



WHERE THE FIRST ARE LAST

San Communities Fighting for Survival in Southern Angola

REPORT ON A NEEDS ASSESSMENT OF
ANGOLAN SAN COMMUNITIES UNDERTAKEN
IN HUÍLA, CUNENE AND CUANDO CUBANGO
PROVINCES FROM 17 JUNE TO 14 JULY 2003

By
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Commissioned by
TRÓCAIRE ANGOLA and **WIMSA**
in collaboration with **OCADEC**

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Contents

Acronyms and Abbreviations	iii
Glossary of Common Terms	iii
MAPS OF STUDY AREA:	
Map 1 – Angola in Africa	iv
Map 2 – Angola at a Glance (provinces and main cities/towns)	iv
Maps 3-6 – Locations of San Groups in Angola	v-viii
I Executive Summary	1
II Background	3
III Key Study Objectives	4
IV Contextual Motivation	4
V The Angolan San in the Southern African Context	5
VI The National Context: Peace and Reconstruction in Angola	7
VII Government of Angola: Democratisation and Commitment to Human Rights	8
VIII Legal and Policy Context of Land Rights in Angola	8
IX Government Thinking on Angolan San Communities	10
X International Conventions Relevant to the Study	11
XI Scope and Implementation of the Study	13
METHODOLOGY	13
CONSTRAINTS AND LIMITATIONS	14
FINDINGS	15
Community/Group/Location Numbers and Population Sizes	15
Ethnolinguistic Identities	16
Settlement Patterns	17
Food Insecurity	18
Vulnerability and Need	19
Sources of Food and Income	20
Health	21
Access to Water	23
Education and Culture	23
Division of Labour and Gender Relations	24
Impact of the War	25
Insecurity of Land Rights	26
Recognition of San Leaders and Representation	27
Exploitation of San Labour	28
Discrimination of San	28
Deeply Entrenched San Dependency	29
Group and National Self-identification and Awareness of Human Rights	29
“Nowhere to Go” with Complaints	30
Leadership, Decision-making and Social Organisation	30
Organisational Capacity and Preferences	31
Needs	32
Settlement and Land-use Patterns	33

Provincial Summary Reports: Settlement Clusters and Patterns	33
HUÍLA PROVINCE	33
CUNENE PROVINCE	37
CUANDO CUBANGO PROVINCE	38
XII Reflection on the Findings	41
XIII Recommendations	46
INTERVENTIONS	46
ASSUMPTIONS	47
FURTHER RESEARCH	48
FIRST STEPS FOR IMPLEMENTATION	49
Phase 1: Emergency Assistance	49
Phase 2: Sustainable Development Assistance	50
BREAKDOWN OF RECOMMENDATIONS	51
Emergency Interventions	51
Short- to Mid-term Interventions	51
IMPLEMENTATION AND CAPACITY	52
Urgent short-term Tasks	52
Urgent Mid- to Long-term Tasks	52
Potential Partners	52
SOLIDARITY AND HOPE	53
XIV Fact Sheets	55
HUÍLA PROVINCE	
Lubango Municipio – Mapunda	55
Lubango Municipio – Hinhenheke	56
Cacula Municipio – Tsholo, Kakwa, Kapeke, Mukuyu, Shikala, Mambandi, Viti-Vivar, Chela, Chem Chem	58
Kipungu Municipio – Vinkwenha	60
Kipungu Municipio – Sendi	62
Kipungu Municipio – Boa Lembrança	63
Kipungu Municipio – Kakombe	64
Kipungu Municipio – Hombo	67
Chibia Municipio – Kombela, Viskote, <i>Vitundulu, Shikulelo, Chitongotongo*</i>	68
Chibia Municipio – Vifwo	69
Chibia Municipio – Mutuandjamba	71
CUNENE PROVINCE	
Namacunde Municipio – Nelombo, Angulayambodo, Oshikova, <i>Omemba,</i> <i>Ukango, Mongono, Mhenge, Kandweya</i>	74
Kwanyama Municipio – Cafima, Ionde, Katale, Kapunduka, Hamutindila, Mulola	76
Cuvelai Municipio – Vikungu, Shikungungu, <i>Mutjapula, Ukwakanda, Vichana,</i> <i>Kalonga</i>	78
Cuvelai Municipio – Lupunja, Kauva, <i>Shivemba, Namihonde, Lomenene, Koshi,</i> <i>Kova, Shimbili, Ndiva, Hongo, Khenge, Chimanya, Shivemba</i>	81
CUANDO CUBANGO PROVINCE	
Cuangari / Savate / Menongue Municipios – Kapembe, Tandawe, Mucundi, Kanjonga, Ntopa, Bairro Novo, Mutai, Mbundu, <i>Handambo, Kuebe, Mutingwi,</i> <i>Kavanga, Cuangari, Diriko</i>	83
Cuangari / Savate / Menongue Municipios – Baixo Longa / Chiumbo Napoke, <i>Cuito Cuarnavale, Mavinga, Nankova</i>	87
MOXICO PROVINCE	
Luena Municipio – Memories of Massacre and Displacement	89
References	90
Pages with photographs	12, 22, 34, 36, 40, 45, 54, 66, 72, 80, 84, 92-93

* *Italicised* text in the fact sheets indicates that a San settlement was not visited but only reported on to the team.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ADRA	Acção para o Desenvolvimento Rural e Ambiente / Action for Rural Development and the Environment
AGM	annual general meeting
a.k.a.	also known as
BICC	Bonn International Centre for Conversion
CBO	community-based organisation
CPDHH	Comité Provincial de Direitos Humanos na Huíla / Huíla Provincial Human Rights Commission
EU	European Union
FAA	Forças Armadas Angolanas / Angolan Armed Forces (replaced FAPLA in 1992)
FAPLA	Forças Armadas Populares de Libertação de Angola / Massed Popular Forces for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA military wing and official Angolan army up to 1992 when transformed into FAA)
GOAL	Uma actividade do Terceiro Mundo em Desenvolvimento das Organizações
ILO	International Labour Organization
INAC	Instituto Nacional da Criança / National Institute for Children
MINARS	Ministerio de Assistencia e Reinsercao Social / Ministry of Social Services and Reintegration
MPLA	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola / Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières / Doctors Without Borders
NGO	non-governmental organisation
OCADEC	Organização Cristã de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento Comunitário / Christian Organisation Supporting Community Development
OCHA	Unidade para Coordenação dos Assuntos Humanitários / United Nations Humanitarian Assistance Coordinating Unit
OIKOS	Cooperação e Desenvolvimento
OMA	Organização da Mulher Angolana / Angolan Women's Organisation
PAM	Programa Alimentar Mundial / World Food Programme (WFP)
RA	Regional Assessment of the Status of the San in Southern Africa
rdi	Rural Development Institute
SADF	South African Defence Force
SASI	South African San Institute
TB	tuberculosis
Trócaire	Irish Catholic Agency for World Development (Angola)
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNITA	União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola / National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
VA	Vulnerability Assessment (of the WFP)
WFP	World Food Programme (Angola)
WIMSA	Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association (Angola)
ZOA	Zuid Oost Azie / South East Asia (Dutch NGO)

Glossary of Common Terms

<i>kasimba</i>	man-made water-hole or well from which communities draw their water supply
<i>município</i>	municipality
<i>!nore(si)</i>	!Kung word for 'ancestral land' or 'territory' (plural <i>!noresi</i>)
<i>ondjambi</i>	the practice of paying people (San) for working in neighbouring communities' (Bantu) fields with a nourishing alcoholic drink meant to 'inspire' the worker
<i>sarna</i>	scabies
<i>sekulo</i>	a representative of a <i>soba</i> in a sub-district or ward under the <i>soba</i> 's jurisdiction – a term used only in some locations in Angola
<i>soba</i>	traditional authority; traditional leader or tribal chief

Map 1: Angola in Africa



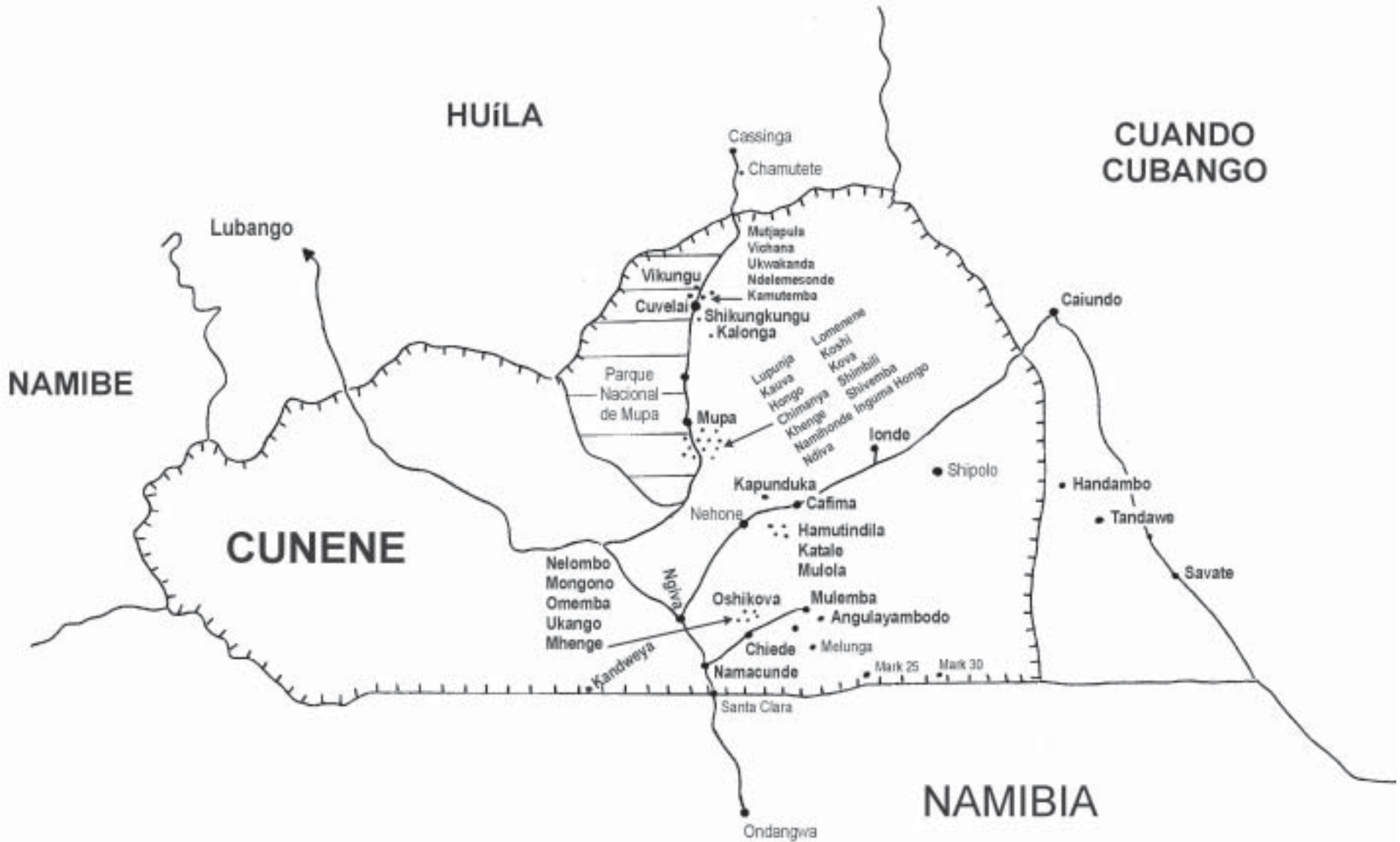
Map 2: Angola at a Glance



Map 3 – Locations of San Groups in Angola



Map 4 – Locations of San Groups in Angola



Map 5 – Locations of San Groups in Angola



Map 6 – Locations of San Groups in Angola



Executive Summary

The San of Angola are a small ethnic minority living dispersed in small groups in the south of the country. They are the oldest inhabitants of the territory of Angola, and are known to have been hunter-gatherers there as in other parts of southern Africa. First findings of this assessment revealed that this already very vulnerable minority in Angola may require focused interventions aimed at ensuring their survival and protecting their human rights.

San communities in Angola have suffered the privations and isolation imposed by 27 years of war. As little is currently known about these communities, Trócaire Angola in partnership with WIMSA and OCADEC commissioned a needs assessment in 2003 aimed at determining the locations, conditions and needs of the San communities in Angola in order to establish a basis for further assistance and development planning.

A total of 43 San communities were visited in Huíla, Cunene and Cuando Cubango Provinces in southern Angola over a three-week period by a team composed of two consultants and two advocacy workers. Information about a further 29 San groups¹ was collected. Contact was made with a total of 2 014 San people. Reliable information received suggests that at least 3 400 San people live mainly in small groups in the three provinces visited. All of those contacted identified themselves as !Kung² speakers.

For their survival almost all the San communities visited depend to a large extent on food they receive in exchange for working in the fields of Bantu neighbours. Additional food is acquired by gathering bushfoods, collecting honey, hunting and cultivating small fields. Regarding food security, the majority of the San communities were found to be highly vulnerable and some were found to be food insecure.

The health situation in all the communities visited is critical, with a lack of access to services and medicines placing people at risk of serious illness and even death. Though the communities have lived under and survived these conditions for a considerable length of time, the reported high morbidity and infant mortality rates today are raising concern.

Very few of the San adults are literate and hardly any of the children attend school, mainly due to maltreatment by other children and a lack of funds for materials, uniforms and fees.

San communities throughout southern Angola experience social exclusion, discrimination and economic exploitation. Their human rights are routinely disrespected and violated. Greatly reduced access to land and natural resources and insecure and very limited land rights have led to an erosion of the former San hunter-gatherer lifestyle and livelihood such that today the overwhelming majority of Angolan San live in uneasy relationships of servitude and dependency with their Bantu neighbours.

Entrenched racism and discrimination are widespread. The following statement of a literate Kwanyama farmer interviewed in southern Angola³ encapsulates a not uncommon view held

¹ Not all groups are communities in the sense of there being clear established common bonds and patterns of cooperation and obligation. For the purpose of this report the terms 'group' and 'community' are used interchangeably.

² A conference at Penduka in Windhoek in April 2001 attended by San delegates from Namibia, Botswana and South Africa decided that the !Kung would henceforth spell their name according to the correct orthography, being !Xun and not !Kung, Kung or !Xu (see *Penduka Conference* 2001). As San and non-San in Angola and the existing literature in Angola refer to this language group as !Kung, this orthography will be retained for the purposes of this report.

³ Senhor T., Chiede, Cunene Province, June 2003.

of the San by members of Bantu groups with whom they live: “They are animals. They are our slaves. They depend on us for their life.”

The San are known to be the first inhabitants of southern Africa, and as already noted, of Angola too. This assessment found the situation of the Angolan San to be one where “the first are last”, but they do not accept this fate; many of them know that they have equal rights under Angolan law, and they are asking that these rights be respected and that they be given the same opportunities as all other Angolans.

All the San interviewed wish to move away from dependency and exploitation, and the overwhelming majority wish to work and produce food for themselves. All the communities want help to improve their food security by means of cultivating land. Time and again the team heard these words: “We are ready to work. We need seeds and tools. We want to be equal to all other Angolans.”

While there is regional variation in respect of specific needs and available resources such as land and water, in the San communities this study found a uniform picture as regards:

- ⊗ the need for food to overcome existing or imminent food insecurity;
- ⊗ the need for seed and agricultural implements and inputs to expand or start food production;
- ⊗ the need for interventions to obtain, secure and extend land rights;
- ⊗ the need for improved access to health services;
- ⊗ the need for clothing and blankets;
- ⊗ the need for human rights interventions to counteract ongoing exploitation of San labour and abuses of their human rights in the form of racism and discrimination; and
- ⊗ the need for improved access to formal education for San children and youth.

In some San communities water is scarce, and this scarcity leads to social conflict with neighbouring groups, so there is a need to establish additional water points in these communities.

This report makes recommendations for meeting key needs of San in Angola, as follows:

- ⊗ Implement a short-term emergency assistance programme in the three provinces visited to ensure that San communities there receive assistance in the form of food, seed and agricultural tools, blankets and clothing. If possible this programme should be running by the time the 2003 planting season begins in October 2003.
- ⊗ Identify the most urgent water supply needs with the aim of establishing a programme to build water points for needy San communities.
- ⊗ Pursue a path of parallel initiatives to promote the establishment of San CBOs, development projects based on agricultural production and human rights interventions.
- ⊗ Assist San communities to secure and extend their existing land rights where needed, or to obtain land rights in the first place and request land suitable for settlement where such need exists.
- ⊗ Assist San communities to extend their food security base by extending the existing practices of fishing and collecting honey and expanding existing income-generating activities such as the manufacturing of baskets and ironware.
- ⊗ Concentrate forces to lobby the Government of Angola and international opinion in defence of the human rights and land rights of Angolan San.
- ⊗ Convene Angolan San community representatives on a provincial basis for the purpose of facilitating self-organisation and formulating strategies to meet the urgent needs identified by this needs assessment.
- ⊗ Build community-based San organisations to determine the direction of development and to implement development and human rights initiatives.
- ⊗ Convene Angolan and international NGOs and civil society organisations working in the relevant sectors to raise awareness of the problems of Angolan San and to plan joint strategies in response to the needs identified.

- Build the capacity of OCADEC to function as a development coordinating and implementing agency serving San communities in Angola.

Resilience and capacities for surviving in difficult conditions are among the most valuable resources the San communities possess. Interventions of any kind should seek to support and build on these resources. Emergency assistance should not establish a culture of food handouts which have potential to damage the very resourcefulness that has ensured the survival of the San. Physical assistance in the immediate term and long term should be tied to enabling food production and social organisation.

II

Background

This study was commissioned by the Irish Catholic Agency for World Development (Trócaire) Angola in partnership with the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA), a Southern African network of San organisations and communities, and Organização Cristã de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento Comunitário⁴ (OCADEC), an Angolan NGO engaged in advocacy work with San communities in southern Angola whose establishment in August 2002 flowed from the Trócaire-supported pioneering efforts of the Huíla chapter of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) on behalf of San in the province.

Contacts made by the YMCA and Trócaire with San communities in Huíla Province between 1998 and 2001 indicated that San communities faced serious difficulties in the context of civil war and social dislocation in Angola. Concern was raised, for example, that these already very vulnerable communities were being excluded from receiving aid in the context of historically entrenched discrimination against San people by some socially more powerful Bantu groups.⁵

Subsequent meetings with San groups in Huíla revealed that an unknown number of San groups in southern Angola faced similar problems of poverty, insecurity of land rights and oppression by other groups. It became clear that very little is known about where exactly these groups are settled, how many people are affected and under what conditions they are living.

In Namibia in January and November 2002 Trócaire and WIMSA facilitated meetings of Angolan San leaders and YMCA/OCADEC activists with San community leaders from Namibia, Botswana and South Africa. In November 2002 the WIMSA General Assembly with Angolan San leaders in attendance resolved to support the human rights and development initiatives of the Angolan San and decided that a needs assessment should be the first step in this direction.

Also in 2002, following an OCADEC presentation on the situation of San communities to the Huíla Provincial Human Rights Commission (CPDHH), the Huíla Provincial Government created the Provincial Commission of Assistance and Social Services for the San in Huíla. The CPDHH visited some San communities in Huíla, and with support from Angolan Army Chief General Mateus Miguel Angelo ('Vietnam'), OCADEC stepped up efforts to establish contact with other San groups.

Trócaire and WIMSA subsequently coordinated activities with OCADEC to undertake the needs assessment of which this report is the first outcome.

⁴ Christian Organisation Supporting Community Development.

⁵ OCADEC representatives Quessongo and Gaspar report witnessing "Bantu leaders" either withholding food aid from San groups in Huíla Province or distributing it in exchange for labour in 2000. Further threats and attempts by Bantu leaders to obstruct contact between OCADEC and San groups have been recorded in an unpublished OCADEC research report on San communities in Angola produced in 2003 and through personal communications.

III

Key Study Objectives

The following key objectives were defined for the needs assessment:

- To establish as far as possible the locations, population numbers and ethnolinguistic identities of San communities living in southern Angola's Huíla, Cunene, Cuando Cubango and Moxico Provinces.
- To establish the socio-economic and cultural conditions and needs of these communities with regard to:
 - sources of food and food security/vulnerability;
 - land use, land rights;
 - allegations of discrimination;
 - health;
 - education;
 - social organisation;
 - women and children;
 - the war's impact on them; and
 - organisational capacity and vision for development.
- To describe the legal, political and developmental framework in which these conditions and needs exist.

The overall purpose of the study was to provide baseline information for conceiving and designing development programmes with and for San communities in Angola.

IV

Contextual Motivation

The San communities visited form part of an overall population of 2,5 million food insecure and vulnerable people in Angola.⁶ With the transition away from conflict Angolans look forward to beginning the process of rebuilding their lives and country. The specific focus on the needs of San communities is motivated by the concern that San people should have the same rights and opportunities as all other Angolans. This aspiration was clearly expressed by a San informant in Lupunja, Cunene Province:

“Now that there is peace we want to be equal to all other Angolans. We do not want to be beggars who are told to be quiet because you are told that you are not a person, that you are nothing.” – Senhor F., Lupunja, Cunene Province, June 2003.

⁶ The World Food Programme (WFP) Angola's Vulnerability Analysis for the period November 2002 to April 2003 identifies 2,5 million people as being *vulnerable* to food insecurity, 865 000 as being *highly vulnerable* (will need assistance before the next harvest) and 1 million as being *food insecure* (in need of immediate assistance). See WFP 2003, p.6.

The Angolan San in the Southern African Context

There are San communities in Angola, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia. Estimates of the total number of San in southern Africa range from 88 000 to 100 000.⁷ Most San in the region live in Botswana and Namibia.

The San share common cultural characteristics located in language, belief systems, social organisation, historical experience and economic activity. The 88 000-100 000 San of southern Africa speak a total of 35 Khoe and San languages. The San populations and related language groups are listed in Table 1.

Table 1: SOUTHERN AFRICAN SAN POPULATIONS AND LANGUAGE GROUPS

Country	Population		Language Groups
	RA*	WIMSA	
Botswana	47 675	46 000	Khwedam, Ju l'hoansi, !Xǒǒ, Tsoa, Kua, Gllana, Glui, Tshasi, Naro
Namibia	32 000	38 000	!Kung, !Xun, Khwedam, Ju l'hoansi, Naro, !Xǒǒ, Hailom
South Africa	4 350	6 500	!Xun, Khwedam, Nlu
Angola	1 200	**3 400	!Kung, !Xun, Khwedam
Zimbabwe	2 500	"A few hundred"	Tsoa
Zambia	300	3 000	Khwedam
<i>Total</i>	<i>80 025</i>	<i>±100 000</i>	

* Regional Assessment of the Status of the San in Southern Africa 2000/01

** Angola Needs Assessment 2003

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The San and Khoekhoe people are descendants of the first people ever to have lived in Africa. Archaeologists believe that their lineages can be traced back to the original Homo sapiens who occupied southern Africa for at least 150 000 years, and that the migration of Homo sapiens out of Africa took place 40 000 years ago, at which time all humans are thought to have been hunter-gatherers (see Crawhall 2003).

With the movement of Bantu cattle herders and cultivators into southern Africa from the north around two thousand years ago and the colonisation of southern Africa from the 17th century⁸ –

“... most of southern Africa’s Khoesan populations were wiped out. Squeezed between Bantu migrants from the north and east and white colonisers from the south, they were variously assimilated, decimated or subjugated by these new arrivals. By the early 20th century only a

⁷ The 2000/01 Regional Assessment of the Status of the San in Southern Africa conducted by James Suzman et al. estimated the total number of San in the region to be 88 000 (see Suzman 2001: 5). The WIMSA estimate in 2001, based on estimates deriving from a range of research studies, was 100 000.

⁸ A noteworthy point of reference in Angolan history is 1575 when colonisers conquered Luanda.

small San population remained in southern Africa, the majority of whom lived in and around the Kalahari Basin in Botswana and Namibia, and in southern Angola, southern Zambia and north-western Zimbabwe. ...

The last century saw the almost complete integration of surviving San populations into the lowest echelons of the regional political economy, and with this their growing dependency on others. With neither white nor Bantu immigrants considering hunting and gathering to be a legitimate form of land use, San were spuriously declared nomads and thus to exercise no objective rights over land or natural resources. Despite sometimes active resistance, by the mid 1970s close to nine tenths of the region's San population had been dispossessed of their traditional territories and their source of economic and political autonomy.”

(Suzman 2001: 2)

A substantial body of research-based literature and papers and reports of organisations working with San details experiences of dispossession and resulting dependency among San communities in Namibia and Botswana. These publications describe current conditions and various self-organisation initiatives and struggles for land rights, political rights and development in San communities in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa.⁹

Reports on anthropological studies conducted in Angola by Estermann, Guerreiro and De Almeida provide information on San cultures, land use and social relations observed between the 1930s and 1970s.¹⁰ In 1960 Estermann (1976) estimated that there were 5 000 or more San Angola. His 1976 study focuses on San groups around Kipungu and Hoque in Huíla Province and on groups around Evale and Cafima in Cunene Province.

Estermann (ibid.: 23-26) reports that San communities found in Huíla and Cunene had integrated elements of Bantu culture into their way of life. Women and young girls worked in the fields of their Bantu neighbours during the harvest. Some San had learnt from their Bantu neighbours to work with iron. Groups in Mulemba and Mupa in Cunene are described as having assimilated many facets of Bantu culture including the rearing of pigs, goats and even oxen. Women were observed to have adopted the hairstyles of Bantu women.

Estermann (ibid.) accounts of hearing in 1935 of a group of San from Kipungu in Huíla who had asked permission to use land for cultivating. Evidence therefore exists that the economic activities of some Angolan San have included cultivation and even animal-rearing for considerable lengths of time. This account also implies that San in the Kipungu District had already lost their land rights as far back as 1935 or they would not have needed to seek permission to use land.

⁹ The series of five reports (see References herein) on the 2000/01 Regional Assessment of the Status of the San in Southern Africa commissioned by the European Union (EU) and conducted by James Suzman et al. on behalf of Namibia's Legal Assistance Centre (LAC) as implementing agency provide a valuable overview. Reports and papers produced by WIMSA and the Kuru Development Trust (KDT; now named the Kuru Family of Organisations) in Botswana provide comprehensive information on current conditions faced by San communities around the region and their human rights and development initiatives. Robert Hitchcock has published many study reports, among these *Kalahari Communities: Bushmen and politics of the environment in Southern Africa*, 1996. Other key publications by authorities on San issues include:

- Richard Lee and Irven DeVore's *Kalahari Hunter-Gatherers: Studies of the !Kung San and their neighbours*, 1976;
- Edwin Wilmsen's *Land Filled with Flies: A Political Economy of the Kalahari*, 1989;
- Alan Barnard's *Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa: A Comparative Ethnography of the Khoisan Peoples*, 1992;
- Robert Gordon's *The Bushman Myth: The making of a Namibian underclass*, 1992;
- Megan Biesele's *Women Like Meat: The folklore and foraging ideology of the Kalahari Ju/'hoansi*, 1993;
- Lorna Marshall's *Nyae Nyae !Kung: Beliefs and Rites*, 1999; and
- Mathias Guenther's *Tricksters and Trancers: Bushman Religion and Society*, 1999.

¹⁰ C. Estermann, *Etnografica do Sudoste de Angola* (I-IV), 1956; C. Estermann, *The Ethnography of Soutwestern Angola*, 1976; M.V. Guerreiro, *Os Boschimans de Angola*, 1968; A. de Almeida, *Bushmen and other Non-Bantu Peoples of Angola: Three lectures by António de Almeida*, 1965; A. de Almeida, *Os Bochimanes de Angola*, 1994.

The 27 years of war in Angola have impacted on San communities in a number of ways. San people fled the country at different times.¹¹ Substantial numbers of San joined the South African Defence Force (SADF) and were consequently resettled with their families first in Namibia and then in South Africa.¹² Many San communities have been displaced from their respective places of origin in Angola for varying lengths of time over the last 20 years, and some may have been displaced more than once, if not frequently.

The war has caused large-scale population movements which have led in some areas to an influx of Bantu people onto land also used by San, and increased pressures on land have further eroded San land rights.

Almost all the San groups visited reported that men among them had served in the war on one side or another, and that loss of life and possessions among San in Angola had occurred as a direct result of the war.

VI

The National Context: Peace and Reconstruction in Angola

This needs assessment was undertaken 14 months after the April 2002 ceasefire agreement that ended 27 years of war which caused tremendous suffering and loss of life and livelihood for most Angolans.

