

THE SAN IN ZIMBABWE

Livelihoods, Land and Human Rights

Zimbabwe



Robert K. Hitchcock – Ben Begbie-Clench
Ashton Murwira

IWGIA report 22

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CONTENTS

Acronyms	6
Executive Summary	7
1. Introduction	10
1.1 Background and overview of report.....	10
1.2 Data collection methods	11
2. The San people of Zimbabwe	12
2.1 Who are the San?.....	12
2.2 The San in Zimbabwe.....	14
2.3 The Tsholotsho District	18
2.4 The San in Tsholotsho district.....	20
2.5 National legislative framework.....	22
2.6 International mechanisms.....	25
3. Household Data	26
3.1 Introduction and limitations.....	26
3.2 Basic demographics	26
3.3 Language, education and training	26
3.4 Land tenure and subsistence economy	30
3.5 Natural resource usage	32
3.6 Household income.....	32
3.7 Access to clean water supplies	34
3.8 Health facilities	35
3.9 Identification documents.....	35
4. Findings	36
4.1 Land and resettlement.....	36
4.2 Agriculture and food security	39
4.3 Income generating activities	43
4.4 Community-based natural resource management and forestry.....	45
4.5 Climate change.....	46
4.6 Water, sanitation and health issues	46
4.7 Education and language.....	49
4.8 Gender	52
4.9 Cultural identity and discrimination.....	52
4.10 Leadership and representation.....	53
4.11 Indigeneity and the need for a rights-based approach.....	54

5. Conclusions	56
6. Recommendations	58
6.1 General recommendations	58
6.2 Land and resettlement.....	59
6.3 Agriculture and food security	59
6.4 Livelihoods and access to natural resources.....	59
6.5 Health	60
6.6 Water, sanitation and hygiene	60
6.7 Education	60
6.8 Language	60
6.9 Gender	61
6.10 Cultural identity and discrimination.....	61
6.11 Leadership and representation.....	61
6.12 Rights-based approaches (RBA).....	61
7. List of References	62
8. Index	68

ACRONYMS

ACHPR	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights	NGO	Non-governmental organisation
AGRITEX	Agricultural Technical Extension Service, Ministry of Agriculture	OCADEC	Christian Organisation Supporting Community Development
ALRI	African Languages Research Institute, University of Zimbabwe	ORAP	Organisation of Rural Associations for Progress
BKC	Botswana Khwedom Council	OSISA	Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa
CAEDA	Creative Arts and Educational Development Association	RBA	Rights based approach
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources	RCZ	Research Council of Zimbabwe
CASS	Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Zimbabwe	SADC	Southern African Development Community
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resource Management	TB	Tuberculosis
CTDT	Community Technology Development Trust	TRDC	Tsholotsho Rural Development Council
CKGR	Central Kalahari Game Reserve	TSDT	Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust
CTDC	Community Development Technology Trust	TTL	Tribal Trust Land
DA	District Administrator	UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
ECD	Early Childhood Development	UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
FMD	Foot-and-Mouth Disease	UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
FPIC	Free, Prior, and Informed Consent	UNPFII	United Nations Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues
GOZ	Government of Zimbabwe	UPR	Universal Periodic Review
HNP	Hwange National Park	USAID	United States Agency for International Development
ILO	International Labour Organisation	UZ	University of Zimbabwe
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization	WIMSA	Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa
IPR	Intellectual Property Rights	ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
IWGIA	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs	ZCDT	Zimbabwe Community Development Trust
		ZNPWLA	Zimbabwe National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report on the San of western Zimbabwe is based on preliminary work carried out from March to May 2013, and field data collected in November and December 2013 in Tsholotsho District, Matabeleland North Province. This research was conducted in partnership with the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing and the University of Zimbabwe. It seeks to address a number of objectives: highlight social, cultural and economic constraints and challenges affecting Zimbabwean San; provide data for government and civil society to effectively plan development interventions; encourage relevant state and non-state investment and resource availability; provide recommendations and encourage regional and international co-operation concerning indigenous peoples' development; promote further participatory and development-based research on Zimbabwe's San and other minority groups within the country.

The report does not seek to separate the San from other ethnic groups within Zimbabwe, but highlights unique challenges and disparities that affect the San alongside issues that affect all communities in Tsholotsho District, particularly in relation to the broader discussions of San development in Southern Africa. Additionally, a number of these challenges may be relevant to other minority groups within the country.

The San of Zimbabwe make up only a small portion of the total San population of Southern Africa, which stands at over 113,000 people in six countries. The San in Tsholotsho District generally identify themselves as Tshwa. The Tshwa in Zimbabwe, who number some 2,500, reside mainly in two provinces: Matabeleland North Province (in Tsholotsho District) and Matabeleland South Province (in Bulilima-Mangwe District). The Tshwa are divided into a number of different groups, some of whom have long occupied the same land, while others have either moved to new places on their own or been resettled.

Virtually all of the people to whom we spoke maintain that the Tshwa are among the poorest and most marginalised people in Zimbabwe, and the household survey indicates that 73% of San households have less than US \$5.00/month income. A sizeable proportion of Tshwa receive food distributed through the central government, the Tsholotsho District Council, and non-government organisations. A substantial number of them still rely on traditional gathering of bush foods.

A limited number of Tshwa households have been able to obtain land for agriculture and residential purposes either after having sought permission from traditional authorities or having been



Group interview during data collection

assigned to places by the provincial administration. Some Tshwa adults and older children work in the fields of other groups in a kind of share-cropping arrangement, but most Tshwa rely upon irregular informal employment opportunities, and therefore do not have predictable incomes. About 10 per cent of the Tshwa have experienced working for other people, usually as herders, agricultural labourers, or domestic workers.

One of the critical findings was that only a relatively small number of Tshwa households speak Tshwao, the Tshwa language (32 of 149 households interviewed). Many of the fluent Tshwao speakers were elderly. The Tshwa expressed a desire for their children to learn this language and to gain a better understanding of Tshwa culture. The Tshwao language, despite recent recognition of San language in the Zimbabwean Constitution, is at risk of extinction in the coming decades, and urgently in need of further research and documentation, including the development of an orthography.

Educational attainment and literacy levels are generally low. Some children never attend school and a major cause for concern is the high dropout rate of Tshwa children especially during junior secondary school due to costs and distance, and in the case of girls to early pregnancies.

While health outreach and facilities appeared well established in comparison to many rural areas in Southern Africa, a number of health issues are prevalent in Tshwa communities, including malaria, HIV/AIDS, poor nutrition levels and alcohol abuse. The finding that 75% of households surveyed do not have access to clean water and sanitation, often because of limited financial resources, is a particular cause for concern. Another cause for concern is that 20% of households reported caring for a child whose biological parents were deceased, some of them as a result of HIV/AIDS, other diseases, or accidents.

Community-based organisations in western Zimbabwe, along with local NGOs such as the Tso-ro-o-tso San Development Trust, are seeking to promote San cultural heritage and identity. Efforts are being made to provide agricultural and development assistance to Tshwa and their neighbours in the Tsholotsho area by Community Technology Development Trust (CTDC), the Tsholotsho District Council as well as by several INGOs.

Political representation of the Tshwa is limited, with only one local Tshwa chief and one Tshwa district councillor in the Tsholotsho District Council. A goal of the Tshwa is to increase their participation and representation in government and civil society activities at the local, district, and national levels. They would also like to participate more fully in decision-making relevant to development in their areas, as well as they would like to play a

greater role in regional and Africa-wide activities involving San and other minority peoples.

Recommendations arising from this report include:

- Initiate further reviews of the status of indigenous and minority peoples in Zimbabwe, including other San in Bulilima-Mangwe and the Doma people of Mashonaland
- Carry out a review of government policy papers and programmes relating to San and other indigenous peoples in Zimbabwe
- Hold meetings and workshops aimed at coordinating development efforts targeting San in Zimbabwe
- Facilitate involvement of San in attending national and international-level conferences on indigenous peoples
- Conduct participatory development planning with the San themselves based on principles of Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC) to ensure that development initiatives truly reflect the wishes and aspirations of the Tshwa people
- Ensure better access for the Tshwa to land and natural resources, with an eye toward security of tenure over both land and resources
- Improve the Tshwa's access to farming implements, seeds, livestock, as well as to training, mentoring and monitoring, alongside drought relief to obtain a sustainable food security
- Where possible diversify livelihood opportunities for Tshwa and their neighbours
- Ensure that if resettlement is required, it is implemented in line with international standards, and that compensation and replacement land are provided to those targeted for resettlement
- Expand maintenance of water points, and provide short-term purification options for households with infants and those with chronic health issues
- Investigate options to reduce costs of schooling and reduce dropout rates, with a focus on girls particular at risk due to premature pregnancy
- Improve teacher sensitisation and training regarding issues specific to the Tshwa and the San in general
- Invest and encourage collaboration of academic centres to develop an orthography for Tshwao, with a view to designing ECD materials
- Develop representation and leadership within the Tshwa community with a view to ensure their participation in planning, decision making, and advocacy whilst reducing discrimination
- Promote human rights for San and other minorities, with the support and involvement of international organisations including the UN and EU, through the newly established Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission, and through Zimbabwe's continuing participation in the Universal Periodic Review process.



Map 1. Regional map of Zimbabwe

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and overview of report

This report on the Tshwa San of western Zimbabwe is based on preliminary work done from March to May 2013 and a survey conducted in November and December 2013. The Tshwa villages that were investigated are located in the western part of Tsholotsho District, in Matabeleland North Province. The reasons for undertaking this survey were (1) government and development agencies wanted to find out more about the situations of the San in Zimbabwe, (2) the government, the provincial administration, and the Tsholotsho District Council wanted up-to-date information for planning purposes, and (3) the data on the San of western Zimbabwe was limited. The purpose of the work was not to separate out groups such as the San, but to look at unique social and cultural barriers, which do exist, in order for such groups to attain national levels in all indicators.

Relatively few studies have been made of the Tshwa. These include ethnographic work conducted in the Tsholotsho area by Hitchcock and Nangati (1992, 1993); Elias Madzudzo (2001), Fanuel Nangati (2002) and Zhou (2014). Since 2010, Davy Ndlovu (2010; 2013a, b) has done extensive community-level work in Tsholotsho and Bulilima-Mangwe in some cases with members of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences and other departments of the University of Zimbabwe (for an overview, see Joseph Akpan et al. 2004). However, the data collected by these scholars all coincide with information obtained by NGOs in the Bulilima-Mangwe and Tsholotsho Districts of Matabeleland North and suggest that, compared to other groups in Zimbabwe, and in comparison to San found in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa, the San of Zimbabwe have the lowest socio-economic status of all groups both in the country and across the region (Suzman 2001; De Wet 2010; International Labour Organisation 2010; Dieckmann et al. 2014). The degree to which the San are self-sufficient economically appears to be lower in Zimbabwe than in many other parts of the Southern African region, perhaps due to a lack of opportunities for diversification and market access. The income levels of Zimbabwe San are below that of many other groups in the region and far below the national average.

