



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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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	Forças Armadas Angolana (Angolan Armed Forces)
FNLA	Frente Nacional de Libertacao 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 Libertacao 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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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.

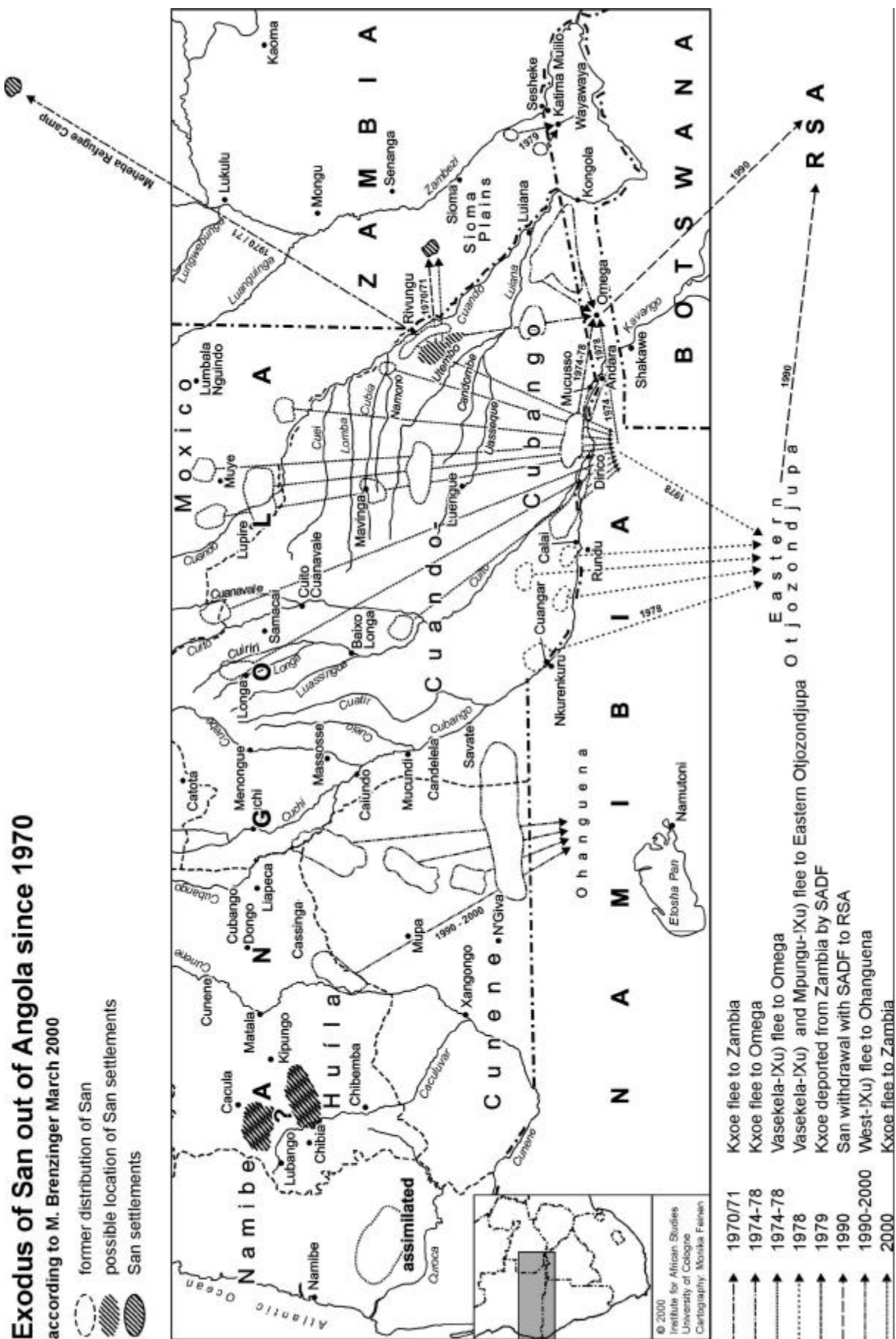
2.2.2 !Xu

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.



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 Wayawaya, 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, water-melon, 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 Direcção Geral de Segurança (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'état 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

Elias Madzudzo

for the

LEGAL ASSISTANCE CENTRE (LAC)

Windhoek • Namibia • April 2001

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The estimated 2 500 San in Zimbabwe live in the contiguous Bulilimamangwe 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 Bulilimamangwe 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 Ngwatho. 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.

