in terms of local and international tourism, but also in relation to South Africa’s international status. It is increasingly acknowl-

¹⁴ The term “black” is often used to refer specifically to black Africans who speak Bantu languages. It is also used more broadly to refer to Indians, coloureds, Khoi, San and Africans, i.e. “non-whites”. The term “black”, like the terms “African” and “coloured”, is highly unstable and contested.

¹⁵ SASI linguist Nigel Crawhall believes that the Constitution ought to recognise the very specific circumstances of San in South Africa, specifically that their languages and cultural practices are extremely vulnerable and have virtually vanished. The new Constitution has in fact provided for state resources to be allocated for the promotion of indigenous languages through the creation of PanSALB.

edged that sensitive treatment of San issues can contribute substantially to enhancing South Africa's stature in the eyes of the international community. In view of the designation of the 1990s as the Decade of Indigenous People's Rights, such a strategy could also go a long way towards strengthening South Africa's hand in its efforts to gain a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. The San also feature prominently in President Thabo Mbeki's vision of an African Renaissance in South Africa, and on the continent as a whole.

5.4.2 San rights and regional politics

The Government is unlikely to be willing to risk alienating its neighbours by applying pressure on them regarding San human rights. Nevertheless, its own actions in this regard speak louder than words, as is abundantly evident in the response of †Khomani leader Petrus Vaalbooi to the Government's role in San land and language issues. It is noteworthy that Vaalbooi regularly attends regional and international gatherings of indigenous groups, where he presents a favourable impression of San relations with the South African Government:

I value what the Government has already done for us – the Kalahari San community. We are willing to work together with the Government in the future We are thinking of museum projects, artwork and all sorts of wonderful projects that the Government can assist us with. The Government is listening to us and is addressing our needs. They will also help us with workshops so that we can address problems such as alcohol and drug abuse among our people ... (PanSALB meeting, Upington, May 1999 – author's translation from Afrikaans).

5.5 Summary of Government's actions, awareness and policy development

Prior to the dismantling of apartheid, San were not officially recognised as a separate group and did not even feature in official statistics and census surveys. They were believed to be an extinct people. People of San ancestry were simply absorbed into the category "coloured". In addition, due to the negative and derogatory stereotypes and stigmas attached to being "bushman" and "hottentot", many people sought to suppress their San ancestry in order to pass as Afrikaans-speaking coloureds. It is only since the demise of apartheid and the coming into being of a new sense of pride in African cultural identity that Nama and San have begun publicly to reclaim their identities, languages, cultural practices and histories.

The response of the South African Government to the reclamations of Khoi and San during the 1990s has been mixed. Although former Minister of Land Affairs Derek Hanekom was extremely supportive of the †Khomani San as well as of the !Xu and Khwe, the ANC Government is still wary of encouraging aboriginal land claims or the formation of indigenous social movements similar to those in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States of America.

There are a number of distinctive features of the South African political landscape that are likely to shape the contours of San politics in South Africa. Firstly, the Land Restitution Act has a cut-off date of 1913, thereby effectively excluding aboriginal land claims based on land dispossession that occurred prior to this date. Secondly, the ANC Government is extremely cautious about reintroducing separatist ethnic political categorisations reminiscent of apartheid 'homeland' policies, also known as 'Separate Development'. Thirdly, the Government argues that the majority of 'non-white' South Africans suffered under colonialism and apartheid, and that it would therefore be inappropriate to single out any one ethnic group as a special case deserving of preferential redress by virtue of their 'First People' status. As a result of these factors, 'indigenous' political status is fraught with problems in the South African context.

Even though it was generally known that the San are the aboriginal population of the region, it is only since the 1990s that highly visible political groups have begun to make public claims to 'indigenous' status. These claims have emerged within the context of the new post-apartheid human rights culture

and the increased awareness of global discourse on indigenous rights. Also, the UN deemed the 1990s the Decade of Indigenous People's Rights.

5.6 Political and socio-economic status of the ǀKhomani

Prior to the 1994 democratic elections, San participation in mainstream national and regional politics was severely constrained by apartheid legislation. Nevertheless, some people of San ancestry were able to exercise limited political rights within the sphere of coloured political institutions. The poorer and more marginalised of these people would have been the least influential of the coloured population. They nonetheless qualified to vote in the Western Cape prior to 1955, when coloureds were removed from the Common Voters Roll. From 1955 until 1983, coloureds were able to vote for Coloured Representative Councils (CRCs), which anti-apartheid activists regarded as weak and illegitimate bodies. In 1983 coloureds were given the vote as members of the Coloured House of Representatives within a newly created Tricameral Parliament that comprised separate coloured, Indian and white legislatures. As was the case with the CRCs, anti-apartheid activists and the liberation movements were strongly opposed the Tricameral Parliament. In 1994 coloureds and San were able to cast their votes in the first national democratic election.

Despite the possibility that some people of San ancestry voted in previous elections for the CRC and Tricameral Parliament (House of Representatives), the ǀKhomani San were and still are a politically marginalised minority. The violence of colonialism and apartheid rendered San a tiny rural underclass eking out an existence on white farms in the Northern Cape and elsewhere in South Africa. Most San would not have had the opportunity to vote prior to the 1994 national elections. Even those who may have voted in CRC and Tricameral Parliament elections are unlikely to have had any direct influence in political processes and decision-making. It would appear that their background as exploited farm workers and members of a rural underclass remains an obstacle to San empowerment in post-apartheid South Africa.

5.7 Farm labour and ǀKhomani dependency: analysis of a culture of paternalism

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the majority of ǀKhomani San adults have worked as farm labourers under conditions of extreme poverty, hardship and exploitation. This background has profoundly shaped their political consciousness and disposition. It is well known that farm workers are among the most marginalised of the South African population. Their extreme poverty, job insecurity and coercive labour conditions have made them especially vulnerable and disempowered. These conditions also render them susceptible to alcohol abuse, which is actively promoted by the notorious '*dop* system' – a system of payment in kind whereby farmers pay workers with cheap wine. Many farm workers are also subject to brutality and summary dismissal.

It is also well known that farms in the Western Cape take on the form of 'total institutions' (Du Toit 1998), in which paternalism, surveillance and social control render workers docile and dependent. In addition, due to the ultra-conservative nature of the white farming community, farm worker unions and many political parties still face an uphill battle to gain access to farm workers. These experiences of physical and socio-political isolation and subjugation have contributed to a condition of marginalisation that continues to characterise the political culture of the ǀKhomani community. Any interventions in their current situation will need to directly address these legacies. Given the farm worker background of the ǀKhomani San, it may make sense for them to forge links with human rights initiatives such as the Rural Poverty Charter Movement.

While it is important to recognise the social problems associated with this farm worker background, it is also important to recognise that the Kaggga Kamma experience and KGNP land claim process have to

some degree enabled the ꞛKhomani San to break out of the straightjacket of regimes of paternalism to which they have become accustomed. Over the past decade, the ꞛKhomani have engaged with a range of outsiders including tourists, philanthropists, anthropologists, lawyers, NGO workers and government officials. This interaction has dramatically expanded their social and political repertoire and allowed them to begin to shape their own lives. However, this engagement with outsiders has clearly not always been on equal terms.

5.8 Looking beyond paternalism: ways of empowering the ꞛKhomani

Despite the constraints of these unequal patron-client relations, the ꞛKhomani San have become adept at devising ways of gaining access to resources. They have not simply internalised a passive and subservient role in their relations with powerful outsiders. Nevertheless, in many cases they have not had the opportunity to shape their destinies on their own terms. Access to their own land and resource base could begin to alter the asymmetrical nature of these power relations. To understand the limitations and opportunities pertaining to the San's capacity to exercise their formal political rights, it is crucial to factor into the equation this complex web of power relations.

The ꞛKhomani's prior encounters with a variety of forms of paternalism and charity will no doubt have important implications in terms of the development challenges that face them in the future. SASI has correctly identified institutional capacity-building as one of its priorities. The need to develop a strong leadership structures and a cohesive and effective CPA is urgent. By the time the community occupies the KGNP it will also need to have developed viable land-use plans. This planning process will require institutional and logistical support from SASI and the Government.

5.9 Analysis of the political status of the !Xu and Khwe

The !Xu and Khwe San were immediately granted full South African citizenship when they arrived at Schmidtsdrift from Namibia. The situation of the !Xu and Khwe is very different from that of the ꞛKhomani. For example, many of them have benefited from permanent employment as SANDF soldiers.

Also, for almost a decade the !Xu and Khwe have been involved in ongoing development processes initiated by the SADF in 1990 and taken over by the !Xu and Khwe Trust and the CPA. Some members of the community, especially the soldiers, have become adept at participating in development processes and procedures. These individuals are on the whole more aware of the discourse of development than the average ꞛKhomani community member. Another difference is that many among the !Xu and Khwe leadership have never had to endure the demeaning and demoralising experience of farm work. As a result they tend to be more empowered and assertive than the ꞛKhomani leadership.

Although their military training and background appears to advantage the !Xu and Khwe leadership, their immersion in military culture has reproduced male hierarchies that run against the grain of participatory democracy and development. In addition, their traumatic experiences of war and dislocation seem to have produced symptoms such as widespread alcoholism, social conflict and domestic violence. Moreover, they have also been subjected to the paternalistic approach of the South African military. For example, most community development projects at Schmidtsdrift in the past were initiated and run by the military. It remains to be seen how this legacy will impact on attempts to develop more democratic practices at Platfontein.

5.10 Upington workshop: analysis of San leadership in action

5.10.1 Leadership shortcomings

San leadership shortcomings were evident at a workshop held in Upington with the DCD in April 1999 to discuss the constitutional accommodation of the Nama, San and Griqua.¹⁶ Only a few individuals from the Nama and San delegations were able to fully understand and master the highly technical language used by some of the more educated representatives. On the whole, the ǀKhomani representatives seemed to be silenced and marginalised by the legalistic and bureaucratic language deployed by some of the representatives. The workshop drew attention to the unequal distribution of leadership capacity and bureaucratic literacy.

5.10.2 Calls for a separate Nama and San forum

The recognition of the unequal capacities of San, Nama and Griqua groupings led the DCD to recommend that separate forums be established for the Nama and San on the one hand, and the Griqua and Joe Little's Cape Cultural Heritage Organisation on the other. SASI and the ǀKhomani, !Xu and Khwe representatives agreed that the Nama and San would be overwhelmed by the numerical strength and leadership skills of the Griqua, who are already well ahead of the San in terms of their capacity to organise themselves as a lobby group. The DCD has in fact accepted this position, and is currently involved in separate investigations into the social and political organisation of Nama, San, Griqua and 'Khoisan' communities throughout South Africa.

5.11 A ǀKhomani perspective on the language question

ǀKhomani San leader Petrus Vaalbooi believes that the language issue is at the core of Nama and San concerns. Unlike Khoisan Representative Council (KRC) leader Martin Engelbrecht, Vaalbooi believes that the Government is in fact addressing San language needs. He argues that it makes more sense to co-operate with the Government rather than alienate it through threats. For example, Engelbrecht claimed that the KRC would boycott the 1999 elections if the ANC Government did not provide for the constitutional accommodation of Khoisan people. He had the following to say about how he views his people:

Yes, we were very unhappy that the Griquas came into the [PanSALB] meeting and tried to use big words to draw us into their vision and objectives. We have our own vision, our own objectives We feel very sad when people who call themselves Khoisan try to speak on our behalf. We have had huge problems with such people. We are not Khoisan, we are ǀKhomani San. We speak our own mother tongue. Our San speakers feel proud whether you call us San or Bushmen. We are not ashamed I, as the chairperson of the Association [ǀKhomani San CPA] and a participant in the negotiations on the language and land have a mandate from my community. I also have a mandate from my traditional leader to work on behalf of the San community. So I don't need to work on behalf of anyone else but the San ... (PanSALB meeting, Upington, May 1999 – author's translation from Afrikaans).

¹⁶ The Griqua comprise a number of different groupings. Martin Engelbrecht is the leader of the Khoisan Representative Council (KRC), one of the Griqua splinter groups. A few days before the May 1999 general elections Engelbrecht announced that he had entered into an election alliance with right-wing Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen. Engelbrecht and Viljoen apparently saw eye to eye on the question of ethnic self-determination. The ANC is particularly wary of this conservative brand of ethnic-nationalist politics. Having managed to avert a civil war by right-wing Afrikaner nationalists demanding an ethnic homeland (*volkstaat*), the ANC does not want to encourage this kind of ethnic separatist politics. San leaders such as Petrus Vaalbooi are aware of the ANC's position on ethnic self-determination and have managed to avoid alienating an ANC Government that has thus far been extremely accommodating and supportive of San causes.

5.12 Conclusions

Despite a reluctance to ratify international conventions on indigenous rights, or for that matter international definitions of the term ‘indigenous’, the ANC Government has responded sensitively to the dire predicament of the †Khomani, !Xu and Khwe San. For example, a negotiation process led by the DCD aims to address the specific needs and rights of San, Nama and Griqua communities. It remains to be seen, however, whether these marginalised communities will be able to give effect to political, cultural and language rights. In other words, it is one thing for a community to win back their land, but it is entirely another thing for them to develop viable livelihood strategies on such land. The San will have to face substantial development challenges in the years to come. NGOs such as SASI will have to continue to play a crucial role in facilitating development initiatives.

It remains to be seen whether the San leadership will reach out to non-San groups in order to achieve their goals. It is too early to tell whether San recognition of common objectives with the rural poor will lead them to participate in regional and national initiatives such as the Rural Poverty Charter. However, the fact that San were able to negotiate a mutually beneficial land claim settlement with their Mier neighbours bodes well for future co-operation across ‘ethnic’ lines.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Findings and conclusions

6.1.1 Post-apartheid San human rights

The ANC Government has a relatively good human rights record in respect of the San. The most fundamental challenge facing the San in South Africa today is to translate existing legal, political, land and cultural rights into tangible cultural and socio-economic development. Although the legal and political framework of the South African Constitution is both progressive and enabling, it remains to be seen whether San communities will be able to acquire the necessary institutional capacity and leadership skills to fully realise these democratic rights.

A South African indigenous rights movement with strong connections to the international community could assist in lobbying for support in this ongoing capacity-building process.

6.1.2 Political rights and participation

Government policies in the post-apartheid period have improved the political and economic status of San. San communities voted in the 1999 elections, and major political parties went out of their way to win San votes in the Northern Cape. However, their participation in the 1999 national elections is unlikely to have a direct impact at the local level.

San political leverage has been limited, and has tended to be exercised through NGOs and benefactors, thereby reinforcing existing patron-client relations.

6.1.3 Cultural and language rights

One of the crucial questions that San will have to address and debate is whether 'traditional' leadership structures are the most appropriate institutions for driving socio-economic development. Language and cultural rights are also going to be crucial topics for debate over the next few years.

San will need to decide whether to further pursue their objectives by constitutional means, or whether they can work adequately and effectively within the current constitutional framework.

6.1.4 San marginalisation

Despite the significant post-apartheid gains in terms of political, land and cultural rights, San communities in South Africa remain extremely marginalised in terms of socio-economic, political, language and cultural indicators. San experiences of colonial violence, dispossession and apartheid policies have resulted in socio-economic marginality. These processes have contributed to the assimilation of people of San ancestry into the apartheid category of "coloured".

The land claims process has contributed to a San cultural renaissance and pride in San languages and traditions. In reflecting on this cultural renaissance, however, one needs to acknowledge the implications of the fact that there are only a dozen known San speakers throughout South Africa. Language documentation projects are clearly crucial if others are to be taught San languages in the future.

6.1.5 Socio-economic conditions

Most San in South Africa are unemployed and dependent on a precarious economic resource base. San poverty and marginalisation manifest themselves in alcohol and drug abuse, as well as in high levels of domestic violence.

While a significant number of !Xu and Khwe soldiers have full-time employment in the SANDF, the recent spate of retrenchments has reduced the number of San soldiers.

The †Khomani San are dependent on erratic sources of income from a fluctuating Northern Cape tourist economy that is likely to continue to benefit the SANPB and white owners of ‘Bushman’ tourist camps such as Kagga Kamma. Many San have also worked under harsh and exploitative conditions as farm labourers.

It is unclear what livelihood strategies San will be able to adopt once they occupy their new land. Several factors could block San participation in social and economic activities. These could include dysfunctional organisational and leadership dynamics. Another inhibiting factor is likely to be a lack of formal education and skills demanded by an increasingly specialised job market.

6.1.6 Organisational and institutional obstacles to socio-economic development

Obstacles to communal economic development include deep divisions within San communities. These divisions have been exacerbated by delays in the provision of infrastructure and employment opportunities at the new farms. These problems have contributed to high levels of frustration and conflict.

It remains to be seen whether democratically elected and accountable CPA structures will be able to address the bread-and-butter issues of development and community-based natural resource management effectively. With the Platfontein and KGNP land claim settlements successfully concluded, the most important challenges for these San communities will be to create effective and cohesive community structures that facilitate the development of viable and sustainable livelihood strategies.

Although the Government has awarded the †Khomani, !Xu and Khwe valuable and productive land, it remains to be seen how community institutions will regulate access to these resources.

A potential obstacle to San development is the ongoing intra-community conflict over what form of local political and administrative structures to create. For example, there has been considerable conflict in the †Khomani community over whether to support ‘western’ or ‘traditional’ decision-making structures.

6.1.7 Major problem areas

Delays in the implementation of San resettlement schemes have occurred due to logistical and political problems at the level of provincial government. For example, the !Xu and Khwe have been living in tents at Schmidtsdrift for almost a decade waiting to be resettled at Platfontein. The Northern Cape Provincial Government has been blamed for these delays and this has caused tremendous anger and frustration. The †Khomani are also growing increasingly impatient waiting for infrastructural development to begin in the KGNP. This situation has contributed to already high levels of conflict.

Despite numerous NGO and state initiatives, there is still a widespread grassroots perception among San of their own political and economic marginality and disempowerment, and this has been exacerbated by delays in the implementation of land resettlement schemes.

6.1.8 Positive developments

Despite these implementation problems, the political status of San in South Africa has improved in recent years and stands out as a benchmark for the southern African region. There are indications that these positive developments could send a strong message to the Governments of neighbouring countries, encouraging them to improve upon their own relations with San communities.

There is strong evidence to suggest that numerous San voters supported the ANC in the 1999 national elections. This support can be attributed to the ANC Government's successful efforts to redistribute land to San communities in the Northern Cape. In addition the Government has been actively involved in attempts to address San cultural and language needs.¹⁷

SASI has played a positive role in preparing San communities for workshops and negotiating forums with state officials. Despite numerous problems, SASI has functioned as an extremely effective and constructive facilitator of interactions between San and the relevant governmental bodies.

Despite San leadership conflicts and divisions, strong local leadership is in fact emerging and gaining considerable experience and skills.

6.2 Recommendations

6.2.1 Socio-economic issues

What is needed more than anything else is an economic environment sufficiently diverse for the San to develop their own sustainable livelihood strategies. In other words, their dire material conditions need to be addressed with urgency and without outside prescription. Unless San communities enjoy socio-economic security, it will not be possible to sustain San cultural and language projects.

6.2.2 Confronting dependency and paternalism

In the past San have been beholden to powerful outsiders and patrons who have shaped their destiny and limited their options on the basis of a questionable understanding of what it means to be San. It ought to be up to San themselves to decide on appropriate livelihood and cultural projects. Outsiders ought not to continue to set the agenda. This outsider influence is often based on preconceptions and misconceptions of what it means to be "authentically San".