Zimbabwe government ministry personnel and NGOs working in western Zimbabwe highlighted what they see as unequal living conditions, including lack of access and rights to land, poor housing, inadequate access to tools, ploughs, seeds, and

draught animals, and limited access to safe sources of domestic water supply. The existence of many San is precarious, and San households are faced with chronic poverty and hunger. San have said that because their communities are unable to produce enough grain and livestock products for their families, they are forced to offer cheap labour to other communities in exchange for food. Indicators for education and language are also a critical point of concern, with few San children progressing from primary education primarily due to costs and distances, and their unique Tshwao language is at risk of potential extinction in the coming decades unless efforts are made to document and create language training materials in Tshwao. Some San face discrimination and marginalisation, and they are often accused of refusing to embrace “modernisation”.¹ For their part, San say that they want very much to be part of the mainstream in Zimbabwe while at the same time maintaining aspects of their cultures, values, and traditions.

This report seeks to fulfil a need for research and proposes planning requirements for educational, livelihood and cultural support systems for the San who have specific needs, and to fill gaps where there is a lack of current information. One focus of the work is on broad poverty reduction through supplying information and recommendations for both interventions and long-term strategies to the Government of Zimbabwe and civil society. A further goal of this report is to identify constraints that affect the members of these groups such as lack of access to land and resources and to basic services including schools, training, health facilities, and water.

This work also hopes to contribute towards increasing the range of resources available through attracting donor funding, whether for the District in general or more specifically for dealing with challenges highlighted in this report, and to promote further research by Zimbabwean institutions, including our partner the University of Zimbabwe, as well as academic centres further afield.

¹ See, e.g., Nqobile Bhebehe, “Bushmen resistant to change: Mugabe”, *New Zimbabwe* 12.05.2013.



Interviewing a women group

1.2 Data collection methods

Research permission was obtained from the Zimbabwe Research Council in April 2013. During the first half of 2013, archival research was conducted in the Zimbabwe National Archives and policy documents and white papers were collected and reviewed. In the latter half of 2015, data collection was carried out in the field. All along, the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing provided substantial facilitation support, and expressed in particular its interest in disadvantaged minorities, including assessment of needs and community expectations from government and in promoting further research.

Household data was collected using a questionnaire with a focus on demographics, education, livelihoods, resources and health. The questionnaire was designed and field-tested in 2013, and finalized in November 2013, using the same format for all informants. Other data collection methods consisted of a combination of participant observation, group and individual

interviews, stakeholder interviews (e.g., of NGOs), and archival investigations.

Interviews of household members focused on but were not restricted to Tshwa; we also interviewed Ndebele, Kalanga, Shona, and Tonga people. Seventeen focus group discussions were conducted. Interviews of government officials and NGO personnel were carried out in several places: Harare, Bulawayo, Main Camp of Hwange National Park, Lupane, Tsholotsho and in the field. We met with the Tsholotsho District Council and with the Tsholotsho District Administrator and with members of the Matabeleland North Provincial Administration. We spoke to personnel in the Office of the President, the Zimbabwe Police, and in various government ministries in Harare and Bulawayo. A total of 149 individual interviews were done and the data compiled and analysed. This report provides a summary of our findings. ○

2. THE SAN PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE

2.1 Who are the San?

The San, sometimes called Bushmen, are peoples of Southern Africa, many of whom today live in or adjacent to the Kalahari Desert region of Botswana, Namibia, Angola, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia (Table 1). The approximately 113,000 San in the region are not one people, but rather are comprised of a wide array of different groups, each with their own name, customs, culture, history and language, all of which utilise click sounds (see Map 2).

Archaeological evidence suggests that the ancestors of San people have been in the Southern Africa region 20,000 or more years (Mitchell 2010, 2013; Abel Mabuse Abdenico, Alec Campbell, Nick Walker, personal communications). Most San groups, including those in Zimbabwe, have a history of hunting and gathering (Sapignoli 2012; Hitchcock, Begbie-Clench, and Murwira 2014). Historically, San families, which usually were

small in size (parents and two or three children), lived in groups of 25-50 persons that were linked through kinship, marriage, and friendship. These groups, or bands, were linked into larger groups that saw themselves as having the same traditions, culture, history, and associations with land and with each other.

The importance of territoriality among San has been emphasised by a number of researchers and development workers (see, for example, Marshall 1976; Lee 1979; Silberbauer 1981; Wilmsen 1989; Barnard 1992). The San territorial unit is known as a *no* (Tshwa), *nong* (Naro), *gu* (G/ui), *g!u* (G!ana), *n//olli* (I!Xoo), and a *n!ore* (Ju/'hoansi, //Xauḽesi), and is an area over which local people used to have rights of access and resource use. It was usually a named unit of land that contained natural resources upon which people depended, including water, wild goods and medicinal plants, trees for shade, fuel wood, and

Map 2. Approximate distribution of major San language groups across Southern Africa

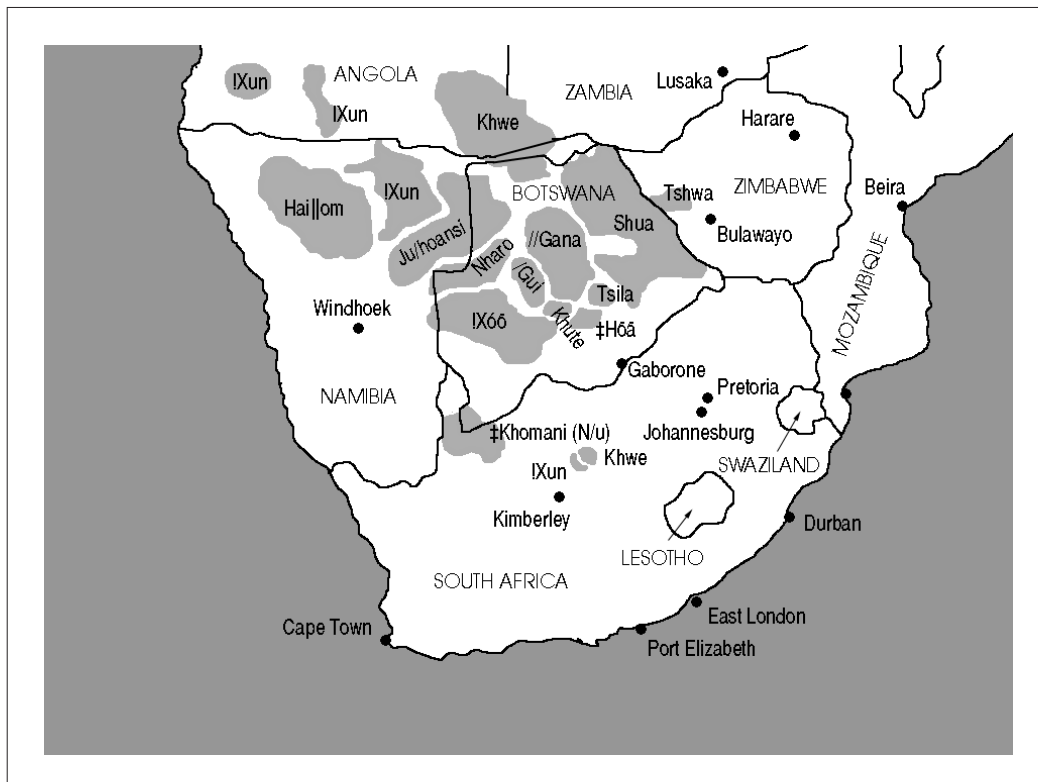


Table 1. Numbers of San compared with population size in six countries of Southern Africa

Country	Population Size	Size of Country (km ²)	Estimated Numbers of San (National)
Angola	19,088,105	1,246,700	3,500
Botswana	2,155,784	581,730	60,000
Namibia	2,198,4061	824,292	38,000
South Africa	48,375,645	1,219,090	7,500
Zambia	14,638,505	752,618	2,500
Zimbabwe	13,771,721	390,757	2,500
TOTALS (all six countries)	100,228,162	5,020,010 km ²	113,000 San

Source: Data obtained from: Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust, the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA), the Botswana Khwedom Council (BKC) (Botswana), First People of the Kalahari (FPK) (Botswana); the National KhoeSan Council (South Africa), Cape Cultural Heritage Development Council (South Africa); Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia (NNDFN), Nyae Nyae Conservancy (NNC), Legal Assistance Centre (LAC) and Desert Research Foundation of Namibia (DFRN) (Namibia); and the governments of all 6 countries.

construction, and materials such as stone used in the manufacturing of tools and other goods. In general, the size of the territory was based on the types and amounts of resources it contained, which theoretically at least would be sufficient to meet the needs of a group in an average year. Boundary-marking of territories was unusual, but most if not all people in a band or group knew roughly where the boundaries were.

Today, the situation has changed somewhat with increased population and shifts in land tenure. The majority of the San of Southern Africa live in villages ranging in size from 100 to 500 people that usually consist of people from a variety of different ethnic groups and the access to their traditional territories is limited due to commercial farming, nature conservation, and mining activities. The interactions among the various groups are generally characterised by cooperation and mutual assistance, though paternalism, discrimination and exploitation towards the San are common in a number of areas.

Virtually all San now have diversified livelihoods. Some cultivate crops and raise domestic animals, earning part of their incomes through informal employment. However due to numerous is-

suues related to marginalisation, access to services and changes in land and livelihood patterns, a high proportion of San households across the region are poor, and receive food and other support from the governments of the countries in which they live or from NGOs. In addition to livestock and agriculture, community-based natural resource management (CBNRM), tourism, crafts and some mining industries form important foundations for livelihoods.

While many aspects of traditional hunting and gathering knowledge are in the process of, or have already been lost, there is in many San communities a common usage of bush (*veld*) foods, medicinal herbs, and other natural resources and, much less frequently, hunting and collection of animals. This varies from marginal use to seasonal reliance, and in a few areas where hunting is permitted or overlooked, traditional hunting and tracking skills endure. Other traditional practices, including healing ceremonies and dances and medicinal use of plants vary from group to group, but are still relatively common. Most San children today are attending school, and learn the dominant languages of the area or country though generally at the expense of their mother tongue languages.

2.2 The San in Zimbabwe

The San who are the subject of this report make up a relatively small percentage of the total San population in Southern Africa, which today stands at approximately 113,000 in six Southern African countries (see Table 1). The San with whom we worked live in the Tsholotsho District of the Matabeleland North Province in western Zimbabwe. San are also found in Matabeleland South Province, mainly in Bulilima-Mangwe District and around Plumtree.