The peace process in Angola entails the return of a reported 4 million internally displaced people to their places of origin, the return of up to 400 000 refugees, and the demobilisation and quartering of 80 000 former UNITA soldiers as well as 360 000 of their family members. The Angolan state and the humanitarian community face the task of assisting millions of people to rebuild their homes and re-establish their livelihood. State administration has to be extended in all areas of the country. Communication and transport lines, the devastated social and economic infrastructure and the institutional capacity to respond to needs must be rebuilt.¹³

The past year has seen the ongoing implementation of return and resettlement programmes and the implementation of post-emergency aid programmes. The immediate goal of the latter is to equip people with the basic agricultural tools and seed needed to start cultivating to ensure minimum food security.

¹¹ Bumakhoe and Ngarange Khwe fled from locations near Rivungo and the Luyana River to Namibia, Botswana and Zambia between 1965 and 1975. Some San communities fled to Zambia where to date they have lived as refugees. In the period 1997-1999 San and neighboring Kwanyama cultivators fled to Namibia in waves following attacks by Unita, and 800 Angolan San are thought to be living in government resettlement schemes in the Ohangwena Region of northern Namibia. (See Brenzinger 2001: 55-57.)

¹² Up to 6 000 !Kung and Kxoe were resettled in Namibia in the period 1974-1978 when men of these communities joined the SADF. After Namibian independence in 1990 a group of 4 500 !Xu and Khwe San from Angola and Namibia who had served in the SADF were resettled by the latter at Schmidtsdrift in the Northern Cape Province of South Africa (see e.g. Robins 2001).

¹³ See J.G. Porto and I. Parsons, *Sustaining the Peace in Angola: An Overview of Current Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration (BICC Paper 27)*, Bonn International Centre for Conversion (BICC), 2003.

VII

Government of Angola: Democratisation and Commitment to Human Rights

In 1991 constitutional amendments ended the one-party system in Angola. Article 2 of the Angolan Constitution states:

“The Republic of Angola is a democratic state based on the rule of law and founded on principles of national unity, the dignity of the human person, pluralism of expression and political organization, respect and guarantees for fundamental human rights and freedoms, both with respect to the individual and as a member of organized social groups.”

The Angolan Government has created provincial Human Rights Commissions tasked to investigate human rights abuses. In response to the advocacy work of OCADEC the Delegate of the Human Rights Commission of Huíla Province directly enabled this needs assessment to proceed by informing the Provincial Governors of the provinces visited of the purpose of the needs assessment and requesting them to facilitate the work of the assessment team.

The Delegate for the Human Rights Commission of Huíla has further stated that the Huíla Provincial Government will allocate land to needy San communities on a needs basis.¹⁴ Such undertakings and a formal commitment to human rights by the province with the largest San population is an encouraging sign. Similar commitments have yet to be expressed by the national government and the Cunene and Cuando Cubango Provincial Governments.

VIII

Legal and Policy Context of Land Rights in Angola

Angola’s existing land law protects people’s land rights on the basis of occupancy rights. Under this law persons or communities who have occupied a property for at least 20 years thereby obtain occupancy rights.

¹⁴ In a meeting on 23 June 2003 with Senhor Tyova, Delegate of the Ministry of Justice in Huíla and Coordinator of the Huíla Human Rights Commission, the team was informed that the Huíla Provincial Government is ready to allocate land and will request the Minister of Agriculture to issue title deeds to San communities once their need for land has been established. This is an important commitment in the context of the overall findings of the needs assessment regarding restricted and insecure land rights of some San communities in Angola.

The old land law inherited at Angolan independence in 1992 has not been applied consistently. Currently a still very weak Judiciary and legal system make for very confusing and fluid conditions in respect of land rights and the land law in Angola.

In recent months conflicts have emerged between business concerns intending to exploit the commercial potential of rich agricultural resources on the one hand and resident rural communities on the other. These conflicts have occurred because the old law has not been applied. Such conflicts have not yet surfaced in San settlement areas.

Returning to land once occupied, repossessing land previously owned or acquiring new land is currently a crucial concern for many rural Angolans. It is expected that many of those presently returning to their places of origin in Angola face the challenge of getting back what was once their land but may now be occupied by others.

Angola is currently witnessing a trend of millions of people trying to secure assets with which to improve their quality of life. While returnees struggle to do this on the most basic level, a growing class of Angolans with access to resources and power is seriously focused on accumulating assets and creating wealth. After oil and diamonds, land is now the focus of such ambition and activity. It is likely that still available reserves of land will be targeted by such individuals and their powerful national and international backers.

The institutions and authorities responsible for land allocation are still not clearly defined. At present title deeds to land can be issued by local government (*município*), provincial government and the Council of Ministers. The issuing authority is in practice determined by the size (and potential value) of the land being allocated. In the absence of binding legal distinctions between communal land and private property it is possible to convert communal land into private property by means of issuing a title deed.

These dynamics are occurring in the context of Angola having turned from ‘state socialism’ and a war economy fuelled by rich oil and diamond reserves to unrestrained capitalism described by a lawyer in Angola as “the promiscuity of the powerful” (original source unknown).

In recent months Angolan legislators, civil society organisations and interested stakeholders have been discussing a controversial new Land Bill, and technical commissions established for the purpose of considering submissions on the proposed new law are receiving these.

This much-criticised bill contradicts the principle of acquired rights and does not recognise land rights on the basis of occupancy. It strongly favours business interests and has been found to contradict provisions of the Constitution of Angola that protect the land rights of rural communities and women.

The bill does not clearly define who the representatives of rural communities may be, nor does it clarify the roles of customary law and traditional leaders in the allocating of land.

The bill contains no provisions on natural resource management. It states that all underground resources may be exploited by the state only, hence lobby groups are urging for the benefits deriving from the exploitation of mineral resources to be shared by the communities and state.

The new law has been proposed in the absence of any coherent land policy.

NGOs working on rural development, land issues and human rights – including Acção para o Desenvolvimento Rural e Ambiente (ADRA), Development Workshop, World Learning and Maos Livres – have formed a Land Network tasked to examine implications of the proposed new land law and to promote discussion on the bill and related policy issues.¹⁵

¹⁵ The team was informed about the proposed land law and related processes in discussions with Angolan lawyer Anacleto Pereira, Senhor Dino Major of ADRA and Senhor Alan Cain of Development Workshop. Literature on the proposed law includes “Republica de Angola Avaliacao da Lei e Politica de Terra”, D. Bledsoe (Rural Development Institute) 2002, and “Relatorio Final Dos Ante-Projetos De Leis De Terra E Do Ordenamento do Territorio E Urbanismo”, Republic of Angola 2002.

IX

Government Thinking on Angolan San Communities

As far as could be established the Angolan Government does not currently have a policy on San populations. Ethnic minorities and their problems do not feature as an issue in the political life of Angola. This exclusion of the issue is attributable to the following factors, among others:

- ⊗ Advanced processes of assimilation in the colonial period.
- ⊗ The uniting forces of the anti-colonial struggle.
- ⊗ National awareness owing to widespread participation in the “second war of liberation” (common term used in reference to the civil war that followed independence).
- ⊗ The fact that decades of war have resulted in a widespread and large-scale experience of displacement and resettlement which has ‘mixed’ populations to the extent that specific areas of land are not associated exclusively with any particular ethnolinguistic group.
- ⊗ The fact that Angola’s social landscape has not been shaped by the harsh ‘divide and rule’ policies of ethnically based “separate development” imposed by, for example, apartheid South Africa.

The assessment team’s discussions with the Delegate of the Human Rights Commission of Huíla Province, the Administrator of Kipungu in Huíla and administrators of Cuvelai in Cunene Province revealed a range of opinions among officials dealing with San communities, as follows:

- ⊗ Efforts must be made to save the San from becoming extinct.
- ⊗ These efforts should be based on settling them in one place where they can receive assistance and have access to schools, health services and development assistance.
- ⊗ San communities should be encouraged to cultivate fields if they are not yet doing so.
- ⊗ Problems of integration of San children in school are so severe that separate schools are required for San children.
- ⊗ Schools should reserve quotas for San children and teachers should be instructed to make special provision for San children.
- ⊗ The San “are excluded and exclude themselves”.
- ⊗ Policies of integration that will “restore the dignity of the San” are required.
- ⊗ Social education of other groups is required to offset racism and the idea that all San are nomads.
- ⊗ Government has the responsibility to allocate land to San communities and resettle them on a needs basis.
- ⊗ Provisions and policies should be introduced whereby San do not have to pay medical and school fees.
- ⊗ San labour rights must be protected.
- ⊗ San should be integrated by receiving training and positions in government.
- ⊗ San should be integrated into Angolan society on all levels.
- ⊗ San should be respected as the first people of Angola.

International Conventions Relevant to the Study

The International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (ILO 169) and the draft United Nations (UN) Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples are the two major international conventions concerned with the rights of indigenous peoples, but only ILO Convention No. 169 is legally binding.

Both documents are based on the concept of devolution of social, economic and political autonomy to indigenous groups and the broad recognition of their land rights.

The United Nations (UN) System includes the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

ILO 169 sets out criteria according to which the relationship between indigenous peoples and nation-states can be measured. The following are key provisions of ILO 169:

- ☉ Article 6: Governments should enable the participation of indigenous peoples at all levels in decision-making processes concerning them and establish structures necessary for this.
- ☉ Article 7: Indigenous peoples have the right to decide their own development priorities and to exercise control over their own social, cultural and economic development.
- ☉ Articles 1-19 (esp. 13-15): Indigenous peoples' rights of ownership and possession of the lands they traditionally occupy should be recognised.

Neither Angola nor any other African state has ratified ILO 169. One reason for this is that “national governments in the region are reluctant to expand the rights of minorities within an indigenous rights framework and question its appropriateness in the Southern African context” (Suzman 2001: 28).

Such unease about the notion of “indigenous rights” stems from a perspective that defines “indigenoussness ... exclusively by reference to European colonialism rather than any other historical moments, and that by virtue of this, all of the majority Bantu populations are indigenous” (ibid.: 27). Further, “... southern African governments reason that promoting indigenous rights in the manner envisaged by the ILO might well lead to the greater valorisation of ethnic identity and greater social division, and ultimately the subversion of the all important task of nation-building” (ibid.: 28).

Suzman (ibid.: 29) refers to another useful international instrument providing for indigenous peoples' rights, i.e. the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which “focuses more accurately on issues pertaining to the extent of [indigenous peoples'] social, political and economic marginalisation as a human rights or minority rights issue rather than an indigenous rights issue”.

The assessment team in different localities



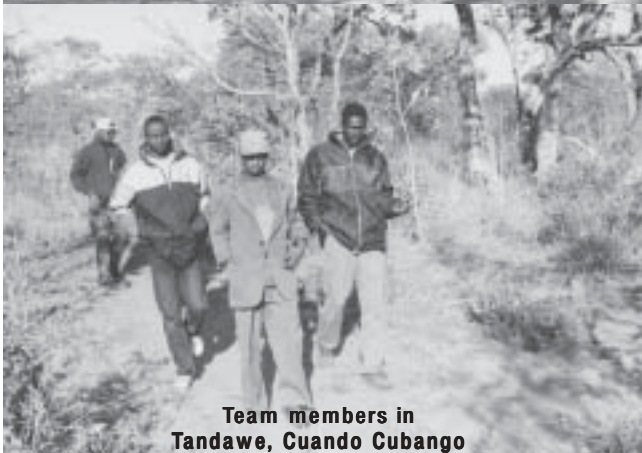
The team's car and tents in Tandawe, Cuando Cubango



The team in Cafima, Cunene



The team in Hombo, Huila



Team members in Tandawe, Cuando Cubango



Daniel Gaspar and Benedito Quessongo of OCADEC



Americo Kwononoka in Vitundulu, Huila



Team members with San in Mucundi, Cuando Cubango

XI

Scope and Implementation of the Study

The fieldwork for this needs assessment was undertaken over a 21-day period in Huíla, Cunene and Cuando Cubango Provinces. The fieldwork also included a brief visit to Moxico Province. The assessment was undertaken by a team composed of an Angolan consultant linked to the National Ethnological Museum of Angola and a Namibian consultant. The consultants worked in collaboration with two advocacy workers from OCADEC, the NGO based in Lubango, Huíla, serving San in Angola.

METHODOLOGY

The findings documented in this report are based on assessments reached primarily through participatory group interviews conducted with all adults present in the communities at the time of our visit. A topic sheet was used as a checklist to guide the interviews, discussions and other information-gathering activities. The group interviews were occasionally augmented with small-group discussions and informal one-to-one conversations. The questions posed in the interviews were designed to establish the following:

- Facts and figures vis-à-vis populations and locations; food security; access to water, land, health and education; land rights; history of settlement; the war's impact; participation in social institutions; social organisation; self-identification; social relations; awareness of human rights; and problems experienced.
- Views and opinions relevant to future San development planning and processes, e.g. what are their needs, what in their view are the causes of their problems and how do they think their needs can be met and their problems solved?

In-depth discussions in the communities served to explore contradictory information or to gain a better understanding of views expressed by interviewees.

Where possible, factual information regarding land use, water, habitation and food security was augmented by physical observation. In every community the team made photographic and video recordings of conditions and views expressed.

As the team frequently spent the night in a San settlement, opportunities for more informal discussion and meetings around a fire arose. At times these and other such opportunities for informal small-group exchanges provided interesting additional layers of insight.

Regarding language and translation, the modus operandi in each community was to identify a Portuguese speaker who could translate the questions, answers and dialogue for the team and community, or in the absence of a Portuguese speaker, to communicate through team members in Muhanda, Ngangela, Ovimbundu or Cokwe. Where no San among the interviewees spoke any of these languages, an administrator or a member of the neighbouring ethnolinguistic group facilitated translation into Portuguese.

Regarding community participation, the team actively encouraged responses by all present to offset frequent domination of interviews by community leaders, men or self-appointed spokespersons from outside the San community such as municipal administrators, traditional leaders (*sobas*), Bantu neighbours, government officials and translators who sometimes attend or facilitate meetings with San communities.

Regarding the San community locations, the team located and made contact with them by various means, as follows:

- ④ Through OCADEC initiatives some San communities in Huíla and Cunene had received advance notice of the team's arrival. Groups from settlements in reasonable proximity to each other convened at a predetermined meeting point where the discussion with the team was held.
- ④ In Cunene sympathetic members of the Forças Armadas Angolanas (FAA) had pointed OCADEC to locations where the FAA had noted the presence of San communities. FAA members also assisted in giving advance notice to communities who could not be reached by vehicle due to the presence of landmines or absence of roads. Such groups also met the team at predetermined meeting points.
- ④ Meetings with provincial and municipal/local administrators, traditional leaders (*sobas*) and *soba* council members (*sekulos*) informed the team of San communities' locations and population sizes.
- ④ The team asked all San communities visited about the whereabouts, population sizes and living conditions of other San communities known to them.
- ④ The team also asked local non-San inhabitants if they knew of any San communities in their district.

The local authorities' cooperation was facilitated substantially by the letter of recommendation written by the Delegate of the Human Rights Commission of Huíla to the Provincial Governors concerned.

CONSTRAINTS AND LIMITATIONS

There were three major areas of constraint and limitation:

- ④ To be able to make direct contact with 43 communities over the 21-day period the team had to travel a total distance of ca 2 500 km on intermittently very bad roads and tracks. This limited the amount of time the team could spend with any one community, thus complex social dynamics and economies of survival encountered could be assessed only to a limited degree.
- ④ Given the constraints of time and access restrictions due to the presence of landmines or impassable roads and bridges, the team could not verify in situ information received from another 28 communities. The geographical locations of those settlements and figures pertaining to them thus remain approximate or unconfirmed.
- ④ The presence of government officials, Bantu neighbours and *sobas* was found to influence respondents' freedom of expression and level of participation and therefore the quality of information given. Where interviews were negatively influenced in this way, an authoritarian tone and thinly disguised disdain for the San communities was quick to surface. In a number of meetings the entire team was aware of a sense of fear and restraint among the San, who would express completely opposing points of view depending on the presence or absence of people with whom a serious conflict of interest was underway.

FINDINGS

General findings reported in this section are supported by maps (pages iv-viii of this report), provincial summary reports on settlement clusters (in this section) and fact sheets for specific settlements (appendix). The provincial summary reports serve to highlight variations in the conditions found in different communities especially with regard to land access, conflict over land and water, the history of settlement and the social dynamics that will be relevant for development planning.

“We are happy that you came to see us. One does not get help. We are seen as animals.” –
San resident of Viskote, Huíla Province

Community/Group/Location Numbers and Population Sizes

CONFIRMED DATA

‘Confirmed’ data refers to information obtained through direct contact with San groups either in their place of residence or elsewhere.

UNCONFIRMED DATA

‘Unconfirmed’ data refers to information on groups/communities and population sizes obtained from secondary sources, i.e. not from group members themselves. This information was obtained from other San communities or government sources and is therefore regarded as unconfirmed. As many Angolan San are not numerate, the calculations were made by means of asking informants to recall the number of homes in the village they were telling us about and then multiplying this figure by the estimated number of people associated with one home. The team was told that three to five persons are normally associated with one home, thus an average of four persons per home can be taken as a sufficiently representative figure for our assessment purposes.

Table 2: CONFIRMED AND UNCONFIRMED COMMUNITY/GROUP/LOCATION NUMBERS
AND POPULATION SIZES BY REGION

Province	# Settlements	Population Size
<i>Confirmed</i>		
Huíla	21	1 055
Cunene	13	697
Cuando Cubango	9	262
<i>Sub-total</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>2 014</i>
<i>Unconfirmed</i>		
Huíla	3	73
Cunene	18	728
Cuando Cubango	8	585
<i>Sub-total</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>1 386</i>
<i>Total confirmed and unconfirmed number of San settlements</i>	<i>72</i>	
<i>Total confirmed and unconfirmed population</i>		<i>3 400</i>

ADDITIONAL ESTIMATES

Given the difficulties of access and high levels of displacement due to the war it is possible that there are San groups in Cuando Cubango and Cunene Provinces about whom the team received no information.

A very brief visit to Moxico Province revealed that San communities who once lived there were killed or fled during the war. A small group of 32 San were found in Moxico after the team had already left the province. Some members of this group hail from Cangamba in Moxico. There is a possibility that more such isolated groups of San exist in Moxico.

The needs assessment did not focus on Bie, Namibe and Huambo Provinces where isolated small groups of San may reside.

Overall conditions in Angola are still in flux and it is not possible to have certainty of San population numbers. In this respect it should be remembered that no recent population figures based on a census exist for Angola as a whole.

Currently 400 000 refugees are returning to Angola. It is possible that San individuals and groups are among those returning from Zambia.

It is possible also that San communities may be among the millions of internally displaced people currently returning to their places of origin in Angola.

On these grounds the possibility exists of there being a further 200-800 San in Angola.

Ethnolinguistic Identities

The 88 000-100 000 San of southern Africa speak one or more of a total of 35 Khoe and San languages. Khoe and San languages constitute a language stock from which families of languages developed (Crawhall 2003). Four main Khoe and San language families have been identified (Penduka Conference 2001). A number of dialects occur within each of these families:

- The *Ju* language family includes Ju!hoansi, !Xun and !Kung.
- The *Khoe* language family includes Khoekhoegowab, Khwedam, Naro, G!ui or Cgui and Gllana or Xgana.
- The *Taa* language family includes only !Xõó
- The *!Ui* language family includes N!u and the extinct languages !'Auo, !Xam and !!Xegwi.

All the San groups visited in the assessment identified themselves as !Kung speakers. !Kung is also referred to in the literature as !Xu (alternatively !Xû or !Xun) and distinctions have been made whereby speakers of this language are said to speak either West !Xu, Mpungu !Xu or Vasekela !Xu (Brenzinger 2001: 61). The !Kung speakers interviewed in this assessment did not make such a distinction.

It is likely that San communities known to be located in south-east Cuando Cubango (in and around the settlements of Diriko and Cuangari) and communities dispersed around Mavinga in this province are speakers of Khwedam, the language of the Khwe San. Logistical constraints made it impossible for the team to visit those communities.

A significant number of adults in all the San communities visited speak one or more of the Bantu languages spoken by their neighbours. The team noted that even when speaking among themselves San community members switched back and forth between these Bantu languages and !Kung.

In almost all San settlements with over 20 persons there was someone with some knowledge of Portuguese – usually this was a man who had served in the military.

Settlement Patterns

The sizes of the San communities visited ranged from small family groups of 6-10 people to larger villages of up to 230 people. The small groups in many cases are literally a single family. Most settlements have a total population of 25-40. Some groups are settled more permanently while others are more mobile.

Not all groups are composed of people who have lived together for a long time. Some consist of people from different places who all have a different history of displacement. In other groups the majority of people have lived in the same place over generations and have a shared history of displacement.

Not all groups are communities in the sense of there being clear established common bonds and patterns of cooperation and obligation. For the purposes of this report the terms 'group' and 'community' are used interchangeably.

PERMANENT SETTLEMENTS

The team undertook to locate on maps of the four provinces visited the San settlements found or heard of in each province – see maps on pp. iv-viii of this report.

A large number of San groups live in relatively fixed settlements. They have homes made of wood with thatch roofing – homes not unlike those of their Bantu neighbours. They have small fields, work for their neighbours, and go out to search for bushfood and to hunt.

Permanent settlements are frequently found near streams or natural water sources. As the maps show, many such settlements form a cluster with other settlements in the same district. Permanent settlements may be “small” or “large”, i.e. they contain 3-25 homes.

Though communities in permanent settlements are attached to a fixed location, members of such communities or the entire community may sometimes decide to move elsewhere in the same district due to, for example, a water shortage or knowledge of seasonal food sources in other places. San groups found in more densely populated areas have tended to move around less than those living in less densely populated areas.

LESS PERMANENT SETTLEMENTS

Some San groups move frequently within a specific area depending on where there are bushfoods to harvest. Some of these groups live in relatively fragile homes made of leafy branches and grass; others live in dome-shaped homes made of wooden sticks and tree bark.

Settlement patterns are influenced by the degree of real access a community has to what was once its ancestral land or *!nore*.¹⁶ Groups who move around less are those having nowhere to move to; their *!noresi* (plural) are now inhabited by other people with large fields and cattle. A small number of San communities still have access to land resources or *!noresi* which allows them to move around in search of food and even to cultivate fields. Such groups may also work for Bantu people who live on what was once a San *!nore*.

¹⁶ San people refer to “their” territory as their *!nore*. The term refers to an area of land in which a group has rights to the different natural resources found. Some of the resources found in a *!nore* are also shared with owners of other *!noresi* (plural). A community may consist of individuals who collectively own a number of *!noresi*. In the majority of the San communities visited people refer to their land as their *!nore* even if the land is now settled by cultivators and they no longer have the usufruct rights they once had. In many cases large swathes of land were referred to as the *!nore*, which could be taken to refer to all the *!noresi* of San communities in one area.

Settlement patterns are unstable. Some San communities have recently returned to their places of origin, while others were thinking of moving to a former place of settlement within what they perceive to be their *!nore* or ancestral land. Some communities will undoubtedly move away from where they are now.

MINORITIES IN AREAS OF MIXED SETTLEMENT

None of the communities visited enjoy exclusive use of the land on which they are settled. All live in close proximity to Bantu cultivators and pastoralists who usually cultivate larger areas of land, own cattle and produce a certain amount of surplus food which they store. San and Bantu communities have lived together in this way for considerable periods. In a number of the San settlements we were told that the population numbers in neighbouring Bantu settlements had increased in recent years. This is likely to be due to population movements caused by war and internal displacement.

The San in Angola live as minority groups in areas of mixed settlement on land which was once their ancestral land. Given that some areas have been populated by a mix of San and Bantu groups over generations, it is also possible that Bantu groups will claim such land as being their ancestral land.¹⁷

Food Insecurity

“[We do not want to return to Muhamba because of] the problem of food – there is no one to work for in Muhamba.” – San resident of Tsholo, Huíla Province

All the San communities said that hunger has been a major problem, and most said they currently face a shortage of food. The worst period of hunger is said to be in the dry season from August to December when bushfoods are scarce, own reserves and those of the Bantu neighbours are exhausted, and there are no or fewer employment opportunities. Some communities reported that January and February, being the beginning of the rainy season, were also months of hunger. Seasonal patterns of increased food insecurity are influenced by the degree of access to bushfoods in relation to the amount of food earned through working in the fields of Bantu neighbours and the size of the harvest from own fields.

The team noted that most communities had some food, even if very little. At worst the food supply was no more than a few wild pumpkins which are cooked in water. At best it consisted of an assortment of fresh and dried bushfoods, maize and pearl millet earned through work. Only a small minority had some food reserves.

Children and adults alike appeared to be malnourished and poor health conditions were witnessed by the team throughout the assessment.

It is important to note that the period in which the assessment was conducted was the best time of the year for collecting bushfoods such as tubers, nuts, melon, wild melon, berries, wild onion, wild spinach and wild pumpkin. In addition, Bantu neighbours had surplus food which they could use to pay San to clear their fields in preparation for the next season. As bushfoods

¹⁷ No systematic historical accounts of San settlement and mixed San and Bantu settlement and land use exist. Estermann's (1956) account of relations between San and Bantu groups points to contact and proximity. A San woman of about 70 years of age reported to the team that when she was a young girl in Mutuandjamba in Huíla Province her parents cultivated small fields and also occasionally worked for the Bantu neighbours. Such anecdotal evidence requires verification through a systematic recording of oral testimonies.

and employment opportunities become more scarce, food security conditions of San communities can be expected to deteriorate further.¹⁸

Vulnerability and Need

The report on a Vulnerability Assessment (VA) published by the World Food Programme (WFP) Angola in 2003 sets out the following definitions and categories which provide a useful frame of reference for this study:

Vulnerability: When is a group of people “vulnerable” and what does this mean?

The VA states that vulnerability levels are “determined by the expected ability of people to maintain a minimum level of consumption until the next harvest”.

“Time of hunger”: When are people in danger of dying of hunger?

Populations are considered to be food insecure when they are unable to meet their current consumption needs and are not expected to be able to do so before the next harvest. Food Insecure Populations are in need of immediate food-oriented intervention.

Highly Vulnerable Populations may meet their consumption needs in the short term but are expected to have trouble during the lean season. These populations will require intervention during the lean season.

It is possible that Moderately Vulnerable Populations will not meet their consumption needs during the lean season, whereas Potentially Vulnerable Populations are expected to meet their consumption needs unless they experience a serious shock to their food access. Moderately and Potentially Vulnerable Populations need to be monitored for possible problems with food security in the forthcoming six months (WFP 2003).

In applying the criteria of these concepts to the communities visited in this assessment, the following is revealed:

- ⊗ All the communities are Highly Vulnerable Populations, and some are Food Insecure Populations. The majority are able to meet their consumption needs in the short term but are expected not to be able to do so during the lean season. For the San this is the experience of seasonal hunger or “the time of hunger” (ibid.).
- ⊗ The communities considered to be food insecure are those in Kakombe in Huíla Province, the Sendi–Vinkwenha–Boa Lembrança cluster in Huíla Province and the Nelombo–Angulayambodo cluster in Cunene Province.
- ⊗ The VA identifies 2,5 million Angolans as being vulnerable to food insecurity. Of these, 1 million are considered to be food insecure and 865 000 are considered to be highly vulnerable (ibid.).
- ⊗ The San encountered in this study thus fall within the larger population of 2,5 million Angolans identified as being vulnerable to food insecurity. This finding of the team is not reflected in the WFP VA maps for Huíla and Cuando Cubango. Possible reasons for this may be that there is under-reporting on San communities and the relatively small numbers of San do not affect the statistics for these provinces.

¹⁸ The report on the World Food Programme (WFP) Angola Vulnerability Analysis of 2003 (WFP 2003: 23) states: “Food insecurity will be much more widespread in the lean period. A significantly larger proportion of returnees as well as resettled people and residents will become food insecure in the coming months.”

Sources of Food and Income

All the San communities visited derive food from a mixture of sources, chiefly the following:

- ☉ Gathering – of bushfoods including honey.
- ☉ Hunting – of small animals.
- ☉ Cultivating – own small fields.
- ☉ Beer sales – some communities brew beer which they sell to neighbours.
- ☉ Food for work – food (usually maize or pearl millet) is obtained in exchange for working for Bantu neighbours.
- ☉ *Ondjambi* – the custom of giving a nourishing alcoholic beverage to people to ‘inspire’ them to work in the fields of Bantu neighbours.
- ☉ Food for food – exchanging meat (obtained by hunting), honey and specific bushfoods for maize, millet, sorghum and oil.
- ☉ Food aid – 40% of the communities visited reported having received food aid and/or seed for planting at least once in the last year.
- ☉ Food for basketware – some communities manufacture small baskets and large food-storage baskets which they exchange for food.
- ☉ Food for ironware – some communities manufacture ironware such as knives, axes and sewing needles which they exchange for food.

