

Chapter 11

Caprivi Region

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Note: At the time of editing this report in August 2013, the name “Caprivi Region” was changed to “Zambezi Region”. As all of our research was conducted when the region was still named Caprivi, we have retained this name in this report.



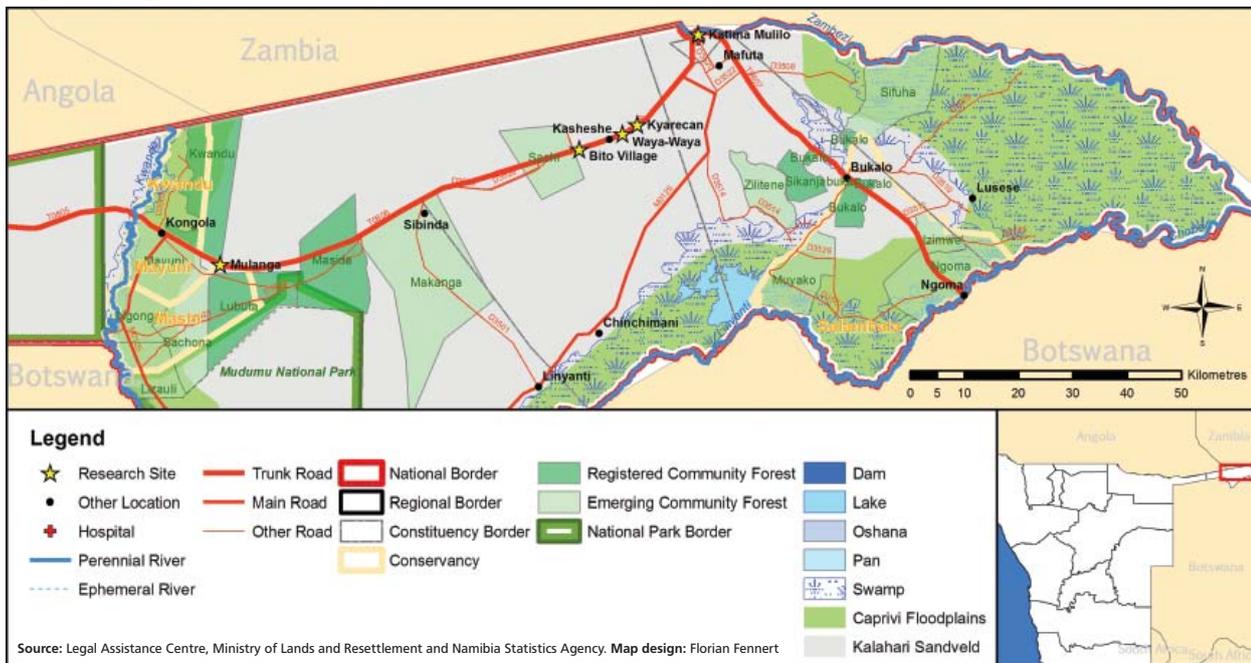
The Zambezi River, near Katima Mulilo, Caprivi

11.1 General background

Caprivi Region covers the eastern part of the Bwabwata National Park (BNP – also referred to as ‘West Caprivi’ and ‘western Caprivi’) and the land east of the Kwando River. The portion of Caprivi Region within the BNP is covered in Chapter 10, thus it is excluded from this chapter on Caprivi which focuses on the area *east* of the Kwando River. (See map on the next page.)

Caprivi is mostly flat and characterised by several rivers and floodplains. Much of the region is low-lying, and in high-flood years large areas of land are under water. A large part of the region’s land surface is taken up by state-run protected areas: the BNP, the Mamili National Park, the Mudmumu National Park and the Caprivi State Forest. Large parts of the region along the Kwando-Linyanti river system and on the eastern floodplains have been established as communal conservancies and community forests.

Caprivi Region and the research sites



Caprivi has the highest rainfall of all of Namibia's regions, with an annual average of just under 700 mm around Katima Mulilo (the region's capital). Most of the region is covered by soils that are moderate to poor for crop farming (Mendelsohn and Roberts 1998: 6, 17).

Caprivi is divided into six constituencies: Kabbe, Katima Mulilo Urban, Katima Mulilo Rural, Kongola, Linyanti and Sibbinda. The region has a population of 90 596 (Namibia Statistics Agency (NSA) 2013: 9). The main ethnic groups are the Masubia, Mafwe, Mayeyi and Mbukushu, and there is a small population of Khwe as well as a few !Xun – very few. There are four recognised traditional authorities: the Masubia under Chief Liswani, the Mafwe under Chief Mamili, the Mashi under Chief Mayuni and the Mayeyi under Chief Shufu.

Agriculture provides the majority of people with most of their income and food. Residents combine cattle farming with crop cultivation (mostly pearl millet, sorghum and maize). Fish provide an important additional source of protein for many residents. Most farms are small and do not provide large surpluses, but there is also a growing trend of more wealthy individuals farming commercially on larger areas of land (Mendelsohn and Roberts 1998: 28-29).

Turpie et al. (2000) found that rural households in Caprivi regard crop production for domestic consumption as an important livelihood strategy. Other activities ranked high by communities in this respect include natural resource utilisation (especially thatching grass and reeds, both for construction and for sale) and livestock production. Pensions, crop sales and the sale of natural resources were considered important for cash income among rural households in the region. While cattle are not so important in terms of cash income, they are very important insofar as they provide meat and milk for consumption and are used for crop production, providing draught power and enabling larger areas of crops to be cultivated (Mendelsohn et al. 2006: 26). Cattle also represent accumulated wealth, and are therefore an important means of livelihood security.

Of Namibia's 13 regions, Caprivi is one of the poorest. It has the third-lowest ranking in the UNDP Human Development Index, and the fourth-highest ranking in the Human Poverty Index (Levine 2007: 8, 11). Long (2004: 58) also reported that although not everyone is poor in Caprivi, poverty

is more widespread there than in the country as a whole. People living in Caprivi's rural areas have little access to jobs and cash, and depend mostly on cropping, livestock, piecework (temporary manual work), wages, pensions and the use of a variety of natural resources. Wealthier people tend to be those with larger cattle holdings who are less reliant on pensions and natural resources (Long 2004: 61).

11.2 The San in Caprivi Region

The majority of the San of Caprivi are the Khwe who live in the Bwabwata National Park (BNP – see Chapter 10) and in a number of settlements east of the Kwando River. A small number of !Xun (sometimes referred to as Vasekele) also live in the Caprivi portion of the BNP.

The Khwe are widely distributed in small numbers in the western part of Caprivi, but available information about them is rather limited. Suzman (2001b: 54), for example, simply stated that, “The relatively few San living east of the Kwando River are found in several small settlements between Kongola and Katima Mulilo.” Brenzinger (1997) provided a little more detail: he referred to Waya-Waya as an important old Khwe settlement, and cited sources that indicated the presence of the Khwe at Waya-Waya as early as 1881 and also in 1908. According to Brenzinger (1997: 22), the settlement called Bito – which includes a small village called “Dam” due to the nearby water reservoir tank (see section 11.3.2) – was established in 1981 by Khwe from Zambia who had been taken back to Namibia by the South African Defence Force (SADF) in 1979. The Khwe in Bito still had contact with their relatives in Zambia who lived east of the Zambezi River near Lusu village. Brenzinger (1997: 22) also referred to the settlements of Sachona and Lizauli (just east of the Kwando River) as having “a long Khwe tradition”.

Khwe participants in the study discussions mentioned having lived previously at Sachona and Lizauli, and a few said that they had previously lived in Botswana. They also informed us of a group of Khwe living at Chinchimane – the seat of the main Mafwe *Khuta* (tribal court) – and a small group living at Lubuta, and a few families living north of Kongola along the Kwando River.

The national census of 2001 found 839 people speaking a San language at home in Caprivi Region. Table 11.1 shows the number of San people per constituency in 2001.