The Zimbabwe Census documents the numbers of people in Zimbabwe and their demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. No specific mention is made of San peoples. However, based on the Regional Assessment of the Status of the San in Southern Africa in 2001 (Robbins, Madzudzo, and Brenzinger 2001:78-103), and the work on Zimbabwe done by Elias Madzudzo (2001), it was estimated at the time that there were some 2,500 Tshwa in western Zimbabwe (Madzudzo 2001:79-82). They thus constitute a small minority in Zimbabwe but are part

of a larger set of San peoples² who occupy an area extending from the Gwayi River³ in Zimbabwe west to the Makgadikgadi Pans region of Botswana, and north to areas south of Victoria Falls. In Zimbabwe, Tsholotsho district is home to an estimated 1,500 San people and the remaining 800-1,000 are settled in Bulilima-Mangwe (see Table 2). The San constitute 2% of Tsholotsho's population, where 50% is Kalanga and 48% is Ndebele (Madzudzo 2001).

In general, the San prefer to use their own name for self-identification, and whilst sometimes known as Amasili or Abatwa in Zimbabwe (the Ndebele word for Bushmen or San), most San in Zimbabwe identify themselves as Tshwa.⁴ In common with

2 The Tshwa are closely related culturally and linguistically to the Shua who historically were found in western Zimbabwe and today live in northern Botswana (Vossen 2013). The connections between the Tshwa and the Shua are in need of further investigation. Both Tshwao and Shua are San languages that are seriously threatened due to mother tongue language loss.

3 Also sometimes spelled Gwaai or Gwai.

4 In this volume we use both terms: Tshwa when referring to people who identified themselves as such during the research; and San in reference to wider Zimbabwean San (the Tshwa plus any San groups that may reside outside of Tsholotsho District), and when referring collectively to San groups in Southern Africa.

Table 2. Population sizes and distributions of Zimbabwe and Botswana San groups

Name of group	Location	Population size
Tshwa (Amasili), Xaise, Ganade, Gwaochu)	Western Zimbabwe (Tsholotsho District, Matabeleland North Province, and Bulilima-Mangwe District, Matabeleland South Province)	2,500
Tshwa (Tyua, Chwa, Cuaa, Shua, Cirecire)	Makgadikgadi Pans, Nata River, and Bokalaka regions, Botswana	7,500
Shua (Cuaa, Chwa)	Chobe District, Botswana, extending into western Zimbabwe	1,300
Tshwa (Tyua, Chwa, Cuaa, Shua, Cirecire)	East-Central Kalahari, Botswana (Western Sandveld)	600
Ts'ixa	Mababe, North West District, Botswana	1,000
Total	Zimbabwe and Botswana	12,900

Source: Data obtained from ethnographic fieldwork, from linguists working at the University of Zimbabwe, the University of Botswana, the University of Cape Town, the University of Cologne, and from the Tsoro-o-Tso San Development Trust, Dlamini, Zimbabwe.

many other San and Bantu groups, this term translates directly as "person".

The traditional language of the Tshwa is Tshwao,⁵ but the vast majority of the Tshwa San in western Zimbabwe are multilingual, speaking several different languages.

Many Tshwa today consider themselves to be indigenous to western Zimbabwe. The western Zimbabwe region contains archaeological materials that date from the Early Stone Age (around 1 million years ago) through the present. Besides the Early Stone Age, there are materials from the Middle and Late Stone Ages, the Iron Age, historic, and recent periods.⁶ In some of the areas that we surveyed, we found small scatters of Late Stone Age and Iron Age materials including stone tools, flakes (debitage), ceramics, iron tools, and faunal remains. Specialised types of archaeological features in the region include lines of stones, poles, and pits that appear to be game traps (Walker 1991). There were also platforms in trees that were used to keep meat and other goods out of the way of scavengers. Hunting blinds are found in Zimbabwe and northern Botswana and consisted of several courses of stone approximately one and a half to two metres in diameter; there were also pits seen along sand river courses that may have been hunting blinds. San mentioned places where they obtained water, including holes in trees such as baobabs (*Adansonia digitata*) and mongongos (*Schinziophyton rautanenii*). In addition, there are fishing sites, trails, wells, cattle posts, and hunting and processing locations.

Ethnohistoric literature, oral history, and interview information suggest that territoriality among the Tshwa of Zimbabwe has been important. The Tshwa had areas of land that they saw as their own and they were reportedly well aware of the identities of the people who had rights to specific places. As Hodson notes,

Bushmen in this country generally have their own well-defined districts in which they hunt, and it would be bad form for a Metsibothoko Bushman to hunt in the Sebanene District. They do not like leaving their districts at all, and nothing at all will tempt them to do so. If a native wishes to form a cattle post, he sends the cattle to the Bushmen, not the Bushmen to the cattle (Hodson 1912:227).

In the past, their distribution was more extensive, stretching from the Bulilima-Mangwe District in western Zimbabwe northwards to the Zambezi River and beyond, and extending into northern Botswana as far west as Lake Ngami.

These territories in western Zimbabwe and northern Botswana tended to be either close to pans or along fossil or contemporary river valleys. Pans that contained water for extended periods were important locations, as they provided water as well as serving as focal points for wildlife. There were pans in Hwange and some places consisted of what Haynes (1991:121-141) described as seeps, which were used by elephants and other animals as well as by people. Some of these seeps may also have served as localities where people lived and utilized the water obtained by sip-wells where San sucked water from the sand through straws.⁷ When asked about the use of sip-wells, Tshwa in Tsholotsho said that they had heard of them but believed that they were not used any longer.

Tshwa territories contained all the resources necessary to sustain a group including water, wild plants and animals, shade, materials for home construction, tool manufacture, medicines, and body decoration. They also often included places where specific historical or cultural events had occurred. These territories were known both to the residents and to other groups. In general, the boundaries of the territories were not marked, but there were sometimes cairns or cut marks on trees indicating territorial edges. Information on the location, "ownership" or "management" of these areas was maintained and exchanged and individuals that were not members of the group had to ask for permission from the "owner" or "manager" of an area in order to collect food. These individuals were male and female leaders known as //kaiha, who were influential in community affairs. They were referred to as headmen and headwomen or as kraal heads, and they were the ones to whom people went if they wanted to use resources in specific areas. They served as the equivalent of land managers, like the *n!ore kxausi* of the Ju/'hoansi (Bieseke and Hitchcock 2013:160-162, 205). They

5 The number of Tshwao speakers is disputed. The 17th edition of *Ethnologue* indicates 3,540 Tshwao speakers in Zimbabwe (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2014 at <http://www.ethnologue.com>). We believe this to be a serious overestimate of both the number of speakers and the number of people, although admittedly more information is needed on both speakers and total population size and distribution. Discussions held at the Fifth International Symposium on Khoisan Languages and Linguistics held in Riezlern, Austria from 13-17 July, 2014, revealed that there were a number of linguists who are working on Tshwao and Shua languages, mainly in Botswana (see, for example, the work of Andy Chebanne 2008, 2011, 2014 and William McGregor 2014). These individuals and others would be in an excellent position to contribute to Zimbabwe Khoisan languages studies, documentation, and the development of orthographies that would be of great benefit to Zimbabwe.

6 Archaeological surveys and excavations have been carried out in Hwange National Park (Haynes 1991:136-131). There are scatters of stone flakes and human-manufactured tools in open areas, as well as rock shelters that were occupied in the Middle and Late Stone Age (Haynes 2006; Haynes and Klimowicz 2009; Wriston and Haynes 2009).

7 For descriptions of sip-wells, see Livingstone 1857:59, 63; Declé 1900:112; Hodson 1912:209-211; Dunn 1931:27; Debenham 1953:117-119; Bjerre 1960:132-134; Chapman 1971, I:65, II:157; Valiente-Noailles 1993:37, Photo 10; /Useb 2006.

also were important in conflict management in the community and served as the equivalent of community historians.

Tshwa territories, like those of other San, were sub-divided into different parts; these included residential areas, gathering areas, hunting areas, specialised areas (e.g., ones which contained specific important resources, such as baobab trees, salt, or red ochre), and buffer zone areas. The territories were connected to segments of societies, including extended families and kin groups. People could cross into the territories of other groups if they were in pursuit of an animal or were seeking assistance. The sharing of resource areas associated with territories was organised along lines of kinship, historical association, demography, and specific resource availability.

The Tshwa territorial system could in some ways be characterized as generally flexible, and was a means of facilitating the distribution of people and resources across space. The rights to territories were inherited from one's parents or from one's grandparents, uncles, aunts, or cousins. There were also cases where people colonised an area which had not been occupied for a substantial period, thus establishing occupancy rights. Customary rights to land among Tshwa were obtained through various means, including colonisation, long-term association, or seeking permission from other groups. The presence of sip-wells or excavated areas next to pans and fossil or extant river beds was also important since the Tshwa, on the basis of their having invested time and energy in developing and improving these water points, had rights according to the Tshwa, Kalanga, Ndebele, and Tswana customary law to claim tenure rights over the water in such places (Schapera 1943; Kuper, Hughes, and van Velsen 1954; Hitchcock 1982; Owomoyela 2002; Mgadla 2008).

Usually people asked permission to visit the territories of people with whom they already had social ties, such as those created through marriage (affinal ties) or ones that came about through trade partnerships or reciprocal exchange ties. In most instances, if the territory 'owners' felt that there were enough resources available in their area, they gave permission for other people to enter. One of the strategies for coping with drought and climatic uncertainty employed by the Tshwa was to request permission to move to another group's territory which had sufficient resources to sustain a larger number of people. The access to resources inside groups' territories was however restricted under certain conditions, as for example droughts or periods when large-scale human, wildlife, or livestock losses due to disease were experienced. This was said to have been the case in the Hwange area in the early part of the 20th century, for example, when a lengthy drought saw large areas impacted, so much so, according to informants,

that even the large trees along dried-out rivers and near pans died.

Traditionally, Tshwa women in western Zimbabwe contributed a significant proportion of the daily food supply and did a great deal of the household work. The elderly, both females and males, were respected for their knowledge and experience, and older people played important roles in San society, doing numerous domestic tasks, taking care of children, and passing on knowledge to younger generations. Some Tshwa possessed knowledge about healing and herbal and other kinds of medicines which they put to good use.

Colonial times

Zimbabwe became a British colony in 1890 under the name of Southern Rhodesia. Until then, the primary way that San would acquire land was through self-allocation, i.e., moving into an area and establishing occupancy and use rights. This was employed as a means to get *de facto* rights over land, sometimes referred to as customary rights. In some cases this was done through asking permission of people already living in those areas, and some of whom were Tshwa. They could also obtain land from members of other groups, including Kalanga and Ndebele, through requests to headmen or leadership structures that administered local occupation rights.