“Do not bring help for us to the administration. Bring help directly to us. In the past there was help which was meant for us but we got nothing. There were tools and seeds brought by MINARS. They gave only a very small part to us.” – San resident of Cafima, Cunene Province

The primary source of food is a mix of bushfoods and food obtained through employment. The weighting of this mix varies by community and could not be accurately established as there are also seasonal variations.

A frequent complaint in communities who had received food aid was that it had not been distributed in full. Allegations were made that the local Bantu *sobas* or *sekulos* charged with food-aid distribution had held back a portion of the aid as well as the seed meant for the San communities. Such complaints were accompanied by an urgent request to deliver any future aid directly to the San communities and not to the *sobas* or *sekulos*.¹⁷

There are considerable differences as regards the food varieties available in different places, but the following foods were noted as being commonly consumed by the San communities:

- ☉ Bushfoods – mangetti nuts, marula and other nuts, honey, nourishing leaves, wild spinach, *maboke*, wild mushroom, berries, melon, wild onion, wild pumpkin, *mahuma*, *noncha*, *matundu*, *mukwa*, *noheva*, *nonyandi*, *twatulu*, *milangolo*, *mihungu*, *mbungo*, *mbum*, *njuanjua*, *mangongo*, *mahubi*, *metu* and *thamba*.
- ☉ Grains – pearl millet, maize, sorghum.
- ☉ Legumes – beans, potatoes.

A number of the communities possess a few chickens and goats. A minority possess a few goats and a pig. Only three have cattle owners or own 2-4 head of “community cattle”.

¹⁷ OCADEC workers have reported cases of food aid not being delivered to vulnerable San communities and of *sobas* distributing food aid in exchange for labour (personal communication, July 2003).

The team found no sugar, salt or tea in any community visited.

Big differences were found between communities in terms of how seriously and extensively they were cultivating their own fields. A small minority had no fields of their own. Many factors influence the cultivation situation, including: availability of seed, agricultural implements and cattle for ploughing; soil fertility or barrenness; rainfall; and the habit of cultivation.

In a few areas a greater abundance of game meat obtained by hunting contributes in greater measure to food intake.

It is important to note that substantial numbers of people among Angola's total vulnerable rural population survive to a considerable extent by collecting bushfoods and honey and by hunting and fishing.²⁰

Health

“Our children die because we cannot pay.” – San resident of Mutuandjamba, Huíla Province

A high prevalence of infectious and preventable diseases was found in all the San communities. All of them reported serious problems with a range of illnesses, those most commonly reported and witnessed by the team being chest infections, eye infections, diarrhoeal disease, measles and malaria.²¹

The team found widespread evidence of malnutrition among children and adults.

Regarding access to health services, most of the communities reported having no access to clinics and health posts because the clinics are too far away from their settlements and/or the cost of transport is unaffordable.

The team also heard complaints that San are often insulted or in some other way maltreated by staff at health posts.

An example of the poor state of the health services generally in rural areas of Angola was witnessed directly in Cunene Province when the team attempted to get treatment for a San infant who had seriously infected and pussing burn wounds around her eye. Nurses at the clinic in Mupa were said to be living “too far away” to be fetched. Local officials roughly examined the child and reprimanded her father for negligence. We were told that the child would have to wait till the next morning. Further enquiries revealed that there was no medication at the Mupa clinic and that attempts would be made to take the child to the clinic at Cuvelai. It was also not certain that the Cuvelai clinic had any stocks of medicine. San informants believe that they are often turned away because they are not considered a priority when it comes to dispensing the limited medical supplies.

The three main diseases or categories of disease to which Angolan San are prone:

- ☉ **Malaria** – caused by mosquitoes and standing water in the rainy season. Survival rates are affected by overall health which in turn is affected by nutrition levels.
- ☉ **Respiratory diseases** – chest infections occurring most frequently in the dry and cold season, brought on by a lack of clothing, blankets and shelter, low temperatures and/or poor nutrition.
- ☉ **Diarrhoeal diseases**- caused by water impurities and affected by nutrition levels.

²⁰ This is also noted in WFP Angola's Vulnerability Assessment report (WFP 2003: 3): “Fishing, hunting, mushroom collecting and honey gathering played an important role in maintaining a certain level of consumption for many vulnerable people.”

²¹ A study conducted in San settlements (Vinkwenha, Boa Lembrança, Hombo and Sendi) in Huíla Province in October 2002 found a prevalence of malnutrition, chest infections, intestinal parasites, eye infections and sarna (Cruz Verde de Angola, “Relatorio da vista ao grupo Khoisan, em Quipungo, realizada dia 17-10-02”, 2002).

HUILA PROVINCE



Hinhenheke



Hombo



Kakombe



Mutuandjamba



Mutuandjamba



Vinkwenha



Kakombe

CUNENE PROVINCE



Cafima



Cafima



Lupunja



Vikungu



Katala



Mulolo



Shikungungu



Ionde

CUANDO CUBANGO PROVINCE



Bairro Novo



Mucundi

Cuando River near Bairro Novo



Mucundi



Tandawe



Bairro Novo



Tandawe

“When people get seriously ill and our medicine does not work then they just wait for death.” – San resident of Tandawe, Cuando Cubango Province

Regarding mortality rates, high incidences of infant mortality and morbidity were found in most of the communities visited. In the San population of 2 014 with which the team had direct contact, a total of 204 deaths due to illness were reported to have occurred in the past year. This figure, however, is only an indicator because the time frame of “the past year” is likely to have been interpreted in different ways by different people. Notwithstanding such considerations, the high incidence of death due to illness is cause for serious concern.

Poor conditions of local health and medical services are a serious problem impacting heavily on vulnerable communities throughout rural Angola.²²

Regarding the prevalence of traditional medicine, all the communities reported that they practise San traditional medicine and many also make use of the services of traditional healers in neighbouring Bantu communities – against payment. Many communities reported that they practise the San healing or trance dance.

Access to Water

There is considerable disparity among the San communities visited in respect of access to water. For communities living close to rivers and streams there are no problems accessing household water. When questioned more closely, however, informants revealed that in some cases conflict had arisen around San families who had established vegetable gardens along a stream in “their land” but were forced by neighbours to abandon the gardens.

Communities living in dry areas without streams reported serious problems arising due to a shortage of water, including conflict with neighbouring groups over the available water. Such problems are most prevalent in Cunene Province.

A number of groups reported that they had lost basic assets including water containers as a result of displacement and exposure to violent conflict. These groups cited the acquisition of water containers as a priority need.

Education and Culture

EDUCATION

The literacy rate among Angolan San adults and young adults is very low. The team established that among all the groups interviewed there are fewer than 20 persons in total with some degree of literacy. Grade 4 is the highest level of formal schooling attained.

A very small percentage of San children were found to attend school regularly. This is true both for communities located in areas where there is no school nearby and for those located in areas where nearby village schools do exist.

Reasons cited for children not attending school:

²⁰ The report on the WFP Angola VA (WFP 2003) states: “Reported mortality and morbidity rates are extremely high. Epidemics of malaria, diarrhea disease, and respiratory disease are not under control [p.23]. ... A difficult health situation was the most commonly reported risk in provincial Vulnerability Assessments. A complete lack of services was highlighted as the primary cause for the extreme rates of illness and resulting deaths. There was nearly a universally reported lack of access to adequate health posts and hospitals [p.4].”

- ☉ Parents cannot afford to pay registration fees (where these are required).
- ☉ Parents cannot afford to buy uniforms and materials such as books and pencils.
- ☉ Children lack food – parents explained that their children cannot attend school if they are hungry, and if they are hungry they are required to go out looking for food rather than being sent to school.
- ☉ There are no schools close to the place of settlement.
- ☉ San children are insulted, called names and beaten by the children of Bantu neighbours. The basis for this behaviour is that the San are viewed as “dirty poors who are nothing”. This problem was also cited by local administrators, one of whom reported on attempts to speak to the parents of offending children.
- ☉ A few San community members explained that they “are not in the habit of sending children to school”.

In the view of most parents interviewed, the children would benefit from attending school, but they want the children to attend a school close to their place of residence.

CULTURE

Regarding traditional culture, the team found that all communities value the !Kung language. Different communities practise !Kung culture to varying degrees.

Storytelling is reportedly a common practice.

Musical instruments were found in only two of the communities visited. Most stated that they sing the songs of their Bantu neighbours and also practise the San trance or healing dance.

It was interesting to note that a number of communities had adopted cultural practices of their Bantu neighbours such as their songs, puberty rites and initiation rites. In Cafima in Cunene Province the team witnessed dances performed by young women which combined the singing of Ngangela songs with San trance-dancing.

Basketry is a traditional San craft in Angola.

Division of Labour and Gender Relations

Finding food is everyone’s responsibility – men and women, youth and children. The communities visited all stated that the men do all the hunting, build homes, look for firewood, collect honey, and if necessary help the women and children with their tasks of fetching water and gathering bushfood. Men, women and older children work in the fields of neighbours in exchange for food. Men and women also manufacture baskets and ironware.

It was the team’s impression that there is flexibility in the division of labour.

In decision-making the opinions and ideas of women are normally taken into account – as the team witnessed. Questions about the role of women in decision-making and the behaviour of men towards women were often met with laughter and arguments. In numerous instances women contradicted men who claimed to be “in charge” and pointed out that the women influence important decisions in community and family life. It appears that men habitually represent the San communities to outsiders, thereby creating the impression that they are “in charge”. Men have more power than women in social relations with outsiders because more men than women speak languages other than !Kung. Of the few children attending school today, most are boys.

The team heard anecdotes of drunk men beating women.

The more stable San communities seem to have a strong tradition of listening to women, including older women. Counselling of one another appears to be an aspect of the culture. This was implied by a San group attempting to determine whether it was men or women making the

decisions. It turned out that a woman of the group would always be consulted even when men seemed to be making a decision.

Other Angolan San communities with lesser internal cohesion may have developed patterns of male domination – which is also what they would have been exposed to in civil defence units and in the army. Possibly men of these groups do tend to dominate, exclude and “beat women when they [the men] are drunk”. In several discussions on the role of women the team sensed that some women were deeply resentful about the men’s domineering tendencies.

Impact of the War

San men have been employed as trackers, in reconnaissance units, as soldiers and in civil defence units by all sides in the conflict in Angola, and up to 1989 by the South African Defence Force (SADF) as well.

All the communities visited reported that some or most of the men had served on one of the opposing sides in the war. Most frequently the team heard that men had served either in FAPLA, the FAA or the civil defence units which consisted of armed men stationed in strategic villages and towns for the purpose of defending these locations in the absence of regular military personnel. Information received suggests that San have not had guns in their possession since the guns they had were taken away during the course of the demobilisation that followed the declaration of peace in 2002.

In some cases San communities without the men lived for considerable periods in protected villages while the men carried out civil defence duties in different parts of Angola.

Accounts of voluntary and forced conscription were heard. Many communities reported that men had not returned from the war. The team received information about four men who were still employed by the FAA at the time of the assessment.

All except two communities stated that they had been displaced from their place of residence due to the war. In a few cases this was a single displacement of short duration. Most communities recounted a complex history of displacement with sometimes forced resettlement. The composition of the communities was seldom found to be uniform: most communities include people with diverse histories of displacement and resettlement. A number of communities reported heavy losses as a result of forced resettlement and exposure to armed conflict. Such losses include losses of loved ones and of essential assets such as clothing, blankets, tools, containers and homes.

The team came across two people who had lost limbs as a result of landmine accidents, and several communities reported on other landmine victims.

Some communities reported that the behaviour of men had changed since they had served in the war: they have been drinking more, and when drunk have tended to beat their wives and each other.

It is beyond the scope of this study to report in detail on the impact of the war on Angolan San communities, but it is likely that their collective experience mirrors that of other Angolan communities who suffered indescribable shock, trauma, violation and hardship.

For all the San communities, social cohesion and a once strong sense of community based on belonging, shared values and ties of family and friendship have undoubtedly been affected by the experience of war and displacement.

Participation in the war has created among San communities a “national awareness”²³ and an associated sense of having rights as Angolan citizens. Most communities visited stated that

²³ On “national awareness” in Angola M. da Conceicao Neto (in Robson 2001: 38) writes: “... recent wars were always conducted, in spite of everything, in the name of ‘Angolan Rights’ Since independence there has been an increase in the number of people who see themselves as Angolan, and as such demand their rights.”

they have equal rights (or rights like everyone else) even if these are not respected by others. It is very likely that this basic politicisation and conscientisation of San communities is attributable to their participation in the war.

Insecurity of Land Rights

“We do not have tools, seed, cattle with which we could hold onto our land. We want our land back. I can show you now how big it is; where the boundaries are. But now our neighbours plough right up to the doors of our homes. And if our children are found in their fields they are beaten.” – San resident of Mutuandjamba, Huíla Province

“You are told, ‘You are lazy. Give me that field. You will work for me.’” – San resident of Tsholo, Huíla Province

OVERALL SITUATION FOR SAN

San in Angola have no secured rights to land or natural resources. They are minorities in areas settled by Bantu groups. They occupy small pieces of land within areas of land controlled by Bantu groups. Bantu *sobas* have authority to allocate and administer land that is legally owned by the Angolan Government. San leaders do not have such powers. Though legislation makes provision for the issuing of title deeds, neither San nor Bantu groups normally possess such. The legal status of land and associated rights in Angola is ambiguous and to date unresolved.

Where San communities live in less densely settled areas there is less pressure on the land and resources and therefore fewer restrictions and less real and potential conflict around land use. In such cases de facto land rights are less limited but still they are regarded as very insecure.

BASIS OF SAN CLAIMS TO LAND RIGHTS

The different San communities have different histories of settlement, dispossession and displacement. It is possible to generalise, however, and to relegate each of the diverse histories recounted to one of the following four categories:

- ☉ **Residents:** These San groups/communities have not moved from their place of settlement or have moved around for some time but returned to their place of origin over two years ago. These groups state that they are living on the land of their forebears. In all cases they are now a minority on “their” land – which they describe as having been much larger than it is today. In all cases these groups’ right to be on the land is recognised by the local Bantu *sobas*. Some resident groups claim rights to additional land areas on the basis of those also being land of their forebears.
- ☉ **Returnees:** These San groups/communities have returned to their places of origin which they consider to be “their” land. Returnees may have returned spontaneously on their own initiative or with government assistance. They are formerly internally displaced people who in some cases have lost all assets as a result of the war. In a number of cases they returned to their land together with the Bantu group/s with whom they had fled the place of origin.
- ☉ **Resettled:** These are San groups living on land on which they have been resettled by government agencies. Their right to live on that land is usually recognised by the local Bantu *soba*.

- ☉ **Internally displaced people:** These are San groups living on the land of other people on a temporary basis without having been officially resettled there.

Residents and returnees base their claim to the land on which they now live on the principles of duration of occupancy and ancestral land rights.

RECOGNITION OF SAN LAND RIGHTS

“This is our land. The neighbours recognise that it is ours. But we have nothing and we depend on them. Therefore they oppress us. But in the book it is written that we are the first Angolans.” – San resident of Ntopa, Cuando Cubango Province

“We are now left with the smaller part of our own land. If we don’t have seeds, tools and cattle to plough they will take all of it. They see that we do not make big fields. We cannot say that they recognise our land rights.” – San resident of Cafima, Cunene Province

The returnees and residents all said that the local Bantu *sobas* and local administration (local government) officials recognise their land rights. However, this entails a recognition of very limited rights only. The San or their leaders do not exercise control over or do not have jurisdiction over “their land”, thus they have no power to allocate land. The control of land resources and all social authority rests with the Bantu *sobas*. It could therefore be said that in most cases the land rights of San groups are limited to their presence being tolerated on terms and conditions almost entirely beyond their control.

Recognition of San Leaders and Representation

Recognition of land rights is closely associated with recognition of political authority and community leaders. While most of the San groups visited have persons designated as “leaders”, almost all said that the group falls under the jurisdiction of the local Bantu *soba* and this is the person to whom the group turns to resolve serious disputes. In a number of cases San leaders were said to have been appointed by the Bantu *sobas*.

Similarly, San leaders are not able to represent their communities regularly in meetings of local *soba* councils – composed of the *sobas* and their *sekulos* (*soba* representatives in the sub-districts) – and in meetings with local administration officials. As informants put it to the team, “We attend when we are invited.” The overall impression we gained is that there is no shared decision-making at all; power lies solely in the hands of the Bantu *sobas* and San leaders are called to meetings only to receive orders or instructions for their communities.

In all the communities visited the team identified only two San leaders who are recognised as leaders by local government structures and by the *soba* councils in their area: Senhor Piriquito Kambili of Hombo, Kipungu Municipio, Huíla Province and Senhor Arundingo of Cafima, Kwanyama Municipio, Cunene Province, are recognised San leaders who have enjoyed relations with the government for a number of years. In reality both men act as representatives through whom government agencies communicate with the San communities. Beyond the power inherent to their function of internal dispute resolution these recognised leaders have very little real power as they have no jurisdiction over land and natural resources and are in fact subservient to the more powerful Bantu *sobas* in their area.

Exploitation of San Labour

“We are paid with food we must eat to do the work. We are not given food to eat while we work. I am not treated well. My force goes to others. I am left with nothing.” – San resident of Kakwa, Huíla Province

“You work from 7[am] to 4 or 5[pm]. If you are tired and complain you are told that you are lazy and that you should just wait for MINARS and that you will not be paid.” – San resident of Kakombe, Huíla Province

With fewer available natural resources the means of survival of San groups in Angola has shifted increasingly away from hunting and gathering towards working for others in return for food.

The food-for-work terms applied are universally perceived by the San as being unjust and exploitative. Information received indicates that San labourers are paid 1-4 “kilos” of maize or pearl millet for 6-8 hours of work. The unit of payment referred to as a “kilo” is in some cases determined by the size of a container rather than by weight. The container sizes vary from place to place, and some people are paid with pounded maize and pearl millet while others have to pound these themselves.

In some cases the payment to San labourers is a nourishing alcoholic drink. This practice (not the drink) is referred to as *ondjambi* and is commonly applied in Bantu cultures at harvesting time.

A much-heard grievance is that payment for a day’s work is often the same amount of food that the labourer needs to consume in order to do the work, thus “there is nothing to take home”.

The team also heard reports of Bantu employers refusing to pay San labourers the agreed price or refusing to pay at all after the work had been completed.

Discrimination of San

“In Tsholo a man was beaten when he demanded to be paid according to the agreement he had made with the Muhanda employer. He was told, ‘You are small, we will beat you. You have nowhere to go.’” – San resident of Tsholo, Huíla Province

“It is our right to receive the same assistance as others. We want the same help the government gives to the Bantus.” – San resident of Cafima, Cunene Province

All the San communities visited expressed very strong feelings of anger and pain due to discrimination on the basis of ethnicity and cultural characteristics. They say that they are not treated in the same way as others only because they are San: their rights to “their” land are not respected; the sanctity of their homes is not respected; they are not paid as much as others are paid; and they are commonly regarded not as human beings but as ‘lower beings’ with fewer rights. San of all ages reported that they are frequently abused, insulted and treated disrespectfully by non-San. The team witnessed numerous incidences of San being spoken to in a rough manner or simply being ignored or treated as if they had no opinions to offer or were incapable of expressing an opinion.

A very common and widespread form of abuse is “name-calling” or referring to San persons in very derogatory terms. Most of the indigenous languages of southern Africa have such terms for San people. In Angola San are referred to as *Kamusekele*, *Vakusu*, *Ova-kwankala*, *Kwangara* and *Vasekela*. We heard many strong emotional responses from San in expressing the hurt they

feel when referred to by any of these terms. Nonetheless, in many cases these derogatory terms are so deeply entrenched that the San use them in referring to themselves.

San children who had attended school reported experiences of discrimination there. The team recorded reports of incidents of teasing and name-calling, and even of San children being beaten at school. San children are reportedly ridiculed for not having acceptable clothing and for being dirty. They are told, “You are animals. You are nothing.” For this reason, among others such as a lack of funds to cover schooling costs, the vast majority of San children of all ages in Angola do not attend school.

Deeply Entrenched San Dependency

“We depend on Bantus for work – to eat. The Bantus are developing while we still live in hunger.” – San resident of Vifwo, Huíla Province

While the overwhelming majority of the communities visited expressed strong dissatisfaction with and anger about the inequality, discrimination and exploitation they endure, we were also frequently told that cooperation with Bantu neighbours is important and San do not want to move away from their Bantu neighbours because this would mean going hungry due to a lack opportunities for bartering and working for food.

Asked whether they would cooperate with their neighbours around development projects, some communities said they would like to do so because they need their neighbours’ help.

The team gained the impression that dependency in some cases is so deeply entrenched that the San concerned cannot even imagine fighting for their rights due to a fear of repercussions that would be worse than the abuse and discrimination already endured.

Group and National Self-identification and Awareness of Human Rights

The widespread occurrences of harsh discrimination of San in terms of racist abuse and exploitation constitute serious human rights violations. So widespread and entrenched are violations of this kind that one can describe them as being of a systemic and institutionalised nature.

The team was informed of two cases of physical abuse attributable to racism. It is possible that additional cases were not reported to the team out of fear of reprisal. It is important to bear in mind that members of a Bantu community were frequently present in the team’s meetings with San. On occasion a Bantu *soba* or *sekulo* contacted also wanted to be present in these meetings. Given the San dependency levels in Angola and the absence of any recourse to arbiters of neutral justice, it is likely that San refrain from or at least are very cautious about making very serious allegations about Bantu neighbours. On the other hand it is possible that the San survival strategy of avoiding or immediately moving away from conflict has kept gross violations of their human rights at the apparently low levels reported to the team.

To the question of whether they see themselves to be different to other people in Angola, the response of all the San communities visited was the same, the following phrasing being most common: “The blood is the same ... God made everyone equal ... only the colour and the language are different.”

The latter response also seemed to inform thinking about and awareness of human rights. Asked if they were aware of their rights under the Angolan Constitution (referred to as “the law

of the land”), a very common response was that the San are equal to others and deserve to be treated fairly and to have the right to work and own land like everyone else. San who knew about the Constitution and its code of rights frequently commented to the effect that “we know this law but it is not known by others since they do not apply it to us”. San who had not heard of the Constitution and code of rights frequently said “that law is not known here because it does not work here”.

“Nowhere to Go” with Complaints

“We prefer to avoid problems. To complain will make the problem bigger.” – San resident of Bairro Novo, Cuando Cubango Province

The response of all the San communities to the question of whether they have anywhere to go to register complaints was the same: there is “nowhere to go”: the *sobas* pay no attention to San complaints; employers tell San to go away because “you are nothing” or “you are not seen as a person”. A statement we heard very often is that it is better for San to remain silent as complaining would just create even more problems and conflict.

Leadership, Decision-making and Social Organisation

“We choose our leader because he is a calm person and he has experience. We can change him if he refuses to do his work.” – San resident of Vikungu, Cunene Province

Most of the San communities have persons designated as leaders – none of whom are women. In many cases they had been designated following a request from an external agency or institution. In some cases it was unclear whether the leader had been designated by local administration officials or Bantu *sobas*. The team’s impression is that most of the designated leaders were chosen or appointed with the consent and approval of the larger San group. This seemed to be the case especially for the smaller groups and also for Senhor Arundingu, the San *soba* of 230 residents of Cafima in Cunene Province and the traditional authority presiding over San settlements all over the Cafima area and further north in Cunene Province.

San leaders do not enjoy the elevated status and accompanying codes of respect, authority, subservience and power accorded to leaders of other societies in Angola. Asked what their group would do if their leader fails to do his work, San respondents frequently stated that they would remove and replace such a leader.

While very few San communities reported holding regular meetings to manage community issues, most seem to follow a culture of consultation whereby the leader builds consensus on important issues by speaking to everyone in the community about the issues at hand.

Asked about the participation of women in decision-making, many San communities reported that women’s views influence decision-making. In the case of the community of Angulayambodo in Cunene Province whose members had walked a considerable distance to meet with the team, the men claimed to have taken the decision to do so while the women’s very vocal response to this claim was to tell the men off for “lying” since they themselves had decided to do so.

San culture is very communal, informal and lively. In their speech there is a lot of play on words and expressions, and in their mannerisms there is a lot of miming, gesturing and mimicry.

All the communities we visited are relatively egalitarian in that everyone is equally poor and community members of all ages and both genders are very dependent on each other for their survival. Group survival is organised on the basis of intricate codes of sharing and exchange.

The team heard only very rare and isolated requests for direct assistance and no cases of 'begging'. This points to the integrity and dignity of the individual which all the Angolan San groups have managed to preserve in the face of all the difficulties described in this report.

But the team did find some groups dejected, hopeless and disorganised.

"We never meet. Nothing brings us together. Problems are not solved. Decisions are made by others." – San resident of Kakombe, Huíla Province

A few San groups encountered appeared to be suffering a high degree of social disintegration – the team witnessed open arguments, long simmering resentments and divisions. Several groups also suffer high levels of alcohol abuse. In one such group the atmosphere of despair and dejection was underscored by the testimony that people 'solve' conflicts by physically fighting with each other. The team witnessed such levels of social disintegration only rarely.

Organisational Capacity and Preferences

The fact that San communities throughout southern Africa manage to survive under difficult social and economic conditions bears witness to substantial organisational capacity. San survival culture has been adapted in various ways to meet current needs. Hunting and gathering activities today are supplemented by cultivation, and most San groups have become cultivators to some extent. This reflects the common San ability to adapt their social organisation and specifically to integrate "new" elements of production into their social organisation.

In Angola the San's small fields are tended by individual families rather than collectively. Some communities have a few tools which are shared, some have arrangements for borrowing tools from Bantu neighbours, some have complex arrangements for taking care of animals for Bantu neighbours, and some appear to have no such arrangements in place at all.

The discussion on development preferences was usually based on the San group's stated need for agricultural tools, seed and animals for ploughing. The team asked how sharing and caring for such assets could be organised, and put forward for discussion the idea of establishing a seed bank and a cattle fund which would oblige recipients of seed and cattle to return resources into a collective fund to benefit other needy San in the country. In some cases people quickly reached agreement as to the logic of such an idea and the premise of common bonds defining a larger collective unit. In other cases, however, the self-interests of the small group and a fierce individualism among the group members dominated people's thinking to such an extent that cooperation even with other San groups was rejected, let alone with Bantu groups.

Most respondents in fact expressed a wish to organise themselves in their existing small group and in a separate location. Their main reason for wanting such isolation was always the same: "Joining with the others will create conflict among us." Another reason is that other groups live too far away to make possible the sharing of tools and cattle for ploughing. Only a small minority of respondents (two groups) stated that they would be happy to cooperate with their Bantu neighbours around development projects.

The wish to organise themselves in small groups reflects the predominance of the small, family-based group or band as the primary social unit of San society.

The majority of groups interviewed expressed interest in meeting with other San groups at national and regional level for the purpose of exchanging experiences and development ideas.

Needs

“We want to work for our own development so that we can be like our neighbours.” – San resident of Tsholo, Huíla Province

“We have the force to work. We want help so that we can work, so that we can be independent.” – San resident of Vifwo, Huíla Province

We can work together to make food. We know how. What we need is the tools.”
– San resident of Angulayambodo, Cunene Province

“We can cultivate only small fields with our hands. Cattle and ploughs will help to make food. That is how the others survive. We do not want to depend on them. But we need tools to do the work.” – San resident of Lupunja, Cunene Province

The San communities were asked to identify their needs and to indicate the three most urgent needs. This always provoked intense discussion and argument.

The needs listed by all the communities were food, water (in areas where water is scarce), clothing, blankets, medicines and/or clinics, seed, agricultural tools, cattle for ploughing, water containers, water-pumps, salt, soap and schools.

One reason for no community having included land or more secure land rights in their list of needs is the confusion induced by the notion on the one hand that the land *belongs* to them and on the other hand the practical reality that they have very little of it and very little control over what they have. Also, the reality of very reduced land rights does not coincide with the idea of restoring ‘available’ ancestral land to the San.

In most cases the community placed food, blankets and clothing at the top of the list. The team asked how such items could be obtained or who would provide them. The response to this usually centred on the difference between receiving occasional handouts and receiving the means with which to actually produce food and surplus food to exchange for commodities needed.