Table 11.1: San population of Caprivi Region in 2001*

Constituency	Number of individuals speaking a San language at home	Percentage of speakers of San languages per constituency
Kabbe	31	0.2%
Katima Mulilo Rural	19	0.1%
Katima Mulilo Urban	121	0.8%
Kongola	408	9.9%
Linyanti	147	1.1%
Sibbinda	113	1.2%
Total	839	1.2%

* The figures presented in this table derive from the raw data of the 2001 Population and Housing Census and the chapter authors' own calculations. (See Chapter 1, section 1.3 on “The problems with quantitative data on the San in Namibia” for an explanation of the need for ‘own calculations’ in addition to the census findings.)

Remarkably, according to the census of 2011, the percentage of San-speaking households in Caprivi had decreased to 0.5% by 2011 (NSA 2013: 171).

11.3 Research sites in Caprivi Region

During the study-planning phase we were aware of only three sites in Caprivi east of the BNP where Khwe were living, thus we planned to study two sites in depth, in line with the main methodological approach to the study. However, as the study progressed and the date of the planned fieldwork in Caprivi drew nearer, we became aware of other sites that presented different and interesting sets of circumstances (e.g. Kyarecan, where Khwe from Katima Mulilo had been resettled only a month before our field trip). Due to the lack of in-depth literature on the various Khwe communities in Caprivi east of the BNP, we decided to cover more sites in less depth in the time available.

The sites selected were: Mulanga, Waya-Waya West (both in Kongola Constituency), Dam/Bito, Kyarecan (both in Sibbinda Constituency) and Makaravan (Katima Mulilo municipal area). These sites are described in detail in this section, and Table 11.2 summarises the main characteristics of these sites. The site selection allowed for coverage of sites with different statuses: three are rural villages of different sizes, one is an urban informal settlement, and one is a small rural settlement of people recently resettled from the aforementioned urban informal settlement.

Table 11.2: Main characteristics of the research sites in eastern Caprivi

Research sites	Urban/rural status	Land tenure	San language groups	Population status (numerical)	Institutional support	
					GRN	NGOs
Mulanga	Rural (a small village of several households)	Land allocated to the Khwe by the Mafwe Traditional Authority in the Mashi Conservancy	Khwe	All residents are Khwe, who form a minority group in the conservancy.	Indirect, through Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) support to the Mashi Conservancy; food aid and normal government services	Indirect, through NGO support to the Mashi Conservancy; receive various benefits from the conservancy.
Dam/Bito (Dam is part of a bigger settlement called Bito.)	Rural (Dam is a very small village, consisting of just two households.)	Land allocated to the Khwe by the Mafwe Traditional Authority	Khwe	All residents of Dam are Khwe, who form a minority group in the Bito resettlement area.	No specific projects apart from food aid and normal government services	No NGO support
Waya-Waya West	Rural (a fairly large village with several households)	Land allocated to the Khwe by the Mafwe Traditional Authority	Khwe	All residents are Khwe, who form a minority group in the area.	No specific projects apart from food aid and normal government services	No NGO support
Makaravan	Urban (a fairly large informal settlement in the town of Katima Mulilo)	Municipal land designated as an industrial area	Khwe	Khwe live as a minority group among people from other ethnic groups.	No specific projects apart from food aid and normal government services	Garden project
Kyarecan	Rural (a small settlement of several households resettled from Makaravan)	Land allocated to the Khwe by the Mafwe Traditional Authority	Khwe	All residents are Khwe, who form a minority group in the area	Support for resettlement; food aid	No NGO support

At each site, shortened versions of the study tools were applied as appropriate. At Makaravan and Kyarecan a major focus of our questions was the resettlement of Khwe from Makaravan to Kyarecan, how this had affected the resettled people, and how they had been involved in the resettlement decision-making process (see Box 11.1 on page 408). As a result there was less time available at these two sites for focusing on some of the main research themes.

11.3.1 Mulanga

Mulanga is a village located in Kongola Constituency about 8 km east of Kongola on the south side of the main tarred road (B8) between Kongola and Katima Mulilo. At the time of the fieldwork, the village consisted of several Khwe families with an estimated total of 25 adults – the number of children was not established. The land is under the jurisdiction of the Mafwe Traditional Authority (TA) and was allocated to the Khwe people by the Mafwe *Khuta* (tribal court). The village is located in the Mashi Conservancy and is represented on the conservancy committee. Mulanga's residents accessed water from the nearby NamWater pipeline, and there was another water point with a solar pump further away. The village had no electricity. The closest clinic and school were at least 8 km away at Kongola. Government provided a mobile pension service.

Mulanga is a Khwedam word meaning 'sleep in the eye' (i.e. the matter in one's eyes upon awaking). All of Mulanga's residents are Khwe. They had moved to the area from different places: most had come from Waya-Waya circa 1989 (and some of those who had lived in Waya-Waya had originally lived in Botswana), and others had come from Botswana and the BNP.



11.3.2 Dam/Bito

Bito village is located on the southern side of the main tarred road (B8), 30 km south-west of Katima Mulilo. Within the Bito area is a tiny Khwe village called Dam. The Khwe named their village “Dam” because there is water reservoir tank nearby.

Participants in the study discussions at Dam said the whole surrounding area had been allocated to the Khwe, but there were only 16 people living in two households at Dam at the time of the fieldwork. One household consisted of the official headman, his wife and three children, and the other consisted of 11 people. Water could be obtained from the NamWater pipeline along the main road, but it had to be paid for, whereas the water from a borehole a bit further away was free, so they obtained their water from the borehole instead of the pipeline. A clinic and a combined school were located 4-5 km away at Kasheshe, and there was a primary school nearby in Bito village. Neither Bito village nor Dam had electricity.

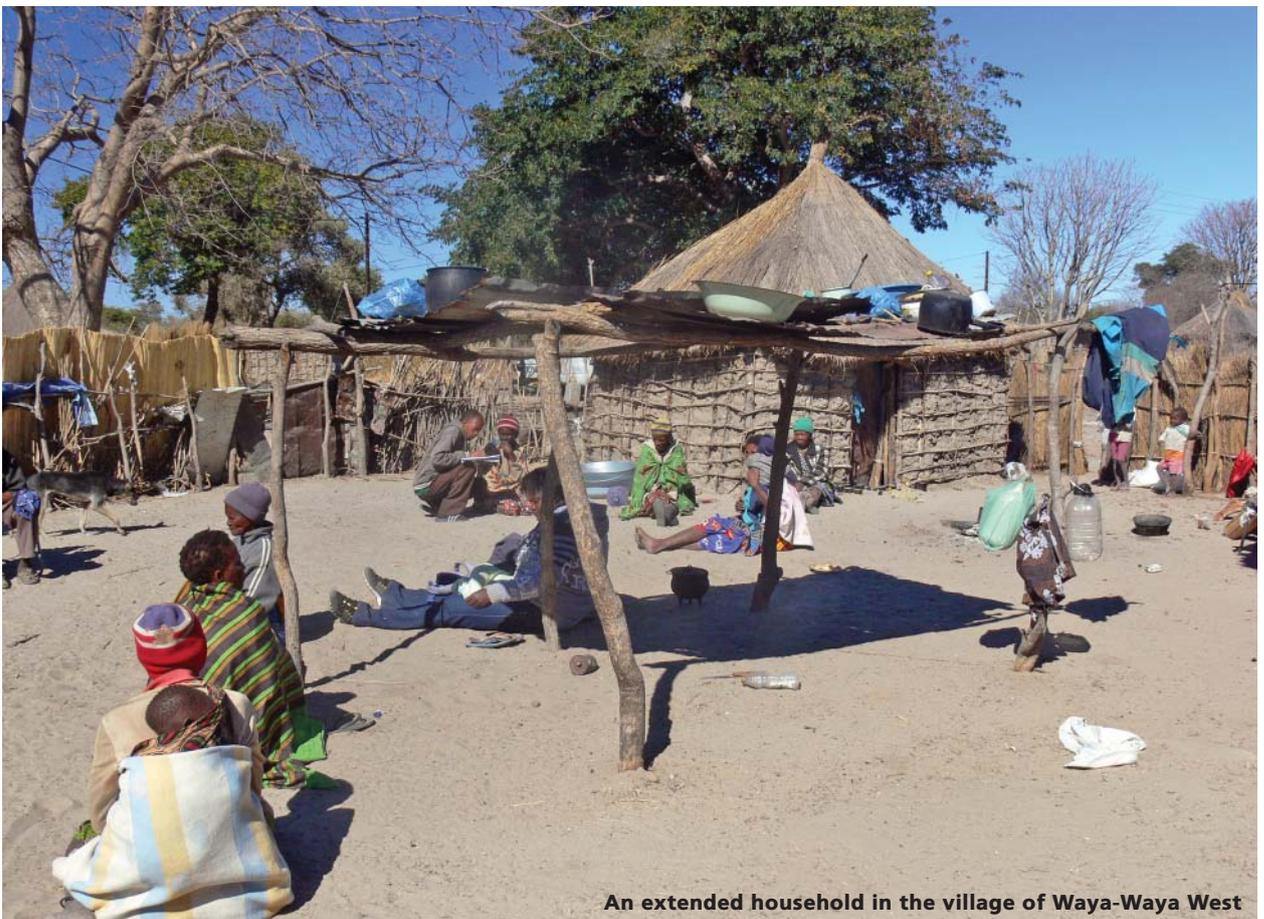
The village headman claimed that Khwe people had been living in the Dam/Bito areas since colonial times, although he himself was born close to a place called Tawa in Zambia. Three other older participants were born at Sibbinda in Caprivi, in Angola and in Zambia. The headman mentioned that many Khwe had left Dam/Bito in recent years – for example, some people now living at Waya-Waya had lived at Dam/Bito previously, and some had left Dam/Bito for Kyarecan and Makaravan. He expressed concern about the fact that Khwe had moved away from Dam/Bito and indicated that his preference would be to see the Khwe staying together at one place. The Chief Clerk of Sibbinda Constituency informed us that there were internal conflicts between the different Khwe groups, which might be the reason for the small number of Khwe in Dam/Bito.