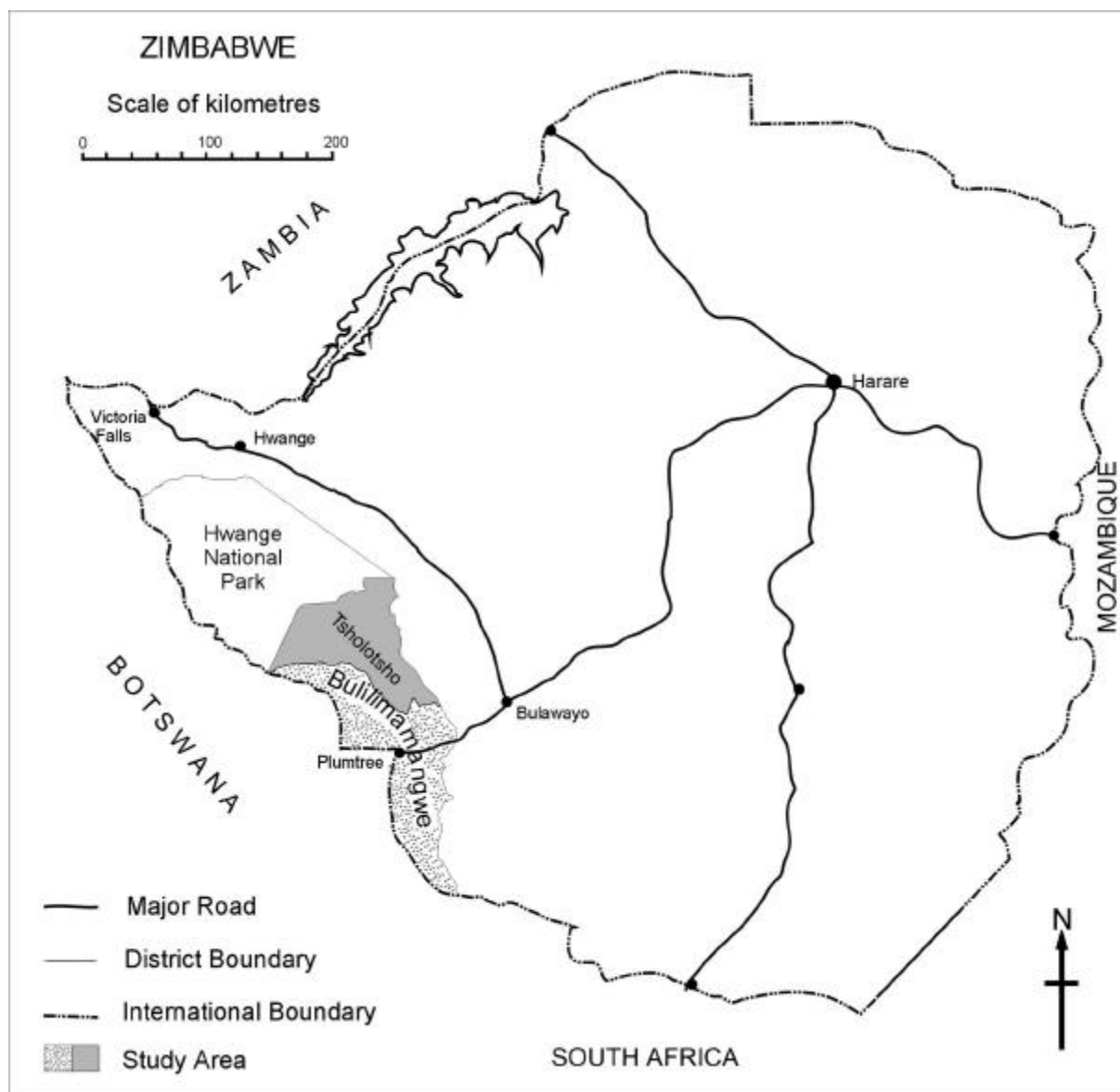


Figure 3.1: Location of study area in Zimbabwe

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/Manzamnyama 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 Manzamnyama, 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."