In the 1920s, there were scattered groups of Tshwa living in the area of what is now the Hwange National Park Area (see Davison 1977, 1983: Appendix 3). Some Tshwa lived close to the pans that dotted the area part of the year, and from which they ranged out in search of wild plants and animals. With the arrival of white settlers in the 1890s and early 1900s, major changes in land tenure and administration occurred. With the *Game and Fish Preservation Act* of 1929 several game reserves were established, one of them Wankie (now Hwange). As a consequence, several hundred Tshwa were relocated out of the reserve, mainly to areas south of the reserve, in what are now the Tsholotsho Communal Lands, part of Tsholotsho District. There were also Tshwa who were moved north to the Robins Camp area and to the town of Wankie and other areas to the west of Wankie. A number of Tshwa left the country for northern Botswana. A few moved east to Lupane or west to the Gwayi Lands. Part of the reason for their relocation to places outside of Wankie was the fear that the Tshwa would engage in poaching of wild animals in the reserve, which was considered to be "renowned game country" (Davison 1977:129). There were also San who were relocated from areas near Victoria Falls and from areas set aside for commercial farming in the areas east of Wankie Game Reserve.



Tshwa clearing a field

During the following years, Southern Rhodesia adopted South Africa's apartheid and segregationist policy. The *Land Apportionment Act* of 1930 was a Southern Rhodesian version of the *South African Natives Land Act* of 1913. It defined and limited black property ownership to specific areas of the country. These areas were often the least productive and most marginal portions of Zimbabwe, and they generally lacked access to the railway system. Further legislation was passed to protect white agriculturalists from black competition in crop production as well as from the formation of black labour unions (Kennedy 1987:34-41; Johnson 1992; Moyana 1994; Moyo and Chambati 2013).

The Tshwa, along with Kalanga, Ndelebe, and other ethnic groups in western Zimbabwe, were required to leave the areas that they had occupied for generations and to move into the equivalent of native reserves. In 1951, the colonial government, convinced that the reasons for declining agricultural harvests and livestock losses in dry periods were a result of poor farming methods on the part of local people, enacted the *Native Land Husbandry Act* (NLHA). The objectives of this act, as noted in the preamble of the NLHA, were as follows: "To provide for the control of the utilisation and allocation of land occupied by natives and to ensure its efficient use for agricultural purposes; to require natives to perform labour for

conserving natural resources, and for promoting good husbandry" (Southern Rhodesia, *Native Land Husbandry Act*, Act No. 52, 1951, p. 893).

The *Land Husbandry Act* of 1951, which was seen as having been drafted to further protect and expand the white settler economy, abolished the traditional system of land tenure in African areas. Tribal land became available for individual ownership. One reason this was done was to enlist black landholders' support for the existing political system. It was also done to force those people who were unable to buy land to move into the cities and to facilitate the formation of cheap labour pools. Both processes had direct and indirect impacts on the San, since it increased the density of people living in the native reserves (from 1965 called Tribal Trust Lands, TTL) where some of them lived and degraded the land and natural resources they depended on.⁸

8 There was widespread opposition to the land policy in Zimbabwe, especially on the part of peasant farmers (Moyana 1994; Moyo, 1995, 2000; Moyo et al. 1991; Scoones et al. 2006; Mlambo 2014).

After independence and current situation

At independence (1980), most Tshwa in western Zimbabwe were living on Tribal Trust Lands (TTL). In 1981, the Communal Land Act turned the TTL into communal areas and land authority shifted from traditional leadership to local authorities. Today, Zimbabwe's land is divided into a number of different categories (see Table 3), the most important of which, for purposes of this report, are communal land, commercial (freehold) land, and state land (parks, monuments, and forest reserves). San are also living on commercial farms belonging to other people, or in towns such as Plumtree in Bullima-Mangwe District in Matabeleland South Province. But the vast majority of Tshwa lack land of their own and thus may be considered landless.

Like most San peoples in Southern Africa, the two most important problems facing the Tshwa of Zimbabwe are poverty⁹ and resettlement. From the Tshwa's perspective their removal from Wankie Game Reserve in the late 1920s and early 1930s is one of the most unfortunate events in their history. They believe it had major impacts on their economies, social systems, and overall well-being. Since then, the Tshwa have experienced or have been threatened by other resettlement programmes.

As identified by Cernea (1995, 1997), resettlement processes have a number of consequences, and Cernea's impoverishment, risks, and reconstruction (IRR) framework lists eight risks:

1. landlessness
2. joblessness
3. homelessness
4. marginalization
5. food insecurity
6. increased morbidity and mortality
7. loss of access to common property assets
8. social disarticulation

In work done with the Tshwa as part of this study, all of these risks were identified as problems facing the Tshwa today.

The Tshwa are aware that various San groups today are working together to gain greater recognition of their social, economic, and cultural rights—including rights to land and resources—in the Southern African region, and internationally through the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights and the

United Nations, including the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, the Expert Mechanism on the rights of indigenous peoples (EMRIP) and the Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples (see www.ohchr.org). Tshwa from Zimbabwe have not had the chance to attend the UNPFII or the African Commission meetings as yet. A representative of the Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust attended a regional workshop in Namibia in November 2012.¹⁰ Tshwa representatives took part in civil society meetings related to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in July 2014. Habbakuk Trust hosted a regional San planning meeting during June 2014 in Bulawayo, at which the Member of Parliament for Tsholotsho North, the Hon. Roseline Nkomo, pledged to support initiatives to empower and promote the rights and welfare of the San peoples (*Zimbabwe Habbakuk Times*, 20 June, 2014).

2.3 The Tsholotsho District

The San who are the focus of this survey reside in the western part of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe is 390,757 km² in size, and bordered by South Africa, Mozambique, Zambia, and Botswana. The population of Zimbabwe, as estimated in 2014, was 13.8 million. Matabeleland North Province is the largest of Zimbabwe's 10 administrative provinces and with a population of 749,017 (2012) is sparsely populated (10/km²). The capital of the province is Lupane and the largest city in western Zimbabwe, Bulawayo, is located at the province's south-eastern extent. Matabeleland North borders the provinces of the Midlands and Mashonaland West to the east, to the south, the Maitengwe (Nata) River constitutes the border with Matabeleland South, and on the north is the Zambezi River, which separates Zimbabwe from Zambia. To the west of Matabeleland North is the Botswana-Zimbabwe border.

Tsholotsho is one of a number of districts in Matabeleland North Province. The population of Tsholotsho District in 2012 was 115,119. There are 22 wards¹¹ in Tsholotsho District, with population sizes ranging from 3,088 (Ward 4) to 12,359 (Ward 8). Tsholotsho has two constituencies: Tsholotsho South (Wards 10-19, 22) and Tsholotsho North (Wards 1-9, 21) (Zimbabwe Parliament Research Department 2011a, 2011b). The administrative centre of the district is the town of Tsholotsho, approximately 115 km both south of Lupane and north west of Bulawayo, which has a population of some 3,000.

9 Multiple reports (e.g., Robins et al. 2001; Saugestad 2001; Suzman 2001; Hitchcock and Vinding 2004; Dieckmann et al. 2014) recommend that efforts must be made to reduce poverty among the San, eliminate discrimination and marginalization, increase security of tenure over lands and resources, consult fully with those people being relocated, ensure full participation in all decisions, and work out ways to make people direct beneficiaries of development projects.

10 This workshop was sponsored in part by WIMSA (Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa) and by OCADEC (Organização Cristã de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento Comunitário) from Angola.

11 A ward is a subdivision of a rural council district and consists of a cluster of adjoining villages/settlements. Local government elections are ward-based.

Table 3. Land Tenure Zoning in Zimbabwe (in hectares and percent)

Land Tenure Category	Size in millions of hectares	Percentage of the country
Communal Land	10.4	42%
Large Scale Commercial Farms	3.4	9%
Small Scale Commercial Farms	1.4	4%
State Farms	0.7	2%
Urban Land	0.3	1%
State Parks and Urban Land	5.1	13%
Old Resettlement Land	3.5	9%
New Resettlement A1	4.1	11%
New Resettlement A2	3.5	9%
Unallocated Land	0.7	2%
Total	390,757 km²	100%

Source: Data adapted from Scoones et al. (2011:4, Table 1.1) and various Zimbabwe government sources

The Tsholotsho District includes the Tsholotsho Communal Land. South of Tsholotsho Communal Land is the Maitengwe Communal Land, which is in Matabeleland South Province.

Tsholotsho has been an important area in the environmental and social history of Zimbabwe, in part because it was the district located just to the south of the Hwange National Park, one of the largest protected areas in Zimbabwe and one of the oldest game reserves in Africa (see Davison 1977, 1983; Haynes 1991:113-141). It also borders with the Sikumbi Forest Reserve in the northwest.

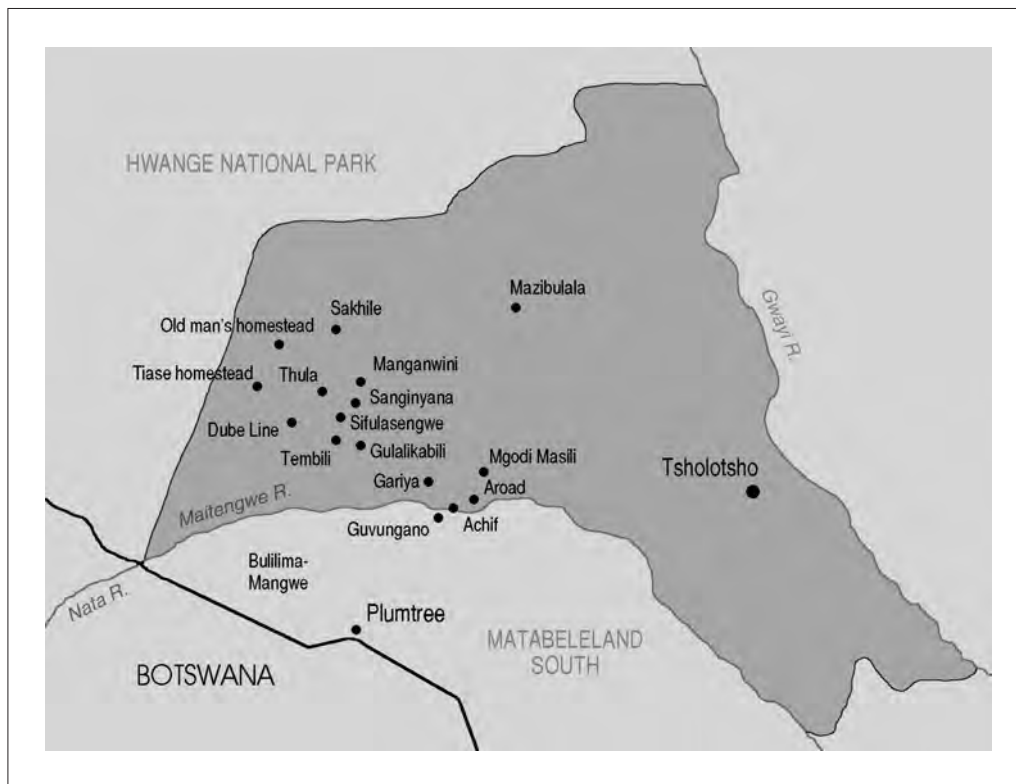
Under the colonial administration of what previously was Southern Rhodesia, the Tsholotsho area fell under the Native Commissioner for Nyamandlovu. Tsholotsho was the scene of a number of different development efforts, including a technical agricultural school established in 1921 and a livestock improvement centre set up in the late 1940s.¹² In the 1940s and 1950s

Tsholotsho was a small administrative and rural development centre, a sub-centre of Nyamandlovu.