11.3.3 Waya-Waya West

Waya-Waya is situated on the main tarred road (B8) about 23 km from Katima Mulilo and past the turn-off to Mpacha Airport on the northern side of the road. Waya-Waya is split into two main areas: Waya-Waya East with 10 households and Waya-Waya West with eight households. The closest water point was along a NamWater pipeline about 90 m away across the main road. Respondents expressed concern that they would not be able to access this water because the person responsible for paying at NamWater had allegedly used the money that the residents had given to him for his own purposes instead of settling the account. There was a clinic and a combined school at Kasheshe, 4-5 km away. Electricity was available on a pre-paid system and a few residents (e.g. those with employed family members) used it to power radios, TVs and fridges. Discussion participants said that they received no external support apart from government services such as visits by a mobile clinic to give polio injections; the regular spraying of huts against mosquitoes; and food aid. There was also a mobile pension service.

Reportedly there was no Khwedam name for Waya-Waya; other people had given the village this name. At the time of the fieldwork, the whole of Waya-Waya (both West and East) was inhabited only by Khwe. In the past (i.e. during Namibia's war for independence) there was apparently a tented camp, known as "Bushman Camp", on the other side of the main road. Discussion participants reported that SADF soldiers had moved them to Bushman Camp – some participants had been moved from places along the Kwando River, such as Lizauli (a settlement situated in the bush just east of the Kwando, close to the border with Botswana). The Khwe men were then given work with the SADF. Only the Khwe had resided at Bushman Camp; the South African soldiers had stayed at the army base at Mpacha.



An extended household in the village of Waya-Waya West

11.3.4 Makaravan

Makaravan is an informal settlement within the municipal area of Katima Mulilo (town), and is located at a site zoned by the municipality for industrial development. It is behind the Meatco and Namib Mills premises off to the right of the main B8 tarred road to Mpacha Airport. According to the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) representative in Katima Mulilo, there had been 88 Khwe households at Makaravan until very recently; a month before the field research (conducted in August 2012), about half of them had been relocated to Kyarecan due to plans to develop the settlement into an industrial area. The remaining Khwe had decided to stay on in Makaravan, where they lived among various other ethnic groups, but were unsure about their future. There was a system for the supply of prepaid water at Makaravan, but discussion participants said that most Khwe could not afford to pay for this water, so instead they collected water from the Zambezi River about 1 km away. Makaravan residents had access to a clinic and schools close to the settlement, and to the hospital in town. There had been a kindergarten for Khwe, but it had been moved to Kyarecan.

Discussion participants said that after Independence the Khwe had moved to Makaravan at different times from western Caprivi and from other places in Caprivi Region, such as Sachona, Waya-Waya and Kasheshe, mainly in order to find work.

“We came here from West Caprivi to look for a job. But when we came here, we found out that they want qualifications for jobs. No employment; we cannot afford to buy shoes or clothes. I came here in 1990. Since then, I cannot find a job because they want education. I have some papers, testimonial [but] even if I go to companies looking for workers with the testimonial, they don’t give me a job because of education.”

– Male participant at Makaravan

Apparently there had been plans since shortly after Independence to develop the area as an industrial zone and to relocate the residents, but serious efforts to relocate the Khwe from Makaravan had been undertaken only in recent years (see Box 11.1 on resettlement from Makaravan to Kyarecan).

Makaravan informal settlement in the Katima Mulilo municipal area



11.3.5 Kyarecan

Kyarecan settlement is located about 23 km from Katima Mulilo along the main tarred road (B8), a few kilometres after the turnoff to Mpacha Airport, on the southern side of the road close to Waya-Waya. The name *Kyarecan* means ‘coming back’ in Khwedam – signifying the people’s return to the area when relocated by the government from the Makaravan informal settlement in Katima Mulilo in July 2012. As mentioned previously, about half the 88 Khwe households at Makaravan had been relocated, however the Khwe at Kyarecan said that many people had already returned to Makaravan, and out of the 120 people originally resettled from Makaravan (including children), there were now only 23 adults left in four households at Kyarecan.

At the time of the fieldwork, the Kyarecan residents were living in tents provided by the OPM. There was a hand pump to provide water, but there was no electricity. There was a kindergarten which had been relocated from Makaravan, but this was not yet fully operational at the time of the fieldwork. The closest school (a combined school) and clinic were at Kasheshe about 2 km away.

In September 2012, the Deputy Prime Minister visited Kyarecan and directed that corrugated-iron houses be built for the 49 households there (Oreseb 2013). By February 2013, “40 houses received all the building materials (sand/mud, rafters and poles), the houses for the elderly people were completed and some elders already moved into their new houses.” (Oreseb 2013:) We are unsure why the Deputy Prime Minister directed that houses be built for 49 households when we had found only four Khwe households remaining at Kyarecan in August 2012. At the time of writing it is not known whether those who had returned to Makaravan relocated again to Kyarecan when they heard that houses were being built for them.

As the name (‘coming back’) indicates, the place now called Kyarecan had formerly been a Khwe settlement. During the war for independence, the SADF brought the Khwe who had fled to Zambia back to Namibia, settled them at the site now called Kyarecan, and drilled a borehole for them there. After Independence, these Khwe left the area for other places in Caprivi Region, such as Waya-



The research team members introducing themselves in Kyarecan in August 2012

Waya and Dam/Bito. According to discussion participants, when the relocation of the residents of Makaravan was planned, the Khwe chose to be moved back to the Kyarecan site because Khwe people had lived there in the past. The government had agreed to resettle Khwe at that site seeing as it was already land allocated to them.

Box 11.1: Resettlement from Makaravan informal settlement to Kyarecan

According to the government official in charge of the San Feeding Programme in Caprivi Region, about half of the 88 Khwe households at Makaravan settlement were moved voluntarily to Kyarecan in July 2012. The move had been scheduled because the town council had designated the part of Katima Mulilo where the Khwe were living as an industrial zone that was due for development.