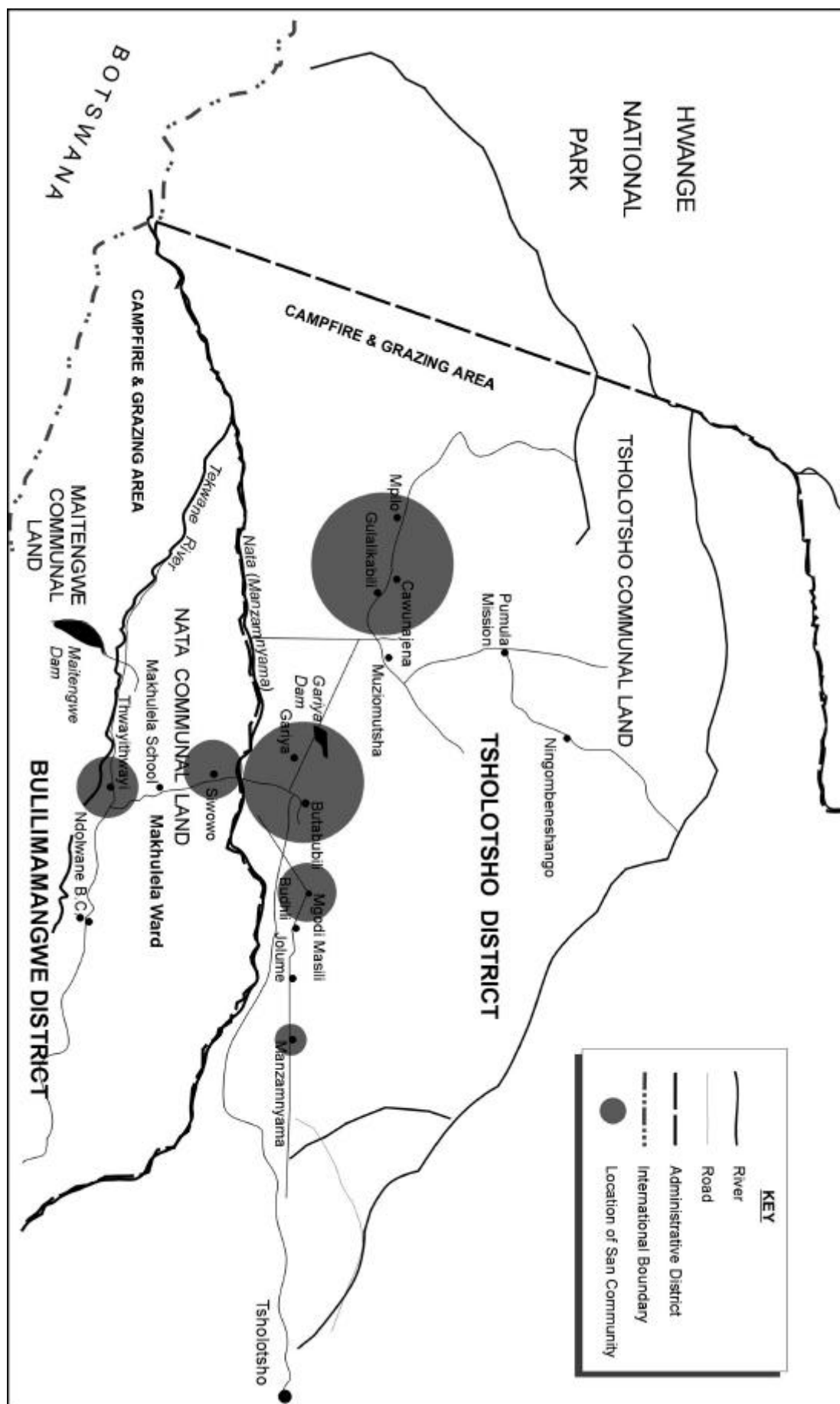


Figure 3.2: Location of San areas in Bulilimangwe and Tsholotsho

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 (CAMPFIRE) 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 (Manzamnyama) 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 Bulilimamangwe

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 Bulilimamangwe, 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 Bulilimamangwe, 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

Tjdzani 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. Tjdzani 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. Tjdzani 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 as 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 Manzanyma. 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 Manzanyma 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 Bulilimangwe 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 Bulilimangwe 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, Mgodi, 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 Bulilimamangwe 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 desperation.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 Manzanymama River area of Siwovo. 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

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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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