Matabeleland, including Tsholotsho, experienced severe difficulties in the post-independence period, between 1980 and 1988, leading to thousands of civilian deaths during a period known as “Gukurahundi”. Some of the people who lived in remote places moved into towns such as Tsholotsho, Nyamandlovu or Bulawayo; some crossed the border into Botswana or moved north to the Gwayi Lands and Hwange.

The area in which Tsholotsho District falls is considered to be part of Area V, the driest agricultural area in the country (Moyo et al. 1991:13-18, Figures 1 and 2; Child 1995:14-17, Figure 2). Water bodies include the Maitengwe (or Nata) River and the Gwayi River, the Little Inkwazi Stream and intermittent ponds, or pools found in pans such as Dzivanini Pan. Rainfall in Tsholotsho generally is low, averaging between 300-500 mm per annum. There is a marked seasonal variation in rainfall, with most rainfall occurring roughly between November and April, and the dry season lasting from May to October. Droughts

¹² This livestock improvement centre later became a substation of the Matopos Agricultural Research Station.

Map 3. Tsholotsho District indicating the location of some of the major San settlements

are common, and there were serious droughts in the Tsholotsho region in 1933, 1947, and the early 1980s and in 2012.

Vegetation in the Hwange and Tsholotsho areas consists of mixed mopane (*Colophospermum mopane*) and acacia tree-bush savannah. There is a wide variety of trees, some of them valuable as timber such as teak (*Baikiaea plurijuga*). Some trees, such as *mongongo* (*Schinziophyton rautanenii*) are found in groves on the crest of sand dunes in western Zimbabwe. Mongongo nuts, while sometimes eaten, are not nearly as important to the Tshwa as they are to the Ju/'hoansi San of Botswana (Lee 1973, 1979:183-204). Local people consume *marula* (*Sclerocarya birrea*) fruits and sometimes use the fruit to make ciders, tea, jams, and jellies. Commercial buyers sometimes purchase *marula*, which they then sell to companies in South Africa which manufacture jams and jellies and alcoholic beverages. The nuts inside of the *marula* fruits are pounded and eaten. The trunks and branches of *marula* trees are sometimes made into mortars, stools, and other wooden items.

The general economic situation of Tsholotsho is complex. Together with Bulilima-Mangwe, the Tsholotsho is the poorest district in Zimbabwe and between 20 and 30% of its population was considered to be food insecure in 2009 (Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee 2009). Livelihood strategies

vary, with about half of the population raising domestic crops in fields or gardens near their homesteads. Most households in the district have diversified sources of income and subsistence, deriving some of their livelihoods from casual labour, small-scale livestock production, transfers from relatives and friends, and state-provided commodities.

2.4 The San in Tsholotsho district

In total, the San of Tsholotsho number approximately 1,500 (see Table 4). While some Tshwa live in Tsholotsho town itself, the numbers are small, less than 100. The majority of the Tshwa are found mainly in the far western and southern parts of the district, primarily in wards 2, 7, 8, and 10, with wards 7 and 10 having the majority of the San population.

The present survey (November-December, 2013), however, found that the Tshwa were more widespread in their distribution than previous reports suggested, some of them residing in Ward 1 of Tsholotsho and in areas close to Hwange National Park and very close to the Botswana-Zimbabwe border. Some of this was due to local-level movements, a number of which were related to employment relationships with other groups in Zimbabwe and Botswana.

Table 4. Location, Ward Number, and Population Size for Tshwa San in Western Zimbabwe

Location	Ward No.	Population Size	Number of Interviews
Mtshina	10	143	42
Gariya 1	8	184	22
Mpilo	7	28	12
Zamani	7	20	1
Sithembile	7	13	25
Pelondaba	7	37	1
Gubangano	8	31	5
Sifulasengwe	7	267	9
Fulasengwe	7	28	6
Vukuzenzele	1	44	2
Muzimlinye	1	36	2
Gulalikabili	7	14	7
Sibambene	7	28	5
Mazibulala	2	17	1
Landelani	8	26	6
Plomini	2	24	1
Thula	7	35	1
Zwananoni	2	46	1
Total: 18 locations	5 wards	1,021	149

Source: Data based on interviews conducted in November-December, 2013 and a census made by Davy Ndlovu in 2010 (Ndlovu 2010).

Note: As some people were not available during Ndlovu's census, the total population size (1,021) is somewhat lower than current (rough) estimations (1,500).

Tshwa in Tsholotsho live in small villages and dispersed extended family compounds ranging in size from 17 to 267 people (see Table 4). Some of these households were arrayed along straight geographic lines, the result of land settlement practices of the colonial and Zimbabwe governments in the past (Kennedy 1987; Moyana 1994; Moyo 1995, 2000; Moyo et al. 1991; Raftopoulos and Mlambo 2009; Scoones et al. 2011; Mlambo 2014). Some of the Tshwa whom we interviewed had ancestors who had been resettled in Tsholotsho as a result of the founding of the Wankie Game Reserve (now Hwange National Park) in the 1920s and 1930s (Davison 1977, 1983, Appendix 3; Hitchcock 1995, 1999). Some Tshwa households in the Tsholotsho area were also relocated as part of government resettlement efforts in more recent times. Some of this resettlement took place during the Fast Track Land Reform efforts beginning in 2000 (Scoones et al. 2011:32-37; Mlambo 2014:226; Tsholotsho District Council, pers. comm. 2013). We were unable to get a precise estimate of the numbers of households that had experienced relocation, but we got the impression that a relatively significant number (over 15%) of the households of Tshwa were directly affected by the Hwange-related resettlement, while others had been resettled by local authorities or to a lesser degree – as the result of the Fast Track Land Reform.

Tshwa in Tsholotsho have several kinds of land: land for residence, arable land (gardens and agricultural fields), grazing land, and land used for foraging purposes. Some of them have obtained land from government organisations including the Tsholotsho District Council, through land administration and distribution programmes and policies. There are also cases where people borrow land from relatives.

The Tshwa in Tsholotsho have the lowest incomes and lowest percentages of people involved in formal employment and agriculture in the district. Most of them today have mixed production systems consisting of gathering, agriculture, limited dependence on livestock, and small-scale entrepreneurial and income generation activities. Some Tshwa are involved in trade, exchange, and working for other people, and others engage in activities that could be expanded upon for income generating purposes, such as tourism, although this strategy likely would affect a relatively small number of people. As this report argues, other kinds of sustainable development strategies that directly address livelihoods would also be useful, as noted in the recommendations section at the end of this report. On a political level, San representation at ward, district, and provincial level is lower than that of any other group, and there is a need to identify why this is the case.

The natural resources of Tsholotsho are important sources of subsistence and income for the Tshwa and other groups in the area. Access to some of the important trees and shrub species

is restricted if they are in protected areas, including Hwange National Park and in the Forest Areas that are covered under Zimbabwe's Forest Act. People can apply for licenses to obtain high value species such as *Baikia* wood or other resources, but they have to go through a relatively complex bureaucratic set of procedures. Some of the Tshwa to whom we spoke were aware of some of the procedures and had actually applied for licenses to collect certain types of resources but had not been granted licenses.

2.5 National legislative framework

The Zimbabwe government does not recognize the San as a particularly vulnerable group and as an indigenous group. Nor does it use the term indigenous in its international understanding adopted by the United Nations and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) who define indigenous peoples as marginalized minority groups whose livelihoods and cultures are threatened (African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights 2005, 2006, Anaya 2009). Indeed, Zimbabwe's position is that all Zimbabweans are indigenous and that as such they should be deliberately involved in the economic activities of the country with the ultimate goal of having equal ownership of the nation's resources. As stated in the Government of Zimbabwe's *Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act*, (2007, Part 1(2): Interpretation)

"Indigenisation" means a deliberate involvement of indigenous Zimbabweans in the economic activities of the country, to which hitherto they had no access, so as to ensure the equitable ownership of the nation's resources;

"Indigenous Zimbabwean" means any person who, before the 18th April, 1980, was disadvantaged by unfair discrimination on the grounds of his or her race, and any descendant of such person, and includes any company, association, syndicate or partnership of which indigenous Zimbabweans form the majority of the members or hold the controlling interest;

The San, like other people in Zimbabwe, fit the definition of "indigenous Zimbabweans" in that they were disadvantaged by discrimination and had little or no access to the nation's resources at the time of independence in April 1980 (also see 4.9 Identity, indigeneity and discrimination, below).

It should be mentioned that Zimbabwe was among the group of African states that asked for clarification of the concept of indigenous peoples in November, 2006, prior to the finalization of the draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UN-



A pestle and mortar ready for sale

DRIP) (African Group of States 2006). It should also be noted that Zimbabwe together with the other Southern African states (Angola, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, and Zambia) voted in favor of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples when it came up for a vote in the United Nations on September 13th, 2007.

Zimbabwe's updated Constitution of September 2013 contains sections relevant to indigenous peoples. In particular, the Constitution identifies "Koisian" as one of the 16 recognised languages of Zimbabwe. "Khoisan" or "Khoesan" refers to a wider set of language groups, including languages spoken by the San and Khoekhoe among others, though a lack of consensus exists on classifications of these languages (Guldemann 2008; Brenzinger 2013; Vossen 2013). The wording of the Constitution promotes equitable treatment, development, and use of the 16 official languages. The Tshwa protested the use of the term "Koisian" in the draft constitution, saying that it was inappropriate since their language is called Tshwao.¹³

Other sub-sections within the Zimbabwe Constitution of relevance to indigenous peoples include promoting actions to empower "all marginalised persons, groups and communities in Zimbabwe" and the protection of "indigenous knowledge systems, including knowledge of the medicinal and other properties of animal and plant life" (Government of Zimbabwe 2013). The Constitution addresses the elimination of discrimination and promotes investment and basic service provision to marginalised groups and areas.