Among the residents of Makaravan who chose to stay, there appeared to be confusion about the future: some discussion participants thought that they might be able to move to another part of Katima Mulilo where the town council was planning to resettle other ethnic groups; others were under the impression that all of the Khwe were expected to move to Kyarecan; and a third viewpoint was that the government might send the remaining Khwe back to West Caprivi. The participants said that they had known since 1993 that Makaravan was designated as an industrial area which would eventually be developed.

The Makaravan discussion participants said that they had not wanted to go to Kyarecan because it was in the bush and there was nothing there. One participant said, “The people at Kyarecan are suffering, there is no work, only food aid; you have to stay and can’t do anything; you have to sell one bag of mealie-meal [food aid] in order to buy relish, toiletries, etc.” At Makaravan it was said that there were more opportunities to do different types of work for cash, and people could more easily buy the things they needed, whereas at Kyarecan there was only piecework employment in other people’s fields, and people there received less money.

It also appeared that there was a split between the different groups of Khwe at Makaravan. Discussion participants there told us that the Khwe who had not gone to Kyarecan were mostly from West Caprivi, and those who had gone to Kyarecan were from other parts of Caprivi. One woman said, “My daughter was given a tent there and I also wanted to go there, but we were chased out and told by the people at Kyarecan that we are from western Caprivi.” One man said that if the government wanted to move them to Kyarecan, they would not go.

At Kyarecan, discussion participants were waiting for government to provide the support which had been promised them. They said government had told them that they would be helped with cattle, brick houses and electricity. They also said government would bring the fences from the garden project at Makaravan and help the people at Kyarecan to develop gardens there. Participants had expected the brick houses to be built before they moved to Kyarecan, but to date they had been living in tents. They reported that government had told them to move because Makaravan was not a good place to live, but also because the Khwe should move away from people of other ethnic groups.

Asked if people wanted to stay at Kyarecan, one man said that some people had already left. He added, “From what shall we survive here? What can we eat? The best way is to run away!” Other people agreed: “In this bush, what should we get? Here there are no piecework opportunities. How can we survive?”

However, as indicated earlier, some Khwe were willing to stay at Kyarecan because they felt that it was their home, and others felt that it was safer at Kyarecan compared to Makaravan as there was less alcohol available.

11.4 Research findings

11.4.1 Livelihoods and poverty

Table 11.3: Main livelihood strategies at the eastern Caprivi research sites*

Livelihood strategies	Mulanga	Dam/Bito	Waya-Waya West	Makaravan	Kyarecan
Food aid					
Old Age Pension					
Piecework					Rare
Small-scale cultivation			Only one person		
Veldfood	Little				
Devil's Claw harvesting					
Employment	3 persons at Mashi Conservancy		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 men at NDF in Grootfontein; • 1 woman teaching in the BNP 	2 persons	3 persons
Small-scale backyard gardens					
Selling thatching grass and poles					
Selling scrap iron and bottles					
Selling firewood					

* The cell shading indicates that the livelihood strategy is employed at the applicable site.

Table 11.3 shows that Khwe families at the research sites in eastern Caprivi had to engage in a number of different livelihood activities to survive. Government food aid (mostly mealie-meal) and Old Age Pensions played a major role in sustaining their livelihoods. The Khwe did not earn enough income from regular employment to buy enough food to meet their needs. Also they did not cultivate enough land to produce sufficient food, and veldfood was scarce at some sites. At the urban site (Makaravan informal settlement), people had a wider range of livelihood options that could generate small amounts of cash, such as selling firewood, scrap iron and empty bottles, and the range of piecework available there was reportedly wider than at other sites. In general, veldfood gathering was less important for the San groups in eastern Caprivi than for those in other regions (e.g. Otjozondjupa, Kavango and the Bwabwata National Park – see Chapters 5, 9 and 10 respectively). Few Khwe in eastern Caprivi had full-time jobs, and none reported owning livestock.

Food aid

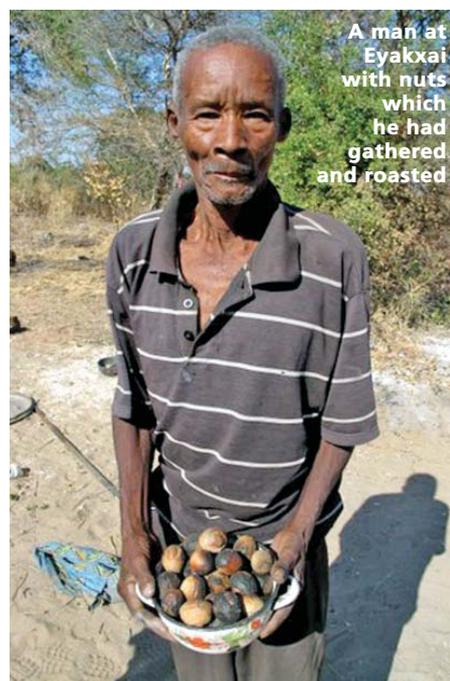
Food aid was received at each research site in eastern Caprivi, although delivery was erratic. In Waya-Waya West, discussion participants reported that they received food aid only twice in 2012 (in June and July), and they never knew beforehand when it would be delivered. In 2011 they received only mealie-meal, but in 2012 they received cooking oil as well. In Dam/Bito and Mulanga villages participants said that they received food aid only twice annually, and those at Makaravan settlement said that food aid came three times annually. The residents at Kyarecan had received food aid only once since being resettled there, and they were actually in dire need of the next delivery. In Mulanga village participants said that they had received two 12.5 kg bags of mealie-meal and two 750 ml bottles of cooking oil for every person in the village (even children), whereas at Makaravan settlement people said that they had received only two 12.5 kg bags of mealie-meal and four bottles of cooking oil per household.

It seems that food aid was also shared between relatives at different research sites. For example, during the workshop at Mulanga village, our translator was given a bag of mealie-meal after mentioning to his relatives there that there was no food aid left at Kyarecan where he lived.

According to an officer of the Caprivi Regional Council's Disaster Risk Management Committee, each household should receive 12.5 kg bags of mealie-meal per month as food aid. The OPM provided these rations to the regional council, and when these were depleted the council had to send a new submission to the OPM for new supplies.

Old Age Pensions

Like for San in other regions, Old Age Pensions were an important means for Khwe in eastern Caprivi to survive, as they provided a regular cash income – not just for the pensioner but for the whole family. However, as in other regions, a number of elderly people did not receive their pensions because they did not have the documents needed for registration and/or could not afford to pay for transport to go to town to register. For some families these pensions provided an important additional source of income that could be used for specific purposes. For example, in Dam/Bito a grandmother's pension had been used to send a grandson to school, and in Mulanga village some elderly people had used their pension money to pay for the ploughing of their fields.



Piecework¹

Different types of piecework (temporary manual work) formed one of the main sources of income at all sites, with the exception of Kyarecan where piecework opportunities were scarce (apart from looking after cattle for other people). Discussion participants there said that they had done piecework while living at Makaravan, but were still trying to find opportunities at their new home. Table 11.4 summarises the information obtained regarding piecework undertaken at the five sites.

Table 11.4: The main forms of piecework or temporary work done by Khwe in eastern Caprivi (the order does not necessarily reflect the importance of the different forms of work)

Mulanga	Dam/Bito	Way-a-Waya West	Makaravan	Kyarecan
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Mending houses ● Clearing fields ● Ploughing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Clearing and working in other people's fields (up to N\$500 per field) ● Building houses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Mending houses with clay (earning up to N\$200, or N\$400 for a big house taking 3-4 weeks) ● Women hoe for other people in the rainy season (N\$50 for a day's work) ● Men clear fields for N\$500-1 000 (about a month to clear a new field) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Domestic work / gardening ● Cleaning for businesses ● Offloading trucks ● Transporting water to the shebeens ● Spraying mosquito repellent ● Cleaning other people's yards ● Selling firewood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Looking after cattle ● Seeking piecework opportunities

¹ The authors of this chapter did not distinguish between 'piecework' and 'casual work' (see Chapter 14, page 468).