6.2.3 Development and institutional capacity-building challenges

Delays in the provision of housing and infrastructural development on newly acquired land have exacerbated San dependency and intra-community conflict. This situation has to be addressed urgently, and attention should also be given to ongoing institutional capacity-building and community development programmes.

¹⁷ For example, the DCD recently sent a high-level delegation – which included former DCD Minister Moosa – to meet with Khoi and San leaders. The meetings sought to develop ways of accommodating San political, cultural and language rights in the new constitutional dispensation. The ANC Government has also supported PanSALB and provided funding for workshops with San representatives to discuss ways of dealing with language issues.

6.2.4 Traditional leadership and communal property associations

Traditional leadership needs to be confined to specific cultural domains. Access to economic resources such as land and wild game ought to be regulated through democratically elected and accountable institutions like the †Khomani San CPA. Such institutions are also able to overcome the gender and age hierarchies and inequalities of traditional institutions.

Given the long-term effects of South Africa's history of colonial violence and apartheid, attempts to resuscitate 'pristine' traditional institutions and styles of leadership are likely to encounter problems. For example, recent attempts to recreate !Xu traditional leadership structures at Schmidtsdrift have led to conflict and division. This matter has to be addressed urgently.

These findings suggest that the political uses and abuses of tradition have to be carefully considered and debated by all members of these San communities. The role of outsiders (e.g. the State, tourists, NGOs and other patrons) in promoting romanticised notions of San tradition also has to be addressed.

The recent conflicts between San supporters of patriarchal traditional structures and those who advocate for democratically elected and accountable local institutions have seriously undermined San community development and social solidarity. These intra-community conflicts and socio-cultural and organisational dynamics require urgent and ongoing attention and resources.

6.2.5 Challenges and development strategies beyond the land claims

Although the †Khomani, !Xu and Khwe San have recently won land and cultural rights, these gains will amount to very little without a direct and concerted effort to confront the community development challenges lying ahead.

Well-planned community-based natural resource management strategies will have to be developed by way of intensive consultation and participation. Sensitive community development programmes and grassroots participatory planning initiatives will be needed to ensure that San communities are in a position to translate their newly won rights into viable and sustainable livelihood strategies.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
BDF	Botswana Defence Force
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources
CBNRM	community-based natural resource management
CCJP	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
CPA	Communal Property Association
CRC	Coloured Representative Council
DCD	Department of Constitutional Development
DGS	Direccao General de Seguranca (Portuguese secret police, Angola)
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
FAA	Forcas Armadas Angolana (Angolan Armed Forces)
FNLA	Frente Nacional de Libertaco de Angola
GRN	Government of the Republic of Namibia
KGNP	Kalahari Gemsbok National Park
KRC	Khoisan Representative Council
LAC	Legal Assistance Centre (Namibia)
LRF	Legal Resources Foundation (Zimbabwe)
MPLA	Movimento Popular de Libertaco de Angola (replaced by FAA)
NDF	Namibian Defence Force
NGO	non-governmental organisation
NP	National Party
PanSALB	Pan South African Language Board
PLAN	People's Liberation Army of Namibia (SWAPO pre-independence military wing)
RDC	Rural District Council
SADF	South African Defence Force (replaced in 1991 by SANDF)
SANDP	South African National Parks Board
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SASI	South African San Institute
SFF	Special Field Force (Namibia)
SWA	South West Africa (since 1990 Namibia)
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNITA	União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola
UNTAG	United Nations Transition Assistance Group
UNWGIP	United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VIDCO	Village Development Committee
WIMSA	Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union

SUMMARY

SOUTH AFRICA

Introduction

For centuries the San people of southern Africa have experienced colonial violence, ethnocide and dispossession which have pushed them into increasingly dry and marginal lands. By the beginning of the 20th century the remaining San in South Africa were to be found in the drought-prone areas of the Northern Cape. Consequently, today there are only a dozen known speakers of original San languages throughout South Africa.

Under apartheid the San were not even recognised as a distinct cultural group. Instead, like the Nama (Khoi) people, they were assumed to have become “extinct”. Consequently, many people of San ancestry were simply assimilated into the apartheid category of “coloured”. They were generally the poorest segment of the rural population and eked out an existence as labourers on white farms in the Northern Cape. This has continued to be their status up until the present.

In post-apartheid South Africa, however, change is possible. For the first time ever, San are being recognised as a distinct cultural group with constitutionally enshrined political and human rights. They have also benefited from the ANC Government’s commitment to redress their situation through the granting of land to San and through the protection of their cultural and language rights.

While San in South Africa have recently obtained land and cultural and language rights which they never had under apartheid, the challenge for the future is to transform these new rights into concrete social realities. Given the historical legacies of colonialism and apartheid, this will be an enormous challenge. In particular it will require institutional capacity-building and sustainable livelihood development initiatives. The majority of San in South Africa live under extremely poor socio-economic conditions. Any attempt to develop cultural projects will require that these basic material needs are addressed.

San socio-economic upliftment and the success of organisational development initiatives are interdependent. However, San development projects are being slowed down by a number of organisational bottlenecks in central and provincial government as well as community structures. It is precisely these institutional and organisational problems that are delaying the implementation of development plans at the two major San settlements: the !Xu and Khwe settlement at Schmidtsdrift military base located about 73 km west of Kimberley, and the †Khomani San settlements at Welkom and Witdraai near the entrance to the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park (KGNP).

Aims and objectives

This report aims to:

- describe the living conditions of the two major San communities in South Africa by including socio-economic data as well as information on San political, legal, cultural and language rights;
- provide an understanding of the experiences and perceptions of San communities;
- assess the social impact of San land resettlement schemes involving the !Xu, Khwe and †Khomani San in the Northern Province;
- describe the opportunities for and obstacles in the path of San development;
- identify empowerment and development strategies, and areas for further state and NGO support;

- evaluate the opportunities provided by and limitations of existing government and NGO development interventions and policies;
- describe and assess the contributions made by the new Government in the promotion of San land, cultural and language rights;
- assess the roles played by NGOs in the areas of institutional capacity-building and the development of income-generation opportunities, livelihood strategies and cultural and language projects; and
- evaluate what future role NGOs and communal property associations can play given the limited logistical capacity of both central and provincial government.

Findings

1. San communities in South Africa are extremely marginalised in terms of socio-economic, political, language and cultural indicators.
2. Socio-economic marginality and assimilation and social fragmentation are results of the devastating legacies of ethnocide and shattering encounters with colonial violence and apartheid. These legacies have manifested themselves in the social and physical dispersal of San and their assimilation into the apartheid category of “coloured”.
3. One of the most glaring indicators of San marginalisation is the fact that there are only a dozen known speakers of original San languages throughout South Africa.
4. Marginalisation and dislocation are expressed in alcohol and drug abuse as well as in high levels of domestic violence at Schmidtsdrift and in the KGNP area.
5. A consequence of this marginalisation is that San communities have not been able to take full advantage of new land, political and language rights.
6. San communities continue to be characterised by internal social divisions and conflict, and these problems will have to be addressed if newly acquired rights are to be translated into tangible social realities.
7. The majority of !Xu, Khwe and †Khomani San are living in conditions of dire poverty. They are generally unemployed and dependent upon a precarious economic resource base.
8. While a significant percentage (10%) of !Xu and Khwe San are employed by the South African National Defence Force as soldiers, recent retrenchments have reduced the number of San soldiers quite dramatically.
9. The †Khomani are dependent on erratic sources of income from the Northern Province tourist economy. Many †Khomani have worked under harsh and exploitative conditions as farm labourers. It is as yet unclear what livelihood strategies they will adopt once they occupy their new land.
10. Obstacles to San socio-economic development include deep intra-community divisions, which have been exacerbated by delays in the provision of infrastructure and employment opportunities at the new settlement farms. These problems have contributed to high levels of frustration and conflict. For example, there has been considerable conflict over whether to support ‘western’ or ‘traditional’ decision-making structures. This has serious implications for San socio-economic development.
11. San participated in the 1994 and 1999 national elections. In fact, all the major political parties went out of their way to win votes in San communities in the Northern Cape. However, this is unlikely to have any immediate impact at the local village level.
12. While government policy at the national level has generally been positive and constructive, delays in implementation have occurred due to logistical and political problems at the level of provincial government. For example, !Xu and Khwe have been living in tents at Schmidtsdrift military base for almost a decade due to Government’s delays in resettling them. This has caused tremendous anger and frustration. The †Khomani are also growing increasingly impatient waiting for infrastructural developments in the KGNP. This situation has contributed further to already high levels of alcohol abuse and violence.
13. Despite the land resettlement delays, the human rights and political status of San speakers in South Africa is positive and stands out as an example to be followed for the southern African region. There are indications that these positive developments could send a strong message to the governments of neighbouring countries, encouraging them to improve upon their own relations with San communities.

14. There is strong evidence to suggest that many San voters supported the African National Congress (ANC). This support can be attributed to the ANC's success in terms of land and housing delivery to San communities in the Northern Province. In addition the ANC Government has been actively involved in attempting to address San cultural and language needs. For example, the Department of Constitutional Development (DCD) recently sent a high-level delegation, including former DCD Minister Vaali Moosa, to meet with Khoi and San leaders. The meetings sought to develop ways to accommodate San political, cultural and language rights within the new constitutional dispensation. The Government has also supported the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) and provided funding for workshops with San representatives to discuss ways to deal with language issues.
15. The South African San Institute (SASI) has played a critical role in lobbying the Government and preparing San communities for workshops with government officials. SASI has been a constructive facilitator of relations between San and the Government.
16. Despite numerous NGO and government initiatives, there is still a widespread grassroots perception among San of political and economic marginality and disempowerment. This has been exacerbated by bureaucratic delays in the implementation of the land resettlement process.
17. The recent land settlements at Platfontein and the KGNP have the potential to alter this scenario, but there are numerous organisational obstacles preventing effective community development initiatives in these settlements.

Conclusions and recommendations

1. What is needed more than anything else is an economic environment that is sufficiently diverse for San to develop their own sustainable livelihood strategies. In other words, their dire material conditions need to be addressed with urgency and without outside prescription.
2. Without socio-economic security it will not be possible for San cultural and language projects to become viable and sustainable.
3. In the past San have been beholden to powerful outsiders and patrons who have shaped their destiny and limited their options on the basis of questionable understandings of what it means to be San. It ought to be up to San themselves to decide upon appropriate livelihood and cultural projects. Outsiders ought not to continue to set the agenda based on preconceptions and misconceptions of what it means to be 'authentically San'.
4. Government delays in the provision of housing and infrastructural development need to be urgently addressed.
5. The question of traditional leadership has to be addressed with sensitivity. Attempts to resuscitate 'pristine' traditional institutions and styles of leadership are likely to lead to further conflict and division. The recent history of intra-community conflict over the traditional leadership question calls for serious attention to be given to ongoing institutional capacity-building and community development programmes.
6. The sphere of influence of traditional patriarchal leadership should be clearly defined and circumscribed. Access to economic resources such as land and wild game ought to be regulated through democratically elected and accountable institutions like the †Khomani San Communal Property Association. Representative and accountable institutions of this kind have the potential to overcome traditional gender and age hierarchies and inequalities.
7. The political uses and abuses of tradition need to be addressed and debated by all members of San communities. The role of outsiders (e.g. the State, tourists, NGOs and other patrons) in promoting romanticised ideas of San tradition which have no historical basis also needs to be addressed.
8. Although the !Xu, Khwe and †Khomani have recently won land and cultural rights, these gains will amount to very little without a concerted effort to confront directly the community development challenges that lie ahead.
9. Well-planned community-based natural resource management strategies will have to be developed over time through intensive consultation and participation. Sensitive community development programmes and grassroots participatory planning initiatives will be needed to ensure that San communities are in a position to turn their newly won rights into viable and sustainable livelihood strategies.

SUMMARY

ANGOLA AND ZAMBIA

Database

The review of the published and unpublished literature as listed in the bibliography of this report reflects the absence of any relevant recent research of which we are aware on the actual situation of San in Angola and Zambia. For this reason the main sources of information on San in Angola were interviews conducted in October and November 1999 with immigrants who had recently fled from Angola into Namibia and Zambia, as well as with a few individuals working for UNITA in the southern part of Angola. Much time was wasted because rumours of the existence of San communities in Angola and Zambia had to be followed up and many eventually proved false. Oral traditions on the history of the Kxoe San as known to the elders have been recorded in the Kxoe language and translated by the writer of this report since 1996. All information presented in the report without reference to specific sources derives from these oral traditions.

The author of this report is a researcher at the Institut für Afrikanistik, University of Cologne, Germany, and has been conducting extensive fieldwork with the Kxoe people of West and East Caprivi since April 1996. At that time the collection of quantitative data was initiated because no specific demographic information on the Kxoe communities was available. The statistical information provided in this report is based on a census exercise that was carried out in 1996 and 1997 during visits to all Kxoe settlements in Namibia, during survey trips to Kxoe communities in Botswana, Zambia and Angola. The updated information on San communities in Angola and Zambia derives from research activities carried out between October and December 1999. Information pertaining to San in subsequent published and unpublished reports, including news in the media, has also been incorporated in the report.

San in Angola

Fewer than 1 000 San live in Angola today, though in November 1999 the San population in Angola was estimated to be between 1 000 and 1 500. This decrease in the population is the result of migration to Namibia and Zambia following the intensification of military operations between the FAA and UNITA in December 1999. This most recent exodus of San from Angola may lead to the almost complete disappearance of San in Khoisan-speaking communities in Angola.

Several thousand San, mainly members of !Xu and Kxoe communities, used to live in the southern parts of Angola, but over the last few decades most of them have migrated south to Namibia, while a few have migrated to Zambia in the east. This has been a direct consequence of war, which for more than 40 years has determined their living conditions. Poorly educated San, who even today are widely regarded by their Bantu-speaking neighbours as inferior, were easy to recruit into foreign armies with promises of income and status. From the early 1960s onwards San were employed by the Portuguese to fight against the various liberation armies in Angola. In 1974 and 1975 these San soldiers fled to Namibia and became involved in another war, now fighting for the South African Defence Force (SADF) against the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). Many San civilians were killed by soldiers from all sides involved in the war, and entire settlements were wiped out in Angola when San soldiers fled to Namibia in 1974.

The traditional skills of San in utilising natural resources and hunting have all but vanished. Warfare has become a way of life for many Angolan San, and it continues to affect their lives even following their migration to Namibia. Most San children are today brought up in such a way that they cannot survive in

the bush by themselves – the necessary knowledge and skills have quite simply been lost. In addition, most wild animals have been killed and collecting sites for veld products have been destroyed in the war. Reports that San also hunt with automatic weapons in Angola are common. This is incompatible with the sustainable use of natural resources which is said to have characterised San in the past.

While numerous San from Angola were able to exploit the independence wars in Angola and Namibia to make a living as employees in the armies of the former colonial powers, very few are actively involved in the present fighting between the FAA and UNITA.¹ Even as civilians, however, San experience that most aspects of their cultural, educational, healthcare and socio-economic environments are directly influenced by the current war in Angola.

As long as the unstable situation in southern Angola persists, it will not be feasible to support San in that country in respect of land and cultural rights. San have survived the war in Angola thus far by maintaining a low profile and not taking a stand for or against any side. Activities like land rights campaigns might draw attention to them and expose them to the risk of persecution. Nevertheless, support should be given to San from Angola who now reside in Namibia and Zambia.

The Angolan turmoil prevented any visit being undertaken for this assessment. As soon as circumstances allow, such a visit should be undertaken. What can be done even now, however, is to make contact with San refugees in Namibia along the Angolan border and in resettlement schemes in the Owambo regions and elsewhere in the country. A Kwanyama-speaking consultant would most probably be able to come up with a more detailed assessment of the current situation of San in Angola.²

San in Zambia

In November 1999 there were fewer than 130 San living in the Republic of Zambia, but the extension of military operations into the south-eastern part of Angola in December 1999 triggered another wave of migration. Reprisal attacks on civilians were also reported from the vicinity of Rivungu and significant numbers of refugees have crossed the border (the Kwando River) in this area. Even though no figures for 'new' San refugees are available, one can reasonably assume that approximately 300 Kxoe are among the refugees who have recently arrived in Zambia.

With the exception of a family of four members north of Sesheke, all San living in Zambia today came from Angola after the late 1960s. They are all Kxoe from the Buma and Ngarange areas of Angola. In 1971 and 1972 these San were registered as refugees by the UNHCR in Zambia. Before the arrival of the 'new' refugees there were only two Kxoe communities of about 50 members each and no other San communities in the whole of Zambia.

One of these communities lives in Meheba Refugee Camp on the border with the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the other lives on the Sioma plains. The Kxoe in the refugee camp have been isolated from their relatives for over 29 years. An attempt should be made to assist them to make contact with their relatives in Zambia, Namibia and Botswana. The Sioma plains Kxoe settlement may have grown significantly following the arrival of new waves of refugees from Angola. These Kxoe live in their own village and would need support to clarify their legal status within Zambia. They are not currently entitled to receive drought relief and are also excluded from other governmental services. They depend on support from the Catholic Mission in Sioma.

Assistance is required to overcome the problems experienced by the two San communities in Zambia. As they are both very small, an individual approach in eliciting co-operation with Zambian officials may prove successful.

¹ A few San are members of the Namibian Defence Force (NDF) and there are also a few San in the Botswana Defence Force (BDF).

² The situation of San immigrants from Angola is dealt by James Suzman in the report on San in Namibia in this report series.

PART 2
ANGOLA AND ZAMBIA

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for the

LEGAL ASSISTANCE CENTRE (LAC)

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Angola and Zambia are the northernmost southern African countries in which San¹ live today, and their living conditions in these two countries differ in almost all respects from those elsewhere in the region. However, the history and linguistic affiliations of the San communities cannot be adequately described within national boundaries. Terms like ‘Angolan San’ and ‘Zambian San’ make no sense in referring to specific San communities in these countries, because members of one and the same family live in both countries, as well as in Namibia and Botswana. Thus for the purposes of this report, national boundaries are not considered pertinent in relation to the different San groups and their histories.

War has dominated the lives of Angolans for most of the past 40 years. Evidently the situation is difficult for Angolans in general, and San in Angola seem to be no exception. Regarding human rights violations against San (and other Angolans), the areas north of the Owambo regions (formerly known as Owambo-land) on the Namibia-Angola border were most affected by UNITA attacks until February 2000. During these years UNITA did not threaten the people in the area east of the Cubango River (known in Namibia as the Kavango River). Nevertheless, the general situation in this part of Angola was insecure as well, because criminal activities like robbery and even murder were widespread and not followed up by any official force.

In mid-December 1999 the FAA launched an offensive against UNITA troops in the south of Angola which changed the situation: UNITA lost control over most of the Angola-Namibia border area, but at the time of writing (March 2000) there is no information available on how the recent developments have changed the living conditions of San in Angola.

¹ The Sandawe and Hadzapi live much further north in central Tanzania and speak languages commonly classified as belonging to the Khoisan language family.

CHAPTER 2

SAN IN ANGOLA AND ZAMBIA

This assessment of the situation of San in Angola and Zambia focuses on San who live permanently in San communities and who speak languages belonging to the Khoisan language family. It therefore does not take into account the numerous San individuals who either live permanently in non-San communities or who move about outside of San communities in search of employment. Isolated San families will be mentioned but not discussed in detail.

In November 1999 the total number of San in Angola who still speak a Khoisan language was less than 1 300. This number may have decreased to below 1 000 following the intense fighting between UNITA and FAA troops in December 1999 and early 2000.