The level of effective implementation of the new Constitution is still in its infancy, but indications are that progress is being made, as seen in the discussions by Zimbabwe during the 2013 Universal Periodic Review (UPR) of the Human Rights Council (HRC) of the United Nations. A follow-up review by the UPR was conducted in 2014. No specific mentions were made in the UPR process about the rights of indigenous peoples. There are ongoing efforts to establish a Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission, enshrined in the new Constitution. There are also efforts to establish new programmes under the Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs.

Other national legislation and policies in Zimbabwe of relevance to the San includes the following:

- *Rural District Councils Act* (1996 amended 2008) establishing wards

- *Agricultural and Land Settlement Act* (ALSA) (1969 amended 2002) providing for the establishment of an Agricultural Land Settlement Board
- *Agricultural and Rural Development Authority Act* (ARDA) (1971 amended 2001) providing for the establishment of an Agricultural and Rural Development Authority
- *Communal Land Act* (1982 latest amended 2002) providing for the classification of land in Zimbabwe as Communal Land and for the alteration of such classification; to alter and regulate the occupation and use of Communal Land; and to provide for matters incidental to or connected with the foregoing
- *Forest Act* (1948, but amended multiple times)
- *Natural Resource Act* (1996)
- *Parks and Wildlife Act* (1975, amended in 1996)
- *Education Act* of (1987, amended in 1996 and 2006)
- *Communal Land Forest Produce Act* (FPA) (1987, amended in 2001) regulating the use and protection of forest produce found within communal areas
- *Land Acquisition Act* (1992) empowers the government to buy land compulsorily for redistribution, a fair compensation to be paid for land acquired
- *Gazetted Land (Consequential Provisions) Act* (2006)
- *Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act* (2007)

Other relevant acts include the following: *Land Survey Act* (1996); *Deeds Registry Act* (1996); *Commercial Premises (lease control) Act 27* (1983); *Protected Places and Areas Act* (1959); and *Immovable Property (prevention of discrimination) Act* (1982); *Regional Town and Country Planning Act* (1976).

Before 2013, legislation seldom made specific reference to minority groups, which may be indicative of the small proportion of the total population who are classed as ethnic or linguistic minorities such as the San. However, when taking into account wording within the 2013 Constitution relevant to minority groups, it may also suggest a lack of previous policy development to deal with the specific needs and situations of such groups.¹⁴ An exception is the Education Act where a number of sections are relevant to minority groups, including the following:

In areas where minority languages exist, the Minister may authorise the teaching of such languages in primary schools in addition to those specified in subsections (Shona, Ndebele and English) (Part XI, 62(4))

No child in Zimbabwe shall—(a) be refused admission to any school; or (b) be discriminated against by the imposi-

13 "See "Draft Constitution Riles San People", *Newsday Zimbabwe* February 6, 2013.

14 Zimbabwean legislation is currently in the process of being updated to include mention of minorities.

tion of onerous terms and conditions in regard to his admission to any school; on the grounds of his race, tribe, place of origin, national or ethnic origin, political opinions, colour, creed or gender (Part II, 4[2])

As noted below, Zimbabwe is a signatory to the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), both of which contain sections on education of children. UNESCO, the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation, has an office in Harare and works with the government on issues relating to education and cultural heritage.

2.6 International mechanisms

As noted previously, Zimbabwe voted in favour of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in 2007. While non-binding, as a member state Zimbabwe has indicated its commitment to ensuring the rights of its indigenous peoples to maintain and strengthen their own institutions, cultures and traditions, and to pursue their development in terms of rights to self-determination.

Zimbabwe is also a signatory to various international conventions relevant to indigenous peoples, including the following:

- **International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD)** was ratified in June, 1991.
- **UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (UNDM)** was adopted in June, 1991. This declaration sets out political and moral commitments concerning the rights and treatment of minorities in member states.
- **Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)** was ratified in June, 1991. CEDAW defines what constitutes discrimination against women and sets up an agenda for national action to end such discrimination. The Committee on the Elimina-

tion of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) watches over the progress for women made in those countries that are States parties to the Convention.

- **United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)** was ratified in 1995. This convention ensures the civil, political, economic, social, health and cultural rights of all children.
- **Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD)** was ratified in 1994. This UN convention deals with the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity, and with access to biological diversity and sharing of the benefits derived from this access.
- **African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights** was ratified in 1988. This charter is one of the few international human rights instruments that deal with the rights of peoples and communities, including the right to self-determination. The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights serves as the treaty-based monitoring body of the African charter.
- **Convention on the Trade of Endangered Species of Flora and Fauna (CITES)** was signed on 19 May, 1981.

Zimbabwe has not ratified the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169), adopted by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the only updated and current international convention on indigenous peoples' rights (Anaya 2009). In August 2010 the Central African Republic became the only African state to have ratified Convention No. 169.

In view of their indigenous communities South Africa and Namibia may examine the perspectives of ratification, and Angola may in the future seek to denounce the Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention, 1957 (No. 107) in favour of Convention No. 169. Against this background, 14 Latin American countries (out of 20) have ratified ILO Convention No. 169, and others are taking steps towards ratification like El Salvador and Panama. Hence interest and opportunities exist for support to be leveraged by African countries, including Zimbabwe to ratify Convention No. 169. ○

3. HOUSEHOLD DATA

3.1 Introduction and limitations

The field data collection summarised in this chapter was conducted in Tsholotsho District during December 2013, encompassing 149 heads of household interviews along with interviews with local leaders and group focus discussions on issues such as health and gender. While not every San village or household could be reached, we are satisfied that the majority of the San households in the District have been included in the research, and that its scope presents an adequate illustration of strategies and challenges at the community level. A data collection incorporating San groups in Plumtree District, to the south of Tsholotsho District, was not possible at this time, but is advisable as little information exists on the population size and status. Complete data tables are available from the authors or University of Zimbabwe for further studies and future data comparisons.

The research team included four enumerators from Tsholotsho to carry out the data collection, all of who had previous experience of enumeration and some familiarity with rural development issues. Training and practice with questionnaire use and data collection was carried out in Tsholotsho, and field management and enumeration checks were conducted as part of the research efforts.

While the team endeavoured to collect the most accurate and complete data possible from the villages, some limitations should be mentioned. Heavy rain and remote locations presented challenges throughout the data collection. Basic sampling techniques had been devised, however geographic constraints and social norms justified interviewing all households possible in each area visited; settlements were remotely located and Tshwa participants felt all people should have an opportunity to voice opinions, not a more limited sample. Due to the groupings and locations of San households few comparisons to neighbouring language groups were possible.

Due to budgetary constraints we were only able to carry out research in Matabeleland North Province. There are Tshwa living on both sides of the Maitengwe (Nata) River area, which forms the boundary between Matabeleland North and Matabeleland South Provinces. Some Tshwa who were living in the Matabeleland South Province were visiting people in the Tsholotsho District at the time of our interviews, and it was clear that there

were close connections between people from Bulilima-Mangwe District in Matabeleland South and those in Tsholotsho.

Another issue relates to the identification and documentation of people who claim Tshwa identity. Most people were willing to claim that they were Tshwa, but there were those who said that they did not know their ethnicity. There were also some people who said that they were Ndebele but that they spoke the Tshwao language. Lastly, there was a relatively high degree of residential mobility and employment-related mobility among some of the Tshwa households in the Tsholotsho area. For example, groups of household members reportedly ranged out for such purposes as collecting wild plants or insects. As Ndlovu (2010:3) puts it, "Some families are constantly on the move in search of food and thus it becomes difficult to come up with up-to-date statistics."

3.2 Basic demographics

Household sizes were larger than the 2012 Census average household size, which was 4.9 for Tsholotsho District (Table 5). The majority of respondents were female San heads of households (Table 6). Nine mixed or non-San households, living in San majority household areas were recorded (Table 7).

The San population appears youthful, with 58% of household members under the age of 16, and a slightly higher proportion female, in line with the 2012 Census data for the province. Of the total female population included, 54.2% was 16 years and younger, whilst 62.8% of the total male population was 16 years and younger (Figure 1).

3.3 Language, education and training

Only a minority of San in Zimbabwe speak Tshwao, and very few Ganade, a similar Khoe speech variety also found in northern Botswana. Data confirmed earlier reports, from Davy Ndlovu amongst others, that Tshwao and other San languages are not widely spoken, and that the Tshwao language risks extinction.

Table 5. Size of surveyed households

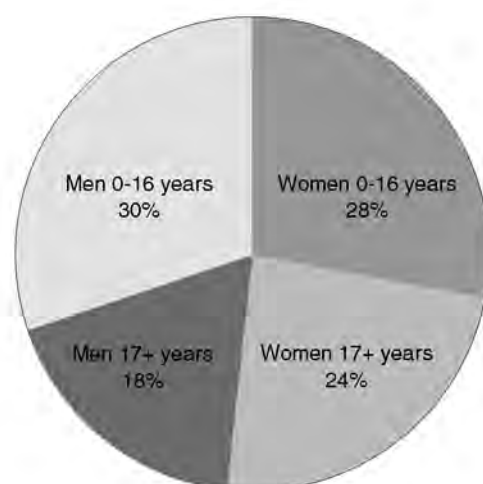
Number of households in sample	Total reported household members	Average household size (Confidence Interval 95%)
149	948	6.36 (5.91 - 6.81)

Table 6. Sex of respondents (in number and percent)

Gender of respondents	Number	Percentage
Women	100	66.9
Men	49	33.1
Total	149	100

Table 7. Ethnicity of respondents (in number)

Ethnicity of respondents	Number
San	140
Kalanga	5
Ndebele	3
Tonga	1
Total	149

Figure 1. Households by sex and age groups in percent (n=948)

In fact, only 27.5% of the households (n=41)¹⁵ spoke any San language at all, with 20% (30 households) reporting regular use. 63 individuals were recorded as having San language knowledge within those 41 households. However when probed

on regular language use (rather than ability), only 33 individuals were recorded as using Tshwao frequently, and only 7 on a daily basis. Ndebele is by far the dominant language of the area (see Table 8).

Table 8. Languages spoken regularly in households

	Tshwao	Ganade	Ndebele	Kalanga	Nambya	Shona	Tonga	English
Every Day	7	0	186	104	2	0	0	1
Most Days	10	1	378	102	0	1	0	3
Rarely	13	2	345	25	0	4	1	3
Grand Total	30	3	909	231	2	5	1	7

Education

Educational attainment among the San community is low among both adults and children, and presents a serious challenge (Table 9). More than half of the female respondents reported having no education, and very few women have education above primary level. The 2012 Census reported that 12% of the people in Matabeleland North never attended school, compared to 51.7% of Tshwa in this data. Similarly in the 2012 Census more than 31% of both men and women had attended secondary school, compared with 4% of all Tshwa respondents.