The team also asked what the communities could do to acquire the food and commodities they need on a long-term basis. This question always prompted discussion on the possibility of extending agricultural production, the requirements for which are seed, tools and ploughing cattle. In the same context the team asked whether there is enough land on which to cultivate bigger fields and whether doing so would provoke conflict with the neighbours over land. The range of views expressed on land availability and potential for conflict over land was as follows:

- ☉ “It is our land. There is enough to make larger fields. We must use it before we lose more of it.”
- ☉ “It is ours. We can take back what we need. They will accept it. They know it is us who allowed them to stay here.”
- ☉ “They will support us. They are always saying we are lazy. So they will be happy to see us using the land.”
- ☉ “There is not enough land. They have already taken a lot of it. It will create conflict.”
- ☉ “They will not like it if we have cattle and we make our own fields. Everyone wants to be in the good places. There will be conflict.”

The discussion on land rights and land use linked to development opportunities is very much in its infancy among the San of Angola. Their perceptions and points of view are also shaped by the prevailing concrete relations of dependency. There is anxiety among the San that any strong claim they make to land will increase conflict and jeopardise their relations with Bantu neighbours.

Settlement and Land-use Patterns

It is possible to identify a number of San land-use patterns which also cast light on their need for land, the potential for conflict over land and the potential for San development, as follows:

1. *Densely populated areas with limited available land and existing conflict or potential for conflict over land.* These are clusters of settlements in Huíla Province (Kipungu–Hoque, Hombo, Chibia–Camana) and clusters of settlements in Cunene Province (Chiede, Mupa, Cafima–Ionde). These are areas in which Bantu neighbours make extensive use of land and natural resources. They are also areas located relatively close to administrative centres, schools and health posts to which there are accessible roads.
2. *Less densely populated areas with greater availability of land and potential for expanding agricultural production or for alternative utilisation of natural resources.* These are more isolated individual settlements and very small groups settled in the northern part of the Mupa National Park in Cunene Province and along the course of the Cuando River in Cuando Cubango Province. These are areas in which there is more unused land and more potential for settlement and land expansion. These areas have a greater abundance of bush-foods and natural resources but most are remote and difficult to access. There are no schools and health posts in close proximity to most of the settlements in these areas. The team did not hear of any conflict over land in these areas. We were unable to visit Mavinga, Nankova, Rivungo, Cuangari, Calai and Diriko in Cuando Cubango Province, thus it is not known what conditions are like for San communities known or believed to be living in those locations.

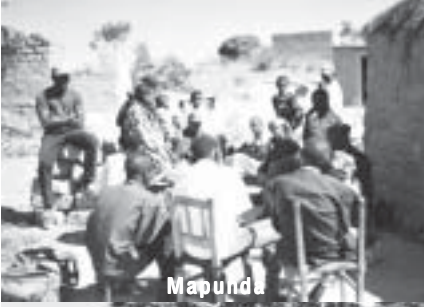
Provincial Summary Reports: Settlement Clusters and Patterns

Following is a summary of conditions in the various San settlement clusters identified in the assessment. Some clusters include settlements that were not visited and about which only the population numbers are known.

HUÍLA PROVINCE

1. *Mapunda:* this is the only ‘semi-urban’ San settlement in Huíla. The community has very limited land and natural resources but community members think they would be able to improve conditions by increasing cultivation on the existing land and possibly growing a vegetable garden using irrigation. While there are social tensions between this community and the neighbouring Bantu communities, the San see the possibility of implementing a project jointly with their neighbours. A number of the San in Mapunda are employed but work away from the settlement – they are effectively migrant workers. One of the community members had attended the 2003 WIMSA General Assembly meeting along with San from other countries of southern Africa and had clearly been politicised by that event as indicated by her statement that, “We are the first people and deserve the same as the others.”
2. *Hinhenheke:* This is the only community in Huíla undoubtedly found to be food secure. The community is ‘constructed’ around its leader, Senhor Mateus Sabonete, to whom all members appear to have family ties. Senhor Sabonete works for the FAA. Agricultural production is successful; the community harvests comparatively large amounts and some members even bake their own bread. Relations with the neighbours are not egalitarian

HUÍLA PROVINCE



Mapunda



Hinhenheke



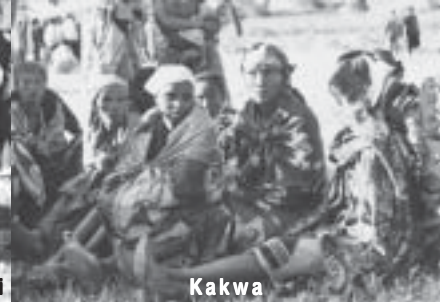
Mambandi



San of Tsholo, Kakwa, Kapeke and Mambandi



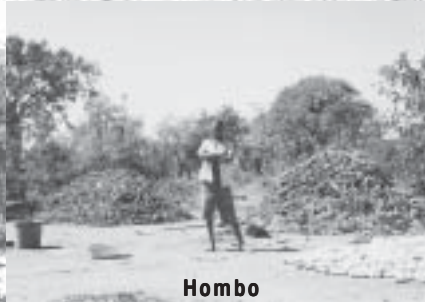
Tsholo



Kakwa



Hombo



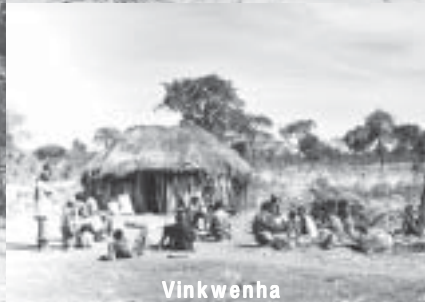
Hombo



Kakombe –
San leader
Senhor
Piriquito
Kambli Jnr



Mutuandjamba



Vinkwenha



Kakombe



Mutuandjamba



Vitundulu

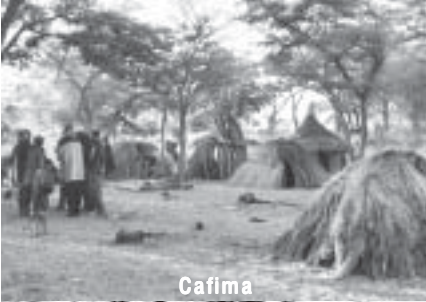


Kakombe

but in spite of the tension prevailing between his community and the Bantu *soba*, Senhor Sabonete believes that his community could increase production in a joint project with the neighbours if the necessary assistance is received.

3. ***San settlement cluster around Tsholo (administrative centre) in the Hoque area*** (Tsholo, Mambandi, Kakwa, Kapeke, Shikala, Chela, Mukuyu, Chem Chem, Viti-Vivar): These San communities live in relatively densely populated areas. There is not enough land and in the interviews many examples of direct or simmering conflict over land and water were cited. Some of these communities have sufficient water for household and other uses but others experience serious seasonal scarcity of water for any purpose. Relations with Bantu neighbours are characterised by dependency and strong dissatisfaction about exploitation of San and the reduction of land due to the presence of newly arrived Bantu cultivators. San in these settlements are well aware that they have a claim to the land on which they live on the grounds of it being ancestral land. There is a basic political consciousness in all these settlements. One leader had attended a workshop with San from other southern African countries and had reported back to the other communities in the area. These communities seem to have quite a strong sense of identity and social cohesion which is probably due to their having experienced relatively few long-term displacements. Women and men in this settlement cluster were the only San encountered in the assessment whose clothing was not threadbare. This indicates that work in the substantial fields of the Bantu neighbours is an important source of income. The local Bantu *soba* expressed appreciation regarding the team's work and the commissioning agencies' efforts to assist San in Angola.
4. ***Mutuandjamba–Vifwo cluster***: Conditions here are very similar to those found in the Tsholo cluster of settlements. There is no doubt in the minds of the San here that they have ancestral land rights and that their land area was once much bigger. There is no land available for production extension but the San believe they can request that their land be returned to them. As in the Tsholo cluster there are conflicts around land use. The San here feel deeply aggrieved about having been excluded as recipients of government food aid when their Bantu neighbours had received such aid. There is a strong sense of belonging and continuity in this community. The response to our visit was an indisputable spirit of deep appreciation and genuine enthusiasm. In Vifwo conditions are worse than in Mutuandjamba.
5. ***Settlement cluster around Shikwatiti*** (Kombela, Viskote, Vitundulu, Shikulelo, Chitongotongo): Some of these very small San settlements have very restricted access to land which is granted to them by the Bantu *soba* who owns it. It is not known whether the settlements not visited in this area do or do not have ancestral rights to their land. These communities also reported having been excluded as recipients of government aid in the form of food and seed, and stated that they are "treated like animals".
6. ***Hombo–Kakombe cluster***: These are among the largest San settlements visited. Their claim to the land on the grounds of ancestral land rights is clear. They are surrounded by Bantu neighbours with large fields, but they live adjacent to a large stretch of apparently unused land – a reserve called Parque Nacional de Bicuari. Though this cluster has received more assistance than any other San settlement assessed, the two communities face serious social problems in addition to their overall needs. These communities are unique in that their leaders are socially and economically in a much better position than all the other community members. The leaders, who were probably installed by government officials, constitute a 'ruling class' in this cluster. At the same time the communities are very divided and there are strong signs of social disintegration, especially in Kakombe. In this respect this cluster may hold very important lessons for future development work. The possibility of securing land rights for needy San communities within the Bicuari National Park could be explored.
7. ***Sendi–Vinkwenha–Boa Lembrança cluster***: As far as the San respondents could recall, their communities are not settled on ancestral land. They have small fields and gather and hunt

CUNENE PROVINCE



Cafima



Cafima –
San leader
Senhor Arudingu



Cafima
Shikungkungu



londo



Shikungkungu



Hamutindila



Kapunduka



Shikungkungu



Katale



Mololo



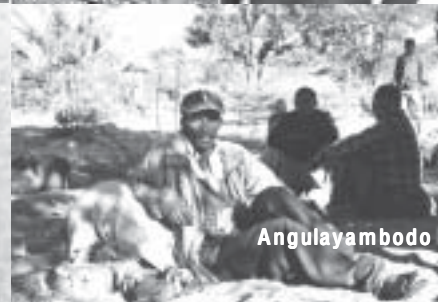
Mololo



Lupunja



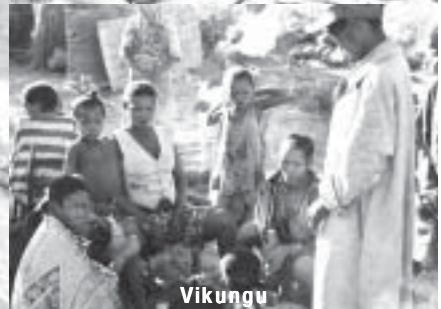
Vikungu



Angulayambodo



Lupunja



Vikungu

but the supply of bushfoods and small game is neither steady nor sufficient. They have received more aid than the average in the study sample. In these communities there are also signs of social disintegration, conflict and division.

CUNENE PROVINCE

1. *Cafima–Ionde cluster* (includes Katale, Kapunduka, Hamutindila, Mulola): According to Senhor Aruding, the San *soba* based in Cafima, this entire area was originally a swathe of San ancestral land. In fact we were told in Cuando Cubango that this ancestral land stretched from Nehone past Ionde across the Cuando River to Caiundo. All the San communities in Cunene south and north of the Nehone/Ionde/Cafima axis resort under the leadership of Senhor Aruding. All these San communities as well as the government and the Bantu *sobas* regard him as the leader of the San. This is the only San ‘social unit’ or polity of substantial size encountered by the team. Cafima is currently the ‘capital’ of the southern-most !Kung settlement cluster in Angola. San groups in Cafima and the other settlements in the cluster are surrounded by Bantu fields and homes. All except the San of Kapunduka said that the land is theirs on the grounds of ancestry. There is a lack of clarity among the communities as to whether or not there is sufficient land for their development based on an extension of areas suitable for cultivation. All communities in the cluster reported a scarcity of water and conflict with Bantu neighbours over water. It is likely that access to land here is limited due to scarce water resources. The communities contacted in this cluster have a strong sense of identity and social cohesion due to a shared culture and history. The community of Cafima in particular (and possibly also that of Ionde which we could not visit) is visibly shaped by living San tradition and culture. All these communities also face the common problem of living with landmines which limit access, mobility and land use. Our visit to these and other San groups in Cunene Province has unleashed great hope and anticipation among them.
2. *Nelombo–Angulayambodo cluster* (includes Oshikova, Omemba, Ukango, Mongono, Mhenge, Kandweya): These communities have suffered serious losses due to the war and are in need of all basic necessities. In addition they live in heavily mined areas which restrict access. The problems of water scarcity and resulting conflict with Bantu neighbours are very serious in this cluster. Like the communities of the Cafima–Ionde cluster, these communities regard Senhor Aruding as their leader. They are also surrounded by Bantu neighbours for whom they work. The situation of these communities is very serious in every respect.
3. *Lupunja–Kauva cluster* (includes Shivemba, Namihonde, Lomenene, Koshi, Kova, Shimbili, Ndiva, Hongo, Khenge, Chimanya, Inguma Hongo): These groups also see Senhor Aruding to be their leader. They are living on their ancestral land. While they speak of this land as being the land of their forebears, they also say that they received permission from the local Bantu *soba* to occupy it. Some of these settlements have fields which indicates that they are serious about cultivating. There are doubts as to how much available land there is. The water resources are limited and this creates occasional conflict. In Kauva we found social relations between San and Bantu groups to be very repressive. This cluster is located around Mupa National Park. Their proximity to the park may hold potential for land allocation.
4. *Vikungu*: This San settlement stretches well into the Mupa park and Cuvelai is the nearest administrative centre. There are no problems in the area with hunting or water, and the area is one of the least densely populated and ecologically richest of all areas visited. There is a good water supply from a nearby stream. This is very resource-rich and beautiful land. San grow maize and tobacco here, and we saw fenced-off sugar-cane fields in Bantu settlements where there were kraals containing up to 30 head of cattle. The San settlement is 40 km from Cuvelai and there are no schools nearby, but the area has a lot of potential for settlement, agriculture and community-based tourism. Proximity to the Namibian border and good

tracks within the Mupa park make access for tourists possible. There are Bantu settlements in the area but also there is a lot of unused land. All the land in the area is said to belong to the Muhanda people who gave the San community permission to stay there. The San did not report any conflict or tensions regarding land. A large abandoned San village near the current settlement is evidence of previous San settlement in the area. We were informed of other San groups living near Cuvelai but did not find them – they were said to be out collecting honey and gathering bushfood at the time of our visit. The San of Vikungu did not name Senhor Arudingo as their leader. It is not known whether or not his ‘jurisdiction’ extends to the settlements around Cuvelai. This area has strong potential for agriculture-based development mixed with hunting and gathering. There is a lot of land that could be made available for settling other needy San communities if land rights can be obtained.

5. ***Shikungungu–Kalonga cluster***: This cluster is located south of Cuvelai and in close proximity to the Mupa National Park. San here reported growing tobacco and cultivating own fields. The Shikungungu community stated that the land belongs to the Bantu neighbours and the local *soba* gave them permission to live on it. The community consists of people hailing from different places in Angola and some feel that their right to stay in the area is insecure. There is a lack of potable water which has led to conflict and tension between the San and their neighbours. Their proximity to the Mupa park implies potential for their accessing land within the park.
6. ***Mutjapula–Vichana cluster*** (includes Ukwakanda, Ndelemesonde, Kamutemba): Situated closer to Cuvelai than the latter two clusters, very little is known about the settlements in this cluster either because the team was unable to reach some of them or because informants could not be found in those we did manage to reach. Ndelemesonde close to Cuvelai is possibly a semi-permanent San settlement.

CUANGO CUBANGO PROVINCE

The presence of landmines and the access restrictions imposed limitations on the assessment of some of the San settlement clusters in this province. Though Kapembe, Mavinga, Cuangar and Diriko are accessible (the latter two from Namibia), the team was unable to visit these locations.

1. ***Cuangar–Diriko cluster***: The team has no confirmed information on this cluster but a report of the Instituto Nacional Da Crianca (INAC) in Menongue dated December 2002 suggests that there may be up to 200 San in Diriko and another 200 in Cuangar.²⁴ Presumably they are Khwedam speakers as are the San across the border in Namibia. The road between Diriko and Cuangar is heavily mined. The UN Humanitarian Assistance Coordinating Unit (OCHA) officer in Menongue informed us at the time of writing that overall food security in the area is moderate to stable but likely to deteriorate during the rainy season. Although the FAA has de-mined the road from Katuitui to Cuangar, UN security recommendations at the time of writing are that these locations should be accessed only through Namibia. The team did not receive any information about possible San settlements in Macusso although the presence of small San groups across the border in Namibia suggests that there could be some San groups in Macusso. Access to Macusso from Namibia is currently impossible due to landmines.
2. ***Menongue–Kapembe cluster***: In 2002 employees of Médecins Sans Frontières²⁵ saw a group of 10-15 San including severely malnourished children among UNITA soldiers in the

²⁴ This INAC report states that the Cuangar Municipio registered 113 San children in Cuangar and 137 San children in Diriko. These figures make it possible to estimate a population of 200 San in each location. However, there is no indication in the report of the basis of and date associated with these figures. Government figures received by the team have frequently been higher than the numbers we found when we visited the communities.

²⁵ See Médecins Sans Frontières, *Angola After the War Abandonment*, 2002.

quartering area of Kapembe near Mavinga. Very small groups of San were also seen by a journalist in other locations beyond Mavinga.²⁶

3. **Kapembe:** This is a village occupied by a small group of only six San who work for Ngangela people. It may be possible that other such small San groups exist south of Savate.
4. **Tandawe–Handambo cluster:** The San in Tandawe are recent returnees who said they are living on their ancestral land which they have shared for a long time with Kwanyama people. They have their own water sources but very few assets. Having returned only recently they have not yet started cultivating but have prepared fields. This area is not densely populated and there were no reports of conflict over land. The land has agricultural potential and the water table is close to ground surface. This community is in urgent need of assistance and our meeting indicated that the members are more than ready to help themselves if they have some means. There is no school or clinic nearby. Information about Handambo is scarce but its population is said to be double that of Tandawe and the settlement is apparently a two-day walk north-west from Tandawe. It is not clear whether the very overgrown track is safe for vehicles heavier than ox-wagons. This cluster has potential for a broad-based developmental approach. There is potential space for other San groups needing land and access to natural resources. There are good natural resources in the area and enough to share with the Bantu agriculturalists present there. There is potential for cultivation and other land uses. The rich ecology and wildlife could be developed and skills acquired in the civil defence could be used in building something like a conservancy in an area such as this.
5. **Mucundi–Kavanga cluster (includes Chengwa, Kanjonga, Bairro Novo, Ntopa, Mutai, Mbundu):** Some of these communities are very small San groups who move along the Cuando River in search of food and work. A substantial number of their homes are lean-tos constructed from leafy branches. This indicates a more mobile way of life than that of other San found in Angola. Some of these communities do not cultivate their own fields and most of their members occasionally work for Bantu employers. San in Mucundi, Ntopa and Bairro Novo consider the land they are living on to be their own on the grounds of ancestry. The lands on the banks of the Cuando River are not wide open but also not very densely settled. The river provides enough water and there were no reports about conflict over land. Some of the communities have tense social relations with their neighbours due to the neighbours' oppressive and exploitative attitudes. There is potential for extending cultivation here and this is the declared intention of some of these San groups. Others seem more interested in hunting, gathering and working for other people. Possibly the smaller groups encountered here rely more on hunting and gathering than on receiving food in exchange for working for Bantu employers. On the whole these communities are small, isolated and vulnerable. A few San in the Mutai area live at some distance from the river on land they say belongs to the Bantu neighbours. They have permission to stay there but some of them talked of returning to Shipolo from where they hail.
6. **Cuito Cuarnavale–Chiumbo Napoke cluster:** In Cuito Cuarnavale the team encountered one small San community living among Bantu neighbours and cultivating own fields. We did not hear of any conflict over land here. Chiumbo Napoke is a small San settlement situated among Bantu settlements in a very remote area. There is plenty of surrounding land and water but the San have few means to do anything with it. There were no reports of conflict over land or water in this settlement. Road access to the area is very hazardous due to the presence of landmines on the road and because the road runs alongside a minefield and is very bad.
7. **Nankova:** Government officials in Menongue believe that 60 San live in this settlement, access to which is said to be possible via Namibia only. This information is unconfirmed.

²⁶ Namibia-based journalist John Grobler, personal communication.

CUANDO CUBANGO PROVINCE



Tandawe



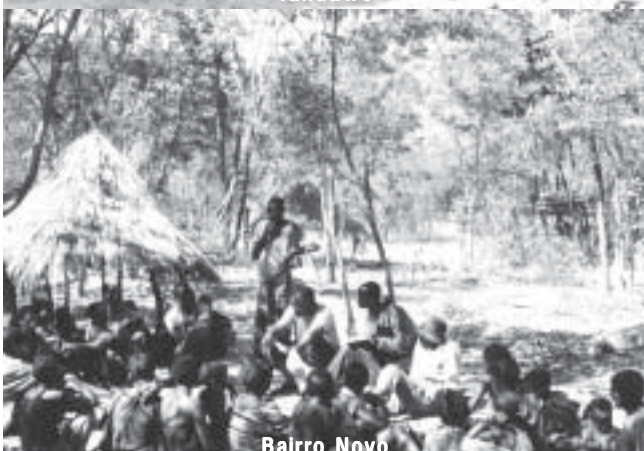
Tandawe



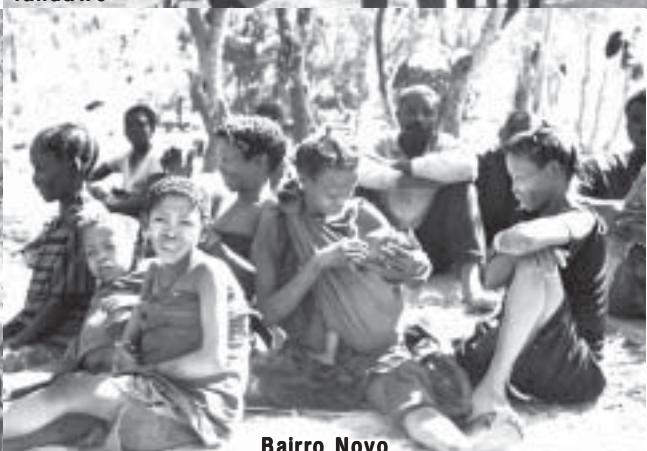
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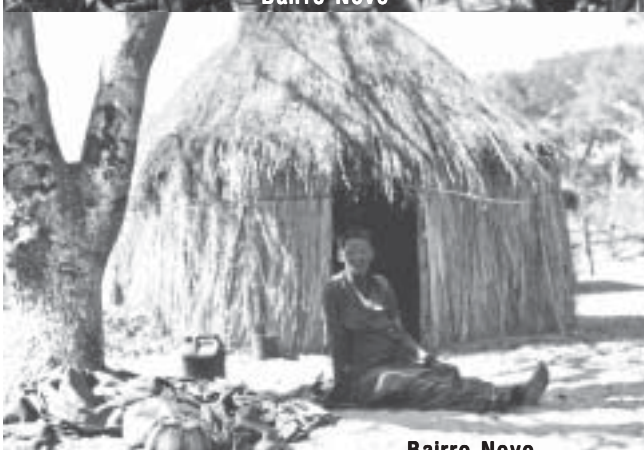
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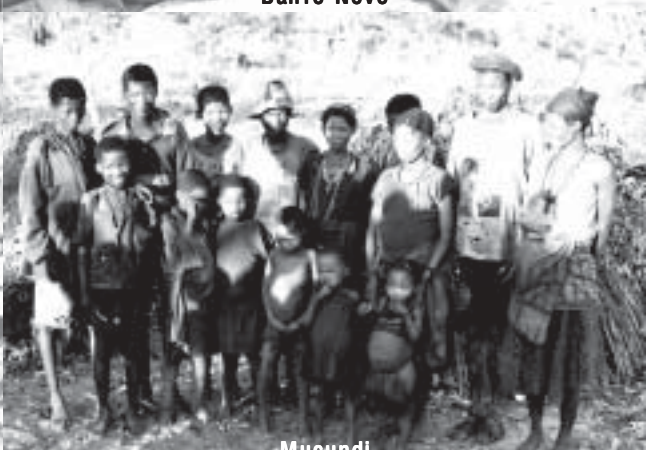
Bairro Novo



Bairro Novo



Bairro Novo



Mucundi

Reflection on the Findings

A number of key questions and issues arise from the findings of this needs assessment.

1. Is the situation of Angolan San an *emergency* situation in the strict sense of the word?

San communities in Angola have lived under difficult conditions for a long time. Their ability to survive in the absence of resources is a valuable resource in itself. At the same time they are very vulnerable. One can say that they have lived in a ‘state of emergency’ for a long time. The presently high morbidity and mortality rates found among them raise the question of how much longer they will be able to survive this ‘emergency’.

A crucial aspect of the ‘emergency’ is the overall insecurity of Angolan San communities with regard to land rights and human rights. It is likely that their insecurity and social tensions with others will increase to a greater or lesser extent in the absence of significant interventions to improve their security in both these respects. This is because Angolan society as a whole is in the grip of social forces driven by the need for security, the need to acquire assets and wealth, and the need to extend social power. The situation now prevailing in Angola is one of millions of people trying to gain assets with which to build and improve their own lives, and in this process social classes are rapidly emerging and expanding. Those with some wealth and power are doing everything possible to get more. Those with a lot of wealth and power are building empires for themselves and their families. There is no visible evidence of a political will or a legal framework designed to protect the vulnerable in what is literally a situation of the survival of the fittest. There are serious doubts as to whether San communities can survive this crude social Darwinism without support from external actors.

A striking aspect of the team’s meetings with the Angolan San communities is that no team member ever encountered a community member ‘begging’ or directly asking for food – this in conditions such that many communities had virtually nothing or very little to eat and we had arrived in a vehicle brimful of food and other provisions. The dignity and spirit of the San we met in Angola are admirable and humbling. It would be a failure of the imagination if well-intentioned humanitarian assistance should ever induce an erosion of such qualities and lived values.

Development assistance to San communities in Angola should build on their strength of spirit and their resourcefulness. A mere provision of food aid and other handouts could damage these communities.

The team did not find any San starving nor any San life hanging by a thread due to hunger. The team was happy to find people who work hard at ensuring their own day-to-day survival. But we also left some communities with the impression that they were very close to a serious food crisis. It is likely that such communities are affected by food insecurity particularly when there is no work to be had in the fields of neighbours and when bushfood is scarce.

It is the considered opinion of the assessment team that the overall situation for San in Angola is serious and requires humanitarian interventions. However, such interventions should proceed with caution and be tied to the production of food and to measures to decrease dependency on food acquired in return for working for others under exploitative conditions. Further, the premise of ‘emergency’ assistance must be the commitment to funding and implementing long-term development programmes with San communities in Angola.

2. Are all the Angolan San potential cultivators and is cultivation their path out of dependency and food insecurity?

Conditions vary in the different communities. Some San clearly have a culture of cultivation. Some may have had intermittent experience of cultivating without this being based on a tradition of cultivating their own fields over decades and even generations. Others may not be truly motivated to cultivate their own fields. Yet all but a few small groups living along the Cuando River expressed a need for seed, tools and cattle to establish or expand cultivation in order to increase their food security and decrease their dependency.

While it is true that almost all the San groups reported that they work in the fields of their neighbours of other societies, this is not the same as planning, directing and sustaining activities that constitute a culture of cultivating fields and producing food in a relatively 'systematic' manner. The extent to which the culture of cultivation prevails in different San communities is not known. It was not possible to gather oral histories which would indicate traditions of land use, the role of cultivation and associated accumulated experience in different communities. Since when different San groups have worked in the fields of their neighbours is also not known.

Estermann's observations of San in Huíla and Cunene in the 1930s, 1950s and 1960s suggest that some San communities had taken up work in the fields of their neighbours, that some had their own fields as far back as the '30s and that some had adopted various cultural and technical practices of their neighbours, e.g. they wore clothing made of fabric, plaited their hair in a certain fashion and worked with iron (Estermann 1956).

The experience in rural development projects with San groups in Namibia has been that substantial numbers of them have not made use of opportunities to expand cultivation-based food production. While this is no doubt influenced by generally harsher environmental conditions (lower rainfall, widespread water scarcity, less fertile soils) and less experience of agricultural labour, it also draws attention to the difficulties of transforming the hunter-gatherer focal modes of production into cultivation-based ones. An interesting fact is that the most successful San cultivators in Namibia, being a !Kung community in Tsumkwe District West (formerly known as West Bushmanland), are !Kung who came to Namibia from Angola in the 1970s.