In November 1999 the number of San in Zambia – all of whom are Kxoe San – was about 130, with 107 of them living in San communities. The arrival of Kxoe refugees from Angola may have increased the San population to 400 by February 2000.

From a linguistic and historical perspective, all San from Angola and Zambia come from one of three ethno-linguistic groups: Kwadi (only in Angola), !Xu (in Angola, Namibia and South Africa) and Kxoe (in Namibia, Botswana, Zambia and South Africa, and possibly still in Angola).

2.1 Population figures and recent migrations

2.1.1 Angola

In the absence of any census data, estimates of the number of San in Angola are today (as they have always been) highly speculative.

The !Xu in Angola

The following data for numbers of !Xu in Angola for different periods were either found in the literature or estimated by the writer of this report.

Table 2.1: Numbers of !Xu in Angola in the period 1940-2000

Year/s	Number of !Xu	Source
1940s and 1950s	3 500	De Almeida 1965
1950	4 000	Gusinde 1952
1956	1 000-1 500*	Westphal 1956
1960	5 000 or more	Estermann 1976
1970	3 000 total San*	Scott 1996
1974	8 000	M.B. [†]
1978	2 000	M.B.
1987	8 000*	Burger 1987
1998	6 000*	Perrott 1998
1999	1 000 or less	M.B.
2000	1 000 or less	M.B.

* These estimates seem far too high.

† The author, Dr M Brenzinger.

Only those population figures which match the bulk of the information available for given periods were included in the table above. It seems that the numbers of !Xu increased between the 1940s and the 1970s from 3 500 to 8 000. Then between 1974 and 1978 approximately 6 000 !Xu left Angola as a result of the Portuguese withdrawal: approximately 4 000 !Xu, mainly Mpungu !Xu, went to West Bushmanland in Namibia (then South West Africa), and 2 000 Vasekela !Xu went to live at the SADF Omega base in West Caprivi in Namibia. When the SADF withdrew from Angola and Namibia in 1989, some 3 000 !Xu left for South Africa, where they still live today.

Following Namibia's independence in March 1990, the 'West !Xu' who had remained in Angola during the struggle for independence also started leaving for Namibia, as UNITA attacks on presumed SWAPO supporters placed them in danger of being killed. This situation deteriorated particularly between 1997 and November 1999, and the number of !Xu in Angola further declined to probably under 1 000. Most of the West !Xu who left Angola live in resettlement schemes of the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR) in the Ohangwena Region of Namibia. The most recent developments (i.e. since December 1999) have caused more Angolans to flee to Namibia, among them also some !Xu.

The Kwadi/Kwepe in south-western Angola

The smallest and least-known San communities live in the south-western part of Angola. The sizes of these communities and the genetic classification of their original languages are unknown, and there is no coherent information available at present in these respects, even regarding ethnic names. Knowledge of Khoisan languages in this part of Angola, if there is any such knowledge at all, is restricted to a few old people. However, while they have adopted the Bantu languages of neighbouring groups, cultural assimilation has not entirely eliminated their ethnic identity, as they have specialised as blacksmiths.

De Almeida (1965) identified about 50 San individuals who were speakers of Kwadi in the 1940s and 1950s. Michael Bollig visited the area in 1997 and heard of a few individuals who are said to still speak a Khoisan language (Bollig, personal communication).

The Kxoe in south-eastern Angola

The following data for the numbers of Kxoe in south-eastern Angola were found for different periods:

Table 2.2: Numbers of Kxoe in Angola in the period 1952-2000

Year	Number of Kxoe	Source
1952	400-500	De Almeida 1965
1965	2 000-3 000	M.B. [†]
1975	200	M.B.
1999	200-300	M.B.
2000	Only a few individuals, most having fled to Zambia	M.B.

[†] The author, Dr M Brenzinger.

According to oral traditions of the Kxoe, the south-eastern part of Angola was home to two Kxoe groups. In the 1960s the Buma Kxoe, who used to live south of the Luyana River in an area that stretches into West Caprivi in Namibia, numbered most probably between 1 000 and 2 000. The Ngarange Kxoe in the area between the Huthembo River and Rivungu on the Zambian border numbered about 1 000 at that time. Between 1965 and 1975 all Buma Kxoe and the majority of Ngarange Kxoe fled from this area to Namibia and Botswana, and to a lesser extent to Zambia.

In November 1999 there were only four Ngarange Kxoe villages in the area near Rivungu, comprising a total of 200-300 inhabitants. In the entire Buma area of Angola at that time there was only one isolated family of Buma Kxoe, with 12 members, and one Vasekela !Xu family. When the fighting between the

FAA and UNITA spread to this area in December 1999, many Angolans, probably including the Ngarange Kxoe, fled to Zambia.

2.1.2 Zambia

In November 1999 the total San population in Zambia, all of them Kxoe, numbered around 120-130, with 107 living in the two Kxoe-speaking communities in Zambia. Both communities are comprised of refugees who fled to Zambia in the early 1970s from the Ngarange area of Angola. One of the groups, comprising 55 members, has been living in Meheba Refugee Camp near Solwezi on the border with the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) since 1971. The second group, comprising 53 members and about 10 ‘floating’ individuals, are subsistence farmers on the Sioma plains.

The fighting in south-east Angola in December 1999 and early 2000 caused people to flee to Zambia. Between October 1999 and 8 February 2000, the Regional Office of the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) in Lusaka registered 23 668 new refugees from Angola in Zambia. Although it can be assumed that most of the Ngarange Kxoe are among them, no information is currently available on the “new” Ngarange Kxoe refugees.

Table 2.3: Data on San (all Kxoe) in Zambia

Year/s	Number of Kxoe	Source	Elucidation / Comment
1920s	40-60 Buma Kxoe	M.B. [†]	From Angola – now referred to as ‘Ngweze Kxoe’
1940s	100	Clark 1951	
1970	1 000*	Scott 1996	
1971	200-400	M.B.	100-300 Ngweze Kxoe and 100 Ngarange Kxoe
1979	100 Ngarange Kxoe	M.B.	Ngweze Kxoe deported to Wayawayaya, Namibia, by the SADF
1998	1 San family	Scott 1996	
1998	1 600*	WIMSA	
1999	107	M.B.	
2000	300-400	M.B.	Probably including 200-300 new Kxoe refugees

* These estimates seem far too high.

† The author, Dr M Brenzinger.

The term ‘Ngweze Kxoe’ in Table 2.3 is introduced to refer to a group of Kxoe who settled in Zambia between the 1920s and 1979. The term derives from the name of the village Ngweze, from which the Sioma Ngweze National Park also takes its name. Today this park covers an area in which Kxoe from Buma have hunted for as long as people can remember.

In the 1920s some Buma Kxoe families (the Ngweze Kxoe) went to that area, which was rich in game and veld products.² In the 1970s the Ngweze Kxoe lived in two villages: in Kalobolelwa on the western banks of the Zambezi River, 60 km north of the Namibian town of Katima Mulilo; and in Makanda (also known as Solola), some 20 km south of Ngweze village next to the Namibia-Zambia border.

The SADF deported the Ngweze Kxoe to Namibia during its offensive into Zambia in October 1979. Near Wayawayaya, in an area still known today as “the fence”, the Ngweze Kxoe were forced to remain within a fenced-off area for several months until the SADF provided them with ID documents. Only very few of them stayed behind in Zambia and still live there today.³

² “It was in this inhospitable area (most likely the Sioma plains) that we came across two Bushmen, the first I had ever seen. My head messenger told me that very occasionally they appeared there, hundreds of miles from their usual habitat to the south” (Jones 1964: 379). This observation was not dated by Stanley Jones, who first arrived in the Lozi area in 1918 and was appointed Native Commissioner of the Nalolo District in 1925. We can assume that he met Ngweze-Kxoe on the Sioma Plains in the 1920s.

³ A few elderly Kxoe individuals live among Bantu-speaking communities north of Sesheke town. One family is settled in the “Sakulinda” village near Mazaba in the Chilulo valley of the Njoko River that flows into the Zambezi at Lusu. The four members of the Sakulinda family, with a Kxoe father and a Mbukushu mother, are not fluent in the Kxoe language and do

In 1996, Guy Scott, a Member of Parliament in Zambia at the time, took up the SADF abduction of the Ngweze Kxoe in an article titled “They stole our bushmen”. Although the article conveys concern about the situation of San in Zambia, he was not aware of the Kxoe who still live on the Sioma plains and those in Meheba Refugee Camp.

2.2 Linguistic affiliation and geographic distribution

The languages spoken by the San communities in Angola and Zambia are classified under three different branches of the Khoisan language family.

2.2.1 Kwadi and Kwepe

In the south-western part of Angola, San are often collectively referred to as ‘Koroka’, a term deriving from the name of the major river in the area south of Namibe. The origins of the designations Kwadi, Kede (or SaMu !Kwe), Kwepe (Cuepe, !Kwa /tsi, Koroka, Coroca), Kwisi (Cuissi, Mbundyu) and Kwandu are unclear. The latter two groups are said to have been speaking a Bantu language for a long time. Very little is known about the current situation of these people or their language. Information for the period 1924-1960 can be found in Father Carlos Estermann’s publications. Antonio de Almeida, who led five major expeditions in Angola, contributes some information on the period 1940-1950 (De Almeida 1965).

For lack of linguistic research, most languages must remain unclassified for the time being. The language of the Kede (which by now may be extinct) belongs to the Khoisan family. Estermann (1976: 28) comments: “Thus the Kwisi speak the [Bantu] language of the Kuvale and the Kede are losing their mother tongue, which was a Hottentot [Nama/Damara] dialect, and adopting the Kwanyama language ... The mysterious and now almost extinct Koroka, or better, Kwepe (!Kwa /tsi) may perhaps constitute a mixture of the two elements [Kwisi and Kwandu].” (ibid.: 29) It should be noted that Estermann does not use the ethnonyms in a consistent manner, and that he makes contradictory statements on the genetic classification of the languages spoken by these ethnic groups.

The number of speakers of these languages is not known. While some state that there are still a few speakers (Michael Bollig, personal communication), others say that nobody speaks the Kede and Kwepe languages anymore.

2.2.2 !Xu

All Angolan !Xu (or !Kung) are considered to speak ‘northern’ dialects of !Xu, and three !Xu groups can be distinguished on the basis of dialectal variation. According to !Xu themselves, the tongues spoken by West !Xu and Mpungu !Xu – neither term being used by !Xu themselves – differ mainly in that the first has borrowed many Kwanyama terms, while the latter has borrowed terms from Kwangali and Nyemba. The Vasekela !Xu are said to speak a dialect quite distinct from the previous two northern !Xu dialects. Communication is nevertheless still easy between speakers of all three northern !Xu dialects.

West !Xu

In the area between Lubango to the north-west, the upper Kuroka River to the south-west and the Cubango (Okavango) River to the east, pockets of West !Xu communities are still present today. They live predominantly in close contact with Kwanyama farmers for whom they work and hunt. According to Estermann (ibid.: 3), they numbered about 750 in the 1960s.

not speak this language in daily conversation. However, they claim to have in-migrated to their present homes from the Ngweze area.

Exodus of San out of Angola since 1970

according to M. Brenzinger March 2000

-  former distribution of San
-  possible location of San settlements
-  San settlements

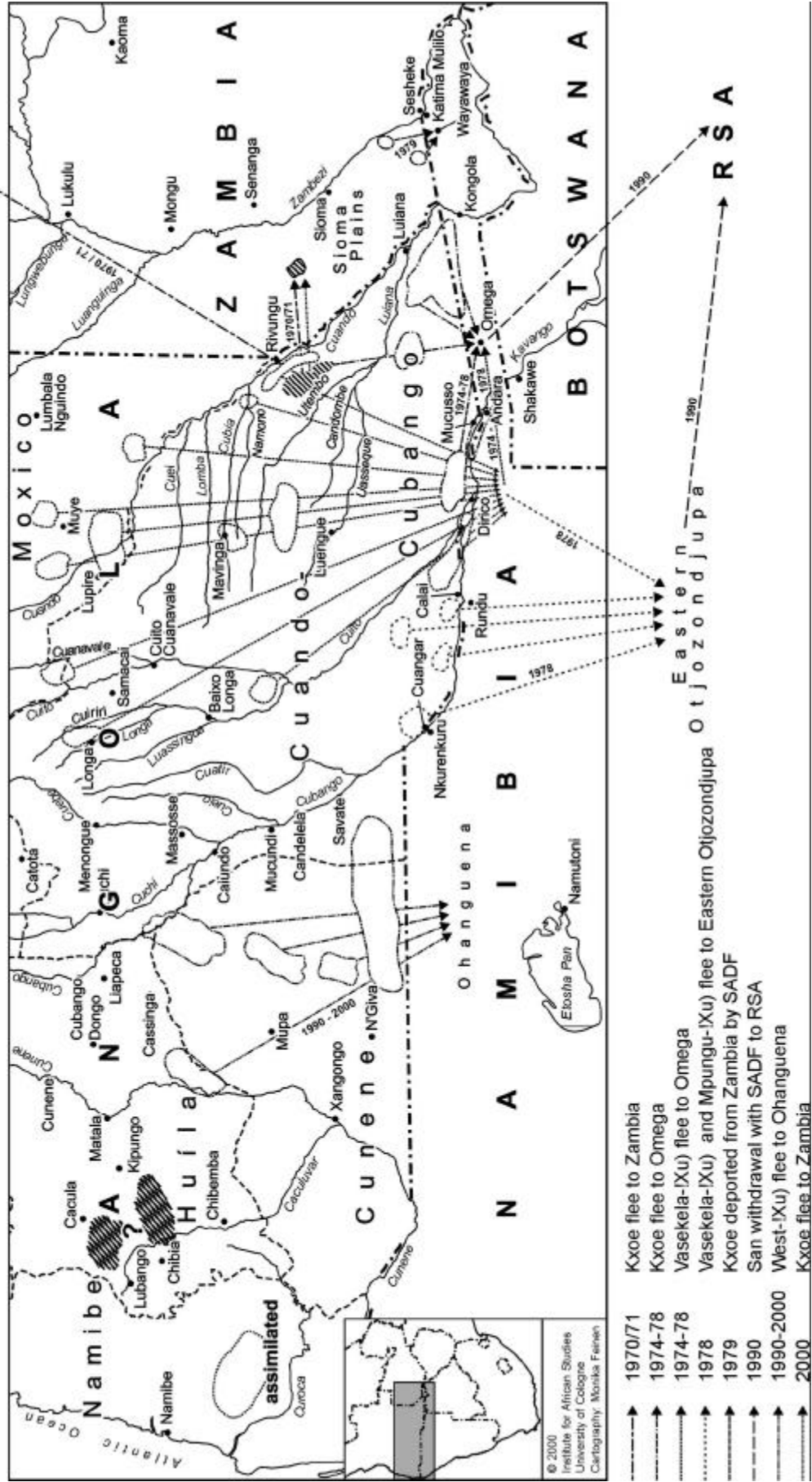


Figure 2.2

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 Cartography: Monika Feiten

The majority of the West !Xu left Angola after the country became independent. A total of about 800 Angolan !Xu joined Namibian !Xu to live in the MLRR resettlement schemes at Ekoka, Eendobe and Onamatadiva in the Ohangwena Region of Namibia. According to information provided by Angolan West !Xu in Namibia, a few hundred West !Xu still live among the Kwanyama in Angola, including, for example, about 40 near Mulunga (Melungu), but their numbers are constantly decreasing. Between 1997 and 1999 many West !Xu, together with ‘their’ Kwanyama farmers, crossed the border into Namibia because they were being targeted in UNITA attacks which were reportedly becoming more frequent and violent during this period. These UNITA attacks are said to have affected San and Kwanyama equally. During late 1999 and early 2000 there was an upsurge in military operations, which led to further migrations to Namibia from this area.

Mpungu !Xu

The so-called Mpungu !Xu used to live to the east of the West !Xu area together with Kwangali and Nyemba – roughly in the area between the Cubango River and the area north of the town of Rundu in Namibia. No reliable information on the number of Mpungu !Xu in Angola is available, and the only report was of a group of five !Xu who regularly visit the local chief of the Angolan area next to the Kavango (Cubango) River some 20 km west of Rundu. The few remaining Mpungu !Xu in Angola are still highly mobile and do not work for farmers of other groups as West !Xu do.

The major exodus of Mpungu !Xu from Angola took place between 1974 and 1978 when they left to join the SADF in West Bushmanland (today Eastern Otjozondjupa Region). Most of the 4 000 ‘Vasekela’ in the SADF’s 203 Battalion based in West Bushmanland were in fact Mpungu !Xu. Only a few Mpungu !Xu came to join 31 Battalion (later referred to as 201 Battalion) at the SADF’s Omega base in West Caprivi. In 1989 many Mpungu !Xu withdrew along with the SADF to South Africa. It was not possible to establish how many of the 4 776 San counted in the National Drought Relief Census of 20 April 1998 (see Felton 1998) are Mpungu !Xu from Angola.

Vasekela !Xu

The Mpungu !Xu were followed to the east by the Vasekela !Xu. Like the Mpungu !Xu, most Vasekela !Xu left Angola between 1974 and 1978 to join the SADF. The majority went to the SADF base at Omega in West Caprivi, but some went to West Bushmanland (Eastern Otjozondjupa). In 1989 many Vasekela !Xu withdrew along with the SADF to South Africa, and about 300 remained in West Caprivi. While some 120 still live at Omega, most of those who lived at Mutc’iku moved to West Bushmanland between 1995 and 1999.

A group of 40-50 Vasekela !Xu left Mutc’iku in West Caprivi to return to Angola in 1991. They joined the approximately 250 highly mobile Vasekela !Xu in the area around the lower Cuito River at Xamavera and Dciriku up to about 80 km north of the border between Namibia and Angola in 1999. No !Xu can be found further north any longer, not even at Mavinga, a major !Xu centre in the past. The !Xu have also abandoned the entire area between Cacuchi (Mucusso) and Rivungu, and in 1999 there is only one Vasekela !Xu family living some 30 km north of Bwabwata in the Buma area.

2.2.3 Kxoe

Kxoe speak a language classified under the ‘Central’ branch of the Khoisan language family. According to a census carried out by the author in 1996 and adjusted to the actual situation, the Kxoe number about 7 000 in total. West Caprivi, with about 3 000 Kxoe inhabitants, is the core area of this community. Kxoe also live in a wider area which may be referred to as ‘migration territory’, as Kxoe have always been present there. This migration territory includes East Caprivi with some 400 Kxoe, Ngamiland in Botswana with 2 000 to 2 500 Kxoe, Angola with about 200-300 Kxoe and Zambia with 130 Kxoe. Some 1 000 Kxoe left together with the SADF in 1989 and 1990 to Schmidtsdrift near Kimberley. These Kxoe are now citizens of the Republic of South Africa, and some remain members of the (renamed) South

African National Defence Force (SANDF). Closely related to the Kxoe in culture and language are the //Ani Kxoe, who live along the Kavango River in Botswana and number 1 230 (Brenzinger 1999).

The major Kxoe groups – on the basis of shared history and geographical area – are the //Xo Kxoe, the //Xom Kxoe, the Buma Kxoe and the Buga Kxoe, all four of these groups being in close contact with each other. The Ngarange Kxoe in the Rivungu area of Angola and the Ngweze Kxoe who formerly lived in south-western Zambia and today live in Wayawayaya, Namibia, are in diaspora settings.