At Makaravan a wider variety of temporary work was available and participants said that this was one of their main reasons for staying there. Most female participants at Makaravan were not involved in piecework and had not done piecework in the past. Participants in Dam/Bito said that they looked for piecework when hungry, or they might hear of someone looking for workers and take up piecework that way. When they received money for piecework, they went to Katima Mulilo to buy mealie-meal, fish, etc., and when those supplies were about to run out, they looked for more piecework. Much of the piecework was seasonal (e.g. clearing fields and harvesting Devil's Claw), thus it did not provide cash all year round, particularly at the rural sites. As Table 11.4 indicates, some forms of piecework paid quite well, and some (e.g. fetching water) provided only a couple of dollars or a glass of *otombo* (home-brewed beer).

Employment

Very few people had formal, permanent, full-time jobs. Out of a total of 50 persons at all five sites of an employable age, only eight were said to have full-time jobs, and the discussion participants at all five sites were not aware of any other residents having full-time jobs. A few men of Mulanga village were employed by the Mashi Conservancy and one man worked in Windhoek – having completed his tertiary education with support from the OPM and the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA). Three men of Waya-Waya West were soldiers at Grootfontein and one woman was a teacher at Chetto in West Caprivi. Discussion participants claimed that these employees did not send money back to their families. Nevertheless we observed large pieces of shop-bought furniture in the house of a woman whose husband was working in Grootfontein, which might indicate that her husband was contributing to the household needs.

According to the Regional Councillor for Kongola Constituency, it was difficult for the Khwe to obtain permanent employment because the requirement for such work was usually a Grade 12 education, thus most Khwe did not qualify to apply.

Veldfood

Veldfood gathering was still an important livelihood strategy for the residents of Waya-Waya West, where discussion participants mentioned a range of veldfoods that they gathered, including mangetti nuts (which they used in different ways, e.g. as an ingredient in a soup that could be very filling) and various tubers and berries. At Kyarecan veldfoods were still important, though seemingly less so than at Waya-Waya West. The mangetti nuts gathered at Kyarecan were used for their oil and for making soup, and various berries were gathered, particularly *!Kumbe* (black berries), *Tcinca*, and *Tceu* (false mopane), but it was said that the *!Kumbe* was far away, and there was no point collecting false mopane fruit and mangetti nuts because “There is no meat, so what should you eat it with?” Participants in Dam/Bito said that they had gathered food to the north of the B8 main road in the past, but this area was now a quarantine camp, so they could no longer get veldfood there. They added that the forestry and wildlife officials would arrest them if they went to the bush to gather food, so they did not rely on veldfood anymore. Participants in Mulanga said that veldfood was no longer available in their area, and at Makaravan it was likewise reported that there was no veldfood left around the settlement for residents to gather.

Cultivation

Most Khwe in eastern Caprivi had some experience with cultivation, but few grew their own food crops on a large scale due to lacking equipment and livestock for ploughing. Cultivation – e.g. of millet (*mahangu*), maize, groundnuts, beans and squash – was more important in Mulanga and

Dam/Bitto villages than at the other sites, but the fields used for cultivation were small, reportedly because the residents had neither the oxen nor the equipment needed to cultivate large areas of land. Participants in Mulanga noted that it was mostly the elderly residents who cultivated fields because they could use their pension money to pay for ploughing, whereas other residents had to hoe themselves. Both of the households in Dam/Bitto had small fields, and both used piecework income, pension money or credit to pay for the ploughing.



A donor-funded garden project was started at Makaravan in 2011, but this came to halt after the announcement of the forthcoming relocation of Khwe residents to Kyarecan (see Box 11.1 on page 408). The garden had been used by individuals, and some had even been able to sell surplus produce. Apparently the government had informed the Khwe at Makaravan that the garden project would be moved to Kyarecan, so they had ceased their gardening activities.

Cultivation seemed to play an important role with regard to wellbeing (see Table 11.5), i.e. people who were able to cultivate land were perceived as being better off.

Devil's Claw harvesting

The harvesting and sale of Devil's Claw provided additional income for women in Mulanga and Waya-Waya West villages. In Mulanga, nine women were involved in selling Devil's Claw and it was reported that they had received N\$200 for a 50 kg bag, which would take them between two weeks and a month to collect. They only harvested from June to October, however, and in this period they could collect between two and four bags. In the past they sold their harvest to buyers who came to the village, but in 2012 they sold it to the Lubuta Community Forest. In Waya-Waya West, the Khwe women said that they earned up to N\$ 500 per 50 kg bag.² They needed to harvest for three weeks to a month to collect 50 kg, which they then sold to different buyers who visited their village. Devil's Claw harvesting and selling thus constituted a rather informal income-generating activity as compared to the formalised operation in the BNP (see section 10.4.10, pages 377-378).

Collecting food at the dumpsite (Makaravan)

Until fairly recently, Khwe at Makaravan informal settlement were able to go to the municipal dumpsite to collect expired food which shops, supermarkets and Meatco had thrown away. This appeared to have been an important livelihood strategy for them as it was mentioned in discussions at other sites as well. However, the municipality stopped this activity in 2011, and the dumped food has since been burned immediately to circumvent the health risks posed by its consumption.

Perceptions of poverty and vulnerability

The *Caprivi Regional Poverty Profile* report (NPC 2006b: 59-61) provided a description of different categories of wellbeing in the region developed by residents of six villages, one being Omega III, a

² However they also mentioned that they would get around N\$15 per kilo which would amount to N\$750 per 50 kg bag.

predominantly Khwe community in the BNP (see Chapter 10). The residents at other sites, as far as could be established from the report, were predominantly – if not exclusively – from other ethnic groups. Table 11.5 summarises these categories.

Table 11.5: Summary of wellbeing ranking for Caprivi Region based on data provided in the Caprivi Regional Poverty Profile (NPC 2006b: 59-61)

Extremely poor	Slightly poor	Moderately poor	Slightly rich	Rich
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● No employment ● No oxen for ploughing ● Struggle to get food ● Eat only once a day ● Only small-scale cultivation ● Collect and sell natural resources ● Work for better-off households ● Collect veldfood 	Similar to extremely poor but: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● do more work for other people; ● work in exchange for the loan of oxen for ploughing; ● but often plough their fields late due to having to work for others. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 2-3 head of cattle ● Borrow only part of the team of oxen for ploughing ● Plough their fields in time to get a reasonable harvest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Plough their own land ● Have 100-200 head of cattle ● Some have low-paid employment ● Can hire people to work for them ● Can pay the rich for tractor hire 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Employed ● Have many businesses ● Can buy and sell cattle as and when they like ● 300-500 cattle ● Can cultivate large areas of land

In terms of the categories in Table 11.5, most of the Khwe at the eastern Caprivi research sites were either “extremely poor” or “slightly poor”; none had livestock, so none – except perhaps for the few who had full-time jobs – could be categorised as “moderately poor”. Only the very few Khwe who had jobs and had managed to accumulate some livestock could be classified as “slightly rich”. and none could be categorised as “rich” – but in terms of these categories, none of the participants in our study in any of the regions covered could be categorised as “rich”.

From an internal perspective, according to participants in our study, the Khwe in eastern Caprivi considered themselves to be “poor” or “very poor”. This was attributed partly to their lack of means (e.g. oxen and ploughing equipment) to produce their own food, and partly to the scarcity of employment opportunities (due to perceived discrimination against them and a lack of education).

In general the Khwe considered themselves to be poorer than people from other ethnic groups. The Mulanga residents, for example, considered the Subiya and the Mbukushu to be the richest ethnic groups as they had many cattle and some had government jobs. The Mafwe were considered to be less rich than the Subiya as they had only a few cattle – but they could use the cattle for ploughing and therefore could harvest maize and sell it. The Khwe were at the bottom of the social ladder: they had no cattle, so they could not plough and consequently could not earn sufficient income.