Time limits imposed on the assessment process and the direction of inquiry followed in the discussions may in some cases have influenced what people said they want to do and what they can in fact do to ensure their own survival and improve their quality of life. We did not ask, for example, "Would you like to have access to ecologically rich land where there is unrestricted access and great potential for hunting and gathering and associated possibilities of trading some resources for other commodities required?" One wonders if such imaginings would have led people to come up with other ideas for their 'wish list'.

Notwithstanding such considerations the assessment has taken note that most communities wish to establish or expand their cultivation-based food production. Emergency and development initiatives should open up opportunities for them to do so while simultaneously continuing the discussion with them and assessing the results to date. This would mean that those communities demonstrating that this is really their choice by realising concrete activities could be assisted further while other options could be explored with those who demonstrate by their actions that they do not want to follow the path of cultivation.

3. Should humanitarian aid and development initiatives implemented focus specifically on San communities, or should an 'integrated' development assistance model be encouraged?

As indicated above, the concept of 'minorities' and 'majorities' does not have an established place in Angolan political discourse or practice. Further it is important to remember that *de facto* San communities live within larger communities who fall under the authority of the Bantu *sobas*.

As noted in the section herein giving background information on this needs assessment, there have been a number of cases of and many complaints about discrimination against San people when aid in the form of food, seed and tools had been distributed in rural communities.

While the overwhelming mass of San testimony indicates that there are serious problems of oppression in the form of exploitation of labour, abusive attitudes and little or no respect for the land rights or needs of San communities, it would be wrong to come away with a completely polarised view of the situation.

Yes, attitudes towards and practices in dealing with San are reprehensible and unacceptable. However, many Bantu groups, communities and families also suffer many of the same problems that San suffer. They too lack seed and tools and struggle with food insecurity, poor health, poor or no education and few rights. When San groups tell of their suffering under Bantu employers, they are reporting on social relations with the more powerful and well-off rural class in their area. This does not mean that all Bantu inhabitants have the power to oppress. The team was frequently confronted by the fact that in many locations visited there were also some Bantu people whose conditions were not very different to those of the San.

In rural Angola there is a clear class differentiation and ongoing formation of classes. Those with resources use these in the social and cultural framework of entrenched discrimination to improve their lot at the cost of the other. It is important to bear in mind that many poor Bantus are also exploited by other Bantus – a fact often veiled by cultures of patronage. Similarly, many Bantus who exploit San see themselves as benefactors who keep the San from going into decline.

This needs assessment was focused on investigating problems. The respondents were not asked, for example, “What are the good experiences you have shared with your neighbours?”, but rather they were asked, “Do you have problems with your neighbours around water, land, etc.?” and “Are your human rights respected?” Consequently, all social relations that are not abusive and racist do not contribute to the picture emerging from the study.

Interspersed with the frequent gestures and attitudes of habitual and deeply engrained abuse and discrimination we observed moments of unity and equality between San and Bantu, e.g. in Cafima where we found San and Bantu women laughing and dancing together and San and Bantu children playing together.

The ambiguity expressed by some San informants vis-à-vis ‘accusing’ their neighbours is also rooted in the fact that just like in other polarised communities, genuine acts of charity and mutual cooperation take place between people who simultaneously find themselves in a social system that makes one ‘master’ and the other ‘slave’. This statement from Cafima reflects the San sentiment in this regard: “We have friendships with Kwanyama people who help us by giving us food for working in their fields.”

There are also very needy Bantu neighbours who gather food and hunt and work for others to survive, but they are fortunate to not have to endure the added injury of racist denigration and abuse.

The point here is that we must be careful to avoid simplification while at the same time we must not lose sight of the systemic and entrenched race-based oppression recorded in this report. One is also reminded of how in other contexts dependency has been seen to lead dependants to collude with their own oppressors by internalising in themselves the ideology with which the oppressor veils the real social relations. Considerable time constraints made it impossible to examine more carefully this complex interplay of social differentiation and diverse dynamics of oppression, dependency and ‘cooperation’.

Any process of seeking solutions to the serious problems and inequalities faced by the San in Angola must recognise, embrace and involve the humanity of their Bantu neighbours.

The varied conditions prevailing in different locations imply that San and Bantu populations in particular locations will have to find local solutions to the problems. Different levels of conflict over land exist as do differences in social relations with neighbouring groups and differences in the potential for ‘cooperation’ with them.

As already noted, in many areas members of the local Bantu population are also vulnerable. It was not within the scope of this needs assessment to establish the size of such populations or the extent of their vulnerability and associated needs.

Long-term development programmes will require further thinking by beneficiaries and policy-makers on the sensitive question of how to approach community development of a historically marginalised and disadvantaged group in the presence of other needy groups.

4. The distribution of assistance to San communities

Experience in emergency assistance programmes elsewhere in Angola has shown that traditional leaders (*sobas*) play a major role in the distribution of emergency assistance such as food, seed and tools. *Sobas* are usually already better off than the most vulnerable and needy people. There are no systems in place to ensure that the most vulnerable are prioritised in the distribution of aid.²⁷

Many San communities visited reported having been excluded as recipients of assistance when their Bantu neighbours had received it and *specifically requested that assistance be brought directly to them*. Given the prevailing attitudes towards the San, assistance of any kind intended for San development should not be channelled through the Bantu *sobas*.

Long-term development programmes require local solutions. Finding such solutions will require careful consideration by San communities themselves and dialogue with neighbouring groups regarding the distribution of emergency assistance. This consideration and dialogue should be undertaken in cooperation with San leaders, not with Bantu *sobas*. At the same time efforts should be made to include socially vulnerable Bantu families in this distribution. The identification of such Bantu families could be done in consultation with Bantu *sobas*. In this way exclusivity may be avoided and a first step in the direction of dialogue with Bantu groups about the concerns of San groups can begin.

5. Land, human rights and development

Almost all the problems faced by the San in Angola are connected to rights to land and natural resources. San need land on which to harvest bushfoods, hunt, cultivate fields and grow food gardens. They need land also “to be equal to the others”. In areas where water is scarce, land with water is needed. Land rights, however, are in most cases very limited or non-existent.

The abuse, discrimination, exploitation and dependency of San are tied to the fact that the San “have nothing”.

It is crucial to acquire formal recognition of land rights for those San communities living on ancestral land and wishing to remain there. In the context of the existing land law this entails requesting that title deeds to the land be issued. Communities with no “own” land or too little “own” land must be assisted to acquire “own” land through formal land allocations.

This needs assessment found that there are swathes of available ecologically rich land that could be suitable for settlement by San communities. The San communities themselves should be encouraged to think creatively about settlement and land-use options. In this regard the idea that San communities could ask government to establish conservancies within areas designated as nature parks springs to mind. But there are areas other than declared parks with potential for San settlement, such as the land west of Tandawe in Cuando Cubango Province. Such land is suitable for resettlement because it has natural resources and is not yet densely populated. It may well be that the ‘opening up’ of some such land will have to be accompanied by mine-clearing operations.

²⁷ Private communication from Brigitte Berger, Emergency Officer, Trócaire Angola.

The team in Tandawe – an area in Cuando Cubango with potential for San settlement



San communities could envisage obtaining usufruct rights to natural resources and rights to engage in cultivation while concurrently setting up a system of game guards and developing the tourism potential of the land or park. Clinics and schools which are sensitive to San needs could be established in such settlements. Such development ideas could be explored and realised together with the Bantu populations currently using land in national parks.

If it is true for San that “land is life”, then it is also true that time is running out for many San in Angola. Currently everyone in Angola wants to acquire assets and any possible kind of security. Those with power and some wealth are well-positioned to acquire land. The new land law favours business interests and wealthy entrepreneurs will soon spot the tourism potential of some of the land in southern Angola. Apart from that fact, there are many land-needy cultivators and pastoralists who will naturally expand into the remaining areas of fertile but unused land. For this reason organisational and advocacy assistance to the San communities with the objective of securing land rights is considered to be a priority need – one that requires a speedy response because conditions in Angola are bound to change rapidly. If this is the time when everyone in Angola is “grabbing what they can”, then the San communities should be assisted to claim their share at this time.

XIII

Recommendations

INTERVENTIONS

The following interventions are recommended to meet the needs identified in this assessment:

- ④ Emergency assistance to meet food insecurity by providing agricultural tools, seed and seed protection food.
- ④ Emergency intervention in the health sector, which should include providing blankets and clothing to the worst-affected communities.
- ④ Emergency intervention to supply water, which should entail assessing the most urgent water needs and determining the possibilities for establishing water points where there are serious water-related problems. Such problems are experienced primarily by San in Cunene Province. Emergency assistance with regard to water should also include providing water containers to the worst-affected groups.
- ④ Interventions aimed at establishing middle- to long-term rural development programmes.
 - These should focus on expanding cultivation.
 - They should also examine possibilities for alternative uses of natural resources, e.g. in eco-tourism and restocking game reserves.
- ④ Interventions aimed at building community-based San organisations.
- ④ Interventions to entrench San land rights. These should:
 - secure and extend their existing land rights;
 - obtain land rights for San where none exist; and
 - seek to obtain new land and new land rights for San resettlement.
- ④ Interventions to improve San human rights and labour rights.²⁸ These should:
 - build unity between the San groups so that collectively they can demand recognition of their human rights at local/municipal, provincial, national and international level;
 - inform Angola's civil society organisations and mobilise them in defence of San human rights and labour rights;
 - inform international human rights institutions/organisations and mobilise them in defence of Angolan San human rights and labour rights;
 - seek active dialogue with all levels of the Government of Angola to create an enabling policy environment for securing San human rights, labour rights and land rights;
 - establish civic education programmes targeting non-San traditional authorities, administrators and teachers – which initiatives should be undertaken in close cooperation with government agencies;
 - assist organised San groups to engage in constructive dialogue with other social groups around problems of human rights; and
 - bring San human rights issues to the attention of the broader Angolan public.

²⁸ In the conditions currently faced by the San, labour rights entail equitable and fair compensation for labour performed by San in the fields of Bantu neighbours as well as payment of fair prices for goods made by San which they barter for goods from or sell to Bantu neighbours.

- ④ **Interventions to improve health and access to health services.** These should entail:
 - primary health-care programmes; and
 - extension and support of existing government health services.
- ④ **Interventions to clear landmines.** In areas particularly affected by the presence of landmines and where they preclude land utilisation, government should be lobbied to clear the mines.
- ④ **Interventions to improve children's access to formal education.** These should entail:
 - investigating the possibility of school feeding programmes;
 - long-term cooperation with San organisations in Namibia and South Africa with a view to establishing San primary schools, developing primary school learning materials in the relevant San languages and providing teacher training to San community members in Angola who could serve as teachers of the children.
- ④ **Interventions to build San capacity.** These should entail education and training programmes aimed at developing leadership skills, agricultural skills, primary health-care capacity and income-generating skills.

ASSUMPTIONS

The full catalogue of recommended interventions is based on the following assumptions:

1. San communities themselves should play the leading role in determining the direction of their own development and the strategies to be followed in defence of their land rights, human rights and labour rights. For this to happen, San community-based organisations will have to be in place at local level. Ideally all interventions involving physical resources should occur together with initiatives that strongly encourage the building of such organisations. This building should happen at local level because in every locality the situation in respect of land rights and social relations differs, and likewise San ideas on how these can be improved. The communities in each settlement cluster could be encouraged to form one community-based organisation which in turn could represent the cluster in one provincial San organisation. A national San organisation such as the South African San Council and envisaged San Councils of Namibia and Botswana could follow in Angola in the more distant future.
2. As almost all San communities visited expressed a wish to establish or extend their own agricultural production activities, it is crucial for agricultural development programmes to be designed and implemented in parallel with a strategy to secure, extend and in some cases gain land rights. The struggle for land rights involves local/municipal, provincial, national and international components. Diverse conditions, potentials and possible choices require differentiated approaches.
3. San rural development programmes should take into consideration the existing balance of hunter-gatherer activities, food-for-work activities and own cultivation activities. In some communities maintaining or restoring this balance will be a case of strengthening existing own cultivation while in others it will be a case of 'first beginnings'. In addition, the food-for-work component requires attention as it is likely to continue to be an important source of food for many San in time to come. Interventions to improve social relations and labour relations should occur in parallel with agricultural development programmes.
4. Organisation-building and leadership development (to enable San leaders to represent and negotiate their communities' interests in various forums) are crucial for securing the political power required to effect enduring change in the currently deplorable human rights situation.
5. The question of whether San communities should seek to launch development projects in isolation from or in unison with their neighbours is one that ought to be answered by the San themselves. It is likely that regional and local variation in respect of land availability and

natural resources as well as differences in the prevailing social relations will mitigate against either a universal ‘integrationist’ or a universal ‘isolationist’ model for development.

FURTHER RESEARCH

Prior to this needs assessment little was known about the current state of the San in Angola and little was known about the possibility of reaching them. This needs assessment was designed to establish baseline information about some such unknowns. Given the time limitations the findings presented here can be viewed as ‘work in progress’ – much more still has to be learnt about San communities in Angola. It was always envisaged that this assessment would be the first phase of research on Angolan San which would guide the approach to and focus of a second phase.

A number of the larger San communities mentioned in this report were not visited due to problems of access and lack of time. The largest of these communities, including Ionde, Shivemba, Handambo, Cuangari and Diriko, should be visited and assessed.

The Mavinga, Rivungo and Nankova areas in Cuando Cubango Province were also not visited. San groups believed to be located in these areas may be vulnerable. It is even likely that they are, because Cuando Cubango (and particularly Mavinga in this province) is one of the provinces facing the greatest current and expected food shortages. This is due to the large numbers of demobilised soldiers and internally displaced people, and also to the destruction of infrastructure during the war and the continued presence of many landmines. These locations should be visited. Mavinga can be accessed relatively easily from within Angola and access to Nankova is said to be possible through Namibia.

Information received from Moxico suggests that San communities may be returning to this province from Zambia. This and the possibility that other San communities have remained or returned to southern Moxico from other parts of Angola require monitoring and further research.

Whether or not there are San communities in other Angolan provinces is not known. Some writers (see e.g. Brenzinger 2001) consider the Kuepe and Kwadi people living in Namibe Province to be San. Such communities could be included in a more comprehensive assessment.

With regard to the communities visited in this assessment, further participatory research with specific ones is required for a more precise understanding of the social dynamics influencing the contrasting levels of existing community organisation. Case studies of the Hombo–Kakombe and Cafima–Ionde clusters could provide, among other things, valuable guidance for San development work.

San communities wishing to expand a land claim or claim land not currently used by them will have to determine and record their specific histories to support their claims.

Feasibility studies will be required to examine the potential of ideas for San development put forward in this study such as establishing a seed bank, a cattle fund and irrigated gardens; settlement in one or more of the national parks with the objective of acquiring rights to utilise the natural resources there; tourism projects; expanding production of ironware commodities; and expanding controlled harvesting of bushfoods especially valued. Similar ideas for expanding food production should be pursued with San communities living along rivers. It is possible that fishing could be substantially expanded with some assistance such as nets and boats.

“In work we find food.” – San resident of Vikungu, Cunene Province

Studies aimed at examining the settlement potential of different areas of land will also have to determine whether mine-clearing operations will be needed to make available the land found to have such potential.

FIRST STEPS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

In this section we put forward concrete recommendations on steps to be taken on the way to full implementation of the catalogue of needs-based interventions recommended above. A two-phased approach in taking these steps is also recommended.

Phase 1: Emergency Assistance

The first phase should be a cyclic distribution²⁹ of emergency assistance to all the identified San communities, i.e. an estimated 500 families. Such assistance should also be made available to an estimated 200 neighbouring and vulnerable non-San families. Such assistance should aim to set in motion a first cycle of improving food security by supplying basic agricultural tools, seed as well as seed protection food to all the communities. A first health-related intervention should be the provision of blankets and children's clothing to the communities. For the communities who have suffered severe loss of assets or all assets due to the war, water containers should be provided.

The distribution component of the first phase should be implemented in time for the planting season beginning in October 2003. It is envisaged that distribution in the three provinces can be undertaken over a period of 6-8 weeks.

Phase 1 should bring seed and tools to needy communities while simultaneously engaging with these communities and the local *sobas* as regards the land required to make or extend San fields. Discussion on security of tenure and land rights should thus begin in conjunction with the provision of emergency assistance.

Communities able to secure recognition of their rights to specific land during this phase should be assisted in applying for title deeds for that land. As this and other associated activities require a degree of formal organisation, San communities and clusters should be encouraged to set up farmer associations or similar bodies to govern their development projects and represent their needs to outsiders.

Phase 1 would therefore also include advocacy interventions whereby assistance is linked to encouraging self-organisation and facilitating negotiation with local traditional authorities and municipal and provincial authorities in order to obtain or secure land rights for the cultivation of San fields. It is important that such interventions are monitored and followed up consistently. It is expected that Phase 1 will generate valuable information about the agricultural productivity and organisational capacity of the San communities. It is further expected that in some cases considerable advocacy work, including possible legal intervention, will have to be done.

Phase 1 should also include an assessment of water needs in the areas worst affected by water scarcity and seek to establish a water-provision programme based on community involvement in the building of *kasimbas* (man-made waterholes or wells).

Phase 1 should further include an assessment of the prevalence of landmines in the areas inhabited by San, and of whether and where mine-clearing is a priority. Government should be lobbied to clear the mines in areas where this is considered a high priority. In the absence of government capacity to meet this requirement, mine-clearing NGOs should be requested to establish appropriate mine-clearing programmes in these areas.

Phase 1 should include two cycles of follow-up, monitoring and community organisation.

Phase 1 should also seek to gain more knowledge about communities not directly contacted in this assessment.

²⁹ This means an intervention consisting of regular visits to distribute and monitor emergency assistance.

Provincial-level meetings of representatives of all the San communities or farmer associations should take place at the end of Phase 1. Such meetings would serve as a forum for exchanging experiences, evaluating the past year, planning ahead and building provincial San organisations.

Phase 1 would come to a close at the beginning of the 2004 planting season, i.e. October 2004. An evaluation of Phase 1 in June 2004 would direct the implementation of Phase 2. The objective of such a two-phased approach is to move as fast as possible away from providing emergency assistance towards implementing a sustainable development programme.

“Bigger fields will help a lot. That’s how the others survive. We work for them and cultivate our own small fields with our hands. But we need to eat from their food. We don’t want to be dependent on them, but we need things to do the work. Then we can make food and sell it and buy the things we need. That’s how the others survive.” – San resident of Lupunja, Cunene Province

Phase 2: Sustainable Development Assistance

Phase 2 would be based on building on the consultation and participatory planning work undertaken in Phase 1.

Phase 2 should build on the monitoring of communities who received assistance in Phase 1. It should also continue interventions aimed at securing land rights. Communities who encountered resistance and problems around land in Phase 1 should be assisted in Phase 2 to negotiate with their neighbours and government agencies. Requests for allocations of land suitable for San settlement should be planned and submitted to the Angolan Government.

Province-based sustainable development programmes will begin in the second phase. Based on the harvests obtained in the first phase and on the level of social organisation achieved in the first phase, San communities deemed suitable should be empowered to extend agricultural production opening up their access to cattle and ploughs. Seed banks, cattle funds and income-generating activities should be initiated in this phase together with intensified advocacy around San rights to sufficient land resources. This phase should also seek to broaden food security by providing assistance to expand existing food sources such as fishing and honey-collecting (by introducing bee-keeping), and by stimulating increased harvests of nourishing and valuable bushfoods (such as mangetti nuts which are widely bartered for other commodities).

Phase 2 would seek to formalise community-based San organisations with a view to creating provincial San organisations for the purpose of lobbying for land rights and equality under the Angolan Constitution.

Phase 2 should be conceived as being a three-year plan.

Phase 2 should seek in the first two years to establish education on primary health care, leadership training and primary education projects.

Phase 2 should include specialist inputs on participatory land-use planning (where land is concretely or potentially available), feasibility studies for new potential settlements and targeted agricultural extension services. Phase 2 would also involve expanded projects to gain and secure land for communities unable to increase production in their current places of residence.

Depending on needs, community decisions and concrete opportunities, Phase 2 could also include resettlement programmes in areas where suitable land is available.

Phase 2 should also look at expanding assistance and organisation into communities who were not reached by Phase 1.

“We are happy that you came to see us. One does not get help. We are seen as animals.” – San resident of Kakombe, Huíla Province

BREAKDOWN OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Emergency Interventions

1. Assistance to San communities in time for the next planting season beginning in October 2003. In implementing emergency interventions the stakeholders should do the following:
 - a) Aim to mobilise the communities also by reporting back on the needs assessment and planting the seed for organisation-building.
 - b) Initiate the discussion on land required for cultivation with the local *sobas*. Campaign for land rights with the San communities where this is required. In this way the first cycle of planting with assistance becomes a test to gauge whether there is enough land and whether urgent work has to be done to secure minimal land rights.
 - c) OCADEC and Trócaire to urge government and international NGOs – specifically PAM (WFP) – to allocate and distribute seed, seed protection food and basic agricultural tools specifically to the San groups identified.
 - d) Report back to the Huíla Human Rights Commission and request its highest levels of support.
 - e) Draw up proposals for emergency assistance where PAM and government commitments are not forthcoming.
 - f) OCADEC to draw up a plan and budget to implement this first phase of assistance.
 - g) Consider whether networking with other NGOs is practical and necessary to obtain the capacity required to achieve objectives on the desired scale.
 - h) Establish the extent to which emergency assistance can or should be focused exclusively on San communities.
2. Invite relevant NGOs in the Human Rights, Health, Land, Rural Development and Education sectors to report back on the needs assessment and participate in a round-table discussion on possibilities for cooperation in the short and long term. Particularly, seek to find appropriate partners for emergency interventions in the Health sector. Also seek guidance on the issue of exclusive focus of emergency interventions.
3. Invite Angolan Government and UN officials to hear a report on the needs assessment and to exchange views on problems and solutions. This should be the beginning of an ongoing process of dialogue and advocacy regarding San in Angola.

Short- to Mid-term Interventions

1. Convene meetings of San community representatives in the three provinces. This should be done for the following purposes:
 - a) To initiate discussion on forming San community-based organisations and make choices vis-à-vis how to engage in the parallel processes of securing land rights, promoting development projects for San and improving social relations.
 - b) To determine the strategy on human rights and take decisions on the question of an integrative vs exclusive focus.
 - c) To lead San groups to look creatively at what resources for improving food security and income exist and/or what potential resources could be gained. Areas to look at in this context include cultivation, vegetable-gardening, animal-rearing, fishing, production of ironware commodities, production of food-storage baskets and bee-keeping.
 - d) To elect group leaderships and to mandate the implementing organisations to set up multi-sectoral development projects.

2. Seek partner organisations with which to implement different aspects of San development strategies and projects.
3. Prioritise high-level lobbying and civil society mobilisation in the interests of San land rights and possible allocations of land.

IMPLEMENTATION AND CAPACITY

An Angolan implementing organisation is required to coordinate the activities suggested. It is recommended that OCADEC is assisted to develop its capacity to become this organisation. It is further recommended that Trócaire Angola and WIMSA play a major role in networking with Angolan Government entities and national, regional and international NGOs and donor agencies, and in developing the human resources required. The following are the short-, mid- and long-term tasks identified as *urgent*.

Urgent Short-term Tasks

1. Establishing emergency assistance plans, proposals and logistical capacity to deliver the aid. As indicated above, such distribution should be accompanied by advocacy interventions and input on organisation-building.
2. Continuing the advocacy work already begun by OCADEC by reporting back to the relevant government agencies with a request for a commitment of resources and expression of visible political commitment to entrenching San rights.
3. Networking with potential Angolan NGOs in the various sectors and bringing them together.

Urgent Mid- to Long-term Tasks

1. Organising meetings of San representatives and facilitating crucial discussion, organisation-building and decision-making at local/municipal and provincial level.
2. Establishing multi-sectoral human rights and development programmes on the basis of these decisions.
3. Building organisational capacity to implement such plans.

Potential Partners

It is the team's view that OCADEC has already begun and sustained excellent advocacy work on behalf of Angolan San. The OCADEC staff are known to all the San communities visited and to provincial and local administrators. They know where to find the communities and the communities trust them. OCADEC is thus ideally positioned to implement the first phase of response. The possibility of OCADEC drawing on specific expertise to accomplish this substantial organisational and logistical task should be considered.

If OCADEC demonstrates that it has the capacity necessary to deliver in the early project activities, then it should also be a key player in the mid- to long-term activities. To build the required capacity it is recommended that specialised and intensive training programmes in planning and organisation-building are made available to OCADEC staff. Further, a suitable and experienced development worker should be attached to OCADEC to assist in project design and implementation over a three-year period.

The immediate first step for OCADEC is to draw up a plan and budget for the implementation of the Phase 1 activities.

The following are the potential Angolan NGO partners identified in the relevant sectors:

- ⊗ World Learning – land rights
- ⊗ Maos Livres – human rights; land rights
- ⊗ Antena de Desenvolvimento Rural Angolana (ADRA) – rural development
- ⊗ Cooperação e Desenvolvimento (OIKOS) – rural development
- ⊗ Development Workshop – rural development; organisation-building
- ⊗ Movi Mondo – Cuando Cubango – primary health care; emergency health interventions
- ⊗ South East Asia (ZOA) (Dutch NGO) – training and education
- ⊗ Associação Justiça Paz e Democracia (AJPD) – human rights
- ⊗ Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) – emergency health interventions
- ⊗ Uma actividade do Terceiro Mundo em Desenvolvimento das Organizações (GOAL) – primary health care
- ⊗ National Anthropological Museum – links to government, academic community and mass media
- ⊗ Radio Ecclesia – mass media
- ⊗ TPA Radio Nacional – mass media
- ⊗ Survival International
- ⊗ Amnesty International
- ⊗ Human Rights Watch
- ⊗ UN High Commissioner for Human Rights
- ⊗ UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues
- ⊗ UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Rudolfo Stavenhagen
- ⊗ UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations

SOLIDARITY AND HOPE

“Now that the war has ended we want to be equal to the others.” – Angulayambodo, Cunene Province

“When you go you must come back. We will not move from this place. This is our land. We will not give it away.” – Mutuandjamba, Huíla Province

“We are ready to work with you. We want to build a new life. We have land. We need tools and cattle to develop.” – San Soba Senhor Arudinga, Cafima, Cunene Province

This needs assessment process has stirred up powerful processes within the San communities visited. The act of seeking out and listening to the concerns of these communities in the context of existing social dynamics and perceptions has reverberated through the communities visited. Many San communities expressed deep appreciation of our work. The assessment established strong hope and expectations among them. Fortunately conditions are ripe for calling now for actions in solidarity with the San of Angola.

The Government of Angola and some of its agencies have expressed their will to improve conditions for the San in Angola. There is considerable interest in the plight of the San among civil society organisations and the national and international NGO community. The good potential for cooperation with these entities, together with an emerging human rights culture in Angola, will provide a positive enabling environment for the substantial tasks lying ahead in support of the San in Angola.

IMAGES FROM SETTLEMENTS VISITED



Hombo – Hufla



Tandawe – Cuando Cubango



Lupunja – Cunene



Cafima – Cunene



Kakombe – Hufla



Mutuandjamba – Hufla



Angulayambodo – Cunene



Lupunja – Cunene



San basketry –
Bairro Novo,
Cuando Cubango

Fact Sheets

Fact sheets are short, point-form reports on entities investigated in a study – in this case the locations and settlements of San communities in Angola visited by the assessment team (43 in total) or identified by respondents but not visited by the team (a further 29).

These fact sheets contain information on and highlight the differences between the locations and settlements visited in respect of geographical and other physical features, settlement history, land rights, basis of survival, social dynamics, human rights and other aspects of life. They also contain information on San groups contacted somewhere other than in their place of residence, and on San groups said to be in locations not visited, thus with whom there was no direct contact.

All *italicised* text in these fact sheets indicates that the location was not visited and there was no direct contact made with the San group known or believed to be settled there.

These fact sheets also contain quotations excerpted from our interviews. To protect the informants quoted they are not named but only their settlement name is cited with each quote.

HUÍLA PROVINCE LUBANGO MUNICIPIO Mapunda

Physical characteristics and access: Semi-rural settlement on the outskirts of Lubango. Houses are made of mud brick with thatch or zinc roof. Some houses are in a state of disrepair. A small piece of land surrounds each house. Soils here are hard but there are signs of maize and millet cultivation. Lubango (municipal centre) is accessible by road without danger or difficulty.

Population size: 55; San minority group surrounded by Nanjeka neighbours.

San language: !Kung.

Other languages spoken by San community: Portuguese, Nanjeka.

Leadership: Senhor Domingo Sholo is the elected San leader.

Nutritional status: Periodic hunger; food ranked as the priority need.