Dialectal variation might have been more prominent in the past, but given the concentration of Kxoe of disparate cultural and linguistic backgrounds who were forced by the SADF to live in close proximity, these differences have almost disappeared among the younger generations. Communication between the members of different groups is therefore not difficult. Only when Kxoe in East Caprivi use words loaned from Lozi in their dialogue, or when Buga Kxoe use words loaned from Setswana, do meanings have to be clarified through recourse to equivalent Kxoe terms.

Ngarange Kxoe

In November 1999 all 200-300 Kxoe in Angola lived in only four villages in the west and south-west of Rivungu. This area is commonly referred to as ‘Ngarange’, and the people who live there are referred to as ‘Ngarange Kxoe’, this also being the ethnonym used by the Ngarange Kxoe themselves. Most of the approximately 1 000 Ngarange Kxoe had left Angola by the mid-1970s to join the SADF at the Omega base in West Caprivi. The military operations of UNITA and the FAA have subsequently reached their settlements and most of them have probably left to live with their relatives in Zambia.

Both of the established settlements of Kxoe in Zambia are inhabited by Ngarange Kxoe who fled from the war in Angola in the early 1970s. One of these communities, comprising 52 members, lives on the Sioma plains, while the 55 members of the other community live in Meheba Refugee Camp next to the border with the DRC. The latter group have lived isolated from their relatives for nearly 30 years.

Buma Kxoe

Buma is the area in Angola stretching south and south-west from the Luyana into Namibia, including Omega and Bwabwata. In 1989 one Kxoe family returned to live in the heart of the original Buma area (although they might have left in January 2000.) The Buma Kxoe used to live in the Buma area of Angola and Namibia and only left when the war started in the 1960s. Today Buma Kxoe are mainly settled along the Kavango River in Namibia and Botswana.

Ngweze Kxoe

The former Ngweze Kxoe, who lived in the south-western part of Zambia, were deported by the SADF in October 1979. Many of them now live in East Caprivi in Namibia, some of them as close as 40 km south-east of their original settlements in Zambia.

CHAPTER 3

THE SITUATION OF SAN IN ANGOLA

The living conditions of San in Angola are discussed under three headings: Security and human rights; Healthcare and education; and Socio-economic situation.

3.1 Security and human rights

Security along the Angola-Namibia border has been a problem since Namibia became independent in 1990. Namibian media and officials have accused members of UNITA of being involved in armed robbery, shootings, murder, cattle theft and the abduction of Namibians. Similarly, on the Angolan side Namibians are held responsible for committing such crimes.

Since December 1999 this situation has changed and bandits associated with UNITA – if not members of UNITA themselves – terrorise civilians along both sides of the border. The following discussion, in which three areas in southern Angola are distinguished, refers to the situation before December 1999.

3.1.1 South-western Angola

This area has always been an MPLA stronghold – a fact reflected by the results of the 1992 elections. During the SADF incursions into Angola in the 1970s, many Angolan Government soldiers came from this region. Nevertheless, the area has not been much affected by the ongoing war between UNITA and the FAA. The region is nevertheless said to be unstable, and consequently no up-to-date information on the specific situation of the small San communities living there is available.

The major issue concerning this region – one that is under discussion locally as well as in international forums – is the impact that the proposed Epupa Hydropower Scheme (or ‘Epupa Dam’) will have on the ecosystem and living conditions of the local population. It is mainly the Himba who are involved in the discussions on the scheme: “... one can say that at present the right bank of the Kunene, from Ruacana until the river mouth, is Himba land” (Aco 1996: 22). The San in the region are few in number and live quite far from the site envisaged for the dam. Some San live and work as blacksmiths among the Himba, however, and these San might be involved in the conflict around the scheme.

3.1.2 Between the Kunene and Cubango Rivers

The living conditions of San living within the national boundaries of Angola are rather diverse, also in terms of security.

!Xu living with Kwanyama in and around N’giva and Mulunga have been exposed to life-threatening attacks by UNITA for many years. The West !Xu, who constitute the majority of the remaining !Xu in Angola, are in close contact with Kwanyama farmers for whom they work in return for food and occasionally money. Reportedly both San and Kwanyama have been attacked by UNITA troops, who suspect many inhabitants of the area of being SWAPO supporters. The attacks have increased over the last few years, causing an influx of San and Kwanyama from Angola to Namibia that reached a peak between November 1999 and early 2000 when UNITA was heavily attacked by FAA troops in this area. !Xu from Angola live in villages along the border such as Ekololo, Omtondjamba, Onamnama, Eehonge, Engonya, Exua, Wanga, Nunda and Oheti.

Reportedly there were numerous UNITA attacks launched from inside Angola in November 1999. The following three cases as described by !Xu serve to illustrate the nature of the prevailing situation:

- A group of some 20 !Xu was attacked by UNITA while sitting around a fire in the evening during a hunting trip in Angola near Oshishogolo in 1997. The !Xu were armed with old rifles (i.e. .303 “*Epakolwa*” and Mauser 378 “*Osalupenda*”) and had entered Angola from Namibia to hunt and collect veld products one week before. They had shot a kudu (*!hoa*) and collected false mopane worms (*n!huhi*) and honey. Two !Xu were slightly wounded in the attack and one young !Xu woman was shot in the leg. The group ran into hiding, then returned after UNITA had left to carry the seriously wounded woman back to Namibia. She was treated at the hospital in Okongo and later transferred to the Onandjokwe hospital in Oniipa. Her wound healed but we saw that she was badly scarred.
- A !Xu woman from Angola told us that she and her family had fled to Namibia in 1998 after a UNITA attack. The Kwanyama farmers for whom they worked at Onoutalala (near Mulunga) were attacked and all were killed. Because the !Xu stayed some distance away from the Kwanyama settlement, they heard the shooting and all !Xu of her family were able to escape. They entered Namibia at Idimba. The same day, however, two young !Xu men, namely Josef /’Au and Gabriel /Gam, were killed at Mulunga by UNITA.
- A !Xu man arrived at Eenhana from Angola on 12 October 1999 – the day before the interview was conducted. He reported that UNITA troops stationed at the Oshanashana Njiri base in Angola had attacked the settlement of “our Kwanyama farmers”. All five !Xu families residing there were chased away from the fields in which they were working. They immediately ran to Namibia, leaving everything behind so as not to be killed. He planned to go back to Angola to collect his blankets, clothes and other possessions and bring them to Namibia.

3.1.3 East of the Cubango River

As the Consulate of the Government of the Republic of Angola in Rundu admitted in October 1999, this area is under absolute UNITA control. UNITA was generally on good terms with the local populations – Kwangali, Nyemba-Mbwela and a few hundred !Xu and Kxoe – at least until November 1999. No cases of physical violence against San had been reported from this area at that time. However, personal security was said to be tenuous: security forces had not officially investigated or followed up on cases of robbery and even murder committed in the area.

Threats to San living in Namibia along the border in the Kavango and (West) Caprivi Regions are related to attempts by Namibian Defence Force (NDF) and Special Field Force (SFF) personnel to stop illegal border-crossing. As San were involved in activities related to the Caprivi secessionist uprising in 1998 and 1999, Namibian security forces are especially alert in the Caprivi Region and suspicious of any movements – including those of the local !Xu and Kxoe communities. Until recently !Xu and Kxoe regularly crossed the border from West Caprivi into Angola to collect veld products and hunt. They stopped this practice after several San were arrested in the area of Borica close to the border in 1998 – signalling the massive presence of the NDF and SFF in the area.

The last visit of Vasekela !Xu from Angola to Mutc’iku took place in 1994. Since then there has been no contact between the !Xu in Mutc’iku, Namibia, and the !Xu in Cuito, Angola.

According to Namibian media reports, the situation along the Kavango River was becoming more tense during the first few months of 2000, and UNITA was reportedly threatening Namibians and not even allowing people to fetch water from the Kavango River. How much these increasing tensions also affect the lives of Angolans – including San living in the river hinterland – could not be established during the course of our investigation.

3.1.4 South-eastern Angola

Illegal border-crossing has always been quite common in south-eastern Angola, and it has given rise to problems along the border with Namibia particularly. For example, UNITA soldiers may apprehend San they encounter along the border and send them back to their villages in Angola. Zambian forces along the Angola-Zambia border do not prevent San from entering their country, but illegal border-crossing for Angolans intending to visit Namibia can be very dangerous since the NDF and SFF quite frequently shoot at illegal immigrants.

In 1999 the remaining 200-300 Ngarange Kxoe were on good terms with UNITA and did not complain about human rights violations. Since early 2000, however, south-eastern Angola has been hit by heavy fighting between the FAA and UNITA. In March 2000 an observer from Zambia described the situation in Angola in a letter as follows:

From my own findings I see that between 50 and 100 refugees are drifting into Zambia each day in the Mwinilunga area. Seems to be no end to the war over there. New offensives bring more misery to the local people and they have to run away. They come from both sides of the conflict. The civilians try to escape from UNITA to avoid being forced to carry heavy battle equipment from the few cities they occupy to a safer place in the bush, where they can carry on the battle with more experience. The government troops carry out retribution executions in the places they occupy.

3.2 Healthcare and education

In the southern part of Angola healthcare provision and educational services are generally poor. Complaints by !Xu from Mulunga about not having seen the mobile team from the hospital at Chiede for the past 25 years do not indicate discrimination against San, but they do clearly indicate a lack of healthcare capacity.

Due to the close cross-border contacts and family ties of many inhabitants of the Angola-Namibia border regions, the lack of immunisation coverage in Angola not only threatens Angolans, but also undermines Namibian immunisation campaigns in these regions.

According to staff at the Nyangana hospital, !Xu from Angola do not come to Namibia for treatment. Likewise, local !Xu in the Rundu area say that they do not meet !Xu who have come from Angola to Namibia. This may be due to the fact that the overall number of !Xu in the southern part of Angola is very small. However, !Xu do cross over to Namibia to be treated at the Eenhana and Okongo hospitals.

Alcohol abuse is said to be widespread among !Xu in all parts of southern Angola. This is similar to the situation prevailing in Namibia, where !Xu families, including children, can very often be seen drinking at the local 'cuca shops' (shebeens).

Formal schooling has not been available to communities in the area around Mulungu in Angola since 1975. Before then, according to a !Xu man interviewed at Ekoka, !Xu attended school at Mulungu, but since then neither Kwanyama nor !Xu have had any access to educational facilities of any kind.

Formal schooling is readily available to San children on the Namibian side of the border, but very few attend school. They give a range of explanations for not doing so, and it is doubtful that San children in Angola would act differently if educational services were made available to them.

3.3 Socio-economic situation

“As late as 1954 the !Kung (i.e. !Xu – M.B.) of the Mulemba and Mupa groups largely followed a life of hunting and gathering wild fruits. No trace of agriculture or animal husbandry is found among them.” (Estermann 1976: 4)

According to West !Xu, Kwanyama farmers provide them with food when they are hungry, and cash is earned by carrying water to the Kwanyama households. Near Mulunga they cultivate mahango, watermelon, pumpkin and groundnuts. Some Kwanyama farmers in Namibia lend out guns to !Xu, who use them for hunting game in Angola.

In 1999 the Vasekela !Xu were said to still depend mainly on hunting and gathering for their subsistence. They use G3 and AK47 assault rifles to hunt. UNITA soldiers do not prevent them from doing this, but instead obtain meat and honey from them in return for money and other commodities. Game is scarce, as even Namibians cross over into this area to hunt. They use sleds drawn by oxen to bring the meat back to Namibia.

In the Buma area – the southernmost part of Angola – Kxoe reported that the historically prime area for collecting veld products and bush meat has been over-utilised by UNITA for the past 25 years, with the result that almost all game and natural resources such as manketti nuts, false mopane worms and naxani have been eradicated.

In 1999 the remaining 200-300 Ngarange Kxoe were on good terms with UNITA and did not complain about human rights violations. They were still collecting wild fruits and hunting, although game had become scarce, as is the case everywhere in Angola. The lack of educational services was not mentioned as being a problem: “There are schools, but we Kxoe do not attend them.” On the other hand, the near absence of healthcare facilities and supplies was deplored.

Quite regularly young Kxoe men come to Zambia (Sioma plains) and Namibia (East and West Caprivi) in search of occasional “piecework”. With the money they earn they buy clothes, blankets, pots and other household goods which are not available in Angola. Such items are also given to them by other Kxoe whom they visit. After some months they take these essential items back to their relatives in Angola.

CHAPTER 4

THE SITUATION OF SAN IN ZAMBIA

In November 1999 there were only two San communities living in Zambia, both of them Ngarange Kxoe communities from Angola. One lives from subsistence farming on the Sioma plains, and the other lives in Meheba Refugee Camp near Solwezi in North-Western Province. This chapter will briefly discuss the healthcare, education, human rights and socio-economic situations of both communities.

How many San are actually among the “new” refugees who have entered Zambia from Angola since October 1999 is not yet known. The following quotes are excerpted from a UNHCR (Lusaka) leaflet dated 9 February 2000:

Latest reports indicate that another significant number of refugees has crossed from Rivungu in Angola into Shangombo but no independent verification is available as yet. ... The total number of new arrivals since October 1999 has now reached 23 668 and the overall figure for contingency planning purposes had accordingly been increased to 50 000 (p.1).

The influx into Sinjembela occurred in early January, following the FAA attacks on Jamba. ... [W]e agreed to operate on the basis of a population estimate of 10 000 for the time being. ... Almost all of the new arrivals are strong UNITA supporters and routinely refer to the FAA as “the enemy”. Security continues to be of prime concern and refugees are eager to move further inland as soon as possible. Many have expressed fear to even gather in one place as they may thus form a target for reprisal attacks (p.2).

The villages of the 200-300 Ngarange Kxoe are in the area from which the refugees referred to above come, and the Ngarange Kxoe are in all probability among them. In Zambia they will have to deal with the challenging conditions of living in refugee camps. Follow-up investigations would need to establish if more Kxoe have been brought to Meheba Refugee Camp and if Kxoe are now also in the Mayukwayukwa camp or the recently established camp at Nangweshi. An undated UNHCR (Lusaka) leaflet explains: “According to the policy of the Zambian government, all refugees should live in designated refugee settlements, notably Meheba in North-Western Province and Mayukwayukwa in Western Province, unless they have the means to sustain themselves in urban areas.”

4.1 The Kxoe of the Sioma plains

The author’s first visit to the three Kxoe villages existing at the time – Namufumbwana, Kashesha ka Lewanika and Zanse – was in 1996, when the total number of Kxoe in these settlements was below 100. In 1998 the Kxoe inhabitants of Namufumbwana migrated to Kashesha, and the Zanse population left for Angola. Of this latter group, 28 individuals arrived in Bwabwata on the Namibia-Angola border in November 1998. Since then they have lived in West Caprivi in Namibia.

In October 1999 the Kxoe community at Kashesha ka Lewanika had 52 members. Nine community members had left the settlement to marry members of Mbukushu or other neighbouring communities, or to work permanently on farms.⁴

⁴ Geoff Perrott of SASI organised a field trip to Namibia and Zambia with members of San communities from South Africa, and wrote a “Report on the Angola Land Reclaim / Landmine Information-gathering Field Trip, March 24 to April 9 1998”. Published as an article headlined “In Search of Ancestral Lands” by Andrew Nunneley in the journal *SA 4x4*, the report contains some unfortunately misleading information on the Zambian San community. Because the field trip – upon which both

The economic situation of this Kxoe community is reasonably good since they own some goats and chickens and look after cattle in exchange for milk. They have their own fields and cultivate mahango, sorghum, maize, two types of pumpkin (*Citrullus lanatus*), bottle cucumber, groundnuts, beans and “sugarcane” sorghum. Sporadic support is received from the Catholic Mission at Sioma. They collect a broad variety of veld products: at least 18 different nuts, seeds and fruits of trees, as well as 11 wild vegetable species. A further eight plants are utilised, the roots and tubers of which are dug up and eaten.

The Kxoe hunt with spears and *gondo* (hooks attached to sticks of up to five metres in length) and use trained hunting dogs, but big game are far from where they live. They mostly hunt and collect reedbuck, two types of hare, tortoise, pangolin, porcupine, python and a large toad species.

The water supply is periodically scarce, as their own well dries up by as early as July. After that they have to walk 4.5 km to get water from a deep well which was sunk by the Catholic Mission.

The major source of cash income is occasional piecework for Lozi farmers. Clearing the bush, which brings in about 2 500 Kwacha (±N\$6.50) per day, is the main activity for which Kxoe are employed. This payment can be regarded as very low: one litre of cooking oil, for example, costs 3 500 Kwacha.

These Kxoe also collect honey from *tc'ipa*, the “honey bee”, between March and June. The honey of three types of stingless bee is also collected: *tcinde* honey is found in October/November, *ngyeri* (referred to by the Kxoe in Caprivi as *zxumbe*) only in October, and *dini* can be found throughout the year except in October. The honey is also sold or exchanged for food.

As is the case with the Ngarange Kxoe in Angola, young men frequently work temporarily on farms on the Sioma plains, and some also periodically go to Namibia to earn money to buy blankets, clothes and other necessities.

Neither the Kxoe nor the Mbukushu children at Kashesha ka Lewanika attend school, as the distance they would have to walk (having no other means of transport) is said to be too great.

The clinic at Kanyao is about an hour-and-a-half's walk from Kashesha. Patients are requested to pay for the treatment they receive with veld products, chicken or money, which they say they cannot afford to do. The Kxoe healer who used to treat them was the head of the family which left for Namibia in 1998.

The main complaint of these Kxoe is that – like their Mbukushu neighbours with whom they fled from Angola – they are told by the local people (“the owners of the land”) and also by administration officials to go back to where they came from, i.e. Angola.

The Kxoe of Zanse have succumbed to the constant pressure and migrated back to Angola, some of them continuing on to Namibia, as noted above.

The older community members came to the Sioma plains from Angola in as early as 1967 and received Refugee Identity Cards from the Republic of Zambia. The younger ones have neither ID documents nor birth certificates.

The Kxoe believe that one reason for this negative attitude towards them is the perception that they receive special attention from the Catholic Mission and the “whites”, who give them food and clothes. Their Lozi neighbours reportedly claim that they, as the owners of the land, should actually be given this assistance.

4.2 The Kxoe in Meheba Refugee Camp

Another Kxoe community has lived in Meheba Refugee Camp for almost 30 years. This community was left in total isolation without any contact with their relatives from the time of their flight from the Angolan war. They constitute a distinct small community in the camp and they resent their numerical inferiority. All the young children speak Kxoedam among themselves.

An undated leaflet published by the UNHCR Regional Office in Lusaka explains how refugees are expected to become self-sufficient as subsistence farmers: “Upon arrival (at the camps – M.B.), refugee families are being allocated a five hectare plot of land, together with farming tools and seeds. Until the first harvest, they are also supplied with monthly food rations but are expected to grow their own food thereafter.”

The camp management, however, has stated that the Kxoe are “too lazy” to cultivate, and that they are interested only in meat and honey. Of the 55 community members, five occasionally work as temporary farm labourers and only one has a permanent income as a mini-bus driver. The Kxoe receive neither food nor clothes and lack cooking equipment and blankets. The camp management is said to support only newcomers to the camp.

Kxoe complain that healthcare services in the camp are unaffordable for them, and the children have stated that they dropped out of school after being harassed by other pupils as well as teachers.