School attendance

Critically 41.2% of children (n=296) of a school-going age were reported as not attending schools. Of those children who had attended school and dropped out, rather than never having attended school, 55 cases were documented, indicating the point when the child dropped out. These drop out points ranged between Form 1 and 7, with median of Form 2. The mean drop out point was at Form 2.6 (CI 95% 2.1–3.1), i.e. halfway through the Form 2 year. A selection of possible non-attendance and drop out causes common to San children across Southern Af-

Table 9. Level of education of household heads (percent)

Highest level attained	% of total women (n=100)	% of total men (n=49)
No formal education ²	56.5	42.9
Primary (grades 1-4)	15.2	22.4
Primary (grades 5-7)	24.2	30.6
Junior Secondary (form 1-4)	4.0	2.0
Senior Secondary (form 5-6)	0.0	0.0
Post Secondary (post grade 12, e.g. diploma, degree)	0.0	2.0

Note: This does not include non-formal education, traditional knowledge, skills training, etc.

¹⁵ N refers to sample size.

Table 10. Reasons given for dropping out of school

Reason	Percent
1. Distance	21.1
2. Cost related	52.2
3. Problems with school staff	0.0
4. Problem with other children at school	0.0
5. Communication at school is difficult for the children	1.1
6. Child decided to drop out	24.4
7. Child is needed to assist at home/in community	1.1

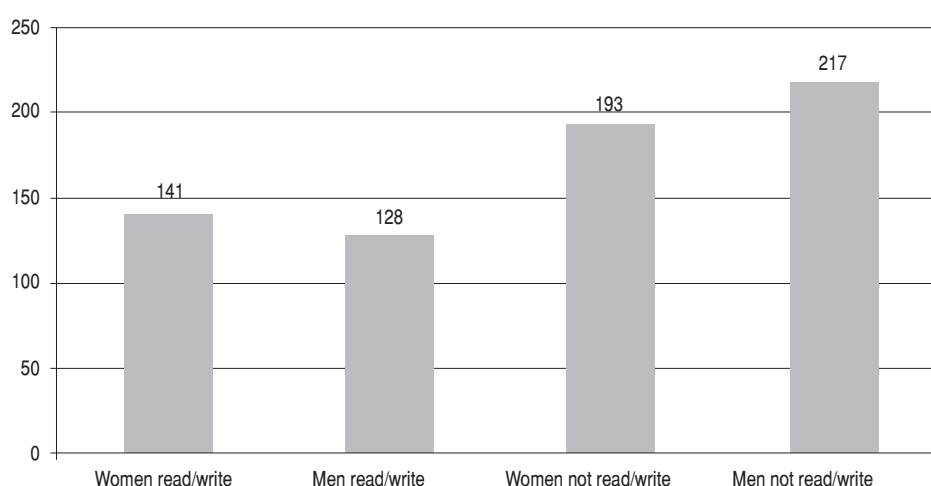
rica were given with the proportions detailed below in Table 10 (n=90), with more than 50% answering that it was cost related whilst none relating the drop out reason to direct discrimination.

Literacy

Of the 149 households surveyed, only nine heads of household considered that all the members of their household over 10 years of age were literate, in other words had reading or writing skills (Figure 2). This is in contrast to the high national literacy

rate in Zimbabwe and the 2012 Census average rate of 93% literacy for Tsholotsho District. It is also at variance with reports stating that 39.6% of the total San household members in the Tsholotsho District were able to read and write.

The 2012 Census further showed that despite slightly lower average educational attainment, women had slightly higher literacy rates than men. Figure 2 shows that this is also the case of the surveyed households.

Figure 2. Literacy rates among household members over 10 years of age (in number)

Note: Numbers are below total household members in Table 5 (948) due to proportion of the Tshwa population under 10 years old, likely in combination with underreporting.

Projects and training

Just over a third, 36.7% of the interviewed household heads, had taken part in some form of training provided by the state, NGOs or private sector, with the greatest focus on food security (agriculture and small gardens). See Table 11.

Table 11. Type of training received by interviewed household heads (in %)

	%
Agriculture	25.2
Community meetings	30.3
Capacity building	12.6
Small gardens	23.5
Tourism training	0.8
Other business/enterprise	4.2
Natural Resource Management	2.5
Combination of the above	0.8

3.4 Land tenure and subsistence economy

The majority of Tshwa live on communal land. In line with Zimbabwe government policy, all communal land is state land. The Tshwa, therefore, do not have *de jure* (that is, legal) rights to the land that they occupy. Even if they are able to obtain plots

of land for residential, agricultural, and income generation purposes, they potentially could lose their land at any time, something that several informants noted had happened to them in the past decade.

Most of the people who had land said that they received it from a local authority, nearly all of whom were either Ndebele or Kalanga. Several people said that they received land from the VIDCO, the Village Development Committee. Only four people said that they had obtained land through government agricultural resettlement schemes. Two of them complained that members of other groups got more land allocated to them (either 10 acres or 4 acres, depending on when the allocations were made) than they did (2 acres). Six people noted that they obtained land through the Tsholotsho District Council. They said, however, in order to do this, they needed a letter of approval from a local village headman (*sabuku*). Most people with land who were interviewed (28 of 32 interviews) said that they felt that they had either no or inadequate amounts of land to meet their subsistence needs. The average arable plot size was less than 100 square meters, and no San had arable land over a hectare in size. There was a significant number of people who claimed to be landless, meaning that they did not have the means to raise enough food for their households and therefore had to depend on other people or the government to provide them with food and cash.

Food grown at home

When asked to identify the three main crops grown by the household, 40.9% of households responded that they did not regularly grow any food (at the household level or in a field). Of the remaining households the following crops were identified (Table 12):

Table 12. Main crops grown regularly by households (percent)

Main crop identified	Crops grown regularly (percentage of households)
Maize	31.5
Sorghum	29.2
Groundnuts	6.5
Watermelon	6.2
Others - typically pearl millet, beans and cabbage	29.2

Livestock ownership

The survey indicates that 29% of the households (n=149) owned small stock or livestock including chickens (Table 13). However more than a third of those households (18 households), had chicken only. Numbers of cattle, goat and sheep were low. Only

9 respondents mentioned looking after other peoples' livestock; this is low and in contrast to findings elsewhere in the Southern African region.

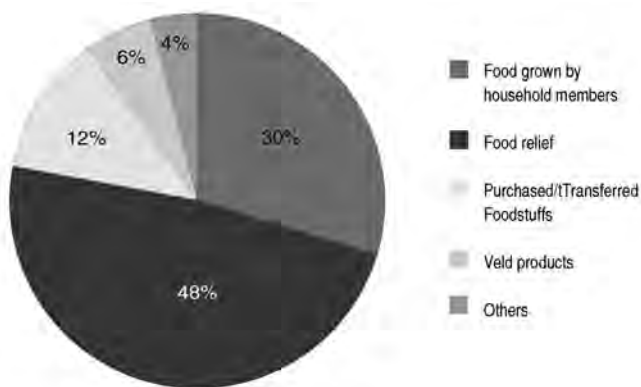
Table 13. Numbers and kinds of domestic animals recorded by location

Location	Cattle	Chickens	Goats	Sheep	Donkeys	Horses
Fulasengwe, Ward 7		4				
Gariya I, Ward 8		10	2			
Gubanolano, Ward 8		4	4		1	
Gulalikabili, Ward 7			6			
Landelani, Ward 8	11	23	7		1	
Mazibulaya Village, Ward 2						
Mpilo Village, Ward 7	1	20			1	
Mtshina Village, Ward 10		4	16			
Muzimlinye, Ward 1						
Pelondaba Village, Ward 7			2			
Plamini Village, Ward 2	10	1	7		2	
Sibambzne, Ward 7						
Sifilasengwe, Ward 7	1	19	15			
Sitembile village, Ward 7		65	4	2		
Thula, Ward 7					1	
Vuklzenzele, Ward 1		11	6			
Zamani Villiage, Ward 7						
Zwananani, Ward 2	6					
Grand Total	29	161	69	2		0

Lack of food security

Almost half of San households identified food relief, provided by NGOs or the state, as their primary food source (see Figure 3). A significant amount of food was grown by the San, which we observed largely took place in small gardens rather than larger fields. Some food is purchased, but a number of respondents bartered for food or obtained it through employment (food in exchange for labour), or in exchange for crafts or natural resources (for example, certain plants of food or medicinal value and mopane worms). Whilst veld products—bush food such as mopane worms, tubers and fruits—were not identified often as a primary source of food, seasonal reliance on such gathering was frequently mentioned during interviews and group discussions.¹⁶

Figure 3. Identified primary food sources (percent)



3.5 Natural resource usage

Data collected shows a significant use of natural resources, traditional knowledge and skills. Usage of wood and thatching grass is evidently ubiquitous for all ethnic groups in the area. However, use of other natural resources, for example, some herbal medicines and bush foods, appear to be specific to San culture. In addition some veld food species, especially mopane worms, are sold or traded and thus provide important seasonal income.

While hunting of large game is illegal and not practiced, according to informants, there is some procurement of small game (for example rabbits, birds) using traditional methods, especially in and around gardens. Some meat is also distributed to communities through legal trophy hunting or animal control, but we understand that this is infrequent.

It is notable that while Tshwao language use has seriously declined, other elements of San culture, including traditional foods, medicines and healing are still widely practised (Figure 4).

3.6 Household income

The household survey indicates that 73% of the San households have less than US\$5/month income. The majority of this limited income appears to be unpredictable, from temporary employment and seasonal activities (see Figure 5). Whilst household cash income can be underreported, the disparity with reported average cash income for households in Matabeleland North of \$107/month in 2012¹⁷ is extreme and illustrative of the lack of employment, livestock, non-subsistence agriculture, enterprise and assets in Tshwa settlements. Tsholotsho District had the highest percentage of households in poverty (81.7%) and the highest levels in extreme poverty (36.9%).

Sources of income

The largest source of income for San households derived from “piece work” (irregular employment for manual, often agriculture related tasks), sometimes provided by other San community members but more often by other ethnic groups. A common example would be clearing a field before ploughing.

It is notable that a sizeable proportion of Tshwa livelihood activities rely on natural resource management: collecting and selling firewood, thatching grass and crafts (often wooden, for example large pestle and mortars sold to grind maize) comprise 45.1% of income sources (see Figure 6).

Remittances and pensions

Few households receive a pension (2%, or 3 households), which in neighbouring countries is often a major source of household income for San communities. 10.7% of households believed they are entitled to some form of pension, whether state or private, but do not receive it.