Food sources: San work for Bantu neighbours in exchange for food. They collect bushfoods but these are scarce and occasionally they cause conflict with neighbours who regard them as their property. There is no game and thus no hunting. The San do not possess animals. The small fields around their houses do not yield sufficient food. They expect higher yields if they can access more seed and agricultural tools.

Income sources: Senhor Sholo is employed on an adjacent white-owned farm. Some San men are employed on nearby farms and some are employed by the FAA. San women clean and do the laundry in neighbouring Bantu homes, and some occasionally knit woollen clothing for sale. All the San earn low incomes for long working hours.

Assistance received: This community received food aid and some clothing twice in the last year from Caritas Angola and the Angolan Ministry of Social Services and Reintegration (MINARS).

Observations/comments: This community is very urbanised. Some members are migrant workers who spend only weekends in Mapunda. The San are relatively well-clad. Income from waged labour is important to them. This is the only San group visited in Angola found to have ties to Namibia.

Current land rights and history of settlement/migration: The land was given to the San by the white owner of the farm located on this land. The document proving San title has been lost but the dispute with the farmer's daughter over title was resolved by the local Bantu *soba* who witnessed the allocation of this land to the San and has defended their right to occupy it. Senhor Sholo and other older members of the San community hail from Rundu in Namibia. They were brought to Kuvangu by Roman Catholic Padre Charly in 1971. They returned to Namibia in 1976 and came to Mapunda with Padre Martini in 1983.

Water: A sufficient supply is drawn from an adjacent farm and a nearby stream. The San think there is enough water to sustain an irrigated garden.

Health: The main illnesses among San here are diarrhoeal diseases, chest infections, malaria and measles. There has been one case of TB. Two children died of measles in the last year. Following an OCADEC appeal, the Mapunda Clinic now renders services to San free of charge. Hospital services are unaffordable for San and thus rarely sought. The San practise traditional medicine.

Education: There are 2 literate San adults with Grade 3 and Grade 4 schooling. Only 2 of the 22 San children attend school. The others do not because they cannot afford the registration fees, uniforms and materials.

Human rights and social relations: San experience discrimination in the form of insults (name-calling) and unfair/low payment for work done. They resolve minor disputes in meetings among themselves. In more serious cases of discrimination appeals to the police have gone unheeded. Senhora Anni participated in the 2002 AGM of the WIMSA General Assembly held in Namibia and was recently invited for the first time to a *soba* meeting at home.

“!Kung are the First People. We have the right to education, work and housing.” – Mapunda

Social organisation: No regular community meetings are held. Senhor Sholo consults people in their homes as necessary.

Stated community needs: Food; income to improve housing; clothing; blankets; seed and tools to increase agricultural production – the community sees the possibility of growing a vegetable garden using irrigation based on the model used on the adjacent farm.

HUÍLA PROVINCE

LUBANGO MUNICIPIO

Hinhenheke

Physical characteristics and access: Rural settlement 25 km north of Lubango. Houses are made of mud brick with thatch roof. The San have substantial fields under cultivation and an irrigated garden. Accessible from Lubango by passable road.

Population size: 20; San minority surrounded by Nanjeka neighbours.

San language: !Kung.

Other languages spoken by San community: Portuguese, Nanjeka.

Leadership: Senhor Mateus Sabonete is the elected San leader.

Nutritional status: Food ranked as a priority need. Surplus or stored food found in San homes.

Food sources: Six fields surrounding San homes yielded 480 kg of maize, millet and sorghum in the last year. San hire cattle from neighbours for ploughing. They also have an irrigated vegetable garden. San work in the fields of neighbours in exchange for food. They own two heifers, bake their own bread, do some hunting and gathering of bushfoods and also buy food.

Income sources: Senhor Sabonete is employed by the FAA. Community members also brew alcohol for sale.

Assistance received: The community receives seed from a local seed bank at reasonable prices.

Current land rights and history of settlement/migration: The land belongs to the Bantu neighbours. The San hail from Shikwatiti, Mutuandjamba and Sendi – their ancestral land being in Kavisi near Shikwatiti. They moved to Hinhenheke in 1992 due to the war and the Bantu *soba* endorsed the allocation of this land to them. There are conflicting ideas as to whether or not to return to Kavisi. Regarding security of land tenure, the San feel themselves to be dependent on the goodwill of the Bantu *soba*.

Water: A sufficient supply is drawn from a nearby natural water source which is also used to irrigate the vegetable garden.

Health: The main illnesses among San here are diarrhoeal diseases, chest infections and malaria. Hospital services are provided to San only against payment. One adult community member died in the last year. The San practise traditional medicine.

Education: There is one literate adult with Grade 4 schooling. Seven children attend school. Their parents are satisfied with the school and an isolated incident of discrimination against a San child was resolved through the local *soba*'s intervention. The children lack school materials. Traditional education (telling stories to and teaching children the !Kung language) is considered important.

Human rights and social relations: San experience discrimination in the form of insults (name-calling) and unfair/low payment for work done. They resolve minor disputes among themselves. Serious disputes are reported to the Bantu *soba*, as are cases of San receiving less food for work done than they were promised before doing the work. When they complain they are told, "You do not belong here." They do not want problems and thus avoid complaining. The Bantu *soba* is said not to take up their problems. The *soba* and his council reprimanded Senhor Sabonete and the team severely for failing to visit him before the meeting with the San and for holding a "secret" meeting with them. He was challenged and asked if he thought himself to be the *soba*. Despite such treatment Senhor Sabonete said he enjoys good relations with the neighbours. He is invited to attend *soba* council meetings. Some of the San women here attend meetings of the Angolan Women's Organisation (OMA).

Social organisation: No regular meetings are held. Decisions are taken on the basis of consultation.

Stated community needs: Seed and agricultural tools; food; materials to improve homes. The San want seed and tools to increase agricultural production. They would like to plant a large irrigation-based garden together with their neighbours. For this they will need a water-pump. This community was one of only two San communities visited in which there were no signs of food insecurity. Senhor Sabonete himself wants to expand agricultural production and thereby improve food security, and "be an inspiration to other San communities".

HUÍLA PROVINCE

CACULA MUNICIPIO

Tsholo, Kakwa, Kapeke, Mukuyu, Shikala, Mambandi, Viti-Vivar, Chela, Chem Chem

Physical characteristics and access: Tsholo is situated close to the main road between Hoque and Cacula and is accessible by a passable track. The other settlements (excluding Chem Chem and Viti-Vivar) are scattered around Tsholo at a distance of 5-7 km. Bantu neighbours own very large fields in which they cultivate maize and millet by means of traction. San from the nine settlements in the locality assembled in Tsholo to meet with the team. San houses in Tsholo are made of wood and thatch and some are in a state of disrepair. San families cultivate small fields by hand. Bush and wooded areas surround the areas cleared for cultivation.

Population size: Total 423 – Tsholo 103, Kakwa 82, Kapeke 70, Mukuyu 34, Shikala 31, Mambandi/Chela/Viti-Vivar 73, Chem Chem 30; San minorities surrounded by Bantu neighbours.

San language: !Kung.

Other languages spoken by San communities: Portuguese, Muhanda, Umbundu.

Leadership: Tsholo – Senhor Joaquim Shakupele; Kakwa – Senhor Joao Pandela; Kapeke – Senhor Machina Paulo Hohe.

Nutritional status: Frequent hunger; food ranked as a priority need. Two San in Kapeke are said to have died of hunger in the last year.

Food sources: Cereals (maize, sorghum, pearl millet) are obtained from small fields surrounding San homes. San work for neighbours for food as their own fields do not yield a sufficient supply. Some grow potatoes and beans. Bushfoods and honey are collected but are scarce in some areas especially at the end of the dry season. San hunt mainly small animals which are scarce in some areas. One San man in Kapeke owns 11 head of cattle whereas others own only a few chickens or no animals at all. *Ondjambi* (the practice of giving people a nourishing alcoholic drink in exchange for work done in the fields) is practised in this locality. San of Shikala and Mukuyu reported having work in the fields of Bantu neighbours so as to borrow their ploughs and obtain some seed for planting in their own small fields.

Assistance received: All these San communities received food aid from a church group once in 2002. San in Kapeke, Kakwa and Tsholo received food and seed from MINARS in 2002. There are accusations that this aid was not delivered to the San in full and a large portion was kept by the Muhanda person in charge of the distribution.

Income sources: San make and sell baskets to Bantu neighbours. These are often large baskets used for storing food reserves.

Current land rights and history of settlement/migration: In Tsholo, Kapeke, Kakwa, Shikala and Mukuyu San said, “This is our land. We have always lived here.” None of them have a title deed. Bantu *sobas* “recognise” their land rights but do not grant them the right to cultivate large fields. Some San in Tsholo are refugees hailing from Muhamba further north in the same locality. They do not want to return to Muhamba due to “the problem of food – there is no one to work for in Muhamba”. Access to land and availability of natural resources (bushfoods and game) have been severely reduced by the growing number of Bantu cultivators who also own cattle and goats. San reported that cattle of the Bantu neighbours enter into and destroy their fields.

The San in Mambandi hail from Lufinda further south in the same locality. They moved due to the war. Their land is thought to belong to the Muhanda people. A San woman reported that “hunger makes us move nearer to the Bantu neighbours”. Only one San man in Kapeke has a large field. Vasco Luis from Kakwa reported that his field was forcefully taken over by a Bantu neighbour in 2003. The case was reported to the local administrator who said it is being worked on. Hunger has forced some people in Kakwa to sell pieces of land for maize. In Shikala Bantu neighbours are said to have taken pieces of San land by force. A San man explained that the Muhanda people say, “You are lazy. Give me that field. You will work for me.” Another man explained that they accept the Bantus as neighbours because they produce food which helps the San to survive. San say they will ask their neighbours to leave if they have the means to cultivate larger pieces of land for themselves. San moved to Chem Chem, Hinheneke (Lubango Municipio, Huíla) and Kipungu Municipio (Huíla) for brief periods during the war. San in Kapeke have conflicted with Bantu neighbours over the use of land along the river. When a San woman tried to plant a garden along the river she was chased away by neighbours who took it over and told her she had no right to be there. The woman stated, “This happened on our land.”

“We are now left with the smaller part of our own land. If we don’t have seeds, tools and cattle to plough they will take all of it. They see that we do not make big fields. We cannot say that they recognise our land rights.” – Kapeke

Some accounts of land-grabbing by incoming refugees date back 7-10 years while other accounts are of more recent incidences of this.

Water: A nearby stream supplies sufficient water which San draw from *kasimbos* (manmade water-holes or wells) and pans. Bantu neighbours oppose attempts by San in Kakwa, Kapeke and Tsholo to plant gardens along the river. San in Chem Chem encounter water scarcity in the dry season and this occasionally leads them to move away from Chem Chem closer to available water.

Health: The main illnesses among San here are diarrhoeal diseases, chest infections, malaria, measles, sarna and TB. San seldom use clinics as transport and treatment costs are unaffordable. They practise traditional medicine. Deaths in the last year: Mambandi – 6 adults and 4 children died due to illness; Kakwa – 6 people died due to illness; Kapeke – 2 people are said to have died of hunger and 2 are said to have died from malaria; Tsholo – 6 children died due to illness; Shikala – 6 people died for reasons unstated; Mukuyu – 3 people died for reasons unstated.

Education: Kapeke – no literate adults; 9 children attend school regularly. Kakwa – one literate adult (Grade 4); 2 children attend school regularly; others cannot afford uniforms, materials and registration fees. Tsholo – no literate adults, no children attend school due to lack of funds for uniforms, registration fees and materials. Mambandi – no San are literate; the children do not attend school due to lack of funds for materials and because San children are oppressed by others at school who refuse to share a classroom with them. Mukuyu and Shikala – 5 literate people in total; no children attend school. Traditional San culture is practised in Kapeke, Kakwa, Tsholo and Mambandi. Elements of Bantu cultural practice have been absorbed in some of these San communities, e.g. in Mukuyu San practise Efiko and Ekwendje female and male initiation rites specific to the Nanjeka people.

Human rights and social relations: San experience discrimination in the form of insults (name-calling) and unfair/low payment for work done. Land is taken from them by force.

“We are paid with food. We must eat to do the work. We are not given food to eat while we work. I am not treated well. My force goes to others. I am left with nothing.” – Lupunja, Cunene

When the San in Shikala argue with the Bantu they are told, “We can beat you because you have nobody to go and complain to. You, *mukankhala*, do not have a *soba* to defend you. You are nothing.” In Mukuyu San have been told, “A Muhanda’s dog is worth more than a San person.” In Mambandi San reported that if a Bantu man marries or becomes sexually involved with a San woman he is immediately expelled to the woman’s village and his cattle are taken over by his parents and relatives. In Tsholo a man was beaten when he demanded to be paid according to the agreement he had made with the Muhanda employer. He was told, “You are small, we will beat you. You have nowhere to go.” San say they know that all Angolans are equal before the law but unhappily this is not known by their neighbours. Regarding dispute resolution, San resolve less serious disputes among themselves and take more serious ones to the Bantu *soba*. In Kapeke, Kakwa and Tsholo San women and men participate in meetings of the local administration. They are sometimes invited to attend *soba* meetings as well. All the San groups in this locality reported that they resolve minor disputes among themselves with the help of their own leaders and take more serious conflicts to the Bantu *soba*.

Social organisation: In Kapeke and Kakwa San do not hold regular meetings. People are accused of not attending meetings because they prefer to get drunk. In Kakwa San leaders were elected in the presence of Bantu neighbours; in Kapeke they were elected after being organised by MPLA party activists.

Stated community needs: Seed, tools and cattle to increase agricultural production; medication; food. Some members of the Tsholo San community would like to return to their ancestral land in Muhamba but do not have the means to do so.

“We want to work for our own development so that we can be like our neighbours.” – Tsholo

Observations/comments: This cluster of San settlements is referred to in Estermann’s 1956 study. Though San appear thin and malnourished, they are much better clad than those in most other communities visited. The women wear beautiful printed cloths and most men have jackets to protect them from the cold. Women wear the hairstyles of their Nanjeka neighbours. Estermann’s observations regarding San acculturation in this cluster remain valid. All these communities gave the impression of having a higher degree of social cohesion than the norm and numerous individuals expressed strong views about exploitation of San, eroded San land rights and their wish to make progress with agricultural projects. Their stronger-than-normal community spirit could be attributable to the fact that these communities have lived together for a long time and have a shared sense of history and location. Older men seemed particularly determined to increase agricultural production.

HUÍLA PROVINCE

KIPUNGU MUNICIPIO

Vinkwenha

Physical characteristics and access: Situated on the road from Kipungu in the direction of Sendi; accessible by road. Bantu neighbours own large fields in which they cultivate maize and millet. Some San homes are made of wood and thatch, others are grass shelters. Many homes are in a state of disrepair.

Population size: 53; San minority surrounded by Bantu neighbours.

San language: !Kung.

Other languages spoken by San community: Portuguese, Ngangela, Umbundu.

Leadership: Senhor Tjombe of Sendi is the San leader, but informants said the community never sees him.

Nutritional status: Frequent hunger.

Food sources: San have small fields and also work for surrounding Muhanda cultivators in exchange for food. San collect bushfoods and honey but hunt very little as there are few wild animals. *Ondjambi* is practised in this locality.

Assistance received: MINARS distributed food, seed and agricultural tools in 2002. The San still have the tools but said they are likely to eat the remaining seed due to hunger.

Income sources: San make and sell baskets. Sometimes they exchange meat or honey for maize.

Current land rights and history settlement/migration: The San are refugees from Mulindi and Kavisi in the same province who settled here in 1992. The local *soba* gave them permission to stay. Some of the San would like to return to Mulindi because they have been forbidden to extend their fields and have been threatened with eviction. Others want to stay.

Water: The supply is insufficient. Water is drawn by means of a nearby hand-pump shared with Bantu neighbours.

Health: The main illnesses among San here are diarrhoeal diseases, chest infections, malaria, measles, sarna and TB. These illnesses are also cited as present in the area in a report published by the Angolan Green Cross in Lubango in 2002. San seldom use the clinics in Sendi because transport is unaffordable. The community is visited each month by the Kipungu District Nurse. Six children died due to illness in the last year. The community practises traditional medicine.

Education: Nobody is literate and no children attend the nearby school. San children are said to run away from school because they are maltreated and teased by neighbouring Bantu children. Traditional education and culture are practised. An old San lady reported that the community had forgotten the healing dance because “UNITA used to beat us when we danced like that”.

Human rights and social relations: San experience discrimination in the form of insults (name-calling) and unfair/low payment for work done. Disputes are “resolved” by going to the local *soba* or by fighting physically with each other.

Social organisation: The San do not hold regular meetings and never see their leader who lives in Sendi. This community seemed very abject and divided.

Stated community needs: Clothing; cattle, seed and agricultural tools.

Observations/comments: Vinkwenha, Boa Lembrança and Sendi form a settlement cluster. Boa Lembrança and Vinkwenha San residents apparently move occasionally to Sendi where they can obtain food and medical treatment at the Catholic Mission. San in Vinkwenha and Boa Lembrança are divided and there is very little sense of community among them despite the fact that they have benefitted from more assistance than many other San communities visited in Angola.

HUÍLA PROVINCE

KIPUNGU MUNICIPIO

Sendi

Physical characteristics and access: Situated on the road from Kipungu near the Sendi River; accessible by road. San homes are made of wood and thatch.

Population size: 20; informants told of another 13 now living in Shikala in Cacula Municipio.

San language: !Kung.

Other languages spoken by San community: Portuguese, Ngangela, Umbundu.

Leadership: Senhor Tjombe of Sendi is the San leader.

Nutritional status: frequent hunger.

Food sources: San work for surrounding Bantu cultivators in exchange for food. They collect bushfoods and honey, and hunt small game. *Ondjambi* is practised.

Assistance received: MINARS distributed food aid once 2003. Food and clothing were received from the Catholic Mission.

Income sources: The San exchange honey for maize.

Current land rights and history of settlement/migration: The San are refugees from Gambos who moved first to Hupa and then to Mungongo due to the war. The government resettled them in nearby Vinkwenha, and then they came to Sendi. The land they live on is owned by the Sendi Catholic Mission. This San community has close ties with those of Boa Lembrança and Vinkwenha in Kipungu Municipio. They would like to return to Hupa where they say the Bantu *soba* recognises their land rights.

Water: A sufficient supply is drawn from a nearby stream.

Health: The main illnesses among San here are diarrhoeal diseases, chest infections, malaria and measles. They use the Sendi Roman Catholic Clinic which provides free services. Five San children died due to illness in the last year. The San practise traditional medicine.

Education: Two people are literate (Grade 3). All the children attend the school in Shikala, but there are problems at school in that San children are regularly beaten by Muhanda children. The San practise traditional education and culture but have adopted some Muhanda traditions.

Human rights and social relations: San experience discrimination in the form of insults (name-calling) and unfair/low payment for work done. A case was reported of a San man not being paid at all after working for a Bantu employer. The San are not respected by “the others”. They resolve minor disputes by talking among themselves. Senhor Tjombe attends *soba* council meetings.

Social organisation: No regular community meetings are held.

Stated community needs: Cattle, seed and agricultural tools. The community expressed a wish to be resettled (as the following quote suggests).

“We don’t not want to stay like this – depending on others. If the government gives us the tools we can do the work. We want to benefit from the government resettlement programme.”
– Sendi

HUÍLA PROVINCE

KIPUNGU MUNICIPIO

Boa Lembrança

Physical characteristics and access: Situated on the road from Kipungu in the direction of Sendi; accessible by road. Homes are made of wood and thatch or are grass shelters. Many homes are in a state of disrepair. Bantu neighbours own large fields in which they cultivate maize and millet.

Population size: 53; San minority surrounded by Bantu neighbours.

San language: !Kung.

Other languages spoken by San community: Portuguese, Umbundu.

Leadership: Senhor Tjombe of Sendi is the San leader.

Nutritional status: Frequent hunger.

Food sources: San cultivate small fields and also work for surrounding Bantu cultivators. They collect bushfoods and honey, and hunt and catch birds. *Ondjambi* is practised.

Assistance received: The Kipungu local administration provided 3 head of cattle for ploughing and MINARS distributed tools and seed in 2002. The cattle were given to the San communities of Boa Lembrança, Sendi and Vinkwenha to share, but in reality they are kept and used only in Boa Lembrança. Although the San have cattle, their fields are small because the FAA general who owns the land does not permit them to extend their fields.

Income sources: None cited.

Current land rights and history of settlement/migration: The San are refugees from Mambandi in Cacula Municipio (Huíla) whom the government resettled. They say they cannot return to their place of origin because they fear Muhanda sorcery. The land belongs to an FAA general who had already asked them to leave but this was under discussion at the time of our visit.

Water: The supply from the nearby *kasimba* is insufficient. Water is also drawn from a stream at a 2-hour walking distance from the San settlement.

Health: The main illnesses among San here are diarrhoeal diseases, chest infections, malaria, measles, sarna and TB. San use the Sendi Roman Catholic Clinic which provides free services. One person died due to illness in the last year. The community practises traditional medicine.

Education: Nobody is literate and no children attend the nearby school due to a lack of clothing and food. The community practises traditional education and culture.

Human rights and social relations: San experience discrimination in the form of insults (name-calling) and unfair/low payment for work done. They do not complain “because the Bantu have the *sobas* and the power”. The San resolve conflicts by going to the local Bantu *soba*.

Social organisation: The San do not hold regular meetings and never see their leader who lives in Sendi. This community seemed very abject and divided.

Stated community needs: Clothing; cattle, seed and agricultural tools; own school.

HUÍLA PROVINCE

KIPUNGU MUNICIPIO

Kakombe

Physical characteristics and access: Situated on the edge of the Bicuari National Park, ca 5 km from Hombo; accessible by road. Homes are made of wood and thatch. Bush and wooded areas surround areas cleared for cultivation. The San settlement is surrounded by many homes and fields of Bantu neighbours. San have small individual fields for cultivation.

Population size: 230; San minority surrounded by Bantu neighbours.

San language: !Kung.

Other languages spoken by San community: Portuguese, Ngangela, Umbundu.

Leadership: The leader of the San of Kakombe is Senhor Francisco Piriquito ('Piriquito Junior'), son of Senhor Piriquito Kambili ('Piriquito Senior'), the San *soba* of Hombo. Senhor Piriquito Jnr lives in Hombo and is called to Kakombe when required to solve problems.

Nutritional status: Periodic hunger. There is evidence of some bushfoods and of malnutrition among children.

Food sources: San have small fields and also work for surrounding Muhanda cultivators. They collect bushfoods and honey. As hunting in the park is officially forbidden no one admitted that it takes place if it does. *Ondjambi* is practised. This San community owns two cows donated by the Kipungu local administration.

Assistance received: MINARS has provided food and seed; it appears that there have been a number of MINARS food-aid distributions. The San have seed and two head of cattle but say they do not have tools. The Kipungu-based local administrator explained that they sold the tools, a water-pump, clothing and mattresses given to them for food. More recently the Angolan Green Cross in Lubango made available to this community a medical kit received from UNICEF. A meeting with the local administrator revealed some aspects of government thinking around the problems of San communities: essentially the government was said to be committed to saving the San from extinction; the administrator himself believes that the San need their own schools and clinics, and that San development initiatives should take the form of employment creation rather than handouts.

Income sources: San work in neighbours' fields in exchange for food. They receive low incomes for long working hours. They also brew alcohol to exchange for food or to sell to neighbours.

Current land rights and history of settlement/migration: The land was already used by the community's forebears – a local administrator confirmed that San lived in the Bicuari Park in times past. There are no visible boundaries around the park and it is not entirely clear under whose authority the park falls. Kakombe was established after the San community moved away from Hombo apparently due to deaths and allegations of Muhanda sorcery. We were told that their resettlement is temporary because the park is a nature reserve and the government wants to move them to Malipi (also in Kipungu Municipio) where there is a clinic and a school. Malipi is a resettlement area whose inhabitants are now returning to their places of origin. Arguments erupted from which it emerged that the San of Kakombe are very unhappy about the plan to move them to Malipi. The local administrator instructed Senhor Piriquito Jnr to explain to the community why they should go to Malipi. A woman asked whether the cattle, tools and seed will come to them if they go to Malipi. The team was asked to stop taking notes but we insisted

that the administrator in Kipungu had told us “there are no secrets”. Opposition to the move to Malipi was clearly expressed. We were told that the government had allocated half a hectare of land to each family as an “experiment”. The San in Hombo were said to be more fortunate as there is “plenty of land” there. This community has 2 head of cattle for ploughing but said they cannot plough everyone’s land. We were told that San once lived in the park. It is now a much-reduced piece of land of 3-4 square km. The surrounding land is densely populated with many fields, settlements and cattle. After hearing very vocal opposition from San men and women to the idea of moving to Malipi, we were told at the end of the meeting that “everyone” in fact supports the idea of going to Malipi.

Water: The supply is insufficient; women have to walk 3-4 km to fetch water. The community sold the pump it was given for food. Water is also drawn from *kasimbas* and from a river at a walking distance of 2-3 hours.

Health: The main illnesses among San here are diarrhoeal diseases, chest infections, malaria, measles, sarna and TB. There were many cases of the latter last year. A report published by the Angolan Green Cross in Lubango in 2002 cites as present in the area all these illnesses except for TB. The community said it misuses alcohol. Some community members look very wasted. Children are malnourished and generally in a poor state. San seldom use the local clinic as it is unaffordable. Twenty San women reported that their children died due to illness in the last year. The community practises traditional medicine.

Education: There are 4 literate community members. Some children attend the nearby school but most do not as they cannot afford uniforms and materials. We were told that San children are abused by Bantu children. Traditional education and culture are practised to a limited degree; the San sing the songs of their Bantu neighbours and do not practise the healing dances.

Human rights and social relations: San are discriminated against by way of name-calling and bad payment for work done. To resolve disputes they call on Senhor Piriquito Jnr. It is said that he was “chosen” in 1992. It is also said that he “inherited” the job from his father. It appears that this leader sometimes attends meetings of the local Bantu *soba*. A San woman (quoted below) complained bitterly about the poor payments made to San.

“You work from 7[am] to 4 or 5[pm]. If you are tired and complain you are told that you are lazy and that you should just wait for MINARS and that you will not be paid.” – Kakombe

Social organisation: The community does not hold regular meetings. Its members meet only to receive government officials and visitors. It is a very divided community.

“We never meet. Nothing brings us together. Problems are not solved. Decisions are made by others.” – Kakombe

Stated community needs: A health post and medication or access to the clinic without having to pay; access to schools and provision of materials; cattle, seeds and agricultural tools. Some people feel that the solution to all their problems is for everyone to receive the means to work in their own fields.

Observations/comments: The meeting with this community was held under the watchful eye of a local government administrator. In interacting with his San community Senhor Piriquito Jnr displayed uncharacteristically authoritarian behavior. A woman was introduced to us by the administrator as the leader of the women but the other women said she had not been chosen by them. At first our questions were answered by the administrator who was eager to finish

HUÍLA PROVINCE



Mapunda



Mapunda



Mapunda San leader
Senhor Domingo Sholo



Mapunda



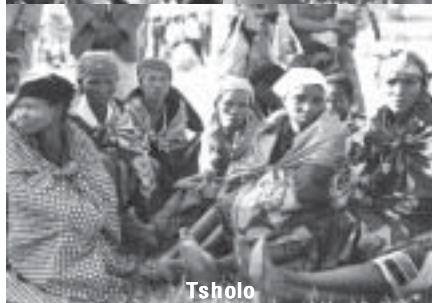
Hinheneke



Tsholo



Tsholo



Tsholo



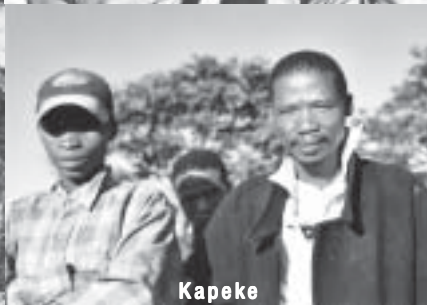
Tsholo



Tsholo –
Muhanda neighbours



Kapeke



Kapeke



Kakwa



Vinkwenha



Vinkwenha



Vinkwenha



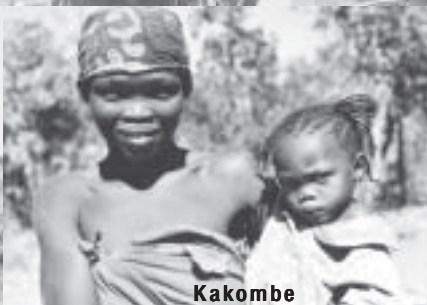
Vinkwenha



Vitundulu
Mwulla neighbour



Kakombe



Kakombe



Kakombe San leader
Senhor Piriquito Kambili Jr

the meeting early. The community is very divided and our impression was that complex dynamics had to be dealt with to do with the leadership of Senhor Piriquito Jnr and his relationship with the government. It is remarkable that a group which has received more attention and resources than most other San groups visited is in such a poor state. The community dynamics are worth investigating in more depth and under less constrained conditions as an example of how food aid and the presence of resources do not automatically improve conditions and lead to successful self-organisation. It would be useful to know what is going wrong in this community. The team suspects that there are serious problems linked to leadership and expectations.