The Kxoe at Meheba Refugee Camp expressed astonishment on meeting a San field research team in November 1999: “Till today we thought that we are the only Kxoe on earth who survived the war.” This was the first contact that the Kxoe at Meheba had had with other Kxoe since 1971, when they were brought to the camp. The camp management had left them in total isolation and the only information management gave them was that the war in Angola was still raging and they would return to Angola when it ended. The management justifies this strategy as a way of protecting the lives of the refugees, as it believes it is possible that the refugees have enemies who may want to take revenge.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

For as long as the war in Angola continues, it will not be possible to institute substantive measures to improve the living conditions of San in Angola. However, there is one step towards this end that the relevant parties can take without further ado: discuss with the Namibian Government how the integrity of the national borders can be maintained without threatening the lives of San and other civilians living in the areas surrounding these borders.

The political status of the Kxoe living on the Sioma plains in Zambia is not entirely clear, but they do appear to be tolerated by the local administration. Nevertheless, their legal status has to be clarified with the Zambian Government because they are excluded from government services and relief programmes.

The consequences of spending almost 30 years in a refugee camp without contact with relatives are hard to perceive from the outside. Means should be found to connect the Sioma Kxoe community with their relatives in Namibia from whom they have been separated by the war in Angola.

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APPENDIX

Table A.1: Overview of events in Angola, Zambia and Namibia relevant to San history

Date	Country	Event
circa 1700	Angola/Namibia	Nyemba-Mbwela arrive in Kxoe territories and subjugate the Kxoe.
circa 1750	Angola	Mbukushu from the upper Zambezi River in Zambia arrive at the Luyana River.
circa 1800	Namibia/Botswana	Mbukushu reach the Kavango River, where until then //Ani Kxoe had lived. The latter move along the river southwards into present-day Botswana. Mbukushu enslave and forcefully intermarry with Kxoe and //Ani Kxoe.
1830-1860	Namibia/Zambia	Kololo in-migrate and dominate in East Caprivi and south-western Zambia.
1839	Angola	Mocâmedes, the first permanent Portuguese settlement, is established by chance in the region of the Kwepe and Kuroka.
1884	Zambia/Angola	Paramount Chief Lewanika goes into exile in Angola.
1890-1910	Angola/Namibia/Botswana	Tswana engage in hunting expeditions in the central parts of the Kxoe migration territory and subjugate the Kxoe and Vasekela !Xu.
1886-1914	Namibia	German colonial rule is only barely discernible in West Caprivi – then referred to by the colonialists as “Hukwe-veld”.
Late 1930s	Namibia	Due to increasing problems with tsetse flies, West Caprivi is declared a cattle-free zone.
1940	Angola	A Kuvale uprising takes place in south-western Angola.
January 1961	Angola	The Angolan liberation war commences (continuing until 1975) with field artillery, bombing and napalm. The casualty numbers in this first year of war in Angola are estimated at 2 000 European and 50 000 African.
1962	Angola	The Portuguese recruit !Xu and later also Kxoe – until 1974. These San belong to the force of “Flechas” (arrows), i.e. a non-white barrack gendarmerie controlled by the Direcç o General de Seg uranca (DGS), i.e. the Portuguese secret police.
1963	Namibia	West Caprivi is declared a game reserve.
February 1966	Namibia	The People’s Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) begins its military attacks on colonial targets in Namibia. The South African Police (SAP) presence increases with the increasing number of PLAN operations.
Late 1960s	Namibia	The Commissioner in Rundu responds to serious drought in the Kavango and Caprivi with food and seed aid. For the Kxoe and Vasekela !Xu this drought-relief effort is officially coordinated by the then Kxoe Chief Martin Ndumba Matende, who died in 1989.
1968	Namibia/Botswana	The South West Africa (SWA) Administration erects a fence along the SWA-Botswana border in West Caprivi and asks the Kxoe on the eastern banks of the Kavango River to move out. They shift south of the border into Botswana.
1972	Namibia	Fighting units of black SAP members are stationed in the Caprivi Strip.
April 1974	Namibia	The South African Defence Force (SADF) arrives in West Caprivi to take over control from the SAP. The troops erect camps at Alpha (renamed Omega in 1976) and Buffalo, then (in 1976) at Pica Pau, Chetto, Fort Doppies and Dodge City.
Mid-1970s	Namibia	The “De Wet Agreement” between Mbukushu and Mafwe to cut West Caprivi in half is discussed but never ratified by the SWA Administration.
1970	Angola/Zambia	Kxoe in the Rivungu area of Angola become victims of fighting between MPLA and Portuguese forces. Many Kxoe are killed and some escape to Zambia where they are given refugee status.
28 May 1974	Angola	The Portuguese forces withdraw from Angola following a coup d’etat in Portugal.
1974-1989	Namibia	San in West Caprivi are recruited and trained by the SADF “Bushman battalion” operating in the area.
November 1975	Angola	Political independence from Portugal is attained.
1989	Namibia	SADF troops withdraw from Namibia.
1989/90	Namibia	1 600 Kxoe and 2 000 Vasekela !Xu emigrate to South Africa from West Caprivi.
1989	Namibia	Kipi George is elected //’Axa (Chief) of the Kxoe, but the SWAPO Government’s official recognition of the Chief-elect is still pending in March 2000.

March 1990	Namibia	Political independence from South Africa is attained.
1991-1996	Namibia	The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN) implements the San resettlement scheme in West Caprivi.
1996	Botswana	Bovine pleuro-pneumonia (CBPP), a contagious lung disease affecting cattle, breaks out in Ngamiland, Botswana.
1996	Namibia	The Governor of the Caprivi Region orders the Kxoe in West Caprivi to kill all their cattle due to the threat of CBPP. The Kxoe accordingly slaughter all their cattle including the ploughing oxen provided to them by ELCIN.
Since 1996	Namibia	Massive in-migration of Mbukushu with cattle into the core conservation area of West Caprivi commences.
1997-1999	Namibia	The Namibian Government completes the construction of 35 houses for the Kxoe at Mutc'iku (25) and Chetto (10) in 1997. Two years later the houses are handed over to the Kxoe owners.
Since 1997	Namibia/Botswana	Botswana tightens border control and follows up on "illegal" Kxoe cross-border visits to relatives – most commonly between Mutc'iku (Namibia) and Kaputura (Botswana), and Omega III (Namibia) and Gudigwa (Botswana).
November 1998	Namibia/Botswana	On 9 November 1999, Kxoe at Omega III and Chetto and a few Kxoe from other settlements follow their Chief, Kipi George, in a flight for refuge in Botswana in the wake of a secessionist uprising in West Caprivi. The Namibian Defence Force (NDF) was interrogating Kxoe for details about the secessionist movement, of which they knew nothing, and they fled from what they experienced as "intimidation". Some 600 Kxoe ended up in a refugee camp in Dukwe, Botswana.
December 1998	Namibia/Botswana	The Botswana Defence Force (BDF) deports about 60 Kxoe from Mutc'iku who are visiting relatives at Kaputura to the Dukwe refugee camp.
July 1999	Namibia/Botswana	About 350 Kxoe from Omega III and Chetto and about 60 from Mutc'iku return to Namibia from Botswana.
November 1999	Namibia/Botswana	A year later, some 60 Kxoe, including Chief Kipi George, are still in the refugee camp in Dukwe.
December 1999	Namibia/Angola	The FAA attacks UNITA from Namibian territory. Large numbers of FAA, NDF and Security Field Force (Namibian) personnel are present along the Angola-Namibia border, and also in West Caprivi. Kxoe again flee to Botswana.
January 2000	Angola/Zambia	About 30 000 Angolans flee to Zambia to escape the war, among them also Kxoe.
January to March 2000	Namibia/Botswana	About 700 Kxoe from Namibia are registered as refugees in Botswana.

PART 3
ZIMBABWE

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for the

LEGAL ASSISTANCE CENTRE (LAC)

Windhoek • Namibia • April 2001

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The estimated 2 500 San in Zimbabwe live in the contiguous Bulilimangwe and Tsholotsho Districts in the south-western part of the country. These are districts of the Matabeleland South and Matabeleland North Provinces respectively, where locals refer to San as *Bakwa*, *Batwa*, *Tyua* or *Amasili* (Hitchcock 1999). The San are the original inhabitants of this area. This report is the outcome of a preliminary study on the San in Zimbabwe. It presents the findings of the author's investigation into their living conditions, their political and economic status, and the processes that influence this status. Primary as well as secondary data sources were used to compile this report.

Very little research has been conducted on San and other indigenous communities in Zimbabwe. Most of the information presented in this report derives from primary sources contacted over a 10-day period in the Bulilimangwe and Tsholotsho Districts. Secondary data sources were also used where relevant and available.

This study has established that San constitute a minority group in Zimbabwe both nationally and locally. They are socially and economically marginalised by national policies and by their neighbours. Socially San are despised as an ethnic group because of their poverty and other groups' ethnocentric evaluations of their culture. Economically they do not have sufficient resources to ensure food security. This insecurity leads to their political invisibility and the subordination of their interests to those of the dominant ethnic groups. Their poverty also has implications for young San's access to formal education. Social change engineered from above – an example being natural resource management programmes such as the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) – has been 'hijacked' to meet the interests of powerful interest groups without regard to the deprivation that San have endured.

This report recommends that San be assisted to attain their primary aspiration, namely food security. This would involve direct food assistance, a donation of draught power and other agricultural inputs. Further, all San children should have the opportunity to attend school, and this would require removing state-imposed obstacles such as school fees and uniforms (which most San find unaffordable), and the need of households to put children to work to augment household food security. The San in Zimbabwe are part of a widely dispersed regional ethnic group, and they should be put in contact with other San in southern Africa who have achieved success in lobbying for their own interests. External assistance is required to enable San to organise themselves both politically and economically.

CHAPTER 2

BASELINE DATA AND GENERAL REVIEW

2.1 Analysis of the political and administrative structure of Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe has four categories of land tenure, namely state (18% of the total land area), private (31%), resettlement (8%) and communal (43%). The San in Zimbabwe reside on land held under communal tenure. Communal land is *de jure* state land over which residents hold rights of usufruct. Overall control of the communal land is held by sub-state agencies called Rural District Councils, whose power derives from the Communal Lands Act of 1982 and the Rural District Councils Act of 1991. Each Rural District Council is comprised of an Executive and a Legislature. The Legislature is constituted by councillors elected by the community. Rural districts are made up of wards, each represented by a councillor in the Rural District Council. A ward ideally comprises six villages, each of which has a Village Development Committee (VIDCO). It should be noted that wards and villages are politico-geographical boundaries that are not informed by ethnic considerations.

2.2 Location

Bulilimangwe and Tsholotsho Districts lie in the semi-arid agro-ecological Zones 4 and 5.¹ Such zones are most suitable for extensive livestock and game farming. The dominant vegetation types are *Acacia*, *Combretum*, *Terminalia*, and mopane and teak woodlands. Three distinct ethnic groups are found in Bulilimangwe and Tsholotsho: San (6% of the population according to survey data), Kalanga (80%) and Ndebele (14%). The San are the original inhabitants of the area and their territory and community in the past extended into Botswana (Lee & Solway 1990). Tsholotsho's population breakdown is 50% Kalanga, 48% Ndebele and 2% San. The highest concentration of San is found in Ward 7 of Tsholotsho, 6% of the ward population being San² (see Figure 3.2).

The San in Zimbabwe are autochthonous to this country, though some groups came from the Maitengwe area of Botswana – allegedly having taken flight from persecution at the hands of Tswana chiefs who were reputed to commit violence against people who broke their laws.³ A major San 'settlement' which predates the arrival of sedentary agro-pastoral ethnic groups like the Kalanga and Ndebele has been found near present-day Ndolwane (previously Dzibanezebe) in Bulilimangwe. Some of the elders in this settlement say that they came from Zambia via Botswana.

¹ Zimbabwe is divided into broad agro-ecological or 'natural regions'. The defining attributes of these regions are climate, rainfall pattern and land-use potential, as follows:

(1) 900–1 500 mm annual rainfall (region at 1 700 m above sea level); specialised and diversified farming.

(2) 750–1 000 mm annual rainfall; intensive farming.

(3) 650–800 mm annual rainfall (with increasing variability); semi-intensive farming.

(4) 450–650 mm annual rainfall (with mid-season dry spells); semi-extensive livestock farming; cropping risky.

(5) <500 mm annual rainfall; extensive livestock production and wildlife (the only viable land-use options).

² Survey data for CAMPFIRE wards only, these wards being at the western extremities of both districts.

³ Hitchcock (1999) points out that San (Tyua) were supposed to pay tribute to Ndebele and Ndwatho. We are not told whether they passively complied with this requirement. This could be the "ill-treatment" referred to in oral accounts of San history.

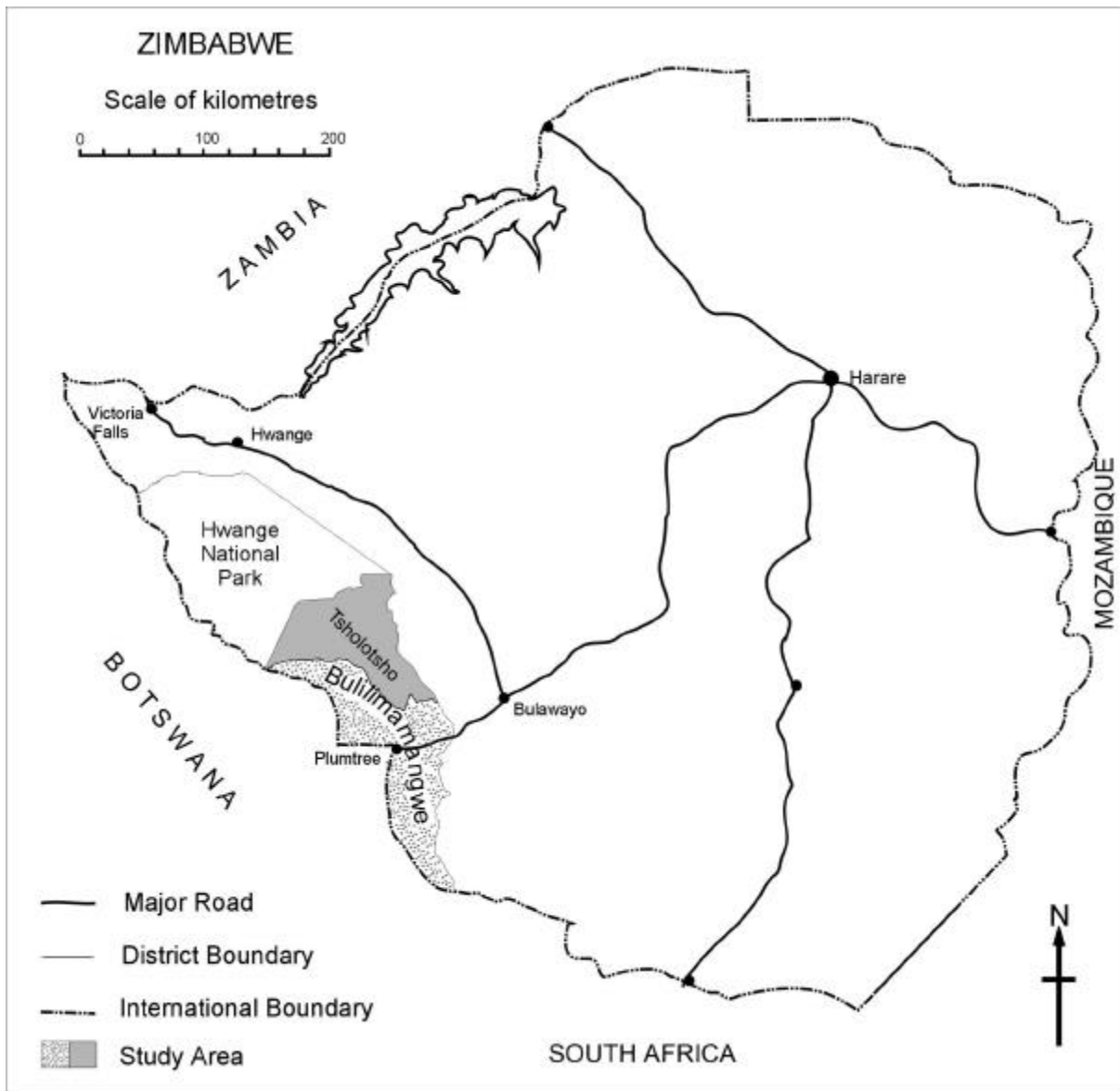


Figure 3.1: Location of study area in Zimbabwe

San are found in two settlements in the Makhulela Ward in northern Bulilimamangwe, namely Thwayithwayi village (54 San households)⁴ and Siwowo village. Thwayithwayi village was originally part of Makhulela II village, but in 1997 the San requested that Thwayithwayi be delimited as a separate village. Siwowo village lies close to the Nata/Manzamyama River.⁵ Unlike Thwayithwayi in which San predominate, Siwowo is home to a more or less equal number of Kalanga, Ndebele and San. Because both villages are located close to the wildlife areas at the extreme western end of the ward,⁶ they experience more problems with animals (e.g. elephants and hyenas) than do other settlements in the district.

⁴ Hitchcock (n.d.) mentions a San traditional doctor, Twaitwai Molele, who was accused but acquitted of murdering two British Royal Air Force men in 1944. I have not established whether there is a connection between this traditional healer and this San settlement.

⁵ Contrary to Hitchcock's suggestion (1999) that in Zimbabwe this river is called the Nata while in Botswana it is called the Manzamyama, these names are used interchangeably by the community as well as in maps of the area.

⁶ San are said to have always preferred living apart from the Kalanga and Ndebele. According to Madzudzo and Dzingirai (1995), for example, "The San accused the Kalanga and Ndebele of witchcraft and had to flee from these people."