Perceptions of wellbeing

We compared the information on wellbeing provided at each of the five sites so as to evaluate the perceived differences and the factors contributing to these perceptions. The evaluation brought to light slightly differing perceptions of which communities were better off and which were worse off. The differing perceptions could be attributed to the (slightly different) ranking criteria applied by each community and the varying degrees of knowledge that each community had about the others. In summary, factors contributing to the perceptions of wellbeing of Khwe in eastern Caprivi were:

- employment;
- piecework opportunities;
- the means to engage in cultivation (including equipment and livestock for ploughing);
- access to services and the means by which to pay for them;
- infrastructure;

- government provisions (e.g. livestock and food rations);
- compensation for crop destruction by other people's cattle;
- alcohol availability;
- safety;
- cash distribution and meat distribution (i.e. in the BNP only);
- housing conditions; and
- assets (e.g. furniture).



A Khwe dwelling in Makaravan informal settlement, Katima Mulilo

At most of the eastern Caprivi sites, discussion participants gave communities in West Caprivi (i.e. the BNP) a higher wellbeing ranking relative to their own. The collective opinion at the five sites was that the BNP communities had more employment opportunities (e.g. as game guards) through the Kyaramacan Association (KA), and that they could receive cash and meat through the KA as well as various other forms of external support (e.g. monthly food rations and livestock from the government, and garden projects and chickens from NGOs). The residents in Dam/Bito perceived the Khwe at Chinchimane as being better off than the Khwe in the BNP and other Khwe in Caprivi because the Khwe at Chinchimane were said to have cattle (which they did not need to sell) and they had jobs. However, Mulanga residents ranked their own village as the best place to live because they could farm there, they had water, and if cattle of neighbouring groups entered their fields, they would be compensated because they were part of a conservancy. They were also aware that in the BNP elephants destroyed the crops and the cultivators were not compensated because the regulations pertaining to national parks did not provide for compensation.

At the other end of the wellbeing scale was Makaravan informal settlement, which participants at the other four sites perceived to be the worst place to live. Participants in Waya-Waya West and Dam/Bito, for example, mentioned that the people at Makaravan went to the dumpsite in Katima Mulilo to get expired food: "That life is not good. It is not good for us to go there," said one respondent in Waya-Waya West.³ Furthermore it was said that people at Makaravan lived in dwellings made of plastic sheets and had many children who did not attend school, and that the extent of alcohol abuse there was not conducive to the residents' wellbeing. Participants in Mulanga also mentioned that the costs of water and funeral services were high at Makaravan, and that cultivation was not possible there. The residents of Kyarecan, having chosen to be relocated there quite recently, saw advantages in living there rather than at Makaravan, however they had many expectations regarding improved conditions at Kyarecan in the near future as government had made many promises before the relocation.

It is therefore interesting that the residents of Makaravan considered the informal settlement to be a better place to live compared to other places such as Waya-Waya West and Dam/Bito: there were more piecework and income-generating opportunities in town; they were closer to medical facilities where they could take their children if they fell ill; and it was easier for them than for rural residents to get identity documents (IDs) and other important documents in Katima Mulilo. Asked if Makaravan was better than West Caprivi, a participant responded that they were in town because of work: "This is not our place. West Caprivi is our home; our houses are there," meaning that Makaravan was only a temporary place to stay and they would eventually return to West Caprivi.

³ Apparently the participants were not aware of the fact that the municipality had stopped this practice in 2011.

11.4.2 Access to land

In stark contrast to our finding in the BNP, participants at the eastern Caprivi sites did not perceive land tenure as a problematic issue that could threaten Khwe livelihoods. In Waya-Waya West, Dam/Bito and Mulanga villages, residents said that the land on which they had settled was allocated to them by the Mafwe Traditional Authority, i.e. they felt secure because the Mafwe had allocated the land to them specifically. In Waya-Waya West it was said that Khwe who wanted to cultivate large fields were expected to obtain the Mafwe Traditional Authority's permission to do so, and this posed no problem, but if a Khwe person started ploughing without permission, he/she would be chased away. Dam/Bito residents did not perceive any threat to their land, as in their opinion it was generally accepted that Dam/Bito was Khwe land and no other group would try to take it over. This situation differs completely from that in the BNP where the influx of Mbukushu was perceived as a major threat (see Chapter 10). In eastern Caprivi it was the lack of equipment that hampered sustainable cultivation as opposed to concerns about land rights.

At the urban site of Makaravan, as indicated above, the Khwe residents' access to land was threatened by the town council's plans to develop the area designated as an industrial zone. The discussion participants were uncertain what would happen next with regard to the relocation of the residents.

11.4.3 Identity, culture and heritage

The discussion participants at all five sites in eastern Caprivi were Khwe, and all said that they preferred to be known as such, rather than by any other name. In Waya-Waya West, participants indicated that they had no problem being called "San", and "Barakwena" was also acceptable to them, but they considered the word "Bushman" to be pejorative: "Bushman means staying in the bush; we don't like that," one participant said. In Mulanga, participants said that they had heard the word "San" but did not know what it meant, and they thought the word "Bushman" referred to people who speak with clicks, but they were not sure – maybe it meant 'people who live in the bush'.

In general, for discussion participants at the five sites, language and culture were ethnic markers. Cultural aspects mentioned included dancing, cooking, hunting, gathering and (Khwe) traditional healing. In Waya-Waya West, physical appearance and skin colour were mentioned too.

11.4.4 Relationships with other groups

As mentioned above, Khwe people clearly saw themselves as different from other ethnic groups, whom they generally referred to as "black people". The Khwe of Caprivi were observed to be at the bottom of the social ladder, and were dependent on their Caprivian neighbours in manifold ways, such as for piecework and allocations of land. However, it seemed that the Khwe in eastern Caprivi had come to accept the lowly socio-economic position in which they found themselves, and were content to be governed by traditional authorities not their own. The relationship between Khwe and neighbouring groups was not as tense as that found between other San communities and their neighbours in some other areas, an example being the relationship between Khwe and Mbukushu in West Caprivi which was much more problematic. This might have to do with the fact that the Khwe are a tiny minority (0.5%) in eastern Caprivi (NSA 2013: 171) and thus were not considered to be a threat to neighbouring groups in terms of competing for land and natural resources. The Khwe generally expressed a wish to live among people of their own ethnic group, but this desire did not seem to be a consequence of conflicts with others.

11.4.5 Education

As in other regions, most of the elderly people at the eastern Caprivi research sites had either not attended school at all or had left school at a very early age. Discussion participants recognised the value of education for obtaining employment, but the Khwe in this region – like the San in all other regions – faced a number of problems regarding education, most of them related to finance and the fact that long distances to secondary schools led to high dropout rates. According to the Chief Clerk of Sibbinda Constituency, some Khwe children were not even admitted to school because they did not have IDs. Although many Khwe children did not pay school fees (e.g. in Mulanga and Dam/Bito), they could not afford other items such as school uniforms, shoes, toiletries and food, and consequently children dropped out of school, sometimes before completing primary school. In other cases, such as in Waya-Waya West, Khwe children were reportedly asked to pay school fees that their families could not afford. The lack of family income to support children at school was one of the main reasons for children dropping out.

Most Khwe lived at some distance from schools, especially secondary schools, and, according to the Governor of Caprivi Region, the exam fees of about N\$300 in Grade 10 and Grade 12 presented an additional barrier to the Khwe completing their secondary education. The Chief Clerk of Sibbinda Constituency reckoned that there were probably no more than 10 San children in the whole of Caprivi in Grade 12 in 2012. He suggested that San children should go together as a group to one school for Grades 10-12 so that they could be with their own people and not feel isolated at different schools – a suggestion similarly expressed in some of our stakeholder interviews in other regions.

Box 11.2: Separate schools for San?

Regarding the suggestion to group San learners together, it is pertinent to examine the developments at the primary school in Dam/Bito. Apparently this school was established specifically for the Khwe, but, according to the Chief Clerk of Sibbinda Constituency, the children kept leaving the school, so a perimeter fence was erected around the premises to stop this. Reportedly in 2009 the OPM provided school uniforms for the Khwe children and made food available for them at the school. However, at the time of our field research, only a few Khwe were still at the school. (Apart from those in Dam/Bito, there were few Khwe living in the neighbourhood of the school.) Apparently there had been two Khwe teachers at the school, but one had been transferred to Omega III in West Caprivi and the other had recently died. This meant that Khwe children could not be taught in their own language anymore. Although the research team was not able to confirm all of the details of the planning and implementation of this San school project, it is evident that a lot of factors would have to be taken into account to achieve success in separate schooling for San.