HUÍLA PROVINCE

KIPUNGU MUNICIPIO

Hombo

Physical characteristics and access: Situated on the edge of the Bicuari National Park; accessible by road. Homes are made of wood and thatch. Bush and wooded areas surround areas cleared for cultivation. The leader of Hombo has an impressive home and meeting place located at some distance from the rest of the village. He and his sons are also the owners of large fields, a large food-storage container and a cart. Other San cultivate small fields. Bantu neighbours own large fields in which they cultivate maize and millet.

Population size: 107; San minority surrounded by Bantu neighbours.

San language: !Kung.

Other languages spoken by San community: Portuguese, Muhanda, Umbundu.

Leadership: The leader, Senhor Piriquito Kambili ('Piriquito Snr'), was appointed by the local administration with the community's consent. His son, Senhor Francisco Piriquito ('Piriquiti Jnr'), is the leader of the neighbouring San community of Kakombe.

Nutritional status: Periodic hunger. Only Senhor Piriquito Snr and his family do not go hungry.

Food sources: Senhor Piriquito Snr is a major employer who pays 6 kg of maize for a day's work. This is a considerable improvement on the usual 2-4 kg paid by most other employers. Senhor Piriquito Snr owns a large store of surplus maize and pearl millet. The San cultivate small fields and also work for Muhanda neighbours. San collect bushfoods and honey. As hunting in the park is officially forbidden, no one admitted that it takes place if it does. *Ondjambi* is practised. Senhor Piriquito Snr owns cattle, goats, pigs and chickens.

Assistance received: The government provided 4 head of cattle to the community, 2 of which have since died. MINARS has provided food aid, seed and agricultural tools. According to the Kipungu local administrator this community has received government assistance since the mid 1980s. More recently the Angolan Green Cross in Lubango made available to the community a medical kit received from UNICEF. It is likely that the relative wealth and social power of the Piriquito/Kambili family have grown as a result of the government's support.

Income sources: San make baskets for sale to their Bantu neighbours.

Current land rights and history of settlement/migration: The land was used by the forebears of this San community. It has now been reduced to 3-4 square km. A government administrator confirmed that in the past the San lived in the adjacent park. The surrounding land is densely populated with many fields, settlements and cattle. The community has not moved away from

Hombo in recent memory. Their land rights are recognised by their Bantu neighbours. Hombo is a San settlement mentioned by Estermann (1956) in describing a San practice of hunting and gathering augmented by bartering and working in the field of neighbours.

Water: The supply is insufficient. Water is drawn from *kasimbas* and from a river at a walking distance of 2-3 hours.

Health: The main illnesses among San here are diarrhoeal diseases, chest infections, malaria, measles, sarna and TB. These illnesses are cited as present in the area in a report published by the Angolan Green Cross in Lubango in 2002. San seldom use the local clinic as transport and treatment there are unaffordable. Five children died due to illnesses in the last year. The San practise traditional medicine.

Education: Three community members are literate with schooling up to Grades 4 and 6. Most of the children do not attend the newly established school in the neighbouring Muhanda settlement due to a lack of materials. The Kipungu-based administrator indicated that San children face difficulty in gaining acceptance by other children at school. The San practise traditional education and culture.

Human rights and social relations: San experience discrimination in the form of insults (name-calling) and unfair/low payment for work done. Senhor Piriquito Snr and his son assist in resolving disputes. Senhor Piriquito Snr attends *soba* meetings and meetings with the local administration. He attended the 2002 WIMSA General Assembly meeting in Namibia. He is recognised by the government as a traditional leader.

Social organisation: The community does not hold regular meetings. Members meet only to receive government officials and visitors. It appears that Senhor Piriquito Snr was appointed by the government with the community's consent.

Stated community needs: An own school; a health post and medication; cattle. Our discussion with the community revealed that members wish to see San teachers, nurses and drivers, and "San who have houses with electricity".

HUÍLA PROVINCE CHIBIA MUNICIPIO

Kombela, Viskote, *Vitundulu*, *Shikulelo*, *Chitongotongo*

Physical characteristics and access: Situated on roads leaving the Chibia-Camana road; accessible by road. These are very small San settlements consisting of no more than 2-3 homes. Homes are made of wooden poles and thatch. Bantu neighbours own large fields in which they cultivate maize and millet.

Population size: Total 89 (25 confirmed); San minority surrounded by Bantu neighbours.

San language: !Kung.

Other languages spoken by San communities: Portuguese, Ngangela, Umbundu.

Leadership: No San leaders.

Nutritional status: Periodic hunger.

Food sources: San have small fields and also work for surrounding Bantu cultivators. They also collect bushfoods and honey, and hunt small game. *Ondjambi* is practised.

Assistance received: Only Mwuila people in the area have received food aid and seed.

Income sources: San work for food in the fields of neighbours. Community members complained of long working hours for low incomes. San also brew and sell beer to employees of quarries nearby. Two San women are employed as cooks by the company operating the quarries.

Current land rights and history of settlement/migration: All the San in these settlements hail from Shikulelo. The local *soba* has allowed them to stay in all these areas but they are allowed to cultivate only small fields.

Water: The supply is sufficient.

Health: The main illnesses among San here are diarrhoeal diseases, chest infections, malaria and measles. San use the Shikwatiti clinic but only when they can afford to pay for the services. They practise traditional medicine.

Education: One person is literate. Only one child from the settlement closest to Shikwatiti attends school. Long walking distances and a lack of funds to buy uniforms and materials were cited as reasons for non-attendance. The community practises traditional education and culture.

Human rights and social relations: San are discriminated against by way of name-calling and bad payment for work done. They resolve disputes by going to the local *soba*.

“We are happy that you came to see us. One does not get help. We are seen as animals.” – Viskote

Social organisation: No regular meetings are held.

Stated community needs: Medical treatment; clothing; equal access to government aid; cattle, seed, agricultural tools; own school.

HUÍLA PROVINCE

CHIBIA MUNICIPIO

Vifwo

Physical characteristics and access: Situated on a side road between Shikwatiti and Camana; accessible by road. Homes are made of wooden poles and thatch. Bantu neighbours own large fields in which they cultivate maize and millet.

“We depend on Bantus for work – to eat. The Bantus are developing while we still live in hunger.” – Vifwo

Population size: 15; San minority surrounded by Bantu neighbours.

San language: !Kung.

Other languages spoken by San community: Portuguese, Nanjeka, Mwuila.

Leadership: No San leaders.

Nutritional status: Periodic hunger.

Food sources: San have small fields and also work for surrounding Bantu cultivators. They collect bushfoods and honey, and hunt small game. *Ondjambi* is practised.

Assistance received: None. The community reported having built a road for the government on request and never having received any payment for this work.

Income sources: San work in the fields of neighbours in exchange for food. They also make and sell large food-storage baskets. They earn low incomes for long working hours. They also exchange bushfoods, honey and meat for maize and millet.

Current land rights and history of settlement/migration: The San here are living on the land of their ancestors from which they have never moved. The land area they occupy today is very small.

“We were here first but now they have the biggest lands.” – Vifwo

When they complain that their land is being taken away the Bantu *soba* pays no attention to them. There are conflicts with neighbours over land use.

Water: Water is drawn from *kasimbas*. In the dry season water scarcity leads to conflict with neighbours and discrimination against San. If San complain, the problems get much bigger.

Health: The main illnesses among San here are diarrhoeal diseases, chest infections, malaria and measles. They cannot afford to use the local clinic. Four children died due to illness in the last year. They practise traditional medicine and also seek help from Mwuila traditional healers.

Education: Nobody is literate. No children attend school. The community practises traditional education and culture.

Human rights and social relations: San are discriminated against by way of name-calling and bad payment for work done. They resolve minor conflicts among themselves and bigger conflicts are taken to the Mwuila *soba*. It was alleged that Mwuila people want to eliminate San through witchcraft, as the following words of a San elder reflect.

“The Bantu cast spells around the houses of the San so that we should die and they can occupy our lands.” – Vifwo

A case of discrimination in which shelter was refused to an old San woman in very harsh weather conditions was reported. San do not take part in *soba* or local administration meetings. They told of ignoring an invitation to a *soba* meeting because they would be called names and insulted.

Social organisation: There are no regular community meetings.

Stated community needs: Cattle, agricultural implements, seed; an own school; free medical treatment.

“We have the force to work. We want help so that we can work. So that we can be independent.”
– Vifwo

HUÍLA PROVINCE

CHIBIA MUNICIPIO

Mutuandjamba

Physical characteristics and access: Situated on a side road between Shikwatiti and Camana; accessible by road. San homes are made of wooden poles and thatch. Bantu neighbours own large fields in which they cultivate maize and millet. Trees and grazing for cattle are plentiful. After arriving at night and meeting with the community around a fire the team was told as follows.

“We do not know how you found us. Tomorrow we will have something in our life. Till now we don’t have blankets, cattle, food – things we need in our lives.” – Mutuandjamba

Population size: 51; San minority surrounded by Bantu neighbours.

San language: !Kung.

Other languages spoken by San communities: Portuguese, Nanjeka, Mwuila.

Leadership: Senhor Tchincapi.

Nutritional status: Periodic hunger – in the rainy season when bushfoods are scarce and stored food has been used up.

Food sources: San have small fields and also work for surrounding Bantu cultivators. They collect bushfoods and honey, and hunt small game. *Ondjambi* is practised.

Assistance received: Though this San community is registered it has not received any assistance at all. Only Mwuila people have received food aid and seed. When San ask for their share they are asked, “Who are you?”

Income sources: San work in the fields of neighbours in exchange for food. They also look after neighbours’ cattle, goats and pigs, brew and sell beer to neighbours, and make and sell large food-storage baskets. They earn low incomes for long working hours. They exchange honey and meat for maize and millet, and manufacture ironware (e.g. axes and knives) which they trade for food.

Current land rights and history of settlement/migration: The San here are living on the land of their ancestors from which they have never moved. As more and more Mwuila people have arrived in the area, the San land area has shrunk dramatically. Some of the Mwuila neighbours have been there for a long time; most have settled there more recently. The San have no document to prove their land rights, but everyone knows that they helped the Mwuila people by giving them a place to stay. When more and more Mwuila came to the area, they ended up using the greater part of the land. As a result there are fewer animals to hunt.

“We do not have tools, seed, cattle with which we could hold onto our land. We want our land back. I can show you now how big it is, where the boundaries are. But now our neighbours plough right up to the doors of our homes. And if our children are found in their fields they are beaten.” – Mutuandjamba

Water: Water is acquired from a nearby hand-pump. There is conflict and discrimination around who uses the pump. Rainfall is plentiful.

HUÍLA PROVINCE



Hombo



**Kakombe and Hombo San leaders
Senhor Piriquito Kambili
Junior and Senior**



**Hombo – neighbouring
Muhanda/Nhaneka village
Hombo**



Hombo



Hombo – home interior



**Hombo village school
(Bantu part of Hombo)**



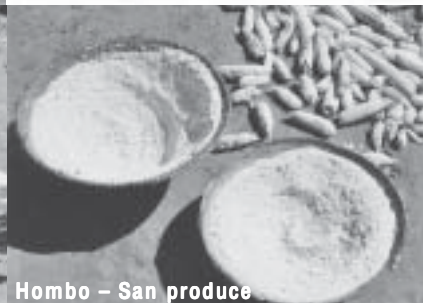
**Hombo – large food store owned by
leader Senhor Piriquito Kambili Snr**



Hombo – San produce



Hombo – San produce



Hombo – San produce



Hombo –



Mutuandjamba



**Mutuandjamba
– agricultural
tools**



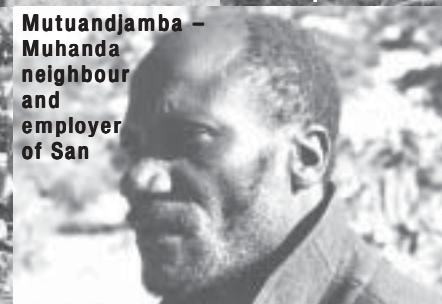
**Mutuandjamba –
San produce**



**Mutuandjamba –
San produce**



**Mutuandjamba –
San-made basket**



**Mutuandjamba –
Muhanda
neighbour
and
employer
of San**

Health: The main illnesses among San here are diarrhoeal diseases, chest infections, malaria and measles. San use the Kamana clinic but only when they can afford to pay for the services.

“Our children die because we cannot pay [for clinic services].” – Mutuandjamba

Three children died due to illness in the last year. The San practise traditional medicine and also seek help from Mwuila traditional healers.

Education: One community member is literate. None of the children attend school because they are insulted and beaten there and because they lack clothing and food. The community practises traditional education and culture.

Human rights and social relations: San are discriminated against by way of name-calling and bad payment for work done. They resolve minor conflicts among themselves and bigger conflicts they take to the Mwuila *soba*. San do not participate in *soba* or administration meetings. They told of ignoring an invitation to a *soba* meeting because they will be called names and insulted.

Social organisation: San have a meeting place (*onjango*) where they sometimes confer.

Stated community needs: Cattle, agricultural tools, seed; food; clothing.

Observations/comments: Mutuandjamba’s residents have a strong sense of “their” land and a desire to repossess what they have lost of it. The elders vividly recall the times when they had access to more land and natural resources. There is a clear understanding that San must be seen to be using the land if they want to avoid losing it all. San here have a shared history and have not experienced major displacements. All this makes for a strong sense of community which is lacking in some of the other San settlements visited.

CUNENE PROVINCE

NAMACUNDE MUNICIPIO

Nelombo, Angulayambodo, Oshikova,
Omemba, Ukango, Mongono, Mhenge, Kandweya

Physical characteristics and access: The communities of Nelombo, Angulayambodo and Oshikova met the team on the road 16 km east of Chiede (a settlement in another local cluster). These settlements are inaccessible by road due to the suspected presence of landmines and/or absence of passable tracks. Children, women and men had spent up to one-and-a-half days walking to meet the team. Members of these communities also provided information about other locations with San villages and estimates of their population numbers. The terrain in this areas is characterised by sandy soils and thickly wooded bush partially cleared for fields and dwellings. The rainfall rate is low and water is scarce. Though locals know the paths around landmine fields, a number of cases of landmine accidents and amputations were reported to us. The entire area from Chiede along the border to Namibia is said to be mined but the road itself has been cleared up to the point where the team met with the San villagers.

Population size: Total 348 – Nelombo 59, Angulayambodo 52, Oshikova 21, *Omemba 70 (located ca 15 km east of Nelombo), Ukango 70, Mongono 20, Mhenge 30, Kandweya 26.*

San language: !Kung.

Other languages spoken by San communities: Portuguese, Kwanyama.

Leadership: Nelombo – Senhor Chikolo Nsekwa; Angulayambodo and Oshikova – Senhor Aimbodhi.

Nutritional status: Hunger is very severe in the dry season. These communities are food insecure.

Food sources: San work for surrounding Bantu cultivators for food. They collect bushfoods and honey, and hunt small game. They used to cultivate small fields but had very little to eat this year because they received seed only after the rains. In Angulayambodo they ate the seed. In Oshikova they have cleared small fields for cultivation. In Nelombo the land is very sandy and small fields yield very little.

Assistance received: These communities received food aid and seed from MINARS in 2002. The team heard numerous requests for assistance to be brought directly to the San communities as they have reason to believe that Bantu *sobas* and/or administrators tasked to distribute food aid and seed are not distributing the amounts actually allocated to these communities.

Income sources: The San work in the fields of neighbours in exchange for food. They earn low incomes for long working hours – they work for one small bucket of maize per day and “we only get that because we have nothing – not even knives or axes”. They exchange honey for maize. In Nelombo San also manufacture baskets and axes which they exchange for maize and millet.

Current land rights and history of settlement/migration: San have always lived in Angulayambodo, sharing the land with Kwanyama people. They do not have title deed but the Kwanyama *soba* recognises their right to the land. The war forced the San to move to Onjenga and Mulemba in the same locality but they recently returned to Angulayambodo. They lost many community members as a result of UNITA attacks and were held in a UNITA village from the time of those attacks until peace was declared in April 2002. On returning home they found everything changed – all their possessions (homes, tools, containers, food-storage baskets, etc.) had been taken or destroyed. They have neither axes nor blankets and they live under tree branches.

The San in Oshikova came from Kandweya to the south-west in the same province as refugees. The land on which they are living belongs to Kwanyama people who gave them a place to stay. San have lived in Nelombo for a very long time. The Kwanyama *soba* recognises their right to live there. Their homes and assets were destroyed or lost due to UNITA attacks. Many San men were conscripted by UNITA forcefully and have not returned.

Water: The supply is insufficient; the *kasimbas* run dry. Most *kasimbas* belong to Kwanyama neighbours and water scarcity causes conflict with them. The San lack tools with which to construct their own *kasimbas*.

Health: The main illnesses among San here are diarrhoeal diseases, chest infections, malaria, measles and sarna. San in Angulayambodo may be taken to Chiede where treatment is free, but they depend on being transported there by Kwanyama neighbours with ox-carts. As they are required to pay for treatment they are very seldom able to use the clinic. In Angulayambodo 6 San children died due to illness in the last year. For San in Oshikova the nearest clinic is at the Mapunda mission but they seldom use it due to a lack of transport. All these San communities practise traditional medicine.

Education: No community members are literate and none of the children attend school because there is no school in the vicinity. The adults would want the children to attend school if a school is established close to their place of residence. The community practises traditional education and culture.

Human rights and social relations: San are discriminated against by way of name-calling and bad payment for work done. They resolve small disputes internally. More serious disputes are taken to Bantu *sobas* or to the local administration. San participate in *soba* meetings only when invited, and they have not been invited for a very long time.

Social organisation: These communities do not hold regular meetings. People talk to each other to find solutions to problems. Women in these communities insisted that they influence decision-making (e.g. they took the decision to walk the required distance to meet with the team).

Stated community needs: The community of Angulayambodo is very impoverished because all its most essential assets (e.g. containers, blankets and tools) were lost through the war and dislocation. It was also reported that a number of community members had died as a result of attacks and forced relocation.

“We can work together to make food. We know how. What we need is the tools.” – Angulayambodo

The San of Angulayambodo and Oshikova need food; cattle, seed and agricultural tools; water; clothing; containers; and salt. The San of Nelombo did not name any particular material need but rather responded to this question by speaking about their equal rights as Angolan citizens.

“Now that the war has ended we want to be equal to the others.” – Angulayambodo

CUNENE PROVINCE

KWANYAMA MUNICIPIO

Cafima, Ionde, Katale, Kapunduka, Hamutindila, Mulola

Physical characteristics and access: These San settlements are situated on a road passing through areas that are still mined. The road up to Cafima has been cleared of mines but access to Ionde is uncertain. Locals know safe paths but it could not be established whether tracks are safe for vehicles. The area has sandy soils and is mostly wooded bush with parts cleared for cultivation. San homes are made of leafy branches, sticks, bound grass and tree bark. The village of Cafima consists of up to 40 houses of various types, all situated close to each other. Bantu neighbours own large fields in which they cultivate maize and millet. Cafima has an administrative post (established in 2003) with a clinic. The San village is in close proximity to the administrative post and the surrounding Kwanyama cultivators and cattle owners. The team met community members from Katale, Kapunduka, Ionde, Hamutindila and Mulola in Cafima. All of them had walked to Cafima to meet with us. (The !Kung name for Cafima is Tawa ||Kraux.)

Population size: Total 420 – Cafima 112, Ionde 139, Katale 86, Kapunduka 44, Hamutindila 24, Mulola 15; San minorities surrounded by Bantu neighbours.

San language: !Kung.

Other languages spoken by San communities: Portuguese, Kwanyama.

Leadership: Senhor IAn Ia, also known as Senhor Aruding, is the recognised leader of the San of Cafima and other settlements in southern Cunene Province.

Nutritional status: Periodic hunger or food shortage.

Food sources: San have small fields and also work for surrounding Bantu cultivators. They collect a variety of bushfoods and honey, and hunt small game and occasionally larger antelope. *Ondjambi* is practised.

Income sources: San work in the fields of neighbours in exchange for food. They earn low incomes for long working hours. They also make and sell baskets and ostrich shell necklaces, and brew and sell beer. They exchange bushfoods, honey and meat for maize and millet. Occasionally there are food-for-work opportunities for San at the Cafima administrative post. They also sometimes sell meat at a local market.

Assistance received: Cafima community members had very recently participated in a MINARS food-for-work programme in which they had built houses for the administration and clinic of Cafima. The other communities in this cluster have not received any assistance.

Current land rights and history of settlement/migration: The San in this area are living on the land of their ancestors. San have lived here “since before the time of Mandume” when “our land reached from Cafima to Cuangari”. (Kwanyama King Mandume heroically resisted Portuguese, German and South African colonisers until he was killed in the 1920s.) The Kwanyama *sobas* and the government recognise the San’s land rights. Senhor Aruding is the recognised San *soba* of Cunene. Until recently he was paid by the government. He received us in a government-issue khaki uniform worn by *sobas* in Cunene. The San land area has been reduced in size such that they are now the minority. Community members said repeatedly that they need seed, tools and cattle to plough so as to be able to use their land and thereby not lose more of it. Asked if their cultivating large fields would create conflict with Kwanyama neighbours, they said there

is enough land for everyone. On the other hand the San of Ionde said Kwanyama had extended their fields into the San fields. Community members' responses to questions made plainly evident the San dependency on Kwanyama cultivators.

“[We will not move away from this area] because we have friendships with Kwanyama people who help us by giving us food for working in their fields.” – Cafima

In pursuing the topic further the old San *soba*, Senhor Arudingu, stated, “If I have cattle and extend my land, it will create conflict with the Kwanyamas.” The San of Cafima and Ionde have moved only between these two settlements. For a time both San and Kwanyama people fled Ionde due to the war. The San of Kapunduka moved there due to the war. The land belongs to the Kwanyama people who gave them permission to stay there. They plan to return to Cafima where they will stay even if there is insufficient land. The San of Katale are living on the land of ancestors who moved from Cafima in search of food. In the past only San lived there but today the Kwanyama are the majority.

Water: In Ionde and Cafima water is drawn from *kasimbas*, pans and a borehole which has a hand-pump (Cafima). There is occasional conflict with Kwanyama neighbours over access to water – usually taking the form of discrimination and insults. In the dry season water scarcity leads to conflict and discrimination. If San complain the problems get much bigger. In Ionde and Kapunduka shallow wells and a water-pump supply water; San in these settlements do not have implements with which to construct their own wells. In the dry season there is occasional conflict with the Kwanyama neighbours over water. In Katale water is scarce; the *kasimbas* belong to Kwanyama people and in the dry season water scarcity leads to conflict with them.

Health: The main illnesses among San here are diarrhoeal diseases, chest infections, malaria and measles. San in Cafima use the Cafima clinic at no charge, but the team heard reports of bad treatment and discrimination of San by nurses and other clinic staff. Ionde has no clinic. For San in Katale there are clinics in Nehone and Ongiva, but San seldom use them as they cannot afford to pay for the services. San deaths in the last year: Cafima and Ionde – 20 children died due to illness; Kapunduka – 4 children and 3 adults died due to illness; Katale – 17 people died due to illness. All these San communities practise traditional medicine and also seek help from Kwanyama traditional healers.

Education: Nobody is literate and no children attend school. Adults in all the settlements said they want the children to attend school. San children in Katale who attended a nearby school for a time were told that they are “poor” and “pigs who need to wash”. Such insults keep them away from school. All these San communities practise traditional education and culture.

Human rights and social relations: San are discriminated against by way of name-calling and bad payment for work done.

“When you complain you are told to go. They say this is the payment that suits a lazy person. But when you get home there is not enough to eat for everyone.” – Cafima

We heard of cases of threats and beatings that followed San complaints about insults. There were many reports of tensions with and insults levelled by Kwanyama neighbours. It occurred to the team that the San felt free to speak to us about human rights abuses due to their sense of safety in numbers – we were meeting with a large group – and because no members of the administration or Kwanyama community were present. San testimony regarding social tension was verified when a Kwanyama man explained that, “They, the San, are animals. They are our slaves. They

do not want to work.” All these San communities resolve conflicts among themselves with the help of the San *soba*. Problems with neighbours are brought to the attention of Kwanyama *sobas* through the San *soba*. San also take problems to authorities in Ongiva if no resolution is found locally. The San *soba* participates in *soba* and administration meetings.

Social organisation: None of these communities meet regularly; some meet only informally in small groups. The San *soba* pays house-to-house visits to consult with community members.

Stated community needs: A water-pump for San people (Cafima, Ionde, Katale); food or cattle, tools and seed with which to produce food and buy goods; a school; respectful and equitable medical treatment.

“If we have cattle we can be equal to the others.” – Cafima

“When you go you must come back. We will not move from this place. This is our land. We will not give it away.” – Cafima

“Do not bring help for us to the administration. Bring help directly to us. In the past there was help which was meant for us but we got nothing. There were tools and seeds brought by MINARS. They gave only a very small part to us.” – Cafima

“We are ready to work with you. We want to build a new life. We have land. We need tools and cattle to develop.” – San Soba Arudinga

CUNENE PROVINCE

CUVELAI MUNICIPIO

Vikungu, Shikungkungu, *Mutjapula,*
Ukwakanda, Vichana, Kalonga

Physical characteristics and access: Vikungu and some of the other San settlements in this locality lie inside or along the boundaries of the Mupa National Park. The boundaries are not physically marked. Vikungu lies 40 km north-west of Cuvelai and is accessible by good tracks. The land is richly wooded and well-endowed with pasture consisting of a variety of grasses. The soils are fertile allowing for cultivation of maize, millet, sorghum and sugar-cane. Population densities are low. Evidence of wildlife and a large variety of bushfoods was found. Cuvelai is the nearest administrative centre. The people of Shikungkungu whose settlement lies on a side track ca 10 km south of Cuvelai had heard of our work and came to meet us on the road south of Cuvelai.

Population size: Total 283 – Vikungu 40, Shikungkungu 63, *Mutjapula 60, Ukwakanda 60, Vichana 60*; San minorities surrounded by Bantu neighbours who have large fields and in some cases substantial numbers of cattle.

San language: !Kung.

Other languages spoken by San communities: Portuguese, Muhanda, Kwanyama.

Leadership: Vikungu – Senhor Alberto Nanghwo; Shikungkungu – Senhor Muyenenange.

Nutritional status: Periodic hunger especially at the end of the dry season and beginning of the rainy season.

Food sources: San work for surrounding Bantu cultivators for food. They collect bushfoods and honey, and hunt small game. Though hunting in the park is not allowed, there is no policing in

the more remote areas of the park. San of Vikungu said they have no problems with hunting. San of Shikungkungu said they are afraid to hunt because it is prohibited – as yet there have been no prosecutions of San for hunting. They have small fields in Shikungkungu. In Vikungu larger San fields yield harvests of maize, pearl millet and some tobacco. *Ondjambi* is practised in this locality. Some San own a few chickens.

Assistance received: In Vikungu no assistance has been received and San residents there said only the residents of Cuvelai had received food aid. The San of Shikungkungu received food aid, blankets, pots and some tools “long ago”.

Income sources: San work for food in neighbours’ fields, earning low incomes for long working hours. They exchange bushfood and honey for maize, millet and sorghum. San of Shikungkungu manufacture baskets, axes, knives, sewing needles and metal bracelets for sale. San in Vikungu said they have bartered their own maize for clothing.

Current land rights and history of settlement/migration: San of Vikungu said they had been moving between Cuvelai and Vikungu for the past four years. They had come to Cuvelai from Chamutete to the north in Huíla Province due to the war. Most San were sleeping under open sky despite having very few clothes and blankets, and despite a considerable drop in temperature at night. The presence of only two wood and grass huts suggests that this was a less permanent settlement. However, an entire abandoned San village with up to 20 relatively solid wood and thatch houses was seen less than a kilometre from the settlement. It was said that the village had been abandoned after a UNITA attack and San did not wish to live there. The land is said to belong to the Muhanda people who gave the San permission to settle there. This is strange because the settlement lies well within the Mupa National Park. On the other hand, a number of Bantu kraals with fields and cattle herds are spread around in the wide-open spaces of the park. The land occupied by the San of Shikungkungu belongs to Bantu people. Some members of the San community came from Shiveu the same locality in search of land with sufficient bushfood. An old San man talked of his birthplace in Shiveu: “The graves of my fathers are there. It was once our land but now it belongs to the Bantus.” The Bantu *soba* gave them permission to stay on the land they now occupy.