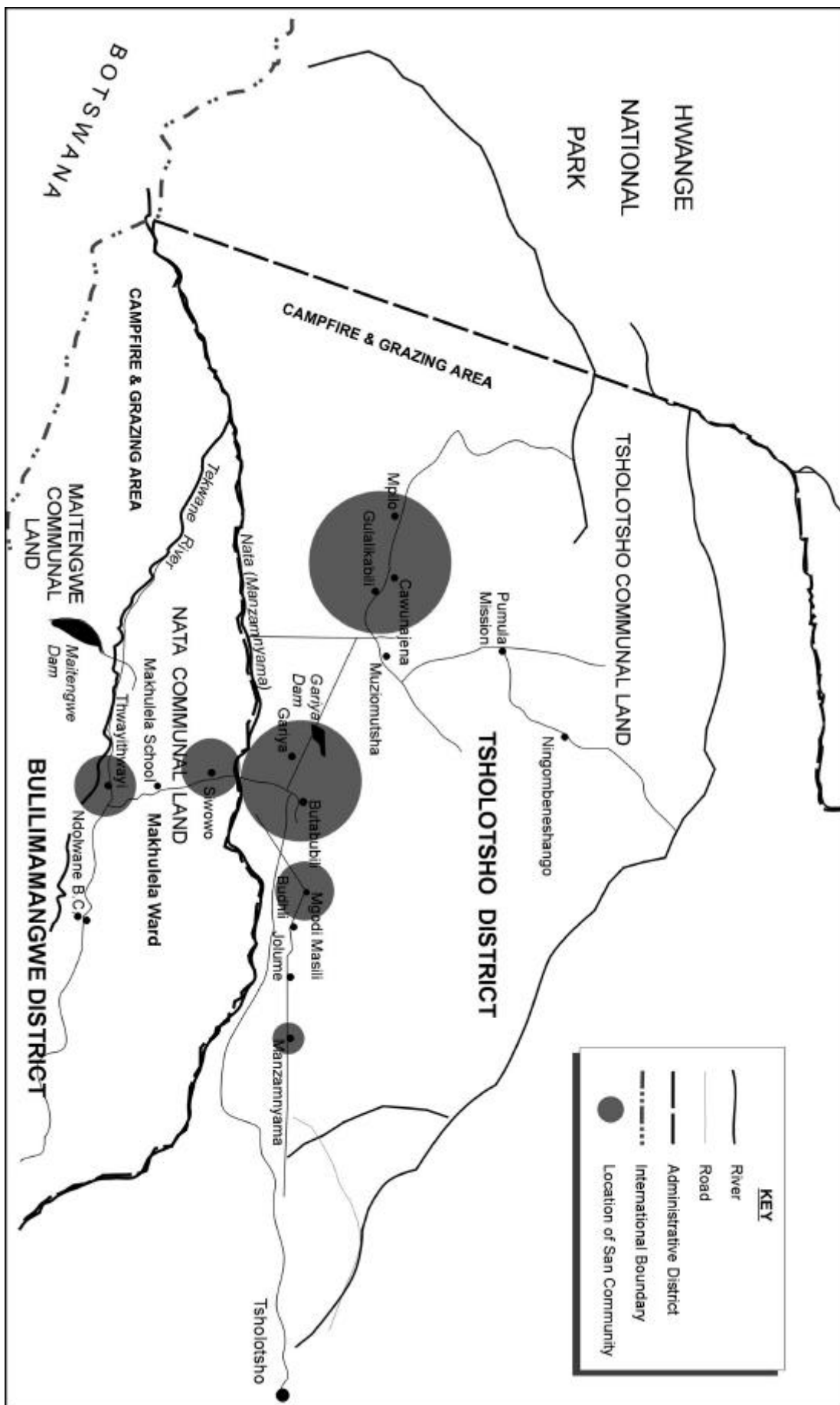


Figure 3.2: Location of San areas in Bulilimamangwe and Tsholotsho

There are about 400 San households in Wards 7, 8 and 10 in the extreme southern and western parts of Tsholotsho District. The San locales in these wards are: Butabubili, Gulalikabili, Pelandaba and Mpilo villages (Ward 7); Mutshina and Mgodhi Masili villages (in the latter village the San live on the Jalume line⁷) (Ward 8); and Skente, Mukandume and Maganga villages (Ward 10). Except in Ward 7, most of the San households in Tsholotsho are found alongside Ndebele and Kalanga households.

Although Tsholotsho is further away from the Botswana border than Bulilimangwe, there are more San households in Tsholotsho. San respondents in the study gave several reasons for this variance in population density: some said that their ancestors were attracted to Tsholotsho by this district's superior wildlife populations;⁸ others said that Tsholotsho's soils are less muddy than Bulilimangwe's soils during the rainy season, which made hunting easier before it was outlawed; and others said that there are more reliable water pans in Tsholotsho, which attract more wildlife and make life easier for the residents. Apart from these explanations, all of which are plausible, the study revealed several more possible explanations for the variance in population density, as follows.

Firstly, on the basis of observations and interviews one can conclude that San might have been better treated by the Kalanga and Ndebele in Tsholotsho than was the case in Bulilimangwe. The study finding that today San are less ostracised in Tsholotsho than in Bulilimangwe will be discussed further on. Also in this context, settlement patterns suggest that San find it easy to interact with the other ethnic groups in Tsholotsho.

Secondly, rainfall is higher and consequently agricultural production is better in Tsholotsho than in Bulilimangwe, and since San relied on Kalanga and Ndebele for grain, which they exchanged for meat, one can surmise that San found it easier to live in Tsholotsho where grain supplies were more abundant.

Thirdly, prior to 1929 when the Game and Fish Preservation Act came into force, San were living in the area designated by this Act as the Hwange Game Reserve (Davison 1977). The Act prohibited human habitation in areas designated as wildlife reserves, thus San living in the area were forced to relocate, and the nearest area to which they could relocate was Tsholotsho.

Finally, under the colonial administration (of Rhodesia – renamed Zimbabwe in 1980), the District Commissioner set up a permanent camp at the Maitengwe Dam in Bulilimangwe, which may have led to more intense state surveillance there, as there was no such structure on the Tsholotsho side. The San might have moved away from Bulilimangwe to Tsholotsho where they felt themselves to be more autonomous. Crossing into Botswana might have been a less attractive option in view of the fact that some San had already fled from that country to escape harsh treatment at the hands of the Tswana. Differences between the integration patterns of the San in Bulilimangwe and Tsholotsho require further investigation. It must be borne in mind that San still exist as a group identified by their client-patron relationships with the Kalanga and Ndebele, by their (covert) hunting and gathering, and by their lack of access to resources required for sedentary agro-pastoralism. Kalanga and Ndebele still perceive San to be socially different from themselves, and this perception has numerous implications for interaction and integration. For example, San men complain that it is difficult for them to marry outside their own ethnic group. Conversely, Kalanga and Ndebele men do occasionally marry San women.

⁷ In the 1960s, after forcibly removing Africans from the areas that had been designated as farms for white settlers, the colonial Government settled households in lines for administrative convenience.

⁸ This may be true because up to the present day Tsholotsho has a higher wildlife population. The Department of National Parks and Wild Life issues an annual hunting quota of 20 elephants in Tsholotsho and 5 in Bulilimangwe (Zimbabwe Trust records, cited in Hitchcock 1999).

CHAPTER 3

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DATA

San in Zimbabwe live on the fringes of Kalanga/Ndebele society, and on the fringes of the country's economic and socio-political systems. A brief history of ethnicity in Bulilimamangwe District will give the reader insight into the current situation. As already noted, San are the original inhabitants of the Bulilimamangwe and Tsholotsho Districts, and place names like Cawunajena, Gulalikabili, Gariya and Gibixegu denote their ancestry in these areas. Whereas the Kalanga and Ndebele are sedentary agro-pastoralists, San were originally hunter-gatherers. They do not have a tradition of growing crops for food, nor of rearing cattle, but rather always depended on the environment – of which they always had superior knowledge – for their sustenance. Their knowledge of the environment has earned them the reputation of being excellent wildlife trackers (Hitchcock 1999). As their contact with the Kalanga and Ndebele increased over time, the San, facing a shortage of wild grain, increasingly bartered meat for grain such as pearl millet (*Pennisetum typhoides*) and sorghum (*Sorghum vulgare*).

Colonial policies which outlawed the hunting of game by indigenous people especially affected San, who had hitherto relied on hunting for their survival (Davison 1977; Anderson & Grove 1987). A lack of access to wildlife reduced their bargaining power relative to the Kalanga and Ndebele. San turned to the Kalanga and Ndebele for some of their food requirements and became cattle herders for them. They also worked in the fields of the Kalanga and Ndebele during ploughing, weeding and harvesting periods. In return the San were given grain as payment as well as access to milk from the cows. Although there was a system among the Kalanga and the Ndebele of rewarding a cattle herder with a heifer after a year or so, this system was never extended to San. It was an important system in that it enabled households without cattle to start their own herds. Because they were denied this benefit, the San became cattle herders of the Ndebele and Kalanga without the prospect of starting their own herds. This is similar to what Maquet (1961) observed in colonial Rwanda:

The dominant cattle-owning Tutsi, who were a minority, made sure that their cattle herders, the majority Hutu, remained in a position of subordination by denying them payment in the form of cows and thereby keeping them from independently building their own herds.

3.1 Resource use among the ethnic groups

The Kalanga and the Ndebele derive from an agro-pastoralist ancestry (Werbner 1991). Both of these ethnic groups have over time settled in Bulilimamangwe, gradually displacing the San there, whom they pushed into the *lagisa* area (see box below) (Madzudzo & Dzingirai 1995). The Kalanga and Ndebele now dominate in the political and economic spheres in Bulilimamangwe.

Until the advent of the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMP-FIRE) in 1989, most of the households in the *lagisa* area led a semi-nomadic lifestyle. The Rural District Council requested the San in the *lagisa* area to settle in Makhulela Ward to facilitate safari hunting under CAMPFIRE. The San had no draught power or agricultural implements, and consequently every year they have experienced poor agricultural harvests and a food deficit. NGOs have sometimes assisted them with food and clothing.

San depend on natural resources for their survival more than is the case with other ethnic groups. The only exception is in the use of pastures, from which they are excluded due to their lack of cattle. As a result they find life easier in the dry season than in the rainy season. The dry season means that they can harvest thatching grass, carve stools, herd cattle and make baskets in order to obtain grain. In the rainy

season their food security drops to the point that some abandon their fields to work in other people's fields in exchange for food or money, thus they fail to harvest any food from their own fields.

The *lagisa* area in Bulilimamangwe

Lagisa is a form of transhumance practised by people in the communal areas of Matabeleland. It involves the seasonal movement of cattle from one area to the other in order to extend the grazing range. Cattle owners or employees move into the *lagisa* area and make a temporary shelter (*umlaga*) which they abandon at the end of the season. In the Bulilimamangwe *lagisa* area some of these shelters are almost permanent, with owners returning to them each year. In conversation people refer to the shelters by the name of the owner. Ideally, however, the community rather than any individual owns the entire *lagisa* area. *Lagisa* has historically been practised by communities around southern Africa. It is motivated by the need for reliable sources of water and nutritious grazing. The practice is also common in neighbouring Botswana, where it is known as *muraka*.

The Bulilimamangwe *lagisa* area encompasses the area bound by Makhulela Ward, Bambadzi Ward, the Hwange National Park boundary fence, Nata (Manzamyama) River and the Botswana/Zimbabwe border. The area is used by some households in each of the seven wards in the NRMP. In addition it is said that in times of need the area can be used by people from as far as south and east of Gala Ward. Some people from nearby Tsholotsho District graze their cattle in this area.

In addition to a resident wildlife population, animals from the nearby Hwange National Park move into the *lagisa* area (Madzudzo & Hawkes 1996).

Table 3.1: Resource use in relation to ethnic group and cattle ownership

RESOURCE USE	NO CATTLE		1-3 HEAD	4-9 HEAD	> 9 HEAD
	Kalanga and Ndebele (n=117)	San* (n=8)	Kalanga and Ndebele	Kalanga and Ndebele	Kalanga and Ndebele
Thatching grass for own use	93%	86%	85%	89%	89%
Thatching grass for sale	46%	86%	15%	14%	0%
Mopane worms for own use	54%	14%	52%	56%	42%
Mopane worms for sale	36%	14%	22%	33%	19%
Herd own cattle	-	-	27%	28%	73%
Herd others' cattle	7%	57%	4%	6%	4%

* San are only shown for the class with no cattle as there were insufficient households in other classes.

Source: 1999 survey data

Table 3.1 shows that the *lagisa* area is important in different ways to the various cattle-owning classes. It also shows that San on the one hand, and Kalanga and Ndebele on the other, use the resources with different intensities and purposes. Households that own more than nine head of cattle use the *lagisa* area for grazing more than those in other cattle-owning classes. All of these households are Kalanga and Ndebele. Households that own fewer than nine head of cattle use the *lagisa* area for resources other than grazing. More San than Kalanga and Ndebele households depend on the *lagisa* area for mopane worms and thatching grass. During a visit to Makhulela in August, the whole San community had left their village for the *lagisa* area to harvest thatching grass.

3.1.1 Tsholotsho

San households in Tsholotsho report that they do not own any cattle. For their survival they depend on ploughing, weeding and harvesting for Kalanga and Ndebele households. They also sell thatching grass or exchange it for grain from Kalanga and Ndebele households. The San households living close to the hunting areas in Ward 7 also occasionally sell or exchange elephant meat from safari hunts for grain. All household members (including children) contribute to the household's sustenance. Children are sent to

do domestic work or herd cattle for the Kalanga and Ndebele, and payment in grain or cash is given to the children's parents.

3.2 Education

In comparison with the two other ethnic groups, San are the least educated (Kruskal Wallis test $p < 0.05$). Interviews with San revealed that the majority of those who reported having attended school have only completed one year of schooling. Only a few have spent up to three years in school, and none have gone through the whole primary school phase (1999 survey data).

Table 3.2: Educational status of ethnic groups in Bulilimangwe

Ethnic group	% no education	% in primary school	% in secondary school	% still in primary school	% still in secondary school
Kalanga	9	33	18	18	4
Ndebele	9	29	18	16	7
San	43	31	0	10	2

Of the San population in Bulilimangwe, 35 children attend school, 22 of whom do so consistently. When it is time to harvest thatching grass (June/July) the children abandon school and join their parents in the harvesting areas. According to the headmaster of Makhulela Primary School in Bulilimangwe, there is no specific age at which children drop out of school. For example, there was a time when the school's Development Committee wanted all children who had not paid fees to be sent back home. As a result most children (both San and non-San) stopped attending school. Most San parents cannot afford to pay the school fees and some withdraw their children and put them to work for the Kalanga and Ndebele in a bid to obtain some cash or food. Parents argue that the children would drop out of school anyway because there will be no food in the household for them to eat before and after school. Some children are withdrawn from school so that they can look after their younger siblings to allow their parents to go out to look for food. In some rare cases children start school at a late age and get married or fall pregnant before completing their schooling.

San children are like any other children in terms of behaviour and aptitude. Academically, especially in English and sport (volleyball and athletics particularly), some San children perform better than the non-San children at their schools. In 1999 the fastest runner at Makhulela Primary School was a San child. San children generally mix well with the other children, but none of them have been given positions of authority in the school or in their classes. According to the teachers this is not deliberate exclusion since all the children receive equal treatment. The teachers admitted that they did not implement a policy of affirmative action towards the San children. Teachers say that they encourage one another to make the San children feel comfortable, though attitudes are difficult to change even where a policy of equal treatment is espoused.

Teachers are conscious of the low status of San and of the fact that the community in general does not regard them in a positive light. It is possible that the teachers are aware of the fact that even the non-San children may find it difficult to co-operate with San in positions of authority. This might also affect the San children, who accept that in the presence of Kalanga or Ndebele they are not supposed to hold any position of authority.

Some San parents participate in school activities. Like some Kalanga and Ndebele, San parents are not concerned about what happens with their children at school. Teachers say that some San parents monitor how their children are doing in school, while others become interested in school activities when they become aware that a donor has promised to give their children school uniforms. School authorities have sometimes made it a requirement that if a San child is to receive a donated uniform, the parents must participate in some school development activity such as repairing fences. The ethnic status of the parents does not in itself influence their attitude towards the education of their children.

Although most San adults are illiterate, they do seem to value their children's education.⁹ For example, the San leader was visibly angry when Makhulela Primary School was vandalised by local youths. He claimed that this act was planned by Kalanga and Ndebele to chase the teachers away so that San children would lose the opportunity to receive an education and continue herding cattle for Kalanga and Ndebele. Nevertheless, food security takes precedence over education. Almost all of our respondents are unemployed and very poor. In some cases San children are withdrawn from school so they can work for other households that can provide them with food. Some of the children fail to attend school because their parents cannot afford the school fees or levies. The highest annual fee at the time of writing was Z\$60 (US\$1.62).¹⁰ Some San parents also stated that they withdraw their children from school because they do not have school uniforms. They feel that not having a uniform affects a child's self-esteem. There appeared to be consensus that if parents could afford school fees, they would send their children to school. Most respondents did not note assistance with school fees as a need, but said that they need jobs in order to earn money to pay for their children's education.

The headmaster of Makhulela Primary School said that he tries to get the San parents with children in school to develop an interest in the school. He feels that organisational structures within the San community that can be used as an entry point are weak, and that this situation makes it difficult for the school authorities to effectively involve San parents in the running of the school. The San in Makhulela have recently taken on a sedentary lifestyle as a dominated and subservient group, though Hitchcock (n.d.) states: "Among the Tyua there were traditional leaders known as //kaiha, who played a role in community decision-making and who were influential in discussions concerning resource utilisation" (see also Mair 1962). Among the San of Zimbabwe, concepts of leadership and organisation and the incentives that lead to the development of such characteristics within the ethnic group have not developed. San history and political economy since the arrival of agro-pastoral communities have not encouraged the emergence of formal leaders. There is a need to assist San in Zimbabwe to organise themselves so that they can collectively address issues that affect their lives.

San children in school

Tjidzani is 12 years old and in Grade 6 at Makhulela Primary School. She likes her teacher, who she says is very kind and has in the past given her sweets and some loose change after sending her on errands. She likes the "magnificent" school buildings (built by Redd Barna) and her blue school uniform. Tjidzani wants to be a school teacher when she grows up. She likes the job because it is a job that is done by educated people. Her single mother last paid school fees in 1997. Her friend Nobuhle, also from the San community, no longer attends school. When she comes home from school she does the household chores, but if she comes home late, her mother does the work for her. Tjidzani said that she and another girl are the only two children who walk the five kilometres to school through the bush. Sometimes she fears that she might be attacked by child-snatchers or wild animals.

Xolisani is 14 years old and in Grade 6. She likes her teacher because she does not harass her and because she encourages the students to speak English – a subject she likes very much. Xolisani wants to be a storekeeper when she grows up. She feels that the job will give her some money and that she will not always be in the hot sun. Her brother, who works in South Africa, last paid school fees in 1994. She has been sent home to get fees but her father has always encouraged her to go back. After school she does household chores and makes food for her two small brothers. When she was interviewed (July 1999) both her parents were out collecting thatching grass for sale. Sometimes some school children call her a *Sili*, a derogatory name for San used by Kalanga and Ndebele. She reports them to the headmaster, who tries to discipline them.

⁹ Fieldwork for this study coincided with the school holidays, thus it was difficult to contact the teachers to verify the information given by the parents. This was especially so in Tsholotsho.

¹⁰ At the time of writing, US\$1=Z\$37.

3.2.1 Education in Tsholotsho

As is the case in Bulilimamangwe, San in Tsholotsho report high levels of illiteracy among the adults as well as the young. Adults say that when they grew up there were neither schools in Tsholotsho nor any incentives to attend school. Young people drop out of school before completing primary school, and it is said that most of the young drop out in the first year of schooling. Rarely does a San child advance beyond the third year of schooling. Reasons given for dropping out include food shortages at home, a lack of enthusiasm and parental encouragement, the need to work to contribute to household food security and the inability to pay school fees. Schools in Tsholotsho charge Z\$60 (US\$1.62) per annum for school fees for each child. San parents whose primary concern is food security find it difficult to pay such amounts, even though payment need only be in three equal instalments over the year.

On average it is reported that each household has three to four children in school. There is no evidence that San households prefer to keep children of a certain sex in school – all their children are simply withdrawn. In Ward 7 some parents say that their villages are far away from school. Children have to walk 10-14 km to and from school in a wildlife area. This also acts as a disincentive to send children to school at an early age. When the children are older the parents begin to consider the benefit of sending a child to school against making her or him work for other households. Some households said that they do not have the money to purchase school uniforms. Only one household had sent its four children right through primary and secondary school. This is also the only San household reported to own cattle, acquired, it is claimed, through the household head's traditional healing activities.

3.3 Religion

San oral history does not mention many religious ceremonies. San in Zimbabwe do not participate in Kalanga/Ndebele cultural ceremonies. San interviewed said that in the past a ceremony known as *Jii* was performed to appease spirits, its centrepiece being the *borro* dance – a dance in which metal hoe blades are used as musical instruments.¹¹ They noted that there were many ceremonies and rituals in the past, but in present-day San communities these are no longer performed. The decline in such practices can be explained by the decline in the importance of hunting among San and the progressive infiltration of Kalanga and Ndebele influences. For example, it is said that in the past, if men went after a dangerous animal, the women were supposed to lie on their stomachs until their husbands' return. This practice may have been discontinued when hunting was outlawed and there was no need for it. On the other hand, the women may have discontinued the practice because it would let the world know that their husbands were hunting despite this activity having been declared illegal.