The experience of one family in Dam/Bito illustrates the problems facing the Khwe with regard to education. One son was supported through school by his grandmother's Old Age Pension, but when she died there was no more money to support him. The family eventually received help from the former regional governor who arranged for the child to continue at school – possibly by asking the school principal to waive the fees. Largely due to the personal efforts of the father of the family – particularly in respect of travel arrangements – and the son's outstanding performance at school, he eventually passed Grade 12 and managed to get a good position in government. However, there was no money available to support his younger sister in a similar manner, and she had recently dropped out because it was not possible to source the clothing she needed to attend school. Her father said, "I cannot afford to support her; it is hard to get money." (In addition, her father alleged that his daughter had a drinking problem.) It was not clear whether the lack of support for the

daughter was simply due to a lack of finance, or whether it also had to do with gender issues and possibly also the fact that she was not the first-born child.

11.4.6 Health

The main health problems among the Khwe in eastern Caprivi were said to be TB, malaria, back pain, headaches, pain in the legs and diarrhoea (the latter occurring among children particularly).

Access to healthcare

Access to healthcare was generally a problem at all but one of the five sites in eastern Caprivi, the exception being Makaravan which was in close proximity to both a clinic and a hospital. For Waya-Waya West the nearest clinic was 5 km away and the nearest hospital was in Katima Mulilo about 21 km away. At Makaravan women were able to go to the hospital to deliver their babies, but this was a problem at the other four sites due to their remoteness. At Kyarecan, for example, discussion participants related the story of a woman who had struggled to give birth: there was no local ambulance, she couldn't find any other form of transport, and no one had cellphone credit to get assistance. It was said that the traditional knowledge of the older people had eventually helped the woman and her baby to survive.

Alcohol abuse

As in other regions, alcohol abuse was a common problem in eastern Caprivi, but the situation differed from site to site. The residents of Mulanga, Dam/Bito, Waya-Waya West and Kyarecan perceived alcohol abuse to be worst at the urban site, Makaravan informal settlement. There, reportedly, "hot stuff" (*katchipembe*) was available in addition to *otombo*. (In our workshop there on a Saturday morning, one participant was visibly drunk.) The Chief Clerk of Katima Urban Constituency also spoke about the extent of alcohol abuse at Makaravan, noting that some parents started drinking early in the morning.

A Khwe man at Kyarecan had started his own business selling *otombo* there within a month of his relocation from Makaravan. Some younger men left our workshop after lunch and it was said that they were going to drink. We asked if life would be better at Kyarecan without *otombo* around, and whether women in the community consumed as much alcohol as men did, and whether alcohol consumption ever led to domestic violence or fighting among community members. The responses to these questions are recorded in the following box.

"Some of the people are alcoholics, they start drinking early in the morning. Here, there was no drinking in the beginning. But some people went back to Makaravan because they realised life here is hell. They moved back because they were used to alcohol."

"Sometimes the man is going to drink earlier, but if nothing is at the house, the woman goes as well to drink later in the morning."

"Yes, they start fighting. You can hear it all over, the noise of fighting, it starts with insulting and ends in fights."

– Female participants at Kyarecan

Participants in Waya-Waya West said that alcohol abuse was not a specific problem there: residents drank *otombo* but did not waste all their income on alcoholic beverages.

Khwe discussion participants at Makaravan



Khwe women at Kyarecan

11.4.7 Gender

As in other San communities (see Chapter 10 on the BNP for example), Khwe men and women in eastern Caprivi had specific roles in daily life. Women looked after the children and prepared food for the family, and if the family had a field, both women and men prepared it for cultivation: men did the clearing and women the hoeing. There was a similar division of labour in doing piecework: men cleared fields and women hoed and weeded them. Women were more involved than men in the harvesting of Devil's Claw and selling of the harvests.

At the sites visited there were no women in leadership positions. Each village/settlement had a headman and there was no evidence of San women occupying any post in the formal (non-San) traditional authority structures. Our discussions with the communities were generally dominated by the men; women were vocal at times.

Regarding health, women faced particular issues related to pregnancy and giving birth, mainly due to the distances from their homes to the nearest healthcare facilities and a lack of transport.

In most San societies, women play the major role in gathering veldfood; men do this occasionally. In eastern Caprivi, however, for a number of reasons cited elsewhere in this chapter, veldfoods have either been depleted or are difficult to access nowadays, thus for most women the gathering of veldfood was no longer an important daily activity. (For the same reasons, few men were hunters anymore.)

11.4.8 Political participation and representation

Traditional authority

The Khwe at the eastern Caprivi research sites said that they fell under the traditional authority (TA) of the Mafwe Chief Mamili, whose *khuta* (tribal court) is at Chinchimane. There were different levels of participation and representation in the *khutas* at the different sites. For the most part the Khwe did not have direct representation on the main *khuta* or local sub-*khuta*. In the past, however, Chief Mamili⁴ had appointed a Khwe *induna* (senior headman) to his *khuta* to represent the Khwe. At each research site the Khwe had their own headman, and all five were male elders.

⁴ There is a long line of chiefs named Mamili, which commenced in 1864. The present Chief Mamili is the seventh in this line.

The Khwe at each site had different experiences regarding representation in the Mafwe Traditional Authority. The Khwe of Mulanga village, for example, were represented by a Mafwe *induna* on the main *khuta* at Chinchimane. Despite not having their own representative on the *khuta*, the Khwe of Mulanga were positive about the Mafwe TA. They respected Chief Mamili and felt represented by him.

In Waya-Waya West an old Khwe man was the official headman. He attended sub-*khuta* meetings and reported back to the community. However, when he reported problems of the Khwe to the sub-*khuta*, the *indunas* allegedly listened but did not take any action.

In Dam/Bito the Khwe were part of the local sub-*khuta*, on which the Khwe village headman held the senior position of *natamoyo*. When the *ngambela* (leader of the sub-*khuta*) was not available, the *natamoyo* would take over. This meant that he had a degree of authority over the Mafwe in the area and provided the Khwe community with an unusual degree of representation in the TA. It was also unusual for a San person to be so integrated into the TA system of another group that he had authority over members of that other group, though it remained unclear how he exercised this power and the extent to which his authority was accepted.

In general the Khwe in Caprivi Region appeared to be more integrated into the TA system than the San groups in neighbouring Kavango Region.

Some Khwe expressed the desire to have their own chief and TA, but they recognised that this could cause problems because they were already under the TA of Chief Mamili. In the discussion at Kyarecan it was said that, “In Namibia, every nation should have its own chief,” and the Councillor for Kongola Constituency echoed this sentiment in saying that the Khwe should be able to decide on their own chief and it would be much better if they had their own representation.

All in all though, unlike the Khwe in the BNP (i.e. the part in Kavango Region), the Khwe in eastern Caprivi did not consider a separate Khwe TA to be a necessity. This might be related to the fact that they did not face the same problems with neighbouring groups as the Khwe in the BNP faced with the Mbukushu and their TA (see Chapter 10).

Other forms of political participation and representation

The Khwe of Mulanga are affected by two other community-level institutions, namely the Mashi Conservancy and the Lubuta Community Forest. Discussion participants said that they were all members of the conservancy, and they had elected a person to represent them on the conservancy committee, but allegedly this representative did not give them feedback on conservancy activities. They did not provide much information about their involvement in the community forest. They did not seem to be directly represented in the management structure and their main involvement was discussing Devil’s Claw harvesting and wildfire prevention when representatives visited them for this purpose.