Water: For San in Vikungu a nearby river provides sufficient water. The supply in Shikungkungu is insufficient. The *kasimba* there belongs to the Chokwe neighbours and conflicts erupt in the dry season when water is scarce. The San are “chased away” and insulted.

Health: The main illnesses among San in the area are diarrhoeal diseases, chest infections, malaria, measles and sarna. For residents of Vikungu there is no local clinic and no access to modern health services. Services at the clinic in Shikungkungu are unaffordable for the San. All these San communities practise traditional medicine and also go to Muhanda traditional healers for help. In Shikungkungu 12 children and 6 adults were said to have died in the last year; in Vikungu 10 children and 5 adults were said to have died in the last year.

Education: There are no literate community members and no children attend school. The Vikungu community would like a school located close to home. Administrators in Cuvelai said San children in village schools have been discriminated against by Bantu children. Attempts were being made to discuss this problem with Bantu parents. The San practise traditional education and culture. In Shikungkungu children do not attend school because there is not enough food – instead of going to classes they must look for food.

Human rights and social relations: San are discriminated against by way of name-calling and bad payment for work done. They resolve small disputes internally and more serious disputes are taken to Bantu *sobas*. The San leader is sometimes invited to attend Bantu *soba* meetings and meetings with administrators in Cuvelai.

CUNENE PROVINCE



Cafima
Cafima



Cafima – San leader
Senhor Arudingo



Cafima



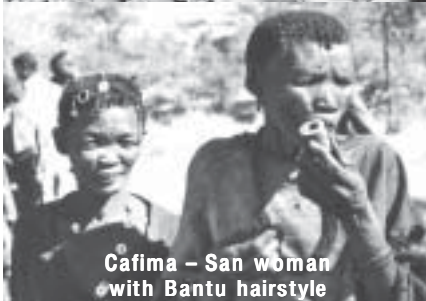
Cafima



Cafima



Cafima



Cafima – San woman
with Bantu hairstyle



Cafima –
hunting

Cafima



Cafima –
bushfood



Katale



Shikungungu

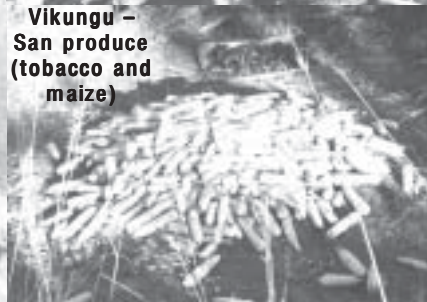


Shikungungu



Kapunduka
– San man
with prey

Vikungu



Vikungu –
San produce
(tobacco and
maize)



Vikungu



Lupunja
San leader Senhor
Francisco Shifikilwa



Lupunja



Lupunja

Lupunja

Social organisation: The San do not hold regular community meetings but discuss issues on the basis of need.

Stated community needs: Having first expressed their need for blankets, clothing, soap, salt and shoes as a priority need, further discussion led community members to say they need cattle and tools so that they can cultivate large fields, sell food, buy goods and “be equal to the Bantu neighbours”.

“*In work we find food.*” – Vikungu

In all, cattle, seed, agricultural tools, clothing, blankets, soap, food and a local school were the expressed needs of these San communities.

CUNENE PROVINCE

CUVELAI MUNICIPIO

Lupunja, Kauva, Shivemba, Namihonde, Lomenene, Koshi, Kova, Shimbili, Ndiva, Hongo, Khenge, Chimanya, Shivemba

Physical characteristics and access: These settlements are situated south of Mupa (municipal centre). All are accessible by passable track. The terrain consists of sandy soils, bush and trees. Homes in Lupunja are made of tree bark and wooden sticks. San in Kauva sleep under leaf and branch shelters. The team visited Lupunja and Kauva only. Information about the other San settlements in the locality was received from informants in Lupunja.

Population size: Total 479 – Lupunja 21, Kauva 21, *Shivemba 100, Namihonde 28, Lomenene 40, Koshi 40, Kova 40, Shimbili 50, Ndiva 20, Hongo 17, Khenge 8, Chimanya 19, Shivemba 70*; San minorities surrounded by Bantu neighbours.

San language: !Kung.

Other languages spoken by San communities: Portuguese, Kwanyama, Chokwe.

Leadership: Lupunja – Senhor Francisco Shifikilwa; Kauva – Senhor Nakale Extracto. San Soba Arundingu is regarded as the *soba* of all San communities in the vicinity of Mupa.

Nutritional status: Periodic hunger – particularly bad in 2003 due to low harvests of Chokwe neighbours.

Food sources: San cultivate small fields of maize and millet, and work for surrounding Bantu cultivators in exchange for food. San also collect bushfoods and honey, and hunt small game. *Ondjambi* is practised in these localities. A San man in Lupunja owns a pig and some chickens. An informant in Lupunja reported that the San of Shivemba own goats, cattle and ploughs, and cultivate large fields.

Assistance received: The community of Lupunja has not received any assistance. The Kauva community received assistance from MINARS once in 2002.

Income sources: San work in the fields of neighbours in exchange for food, earning low incomes for long working hours. They also cultivate their own small fields of maize and millet. They also manufacture large food-storage baskets, axes and knives for sale, and exchange honey and meat for maize and millet.

Current land rights and history of settlement/migration: An informant in Lupunja said the San of Shivemba originally came from Cafima and had been settled in Shivemba for 7-10 years. The San of Lupunja have been there since 1981 when the Bantu *soba* gave them permission to stay, but they claim this to be the land of their ancestors since their land once extended from Cafima to beyond Lupunja. The San of Kauva are living on their ancestral land but the Chokwe people are in control of the land. Their right to live there is respected by the Chokwe *soba* but they are allowed to have only small fields. They moved to Mupa for a time during the war.

Water: The supply in Kauva is sufficient, and the supply in Shivemba is said to be sufficient. In Lupunja water is scarce, especially in the dry season. The San there depend on the *kasimba* of the Kwanyama neighbours. They do not have spades and picks with which to construct their own *kasimba*. When they are chased away from the Kwanyama *kasimba* they walk for 3 hours to the nearest stream in search of water.

Health: The main illnesses among San in the area are diarrhoeal diseases, chest infections, malaria, measles and sarna. They cannot afford to use the local clinics. They practise traditional medicine.

Education: There are no literate community members and no children attend school due to hunger and a lack of money for uniforms. These communities practise traditional education and culture.

Human rights and social relations: San are discriminated against by way of name-calling and bad payment for work done. In Kauva the team witnessed the heavy-handed attitude of the local Bantu *soba* towards the San community. On the one hand the *soba* explained that “they depend on us” while on the other hand he said “they are lazy”. He was clearly irritated by the attention bestowed on the San by the team. The San resolve minor disputes internally. More serious disputes they take to Bantu *sobas*. Senhor Francisco Shifikilwa had attended the 2002 WIMSA General Assembly meeting and had reported back to his own village and the surrounding San villages. Believing that someone he had met at the meeting would provide the community with zinc roofing for a school, he and fellow community members had begun clearing land and chopping trees for the structure. They were unable to transport the tree trunks to their village immediately and consequently the Kwanyama neighbours took the trunks. The imagination of San women and men of Lupunja had been fired by the news of projects undertaken by San elsewhere in southern Africa. Senhor Shifikilwa seems to have particularly acute insight as regards the need to build unity among the San groups in Angola in order to achieve the “equality” he desires for his people.

Social organisation: These communities do not hold regular meetings.

Stated community needs: Cattle, seed, agricultural tools; blankets; pots; medicines.

“We can cultivate only small fields with our hands. Cattle and ploughs will help to make food. That is how the others survive. We do not want to depend on them. But we need tools to do the work.” – Lupunja

CUANDO CUBANGO PROVINCE

CUANGARI / SAVATE / MENONGUE MUNICIPIOS

**Kapembe, Tandawe, Mucundi, Kanjonga, Ntopa,
Bairro Novo, Mutai, Mbundu, *Handambo, Kuebe,
Mutingwi, Kavanga, Cuangari, Diriko***

Physical characteristics and access: The team was able to visit only some of these communities. Information about San communities in Handambo, Kuebe, Mutingwi, Kavanga, Cuangari and Diriko was acquired from neighbouring communities, local administrators and a report of the Angolan National Institute for Children (INAC) (2002). Access to Cuangari and Diriko is currently only possible from Namibia, and due to the presence of landmines and the fact that roads to these locations are still closed, the journey entails crossing the Cuando/Kavango River. Tandawe lies at the source of the Tandawe River 52 km north-east of Savate and is accessible by a passable track. The 21 San huts of Tandawe made of wood and grass stand on a wooded rising above a plain. We aborted our attempts to reach Handambo 30-40 km further west after it was established that the very overgrown track had not been used by vehicles since the end of the war and landmines could be present. Handambo was described to the team as being much larger than Tandawe and about a 2-day walk north-west from Tandawe. The remaining San settlements are located along the west bank of the Cuando River near the road that follows the river up to Caiundo, and some live along the east river bank – access to these latter communities is possible only by boat as there are no bridges. Mutai is an exception in that it lies some 6 km inland from the river to the west. Many San found along the course of the Cuando River live in houses made of leafy branches and there is considerable movement up, down and across the river in search of bushfood and employment by Bantu cultivators. Only the San of Bairro Novo have houses made of thick wooden sticks covered with grass. It is possible that more such small groups of San live along the river. For example, we heard of a village on the other side of the river known as Chengwa but could not obtain information about its precise location and population size. Information about a number of these San communities was acquired by talking to people on the road because the communities were either difficult to find or out looking for food. The San of Kanjonga sleep under lean-to shelters made of leafy branches, possibly because they arrived in the area only recently. Bairro Novo is actually the name of a hamlet (small village). Across the river from the hamlet is the San settlement consisting of a cleared area with mainly low dome-shaped leafy-branch lean-tos and some solid huts made of wood. Ntopa is a similar but smaller settlement on the other side of the road opposite from the Bantu *soba's* home. Mbundu lies 34 km north of Caiundo, a short distance from a Bantu settlement and close to the river. Mbundu consists of a number of lean-tos made of leafy branches.

Population size: Total 756 – Kapembe 6, Tandawe 64, Mucundi 22, Kanjonga 18, Ntopa 24, Bairro Novo 42, Mutai 30, Mbundu 25, *Handambo 90, Kuebe 10, Mutingwi 10, Kavanga 15, Cuangari 200, Diriko 200*; San minorities surrounded by Bantu neighbours.

San language: !Kung.

Other languages spoken by San communities: Portuguese, Ngangela, Kwanyama, Umbundu.

Leadership: Tandawe – Senhor Hamushila; Mucundi – Senhor !Nai (a.k.a. Senhor Ndumbu); Ntopa – Senhor !Ai (a.k.a. Senhor Kambinda); Bairro Novo – Senhor Manuel Shikulo; Mutai – Senhor Kashela.

CUANDO CUBANGO PROVINCE



Tandawe



Tandawe



Tandawe



Tandawe



Tandawe



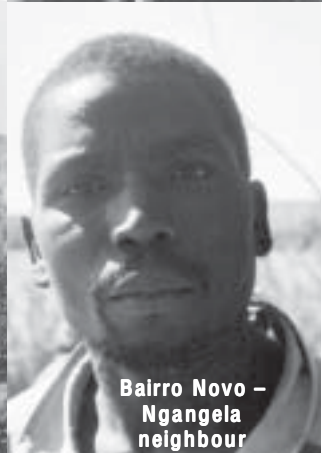
Tandawe



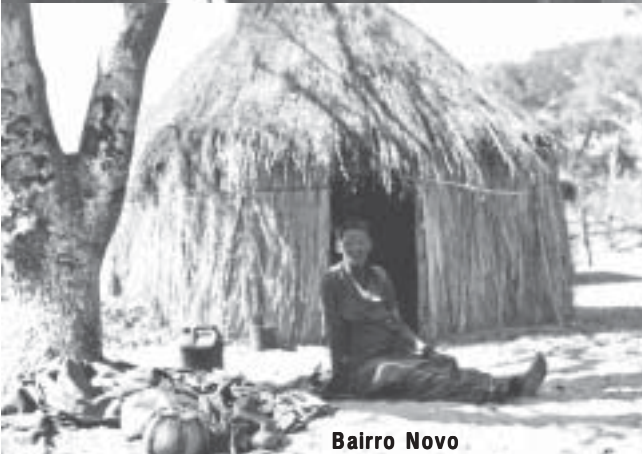
Tandawe



Mucundi



Bairro Novo –
Ngangela
neighbour



Bairro Novo



Cuando River
near Bairro Novo

Nutritional status: In Tandawe the team saw very little food. Bushfood is said to be scarce there and we heard reports of hunger. This community is food insecure. Settlements along the Cuando River appear to have access to more bushfood as well as game and fish. In Mucundi, Kanjonga and Mbundu there is periodic hunger. In Kavanga there is said to be periodic hunger also – the community was out looking for food at the time of our visit. In Ntopa there was very little food visible and we heard reports of hunger. In Bairro Novo bushfood is available but we heard reports of periodic hunger. In Mutai we also heard reports of periodic hunger despite the presence of large quantities of fresh and dried bushfoods including wild beans and honey. The San of Mutai have two food-storage sites.

Food sources: Conditions in Cuangari and Diriko are unknown as the San communities known to live there were not visited. It is likely that these groups hunt, fish and gather food along the Cuando River. It is not known how far food acquisition is limited by the landmines surrounding these settlements. The San in the riverside settlements along the Savate-Caiundo Road collect bushfoods and honey and hunt small game, and some catch fish in the Cuando River. These are the primary sources of food in this area. There are fewer opportunities here for employment by Bantu neighbours and most San communities do not have their own fields. Most of them have received food aid once or twice. San in Bairro Novo say they neither cultivate nor do any other work for neighbours. Men in a number of these communities worked in the civil defence units until recently. The team heard from administrators that San had been able to hunt with guns. Discussion on hunting with bow and arrow indicated that these communities are trying to resume the traditional mode of hunting in the absence of guns. The San in Tandawe returned too late in the agricultural cycle to start cultivating but they have cleared land and hope to plant in the next season. There are few work opportunities for San in Tandawe and they have never received food aid. In Mutai the team saw a large variety of bushfood and a store of dried maize, mahangu and beans.

Assistance received: No assistance has been received by the San of Tandawe. The administrator of Savate informed the team that he had requested food and salt for this community from the government. The nearest Kwanyama *soba* had been instructed to register San for this purpose. San living close to the main road received food aid in June 2003, and it is possible that they received maize, cooking oil and beans more than once. The people of Bairro Novo received food aid once in 2002 when they were settled near the main road on the other side of the river. A government administrator in Menongue said he had “taken 60 San families from the bush” and settled them along the road that follows the Kubangi River so that he could “drop food for them” when he passes by on that road. The figure of 60 families does not correspond with the team’s findings. The histories of these communities reveal that they are mostly returnees. As such they qualify for assistance under the national resettlement programme. Though the San of Ntopa live very close to the road and directly opposite from the Bantu *soba*’s house, community members complained bitterly of not receiving any assistance from him.

“It is our right to receive the same assistance as others. We want the same help that the government gives to the Bantus.” – Ntopa

Income sources: San work for food in the fields of neighbours, earning low incomes for long working hours. They also exchange honey and meat for maize and millet. The San of Tandawe brew beer for sale. San in some of these settlements manufacture ironware implements and food-storage baskets to sell or exchange for food.

Current land rights and history of settlement/migration: The Bantu neighbours gave the San of Kapembe permission to live on what is perceived as Ngangela land. The San of Tandawe

returned to this area, their place of origin, in March 2003. The land belongs to them. Kwanyama neighbours with whom they have shared the land for a long time also began returning recently. The Tandawe community had previously been settled by the government in Awanga from where the men were sent to do civil defence duty in various villages and towns. Their land rights are recognised by the Kwanyama *soba*. The San of Mucundi hail from Tandawe. Having lived as refugees in Caiundo they settled in Mucundi in December 2002. They said the land they are living on is also their land. The San of Kanjonga arrived there with the resettlement programme in 2003. They hail from Kwachilii but would like to remain in Kanjonga. The San of Ntopa have been there for a long time, though they move around in search of food. They settled temporarily in Caiundo due to the war. They say it is their land they are living on and the Bantu neighbours recognise their land rights, though “they oppress us because we have nothing”. The San of Bairro Novo have built a settlement consisting of wood and grass huts across the river from the actual hamlet of Bairro Novo. It is their land and the Bantu *soba* recognises their land rights. During the war they lived in the Bairro Novo hamlet and served in the civil defence there. The San of Mutai moved there recently from Shipolo in the same locality. The local *soba* granted them permission to settle in Mutai. The San of Mbundu have permission from the Bantu *soba* to live on that land. The smaller San groups along the river have very few assets, do not cultivate and seem to move around a lot in search of food.

Water: Settlements along the river have no problem with water. The San of Tandawe have their own *kasimba* which supplies sufficient water. It is a self-made water-hole dug about 2 metres into the dry river bed. Mutai reported water problems – mainly to do with a lack of containers to transport water to the settlement which is some distance from the river.

Health: The main illnesses among San in the area are diarrhoeal diseases, chest infections, malaria, measles and sarna. Some smaller communities said they do not use clinics. The San of Tandawe cannot afford to pay for transport to or treatment at the local clinic. We found people in Tandawe who were seriously ill. An air of death hung around a woman of about 50 years old who had a very swollen body and fever. Eight children and 4 adults died due to illness in the last year. These communities all practise traditional medicine.

“When people get seriously ill and our medicine does not work then they just wait for death.” – Tandawe

Education: One person in Tandawe has attended literacy classes. None of the children attend school because there are no schools nearby. Most adults think it would be good for the children to attend school if the school is located nearby. Children in Bairro Novo stopped going to school “because of hunger”. Three children in Mbundu attend the local school. These communities practise traditional education and culture. The San of Tandawe say the !Kung language is very important to them.

Human rights and social relations: San are discriminated against by way of name-calling and bad payment for work done. In Tandawe people spoke freely about bad payments for work when the team met with them at night around the fire. But in a meeting the next day attended by Bantu neighbours the San spoke of good relations with their neighbours. Only the leader of Bairro Novo attends *soba* and local administration meetings when invited. The remaining San community leaders do not attend *soba* or administration meetings. They say they have nowhere to go to register complaints, and in any case this would only intensify the problems.

“We prefer to avoid problems. To complain will make the problem bigger.” – Vifwo

All these communities resolve minor disputes internally and take more serious disputes to the Bantu *sobas*.

Social organisation: None of these communities hold regular meetings. People consult each other around the fires of community huts. In Tandawe men and women argued over whether or not the opinions of women are heard. Men seemingly held the view that a woman's opinion does not count and the women strongly objected.

Stated community needs: Cattle, seed, agricultural tools; medicines and a clinic; food; blankets; clothing.

Observations/comments: In Tandawe the team sensed a spirit of community. There was virtually no food in the village, and everyone pulled together to mitigate the situation: women and girls went out to fetch water, men and women went looking for food in the bush. Some found a few melons and all were very happy to receive a small amount of maize from the team. There was serious discussion about what the community could do with seed, tools, cattle and a plough. The land around Tandawe is not very densely populated. It lies 40 km from the road. There are no schools or clinics but there are natural resources and a lot of space – there is space between the neighbours and the San, and potential *!noresi* all over the area. The development potential of this area is strong.

CUANDO CUBANGO PROVINCE

CUANGARI / SAVATE / MENONGUE MUNICIPIOS

Baixo Longa / Chiumbo Napoke,
Cuito Cuarnavale, Mavinga, Nankova

Physical characteristics and access: We visited only the San community near Cuito Cuarnevale and another near Chiumbo Napoke. Information about San communities in Mavinga and Nankova was obtained from members of the administration in Menongue and from NGO workers. Chiumbo Napoke lies 14 km further south of Baixo Longa. Baixo Longa is accessible via a 102 km track through thickly wooded bush. The track runs parallel to a heavily mined road and is not safe. The team was unaware of these constraints upon setting off with the Vice-Administrator of Baixo Longa as our guide. Chiumbo Napoke is a Bantu settlement which also incorporates the homes of 15 San. In July 2002 MSF workers saw a group of 15-20 San among UNITA soldiers at Kapembe, a quartering area near the settlement of Mavinga. The children were malnourished. It is not known what happened to these people. A journalist also reported seeing small groups of San more recently (July 2003) at UNITA quartering areas in Kapembe and Matungu south of Mavinga. Administrators in Menongue informed us that a community of 60 San who had lived in Lupire in Cuando Cubango Province until 1998 had moved to Nankova. As the road from Cuito Cuarnavale to Nankova is mined, it is only possible to access Nankova from the south via Namibia, but even that route may not be passable.

Population size: Cuito Cuarnavale 16, Chiumbo Napoke 15, Nankova 60 (unconfirmed), Mavinga unknown; San minorities surrounded by Bantu neighbours.

San language: !Kung.

Other languages spoken by San communities: Kimbundu.

Leadership: Senhor Flaymuti based in Cuito Cuarnavale is the San leader.

Nutritional status: Long periods of hunger especially at the end of the dry season.

Food sources: These communities do not have their own fields. San of Chiumbo Napoke work for surrounding Bantu cultivators for food, earning very little for long working hours. In Chiumbo Napoke they also collect bushfoods and honey, and hunt small game. San near Cuito Cuarnavale tend their own fields only, i.e. they do not work for neighbours.

Assistance received: The community of Chiumbo Napoke received food aid once in 2002 from the Baixo Longa local administration. The community near Cuito Cuarnavale received food aid, hoes and seed from Caritas Angola in 2002. San from Mavinga were seen in food distribution queues at UNITA quartering areas in Kapembe and Matungu.

Income sources: San work in the fields of Bantu neighbours. They collect bushfoods and honey. They also hunt, and say they are used to hunting with guns. They exchange honey for maize. One man is employed in the civil defence.

Current land rights and history of settlement/migration: The San of Chiumbo Napoke came to this area from Wutata in the same province due to the war. The local Bantu *soba* gave them permission to settle at Chiumbo Napoke. They say there is enough land on which to cultivate fields and all they need is seed and tools.

Water: A sufficient supply is drawn from a nearby river.

Health: The main illnesses among San in the area are diarrhoeal diseases, chest infections, malaria and measles. They have no access to clinics and practise traditional medicine. One child died in Chiumbo Napoke due to illness in the last year.

Education: There are no literate community members and no schools in Chiumbo Napoke. All these communities practise traditional education and culture.

Human rights and social relations: San are discriminated against by way of name-calling and bad payment for work done. They resolve minor disputes internally and take more serious ones to Bantu *sobas*.

Social organisation: None of these communities hold regular meetings.

Stated community needs: Food; clothing; blankets; pots; medicines.

MOXICO PROVINCE

LUENA MUNICIPIO

Memories of massacre and displacement

The team visited Moxico very briefly. Contact was made there with Senhora Vianna Voluva, a San woman of about 60 years of age who resides in the Luchaze refugee camp in Sakasaji. She cultivates a small field and produces charcoal for sale. She identified her language as being “Tha !Tua and !Kung”. Senhora Voluva came to Luena from Cangamba to the south in the same province in 1983. She moved to the Luchaze refugee camp in 2000. She lost most of her family as a result of heavy attacks by UNITA prior to 1983. All San villages in Cangamba were burnt and their members were massacred by UNITA on the grounds that they were FAPLA or MPLA guides and informers. Prior to the attacks her community lived from bushfoods, honey, hunting and fishing, and from food earned for working occasionally for Bantu neighbours. The survivors of the attacks fled to Lupire. Senhora Voluva said the number of San in Cangamba had been high but almost all of them had been killed by 1983. She came to Luena with her late husband who worked for FAPLA. She had recently received a letter from a brother who had returned to Angola from Zambia. She was aware of the existence of San from Luvuei, Cangamba and Lumbala N’guimbo who had taken refuge in Zambia and may have returned since the end of the war. She stated that “many San” had been killed by UNITA around the time of independence because they were accused of being traitors who had given information to the MPLA or FAPLA. This echoes other anecdotal evidence gathered about a massacre of San in Cuando Cubango in the mid 1970s. The information we received indicates that there may be a small number of returnee San refugees in Moxico.

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- Report No. 1: Suzman, J., *An Introduction to the Regional Assessment of the Status of the San in Southern Africa*.
- Report No. 2: Robins, S., E. Madzudzo & M. Brenzinger, *An Assessment of the Status of the San in South Africa, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe*.
- Report No. 3: Cassidy, L. K. Good, I. Mazonde & R. Rivers, *An Assessment of the Status of the San in Botswana*.
- Report No. 4: Suzman, J., *An Assessment of the Status of the San in Namibia*.
- Report No. 5: Felton, S. & H. Becker, *A Gender Perspective on the Status of the San in Southern Africa*.



Cafima - Cunene



Silkungungu - Cunene



Hamutindila - Cunene



Hombo - Huila



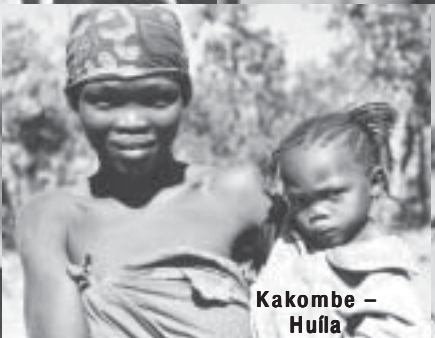
Hamutindila - Cunene



Huila



Mucundi - Cuando Cubango



Kakombe - Huila



Tsholo - Huila



Kakwa - Huila



Ionde - Cunene

**Locations of the
Angolan San individuals
pictured on the
front and back covers
of this report**



Ionde - Cunene



Mutuandjamba - Huila



Mutuandjamba - Huila



Kapeke - Huila



Vinkwenha - Huila



Ionde - Cunene



Cafima - Cunene



Bairro Novo - Cuando Cubango



Kapeke - Huila



Tsholo - Huila



Hombo - Huila



Cafima - Cunene



Vitundulu - Huila



Vitundulu - Huila



Hombo – Huila



Kakombe – Huila



Hamutindila – Cunene



Kakwa – Huila



Shikungungu – Cunene



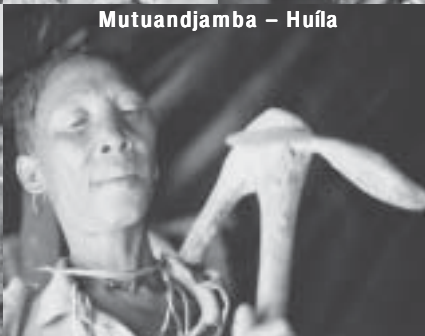
Mutuandjamba – Huila



Kakwa – Huila



Kakombe – Huila



Mutuandjamba – Huila



Kakombe – Huila



Bairro Novo – Cuando Cubango



Tandawe – Cuando Cubango



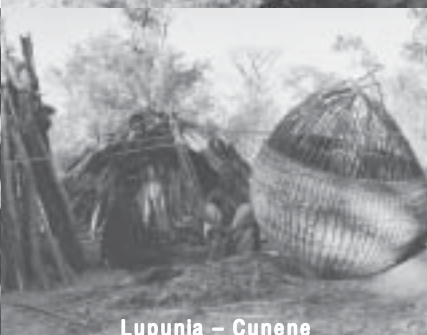
Mutuandjamba – Huila



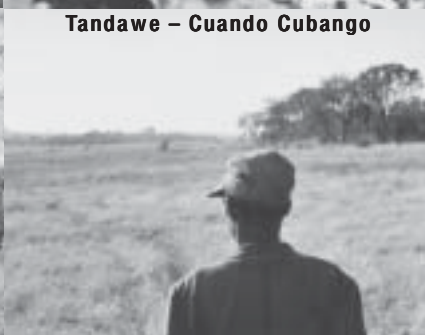
Kakombe – Huila



Cafima – Cunene



Lupunja – Cunene



Tandawe – Cuando Cubango



Ionde – Cafima



Tsholo – Huila



Mutuandjamba – Huila



Mukuyu – Huila



Kakwa – Huila



Shikungungu – Cunene



Kakwa – Huila



Kakombe – Huila



Ionde – Cunene



Mulolo – Cunene



Tsholo – Huila



Kapeke – Huila



Kakombe – Huila



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