Even though San were not agriculturists, there were times when they had to ask their spirits to bring rain. They needed water to attract wild animals and also for their own consumption (see Hitchcock 1996). The band leader – an informal leader – would invite the people under him to participate in a ceremonial dance. A clay pot with a concoction of water and branches of the *Nlongwe* tree was put on the elder's head. This would be followed by dancing, after which the rain was supposed to fall.

None of the San interviewed reported going to church. In Tsholotsho the Lutherans converted a San man, but he reverted to secular life when he was left on his own.

3.4 Linguistic data

San in Zimbabwe are largely of the Tua language group. At present they speak Kalanga and Ndebele; a few old San still remember the San language but do not use it in their day-to-day interactions. Schools use Kalanga and Ndebele as vernacular languages of instruction and examination, but over the four

¹¹ Cheater (1986: 29-30) cites Turnbull (1961), who while working among the pygmy Mbuti of Zaire observed that "the instruments which amplified the beautiful singing of the men turned out to be fifteen-foot lengths of metal drainpipe ..."

years of primary schooling Ndebele becomes the sole vernacular taught and examined. San use Kalanga or Ndebele surnames (e.g. Moyo, Ndlovu and Ncube), which some argue are equivalents of their San names. A slow process of social assimilation is taking place, which will result in the San becoming either Kalanga or Ndebele.

Haaland (1969) observes among the Fur and Baggara of Sudan a process of transformational ethnicity, which is more an ideological adjustment to changed material, environmental and social conditions than a choice of cultural models. The material basis of this transformation is supported by the fact that in those cases where there are philanthropists seeking to assist San, they will band together and reaffirm their San identity and also seek to exclude those Kalanga and Ndebele who might want to masquerade as being among their numbers. There is no indication that San would like to assimilate with Kalanga and Ndebele because they perceive this as a desirable outcome. Rather, they view this change as one route to escape from the poverty which has become almost synonymous with their ethnic status. Under other circumstances San are willing to identify themselves as Kalanga or Ndebele to minimise their ostracism, and to establish some kinship with and therefore get some assistance from their "kin". For the younger people, being Kalanga or Ndebele raises the prospect of enjoying the advantages of being a member of the dominant group.

Sithandile Xaphela, who is 13 years old, refuses to answer to her San name unless she is at home. She refuses, in fact, to acknowledge her San origins, preferring to be called by her assumed Ndebele name: "I am Ndebele. My name even says so." Madawo (1998: 10) comments that Sithandile Xaphela is:

... one of hundreds of San youths in the western part of Tsholotsho district ... who go out of their way to hide their true identity in order to be accepted as either Ndebele or Kalanga. This self-denial is a culmination of ... discrimination by their Ndebele and Kalanga neighbours who also dominate local community leadership positions.

Kalanga and Ndebele groups overtly demonstrate that they do not value any aspects of San culture. San youths see transforming themselves into Kalanga or Ndebele as a way of escaping discrimination and symbolically dissociating themselves from the poverty and perceived 'backwardness' of their ethnic group. However, there is no evidence of economic benefit that accrues to a person who "becomes" Kalanga or Ndebele; for one thing Kalanga and Ndebele do not acknowledge this transformation. Young San wish to be regarded as Ndebele or Kalanga because they have been socialised to regard the Kalanga and Ndebele cultures as being superior and desirable. There is a need to make San economically, organisationally and politically strong if the youth's perceptions of themselves is to change. At the same time there is a need to make the dominant groups aware of the virtues of pluralism and diversity.

CHAPTER 4

REVIEW OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

Colonial and post-colonial government policy in Zimbabwe has been implemented to the detriment of San. The 1929 Game and Fish Preservation Act required local people to cease their hunting activities as they were supposedly depleting wildlife resources (Hitchcock 1999). Davison (1977: 21, as quoted in Hitchcock 1999) quotes a game ranger in this regard:

The San were not really poachers in the worst sense. Just like a pride of lions, they killed only for their own needs, amounting to not much more than an animal a week. However the law had come ... and it had to be implemented.

Davison also noted that San were not hunting in a manner that threatened any wildlife population. The problem that threatened wildlife was not San hunting, but rather a shortage of water points. Nevertheless San were cut off from their way of life by a decision based not in fact or science, but in stereotyping of what “Bushmen” inherently were.

Chapter III of the post-colonial Zimbabwean Constitution¹² is the Declaration of Rights, which states that “every person in Zimbabwe is entitled to the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual, that is to say, the right [associated with] his race, tribe, place of origin, colour, creed or sex ...” Added to this are a number of guarantees including the guarantee of protection from deprivation of property.¹³

Protection from deprivation of property is an important issue in respect of San in Zimbabwe. The Declaration of Rights states:

No property of any description ... shall be compulsorily acquired except under the authority of the law that ... requires ... in the case of land or any interest or right therein, that the acquisition is reasonably necessary for the utilisation of that or any other land ... [or is necessary] for purposes of land reorganisation, forestry, environmental conservation or the utilisation of wild life or other natural resources ...

The Constitution guarantees San their rights as citizens of Zimbabwe. Some of the country’s laws give power to Rural District Councils (RDCs) to define ‘development’ for the people. This assumes culturally and ethnically neutral RDCs, but in the case of ethnically plural districts like Bulilimangwe, the CAMPFIRE experience lends support to the hypothesis of Johnston (1977):

Cultural values and ideals inform and structure the goals and agenda of local and national governments ... as well as [of] local elites. Powerless groups and their rights to land, resources, health and environmental protection and thus their future are expendable in the name of national [interests] ... This selective victimisation is a product of cultural notions (e.g. ethnocentrism, sexism) as well as [of] political economic relationships and histories.

¹² At the time of writing a new Constitution was being prepared. Conspicuously absent was any specific programme through which to consult with San as an indigenous population of Zimbabwe. Once again San interests were considered to be subsumed by Kalanga and Ndebele interests.

¹³ The declaration of rights specifically guarantees: the right to life; the right to liberty; the right to trial within a reasonable time; protection from slavery and forced labour; protection from inhuman treatment (torture, inhuman or degrading treatment); protection from the deprivation of property; protection from arbitrary search; protection of the law; protection of freedom of conscience; freedom of expression; freedom of assembly and association; freedom of movement; and protection from discrimination (on the grounds of race, tribe, place of origin, colour, creed or sex).

The Rural District Councils Act makes the RDCs the authorities responsible for developing communal lands. 'Development' is defined at higher government levels, and the RDCs tends to sacrifice minority interests in the name of national or collective interests. Consideration of powerless minority groups like San in development plans is not always guaranteed. Johnston (1977: 14) argues:

In spite of international and national structures establishing inalienable rights for all people, powerless groups are often denied rights to land, resources and health and environmental protection – in the name of economic growth and national security.

Post-colonial states and their sub-state agencies are faced with the major challenge of justifying their existence by meeting the material aspirations of their people (Murphree 1988). A failure to meet the aspirations of the people results in a weak state, marked by "fragile institutions ... and the unavailability of human, material and fiscal resources" (Rothchild & Olorunsola 1983: 7). The Bulilimamangwe and Tsholotsho RDCs, like most local authorities, have a limited financial resource base that has dwindled with reduced central government support to RDCs, and this dwindling financial base has reduced the autonomy of RDCs. The Bulilimamangwe RDC, for example, had severe transport problems that were partly solved by CAMPFIRE with funding from USAID. In a bid to deal with financial problems, the RDCs will pursue any course that promises financial and material resources. In the event of minority group interests (e.g. the right of San to reside in a designated hunting area) blocking the adoption of such a plan, the pursuit of 'national interests' takes precedence. The Parks and Wild Life Act of 1975 gave the RDCs legal authority (termed 'appropriate authority status') to access wildlife resources in their districts. Appropriate authority status is therefore an opportunity for the RDCs to raise extra revenues through safari hunting. Until the advent of CAMPFIRE in 1989, most San households led a semi-nomadic lifestyle in the *lagisa* area (see box above). The Bulilimamangwe RDC requested the San to settle in Makhulela Ward to facilitate safari hunting under CAMPFIRE. The San were thereby rendered sedentary and without any draught power or agricultural implements, and consequently they were left with the prospect of only poor agricultural performance. This process of San marginalisation is dealt with further in subsequent sections of this report.

CHAPTER 5

LAND AND LAND TENURE

5.1 San access to land and natural resources

The discussion of access to land in Zimbabwe has been dominated by a perception of land as pastures and arable agricultural areas. In the case of San, however, it is more relevant to speak of access to the land's natural resources that have been the primary source of their sustenance. Colonial and post-colonial state policies have disrupted a vital link between San and the products of the land. Having effected this breach, successive governments have not provided realistic alternatives for San to embark on a new life.

According to Johnston (1997):

In the past, when peoples were faced with deteriorating environmental conditions, their success in adapting was dependent on sufficient time to develop biological responses or behavioural responses that recognise changing environmental conditions, identify causality, search out or devise new strategies, and incorporate new strategies in ways that will allow that society to survive and thrive.

The colonial period marked a change in the condition of the African population, and particularly of San in Zimbabwe. Land and natural resources became state property, and subsistence through the hunting of wildlife was outlawed. This brought about a change in living conditions without the time to develop appropriate responses. The Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 aimed to provide for “the control of the utilisation and allocation of land occupied by natives [racially but not ethnically defined] and to ensure its efficient use for agricultural purposes ...”. Such colonial laws did not make provision for San as a special group that had hitherto relied not on agriculture or pastoralism, but on natural resources.

In the colonial era hunting was illegal but enforcement was poor. The San were able to hunt unseen and eat meat, some of which they exchanged for grain from Kalanga and Ndebele. Even with this exchange there is no evidence of intensified resource exploitation (Davison 1977; Mackenzie 1987). San were not prepared for the new way of life that came with the progressive enforcement of hunting laws. As a result they started living on handouts and looking for employment a means to survive. Because of a lack of alternatives, their bargaining power was so low as to expose them to Kalanga and Ndebele exploitation. Such poor economic bargaining power also had implications for their political status, as will be shown below.

After independence in 1980 the new Government of Zimbabwe, like its predecessor (the Government of Rhodesia), could not effectively enforce natural resource management regulations, including the anti-hunting laws. At the same time the Government's control was gradually weakening at the national and sub-national levels. It is against this background that CAMPFIRE was introduced.

CAMPFIRE sought to localise authority over the management (conservation) and use of wildlife (Madzudzo 1995), with the legal authority to manage wildlife being conferred on the RDCs. The RDCs saw a source of financial and material resources in CAMPFIRE, and this gave them an incentive to effectively control hunting by local communities. In Bulilimangwe and Tsholotsho locals were recruited and trained as game scouts to protect wildlife from poachers.

With the introduction of CAMPFIRE the political economics of wildlife conservation had taken a new turn. Through the localisation of enforcement, San were completely cut off from wildlife in the name of

development. In contrast with the former dispensation, in terms of which wildlife was regarded as state property, wildlife was now communal property, even though the status of San was not equal to that of others. Couched as a community control mechanism, state surveillance had impinged on the lives of San. Without wildlife or a culture of agriculture, San were reduced to beggars on the fringes of the dominant groups.

CAMPFIRE has been developed in Bulilimamangwe and Tsholotsho with no special regard paid to the ethnic divisions of the community, and no effort has been made to target any activity specifically for the benefit of San. The CAMPFIRE area has been apportioned along the lines of wards. Established in 1982, wards are a recent phenomenon and do not differentiate between people on the basis of ethnicity or resource use. The division into wards has been in part based on the historical use of the wildlife area in question, but no effort has been made to take account of the fact that San are the original users of the areas.

In 1994 Makhulela village acquired fencing purchased with CAMPFIRE revenues to protect the fields of Kalanga and Ndebele. No fencing was acquired to protect the fields of San, who in covert protest refused to assist in erecting the fences as requested by the village councillor. They argued that the fences were not going to benefit them. The councillor in turn felt that San were not co-operating in community projects, and claimed that this was a symptom of a dependence syndrome among San, who were accustomed to receiving handouts from donors without putting in any effort themselves.

The San village chairperson later approached the ward councillor demanding a share of the revenues for his people. They needed the money to purchase some donkeys for draught power. The councillor and other Kalanga and Ndebele present at the meeting opposed this. They argued that the revenues were for the whole ward, which included the San there. It was said that San should come to meetings and lobby for projects for their area. The San rejected this, saying that they were not given opportunities to air their views at meetings. They further alleged that attempts by San to contribute to debates were always either ignored or opposed, and that projects selected did not benefit them. They further complained that there were no San members of the Wildlife Committee because these were not elected by the people.

Although San had relinquished their use of the wildlife area in accordance with CAMPFIRE, they were not receiving any benefits from this initiative. San households had previously used the *lagisa* area for subsistence, but the interests of the village at large were now being favoured to the detriment of San. The feelings of San are encapsulated in one respondent's comment:

In the past San were not serious about ploughing since there was abundant wildlife for meat. The meat would be exchanged for grain from the Kalanga people. The San are not showing signs of changing from the old ways even though hunting has been restricted. They are beggars without the meat. Some try to carve stools but their lives are now worse than before.

CHAPTER 6

PARTICIPATION OF SAN IN COMMUNITY-BASED NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

The preceding section focused on the introduction of CAMPFIRE as a community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) project. This section will examine how CAMPFIRE benefits have been distributed in the communities where San live.

6.1 Community projects

When Makhulela village received its allocation of fencing, the fields of Kalanga and Ndebele were fenced, but not those of San. In covert protest the San refused to assist in erecting the fences as requested by the village councillor, arguing that the fences were not going to benefit them. The Kalanga councillor said that this was a symptom of a dependence syndrome among San, who were accustomed to receiving handouts from donors without making any effort themselves.

The San village chairperson later approached the ward councillor demanding a share of the revenues for his people, who needed the money to purchase some donkeys for draught power. The councillor and other Kalanga and Ndebele present at the meeting opposed this. They argued that the revenues were for the whole ward, which included the San. It was said that the San should come to meetings and lobby for projects for their area. The San rejected this, saying that they were not given the opportunity to air their views at meetings. They further alleged that attempts by San to contribute to debates were always either ignored or opposed. Consequently, they argued, the projects selected did not benefit San. They further complained that there were no San members of the Wildlife Committee because these were not elected by the people.

The situation is a little different in Tsholotsho. The Councillor and the Wildlife Committee in Ward 7 have ensured that San also enjoy the benefits of CAMPFIRE. San were invited to community CAMPFIRE celebrations and given special roles, albeit peripheral ones. Some of the revenues were used to purchase seed, dried fish and beans that were distributed to elderly San and Kalanga members of the community. Some of the revenues have been used for community projects like roads and community halls. San have been invited to work with other ethnic groups on these community projects. In addition, schools have received cash donations, thus benefiting San children attending school alongside Kalanga and Ndebele children.

CHAPTER 7

POLITICAL STATUS OF SAN

7.1 Participation in national and regional politics

The history and economic status of San communities have an influence on their political status. Prior to and during the early years of colonialism, San were a relatively autonomous community. Their production system was characterised by hunting and gathering, and the absence of an accumulation ethic meant that there were no institutions based on corporate protection of property. Leadership did not have the same connotations for San as it did for the sedentary Kalanga and Ndebele (see Schapera 1956). The colonial authorities appointed chiefs from the Kalanga and Ndebele, thereby officially subordinating San to these groups.

Prior to the colonial period San had traded with Kalanga and Ndebele on their own terms. San bargaining power diminished when subsistence hunting was outlawed. Without skills and equipment to embark on agriculture, San became dependent on Kalanga and Ndebele for food. This process further entrenched the subordinate status of San and obtains to the present day. The San are regarded by their neighbours as people who are not politically equal. This is compounded by the fact that traditional leadership positions are ascribed in Bulilimamangwe, but San are assumed to be subjects.

The official government position is that participation in non-traditional politics at the national and local levels is open and voluntary. Cheater (1986) points out, however, that new institutions are not necessarily voluntary in situations where historical and traditional relationships have precluded individual achievement and voluntarism. San participation in national politics is constrained by their subordinate status and declining population. In theory, anyone can be elected to public office under the post-independence system of representation. In practice, however, this is not an option for San because they live in an area that is dominated by Kalanga and Ndebele, who do not respect or accept San leadership.

A San respondent mentioned that they have little interest in attending community development meetings. Although everyone is free to speak openly, when a San speaks the Kalanga and Ndebele present at the meeting deride the speaker.

In Tsholotsho a respondent mentioned that during elections people vote along ethnic lines. As a result of the San's numerical inferiority and the fact that they do not participate in such activities (as a result of general apathy or the fact that they have been socialised to be silent in political matters), no San has been elected to office.

In another case an electric fence erected under CAMPFIRE had yielded positive results in the control of problem animals. The community decided to organise a celebration to show gratitude for the fence and the increased harvests it made possible, but the Kalanga and Ndebele women refused to organise a celebration that included San, alleging that San are notorious for being violent once they get drunk. Their position was that if San wanted to be involved in a celebration they should organise one for themselves. Kalanga and Ndebele have been socialised to view San as socially inferior, and they seek to exclude San from most social activities.

7.2 Intra-San community relations

Ethnic distinctions are more salient when two or more groups are viewed in juxtaposition. It is necessary to understand the political processes that take place within the group if one is to understand the nature and effectiveness of group stratagems both within the group and regarding outsiders.

Intra-San community relations

Mqolisi is the head of the San community in Siwowo village near Manzamnyama. Mqolisi is still not happy about the assistance San people receive from benevolent sources. He feels that the San people from his village, which is some distance from the main road, have not received as much coverage and exposure as those at Thwayithwayi village on the main road. He alleged that San people from Thwayithwayi did not want to attend meetings, but that they nevertheless benefit more from his efforts at meetings.

Mqolisi felt that the late kraal head, Hlalani, was not a strong man. Hlalani had never held any meetings for them to make their grievances known to the “whole country”. Mqolisi felt that there was a need to have another kraal head for the San near Manzamnyama River.

In the past San cultural institutions served to place the notion of community before that of the individual in some form of “primitive communism” (Sahlins 1972; Lee 1979). In neither Bulilimamangwe nor Tsholotsho is there evidence of San pursuing certain projects (political or otherwise) as a corporate ethnic group. Each household seeks to attach itself to a Kalanga or Ndebele household as a survival strategy. On the other hand, the ethnic group seems to coalesce and project an (almost insular) identity when there are donations to be distributed.¹⁴

7.3 San perceptions of their social, political and economic status in Zimbabwe

Murphree (1988) suggests that a case for corporate or confrontational ethnically-defined political activity exists in cases where there is ethnic discreteness, relative economic deprivation and political marginalisation. This kind of activity may take the form of irredentism, ethnic alliance or silence. The history of San as an acephalous, nomadic hunter-gatherer society does not create the need for territorial restitution. This is compounded by the low San populations thinly spread in Bulilimamangwe and Tsholotsho. Also there is no evidence of ethnic alliance between San on the one hand and Kalanga and Ndebele on the other. Although the groups are neighbours, Kalanga and Ndebele interests become local interests in dealings with outsiders. The benefits that derive from dominating San are a disincentive for Kalanga to enter into a coalition with them to achieve political ends. Even in Tsholotsho, where there is an element of integration resulting from the settlement pattern, one still sees and is able to identify groups based on ethnicity.