Khwe at all five sites faced problems in participating fully in regional and national affairs as citizens of Namibia, due to constraints to their acquiring national documents. At Makaravan, for example, we observed problems with the information on several people’s IDs.⁵ In some cases

⁵ For example, the place and date of birth were exactly the same on several people’s IDs: Bwabwata, 1 January of a particular year.

residents believed that certain older persons were eligible for Old Age Pensions which they were not receiving because the dates of birth on their IDs were inaccurate. The Chief Clerk of Sibbinda Constituency explained that this was largely due to the Khwe physique: officials who issued IDs in colonial times would try to guess a person's age, and many Khwe, being small and thin, were assessed as being younger than they really were.

At most sites participants stated that it was difficult to obtain birth certificates, IDs and other important documents because they had to travel far to reach government offices and could not afford the travel costs. In addition, older people could not read or write or speak other languages, so it was especially difficult for them to make themselves understood at government offices or to understand what procedures to follow.

11.4.9 Visions for the future

Participants at all five sites in eastern Caprivi were unsure what the future would bring and whether life would improve for them. In Dam/Bito residents didn't hold out much hope at all that things would change: "I don't know, the children are not going to school. Everything might get worse. I don't know the future, just the present," said the headman, and an elderly woman said, "No one is employed, no one is going to school. How should things change?"

Generally participants said that for life to improve, they needed to be employed and/or to be able to produce their own food.

"How should there be development if we don't get employment?"

– Female participant in Waya-Waya West

To cultivate on an appropriate scale, they needed oxen and ploughing equipment, but they could not afford to invest in either of these.

Participants in Dam/Bito said that they did not want to remain dependent on the government, but they needed the government to help them become independent. One participant there said that the government should also help learners to stay in school, but, as indicated in section 11.4.5 on education, the efforts already made in this regard did not achieve sustainable success.

"Government must help us in any other way to make us strong, so that we are not completely dependent on them, that we can do something for ourselves. We must do something for ourselves, not just depend on the government, for example we must plough."

– Male participant in Dam/Bito

Kyarecan and Mulanga residents wanted the government to provide support for income-generating projects such as a bakery and crop gardens.

Participants in Mulanga felt that the government provided a lot of support to Khwe in western Caprivi (BNP) but did not assist those in eastern Caprivi in the same way. Participants in Waya-Waya West also felt that the government did not give them the support needed: "We also tell other ministries our problems but nothing is happening. Government is not supporting us." At Kyarecan,

residents were waiting for the government to fulfil the promises made when the Khwe were moved there from Makaravan – in particular the promised permanent housing to replace the tents in which they were still living. (As mentioned earlier, the housing project supported by the OPM was started a few months later.)

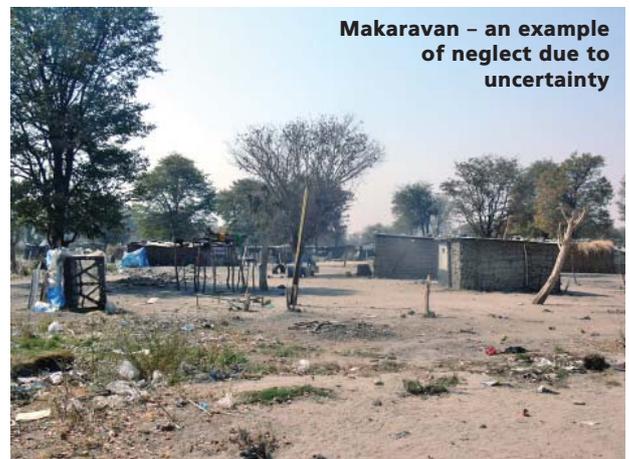
11.4.10 Impact of external support

Apart from the normal government services provided to rural villages and government food aid, participants in Waya-Waya West and Dam/Bito did not report having received any specific support from the government or other external agencies. In Waya-Waya West, participants said that some of their neighbours in Waya-Waya East had received livestock from the government, but no one in Waya-Waya West received any. The Khwe residents of Makaravan had been assisted with a donor-funded garden project, which had worked well, but had ceased by the time of our visit because the project was due to be transferred to Kyarecan. The residents of Kyarecan had been moved there from Makaravan only about a month before our visit, and they were waiting for further government support (see Box 11.1 on page 408).

The residents of Mulanga had received indirect government and NGO support by virtue of their membership of the Mashi Conservancy: the conservancy provided employment for two young men of Mulanga, and the villagers sometimes received meat from trophy hunting, although discussion participants thought that members of other groups in the conservancy were receiving priority in the distribution of meat. As already noted, all of the participants in Mulanga were members of the conservancy and they were represented on the conservancy committee.

The wealth rankings and various other discussions at the five sites indicated that there was a belief that government and NGOs were providing strong support to Khwe living in the BNP but not to those living outside the park, which partly explains the belief among people in eastern Caprivi that life was better in the park than where they were living.

Although not mentioned by participants in discussing educational support, according to the Chief Clerk of Sibbinda Constituency, the government was trying to assist those who had failed only one subject in Grade 10: the OPM paid for them to rewrite the exam through the Namibian College of Open Learning (NAMCOL). In addition, the government made bursaries available for those who passed Grade 12 to study to become teachers. Six San from his constituency had undertaken teaching courses supported by such a bursary but two had dropped out – one due to alcohol abuse and another due to pregnancy.



11.5 Regional conclusions and recommendations

The Khwe in the eastern part of Caprivi are among the poorest people in the region. The main determinants of their poverty are a lack of livestock, lack of cultivation equipment and lack of employment opportunities (which would enable them to buy livestock and cultivation equipment for self-sustainability). A lack of education was said to be the main reason for their not obtaining full-time jobs. (A few people who had obtained full-time jobs had left them after a while due to illness, or not getting on with the employer, or wanting to be with family.)

Unlike the situation in many other areas where San are living, access to land is currently not a factor contributing to the poverty of San (Khwe) in eastern Caprivi.⁶

Several discussion participants said that the provision of oxen and ploughing equipment would be the best way to help them as these would enable them to produce their own food. Current levels of food production are very low because most people can cultivate only small areas of land due to the costs of ploughing larger areas. The *Caprivi Regional Poverty Profile* report stated that the Khwe living at Omega III in the BNP were not agricultural producers and “have a San-type culture and should rather be seen as hunter-gatherers” (NPC 2006b: 27). This seems to be a common stereotype despite historical evidence (Boden 2003: 139; Fisch 2008) and reports from discussion participants strongly indicating that the Khwe have been agricultural producers for many decades. Many of the discussion participants knew how to cultivate crops but lacked the means.

Certainly the Khwe in eastern Caprivi were no longer hunter-gatherers and were well integrated into the cash economy. While hunting was perceived as culturally important, it was not practised much – partly because in most areas there was little to hunt, but also because people were scared of being arrested as poachers. Veldfood gathering was also important culturally, and in some areas did contribute to livelihoods, but did not provide the bulk of the food of any Khwe community, i.e. where gathering took place, it was only one among many livelihood strategies.

Therefore, government and NGO support strategies in the medium to long term should focus on the following activities:

- Helping Khwe children to stay in school so that they can gain sufficient qualifications for jobs.
- Helping those who have dropped out of school to gain skills that can help them to earn an income.
- Helping the Khwe to produce their own food instead of being reliant on food aid.
- Ensuring that the Khwe can obtain the national documents they need for full participation in regional and national affairs as citizens of Namibia.

To some extent the government is already implementing some of these recommendations. However, to have a real impact, existing activities need to be scaled up or implemented in a more systematic manner, and support activities must have a strong local basis. To achieve all this, the OPM and the regional council should carry out a comprehensive needs assessment in the region that enables the Khwe to articulate their own views as to how they wish to develop. Based on this needs assessment the OPM and regional council should work with Khwe representatives to design and implement a Regional San Development Plan that is adequately funded and ensures that sustainable livelihoods, education, health services, representation and land tenure are assured for all San in Caprivi Region.

⁶ As in Kavango Region at the time of the research, Khwe in eastern Caprivi lacked the necessary assets to cultivate large fields, therefore few were in need of land. This situation might change should more Khwe be in a position to ask the TA for larger areas of land for cultivation, i.e. access to land might become more of an issue in the future.