As in the case of the Tonga described by Murphree (1988), the San’s stance is one of silence. This has come about because, given the post-independence political experiences of the region between 1982 and 1987, it is perceived to be dangerous to speak out. They have also been silent because of their numerical insignificance. Silence is a stratagem that assures San access to food and work from Kalanga and Ndebele. As Haaland (1969) points out, the articulation of ethnic distinctiveness is most likely to occur among people locked into competition over scarce moral or material resources, where ethnic boundaries may provide a means of excluding the claims of the other. San identify themselves as distinct from any other group when there is a donor seeking to help them. In these cases it is to their advantage to be distinctively San. Reference has also been made in this report to the attempt of San to have their village separated from Makhulela village, which is dominated by Kalanga and Ndebele. The intention behind this stratagem was to gain access to and control over CAMPFIRE benefits that had hitherto eluded them because of their subordinate status.

¹⁴ Similar observations have been made by scholars studying ethnicity. See, for example, Van den Berghe (1975), Despres (1975), Murphree (1988) and Dzingirai & Madzudzo (1999).

San perceptions of their problems

A San respondent referred to the issue of jealousy on the part of Kalanga and Ndebele. She said that the Government's policies after independence were good, and that it had been proposed that San households be given cattle as a source of draught power. She says the plan failed because of jealous non-San councillors who did not want San to herd their own cattle, but wanted them to continue to be a source of cheap labour for the dominant ethnic groups. To support this allegation of jealousy she said that when Government (donors)¹⁵ donated some ploughs the councillors held them back, demanding that anyone who wanted a plough had to pay Z\$45. The San people refused because, in her words, "Where could we get the Z\$45?"

A female respondent said that Ndebele and Kalanga influenced the Government not to give San cattle, alleging that San are careless and would kill the cattle for meat. She felt that these were all lies because "San have always been slaves for the Kalanga ... caring for their cattle. At no time did we kill their animals – why would we do it now?" The respondent felt that Kalanga and Ndebele are jealous of San and know that once San become full-time farmers, they will not be used by anybody. That will also mean that Kalanga will have to tend their own cattle, something they are not used to doing. They want the San to remain a people without any resources.

The respondent said that it was not true that San would perish without Kalanga and Ndebele. In hard times she could dig up the pupa of the mopane worm and make food for her children. Rather, she felt that the other ethnic groups could not do without San because San do "half" of the work done in Kalanga and Ndebele households, fencing their fields, removing stumps, and weeding and harvesting. They also look after their cattle, because Kalanga and Ndebele are afraid of the bush.

7.4 Social, political and economic aspirations

Interviews with San show that they would like to be anyone else in the community and in the country. In this regard their aspirations are food security and the ability to send their children to school.

San say that the reason for their food insecurity is a lack of draught power and farming implements. Most of the households resort to tilling their land by hand – a slow process that reduces the amount of land that can be brought under cultivation. As a result the food they harvest does not last until the next season. Discussions with San showed that their shortage of food is most acute in the rainy season. At a time when everyone else is working their fields, they are forced to abandon their fields and look for work to get some food. Thus they are caught in a cycle of poverty that reproduces itself each year and worsens in the event of a drought, when even their benefactors are short of food. Most of the respondents felt that assistance with obtaining farming implements and direct food assistance, especially at cropping times, would help them to escape from this cycle.

In Bulilimamangwe the sentiment has been expressed by San and others that when projects at ward or village level are implemented, San should be considered like everyone else for employment. They also say that there should be an evaluation of whether the project benefits San in the same way that it does the dominant ethnic groups. Our respondents mentioned specific projects that should be implemented for San, for example tillage programmes at the onset of the cropping season so that they are able to plant early. San feel that they can monitor the projects on their own. For instance, when in 1995 they felt that the field worker's handling of the children's food rations from Redd Barna was questionable, they moved the food from her house to that of another person in the community. This was an illustration of the local capacity to manage relevant projects.

7.5 San's capacity to realise their aspirations

San collect mopane worms (*gonimbrasia bellina*) and thatching grass (Hobane 1994), using the mopane worm for food and selling some of the surplus to outsiders. Thatching grass is collected for repairing

¹⁵ Most rural people perceive donors and NGOs as arms of government.

houses and some is exchanged for food, clothes and beer. Most of the money realised from these activities is used to purchase food and none is used for the education of children or the purchase of draught power.

In the past, hunting was possible. San have never been accumulators. For this reason, unlike Kalanga and Ndebele, they felt no need to go to South Africa or Botswana in search of work as they could sustain themselves without leaving their 'homes'. Now hunting is banned, and going to South Africa to seek work has become more costly and difficult. There is a high level of unemployment in Zimbabwe, and the few formal jobs available are covertly allocated along ethnic lines (see Berry 1980). There are no San in influential positions. These circumstances cumulatively militate against the San being able to realise their aspirations.

Exploitation of San is rife in Bulilimamangwe. There are allegations that San employees steal from their employers when they leave, and also that this may be because they never get their pay on time and that when it comes it is always short of the promised amount. Furthermore the work is not commensurate with the pay they receive. Nevertheless, San are not passive recipients of whatever conditions they find themselves in. Our respondents reported that some San migrate to work in other villages where they think they will get better wages or payment, and that they simply leave bad employers. This is a localised expression of the desire to work under conditions that will enable them to realise their aspirations.

San spend most their time ensuring that they have enough to eat. A legacy of their forced adoption of a settled lifestyle is that they were never prepared for a life based on agriculture. Although some of the issues discussed do affect the other ethnic groups as well, it is San who are least insulated from crises and therefore least able to achieve their goals, as illustrated by the following examples.

San's capacity to realise their aspirations

H is a San bachelor who has a small field that the Ndebele people call *isivande*. Although small, the field has a variety of crops, including maize, melons, millet and sorghum. He said that almost all San have fields that they are trying to cultivate and noted that this was a change from the past, when they were not interested in agriculture, the reason for the change being that getting food handouts from Kalanga was becoming difficult because they were themselves experiencing food insecurity as a result of the droughts. He said most San used hoes for cultivating but he was helped by the Kalanga in exchange for herding cattle. He said that although he was grateful for the help, he was unhappy because his fields are ploughed last when the rains are gone, so negatively affecting his capacity to realise a good harvest.

San as labourers

N, a boy of 12 years old, is too young to be a goat or donkey herder, but he has been herding cattle for four years. He was promised a monthly payment of Z\$40, but he has only been given Z\$20 and a pair of grey trousers. He says that when his employer's wife recruited him he was told he was going to herd goats, but that he was later asked to look after cattle and donkeys. His grandmother recalled him when she realised that he was being underpaid. He now herds goats for another family that has promised to pay him Z\$60. He wants to buy tennis shoes and a T-shirt when he gets the money. Although his uncle wanted him to go to school, his grandmother opposes this, saying that the school always wants money. If he goes to school he will not be able to work and earn some money for the household.

CHAPTER 8

HUMAN RIGHTS

Zimbabwe's human rights record¹⁶ has in part been influenced by its colonial history. Before independence the country was ruled by a white minority. The colonial regime pursued a policy of separate development guided by racial discrimination. All black people were considered to be one homogeneous group. As part of the black community they had to make do with poor health and education services, and little attention was paid to their general development. In the struggle for Zimbabwean independence the issue of race therefore took precedence over other issues like ethnicity and gender (see Wilford 1998). San women and men participated in the liberation struggle both within and outside the country. Unlike in South Africa and Namibia, where San and other hunter-gatherer communities were used by colonial government forces, there are no cases reported of San (voluntarily or otherwise) joining the Rhodesian army as a special force.

After independence Matebeleland North and Matebeleland South were considered to be Ndebele territory, the stronghold of the opposition Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). ZAPU was accused of sponsoring and directing guerrillas to destabilise the country and eventually overthrow the Government.¹⁷ The Government sought a military solution to the political problems in Matebeleland. This was accompanied by gross human rights violations that the country, and especially the community of Matebeleland, had never before experienced. What is relevant to this report is the fact that the areas inhabited by San, particularly Tsholotsho, "tower above all other districts in all offence categories with 770 named dead and missing" (CCJP & LRF 1997: 142). Although the CCJP and LRF data do not list victims by ethnicity, an analysis of the places where the atrocities took place show that San were not spared. Places where atrocities took place include Cawunajena, Tembile, Gulalikabili, St Wilfred's School, Pelandanba, Gariya, Mgodhi, Masili and Sikente, where there are significant San populations. In most cases there were reports of whole villages being rounded up and assaulted, with fatalities arising.

Interviews with San respondents showed that they suffered the same treatment as other people in the villages at the hands of government soldiers and other armed men. In Bulilimangwe San were driven away from their original village in the bush near the Tekhwane River by the Five Brigade, and they came to settle near the Kalanga. At the end of the hostilities some returned to the bush while others settled in Thwayithwayi and Makhulela villages.

The whole of the Matebeleland area is still suffering from the effects of the post-independence military activities. The culture of silence prevailing among the people is based on fear, disappointment and desolation.¹⁸ A comprehensive physical and psychological rehabilitation programme is imperative.¹⁹

¹⁶ Human rights treaties ratified by Zimbabwe as at 31 December 1995: International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid; and the African Charter on Human Rights (the "Banjul Charter").

¹⁷ For detailed background, accounts and analyses, see Bhebhe & Ranger (1995a and 1995b) and CCJP/LRF (1997).

¹⁸ At the time of writing, a constitutional commission seeking submissions in Tsholotsho reported that the exercise was not successful because the people were unwilling to talk for fear of the Five Brigade coming to hunt them down again.

¹⁹ The Amani Trust counsels victims of torture and the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference has established a Matabeleland Reconciliation Committee tasked to compile information on the needs of the communities affected by the Five Brigade (Rev. Pius Ncube, "Catholics helping 5 Brigade Victims", in *The Dispatch*, 8-14 October 1999). No interviews were conducted with these groups due to time constraints.

CHAPTER 9

NGO AND CBO EFFECTIVENESS IN ADDRESSING PROBLEMS SAN FACE

Several NGOs have assisted San in Bulilimamangwe and Tsholotsho. While this assistance is commendable, it has not solved their problems, the root of which is that they are not adequately equipped to cope with a life based on agriculture and livestock-rearing. As a result most of the assistance can be viewed as palliative and superficial.

9.1 Background to and performance of NGOs

9.1.1 Zimbabwe Trust

Zimbabwe Trust is a non-governmental organisation that has been involved in institution-building and strengthening in Bulilimamangwe and other districts since 1989. It has assisted the Bulilimamangwe RDC by creating and strengthening CAMPFIRE committees at the community level. Zimbabwe Trust has assumed a monitoring role to ensure that the RDC continues to honour the CAMPFIRE principles, especially that of community involvement in the management of the programme. Conflict sometimes characterises relations between the RDC and Zimbabwe Trust. The RDC dislikes the insistence of the Zimbabwe Trust on more community involvement in wildlife management and benefit apportionment. Since 1997 donor funds for the development of CAMPFIRE have been channelled directly to the RDC and not through Zimbabwe Trust, as had been the case in the past. This change has reduced Zimbabwe Trust's bargaining power relative to the RDC regarding CAMPFIRE. Interviews with Zimbabwe Trust officials reveal that there has been a significant decrease in the number of outreach activities aimed at strengthening community involvement in CAMPFIRE.

9.1.2 Redd Barna

Redd Barna (the Norwegian Save the Children Fund) made efforts to increase literacy levels among San. They undertook to buy school uniforms for San school children and to pay any fees required. An adult literacy class was also started with the assistance of this NGO. The uniforms were bought and given to the headmaster to distribute to San children in need. The headmaster called all the San to a meeting and informed them that since their children attended school, they had to learn to take part in school activities like meetings and to assist with any work that might need to be done at the school. He also mentioned that the Kalanga and Ndebele were not happy that the San were not paying levies and never took part in work organised by the Parents and Teachers Association (PTA). He said that before he could give them the uniforms the San parents had to repair the school fence. The parents agreed and started the work the following day.

Notes on San-NGO interaction

Tsholotsho

A group of business people from Bulawayo brought some ploughs and seed. Most of the agricultural implements were not used because there was no draught power. Because they were hungry, San washed the chemicals off the seed maize and ate it.

Ward 7 embarked on a road rehabilitation project. San people were employed.

August 1995: Zimbabwe Trust conducted a census of 414 adults and 500 children of San origin. Because of the drought they were given 40 bags of maize, 690 500 g packets of sugar beans, 228 750 ml bottles of cooking oil, 280 500 ml bottles of cooking oil and 350 1 kg packets of salt.

Bulilimamangwe

December 1998: The Rotary Club of Bulawayo has brought 100 hoes and 600 kg of maize seed to Bulilimamangwe. The San have not been told of the arrival of the goods. In advance, contributing to the commotion. The donors did not take the Agritex worker with them: this makes it difficult for the extension worker to give advice to the beneficiaries because of their reduced clout. The San say that they would have preferred maize. In March 1988, 248 packets of maize meal had been brought to them.

Food handouts at Thwayithwayi village in Bulilimamangwe, 6 August 1995

Spar supermarket chain donated maize-meal, oranges, cabbages and bread to the San community. By 09h00 many San and also some Kalanga had gathered at the late San village chairperson's home. Apart from the San residents at Thwayithwayi village, many others came from the Manzamnyama River area of Siwowo. Some appeared to have come from Tsholotsho District across the river. Several Council officials were also present, but not the local headman, who had not been advised. When the Asian businessmen arrived there was ululating and dancing because the people knew that these were their sympathisers. They first gave Mqolisi's wife a dress, a pack of tobacco and a cap. Later on two lorries arrived with 2 500 5 kg packs of maize-meal, 25 50 kg sacks of cabbages, dozens of bread loaves and a 200 litre container of diluted drink. The manager of Spar made a short speech about how they had read in the papers about the San and how they were suffering from hunger. He said that he wished Zimbabweans would help all the needy and not only San.

San women interviewed complained that they were being invaded by Kalanga and Ndebele women looking for handouts. The San got most of the goods but there was enough for even the Kalanga and Ndebele women to get some too. Each San family got 10 5 kg bags of maize-meal.

The Council Executive Officer privately complained about handouts. He felt that the strategy was appropriate as a short-term measure, but if overdone would lead to a dependency syndrome. He said that the RDC was trying to integrate San with the rest of the community. Relief projects that targeted San in particular would encourage them to seek a separate social identity. (He did not say what exactly the advantages of a bureaucratically-driven integration process are.) He felt that the San should have been given some work to do (again he did not specify what work and in whose service), after which the donation of food should have been made. Anyone wanting to help San should do so in a manner that did not make them dependent.

9.2 Areas not covered by NGOs

Although CAMPFIRE is widely praised for enabling local communities to manage local resources, it has failed to recognise San as a particular interest group and has tended to address the interests of dominant and articulate interest groups at their expense. This has further marginalised San.

Drought power remains an unresolved issue, and the chances of San solving it on their own are very remote. This is the major problem affecting San.

In most cases donors and philanthropists have decided on the basis of press reports what kind of help to give San. They have not consulted with the beneficiaries regarding what kind of help they may require.

No effort has been made to implement sustainable programmes that focus on San youth or women.²⁰

²⁰ Due to time constraints this study did not pay particular attention to the youth other than in the context of education.

9.3 NGO activities in Bulilimamangwe

It appears that there is very little NGO activity focusing on San in Bulilimamangwe and Tsholotsho. Redd Barna has withdrawn from Bulilimamangwe. The Catholic Church has established a mission centre at Ndolwane about 6 km from where San live. The Catholic Church sometimes assists families, mainly converts, with food. The Church does not specifically focus on San. Zimbabwe Trust has scaled down its CAMPFIRE-related activities in Bulilimamangwe and Tsholotsho. Nevertheless, Zimbabwe Trust still maintains a presence in both districts. Given its previous experience in institutional development and natural resource management, and in particular its attempts to consider San as a special interest group, Zimbabwe Trust is an organisation that can be approached to co-ordinate San issues in Bulilimamangwe and Tsholotsho.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

San in Zimbabwe are a minority population inhabiting the marginal areas of the country, and they are socially, economically and politically marginalised as a result of colonial and post-colonial policies. San have found themselves having to lead a sedentary life based on agriculture without the necessary facilities such as draught power and agricultural implements. As a result they are locked in a cycle of poverty that is characterised by self-rejection, hopelessness and exploitative client relationships with dominant groups. This situation has weakened San's capacity for co-ordinating strategies to meet their aspirations in the political and social spheres. Natural resource management projects implemented in areas where San live have failed to recognise San as a particular group with particular interests that are not necessarily the same as those of other ethnic groups. The aspirations of powerful groups have been given priority over those of San.

This report therefore makes the following recommendations.

10.1 Empowerment strategies for food security

The key problem is that San have been disempowered by being forced into a sedentary life with no assistance in the form of draught power and agricultural implements, in the absence of which they have been reduced to providing poorly paid work for the dominant ethnic groups. There is an urgent need to assist San with draught power (cattle or donkeys) and farming implements.

The Department of Agricultural and Extension Services and the Department of Veterinary Services must be involved in all efforts to assist San. These departments are permanently located in the area where San live and can continue to assist San in their efforts to provide food for themselves. Exclusion of these agencies alienates them and reduces their capacity to influence San to adopt certain strategies.

It is crucially important to ensure that San do not suffer from food insecurity to the extent that they abandon their fields or dispose of some of their assets in order to get food. Food assistance must be provided from the beginning of the rainy season until harvest time in order to reduce San's vulnerability.

The use of small grains that are drought resistant must be encouraged in this semi-arid area.

Goats provide ready cash income, meat and milk for most households in Bulilimamangwe and Tsholotsho. Assistance must be provided for San, especially women, to start their own goat herds.

In all cases assistance should be focused on the household rather than on other groupings, as production and consumption occur at the household level.

10.2 Education

San households should be provided with school fees and uniforms for their children. Such assistance should be directly channelled to the schools. Parents should participate in determining the conditions

under which each child is to benefit, for example through the contribution of labour for school development projects.

A scholarship fund should be established for both primary and secondary schooling for San children.

10.3 Institutional arrangements

The relevant RDC must be involved at all levels. This is politically necessary to ensure sustainability. But assistance for San should be used specifically for San families and children. There is a danger that by including the RDC, the assistance may be politicised at the expense of the intended beneficiaries. It must be made clear that the ultimate objective is to make San responsible for deciding their own future.

There is a need for an adaptive approach. Participatory monitoring and evaluation processes should be put in place.

10.4 CAMPFIRE and San

San communities have managed and lived on natural resources for longer than any other ethnic group in southern Africa. This status is no longer reflected in natural resource management practices in Zimbabwe. San should also play a significant role in the planning and implementation of CAMPFIRE. For this to happen, institutional and organisational capacity among San must be strengthened to allow them to lobby for increased participation in CAMPFIRE.

10.5 Role models

Efforts must be made to expose San in Zimbabwe to other San groups in the region so that they can learn how to improve their status.

10.6 Development prerequisites

Most discussions with San are dominated by their concern over food security. This is an important issue that must be accorded priority attention.

Zimbabwe is currently engaged in land reform. Opportunities should be afforded to San to resettle in areas with good agricultural potential so that they can achieve food security.

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APPENDIX

LIST OF PEOPLE CONTACTED

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Mr D. Taurai, Regional Manager, Zimbabwe Trust
Mr K. Khuphe, Makhulela Primary School, Bulilimamangwe
Ms S. Ndlovu, Makhulela Primary School, Bulilimamangwe
Ms K. Moyo, Makhulela Primary School, Bulilimamangwe
Nurse Moyo, Butshe Clinic, Makhulela Primary School, Bulilimamangwe
Fanisa Moyo, Makhulela Primary School, Bulilimamangwe
More Orchard Sibanda, Bulilimamangwe Rural District Council

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

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

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



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