Though remittances, often sent by relatives employed in Zimbabwe or other countries, are seen as a common source of household income in Zimbabwe, only 11.4% of San households claimed to receive any regular form of remittance. From discussions with Tshwa and community members of other ethnic groups, this appeared much lower than for members of neigh-

¹⁶ Note that the December 2013 Food Poverty Datum Line (PDL), accounting for purchased food costs for 5 persons per month, was \$198.11 in Matabeleland North (source: <http://www.zimstat.co.zw>)

¹⁷ See Poverty Income Consumption & Expenditure Survey 2011/12 Report, 2012: 62. Accessed at <http://www.zimstat.co.zw>

Figure 4. Identified primary food sources used by 149 surveyed households (previous year and percent)

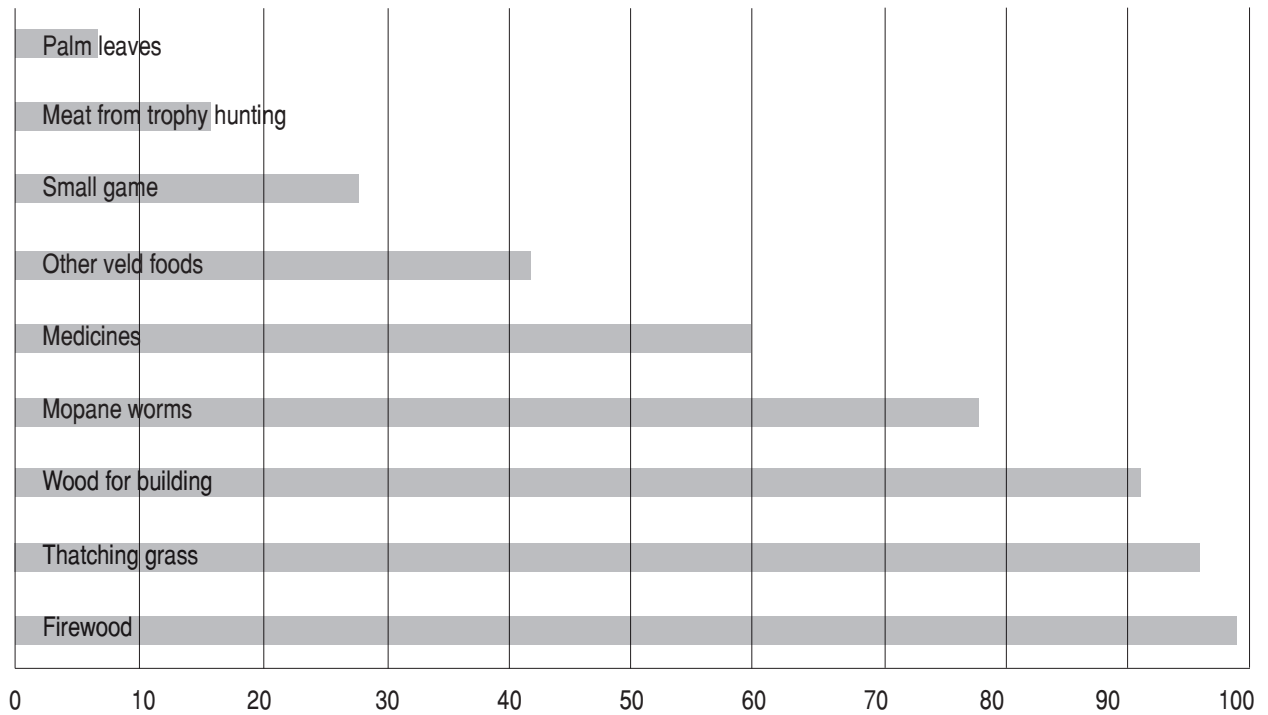


Figure 5. Income levels of 149 surveyed households (in number and percent)

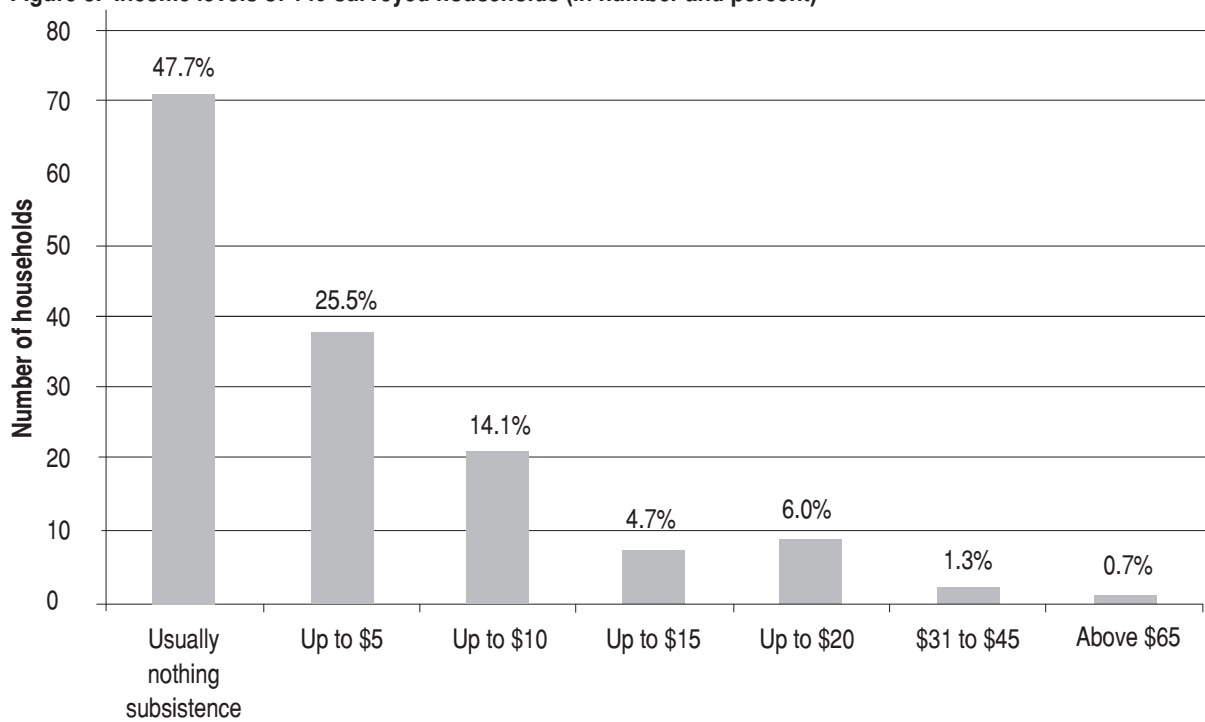
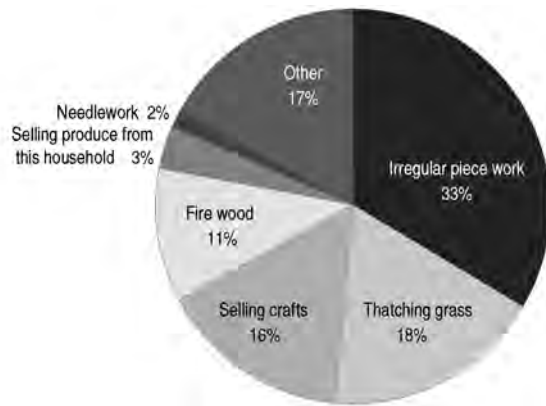


Figure 6. Sources of income among households (in percent)



bouring groups. While this corresponds with the low number of Tshwa in regular employment, discussions regarding the social mobility of Tshwa within Zimbabwe may also be warranted. Particular attention needs to be paid to sources of income, including remittances, and how they are changing, and to housing and sanitation conditions in the area.

3.7 Access to clean water supplies

One of the most striking issues we encountered was the lack of access to clean water supplies (Figure 7). This affects all com-

munities in Tsholotsho District, but evidently San peoples' lack of resources and often-remote locations compounded this issue. In the 2012 Census "safe water" is defined as "households using piped water, communal taps, protected boreholes", which accounted for 82% of households in Tsholotsho District, with 10% using unprotected boreholes, wells, rivers, streams and dams. During our research, few boreholes in Tshwa settlements appeared to work, and water was often gathered from temporary lakes, dams shared with livestock, water holes frequented by elephants and puddles formed on the roads, accounting to the 73% of households without access to clean water.

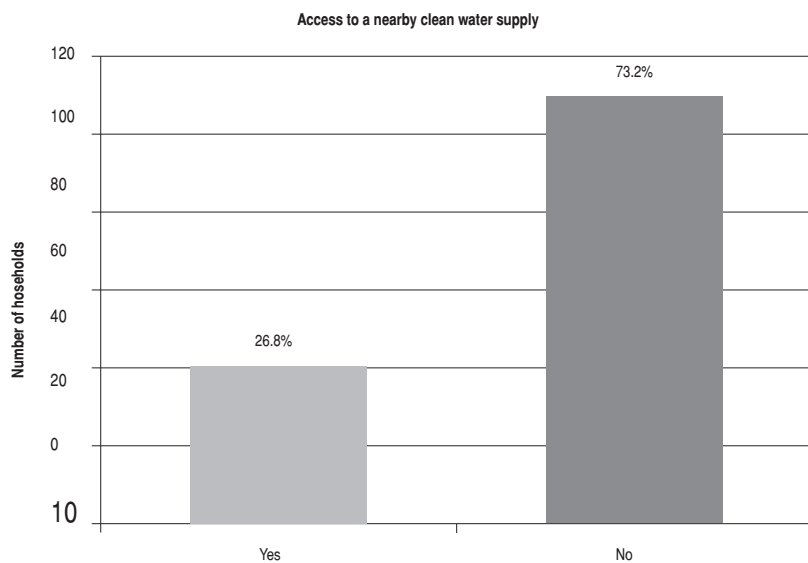


Figure 7. Households' access to a nearby clean water supply (in number and percent)

3.8 Health facilities

We observed that health services were well catered for between the state and NGO providers, and from group discussions awareness of HIV/AIDS, TB and women and children's health was good compared to many San communities in the Southern African region. High usage of health facilities is shown by the data in Figure 8. Reasons given for not using health facilities included distance, cost and preference for traditional medicine. Occasional discrimination by health practitioners was reported, in some cases based on the unusual fragrance of traditional perfume used by the Tshwa, though in principal relations were good.

It should be noted that these figures do not adequately take into account the severity of the health issues raised; we are not opposing all traditional medicine use as less serious issues may be effectively treated by traditional remedies.

Orphans and vulnerable children

20% of households reported caring for a child whose biological parents were deceased, which correlates with the average of 23.9% seen in the 2012 Census of Matabeleland North. Of these 31 households caring for orphans, only 2 reported receiving assistance for that child/children. One of the problems that Tshwa face in Tsholotsho, therefore, is access to state support for orphans

3.9 Identification documents

18.8% of the heads of households did not possess identification documents, which may impede access to services and voting rights. There was little difference between female and male ID ownership (Table 14). ○

Figure 8. Health practitioner utilised last time household member was significantly ill (in number and percent)

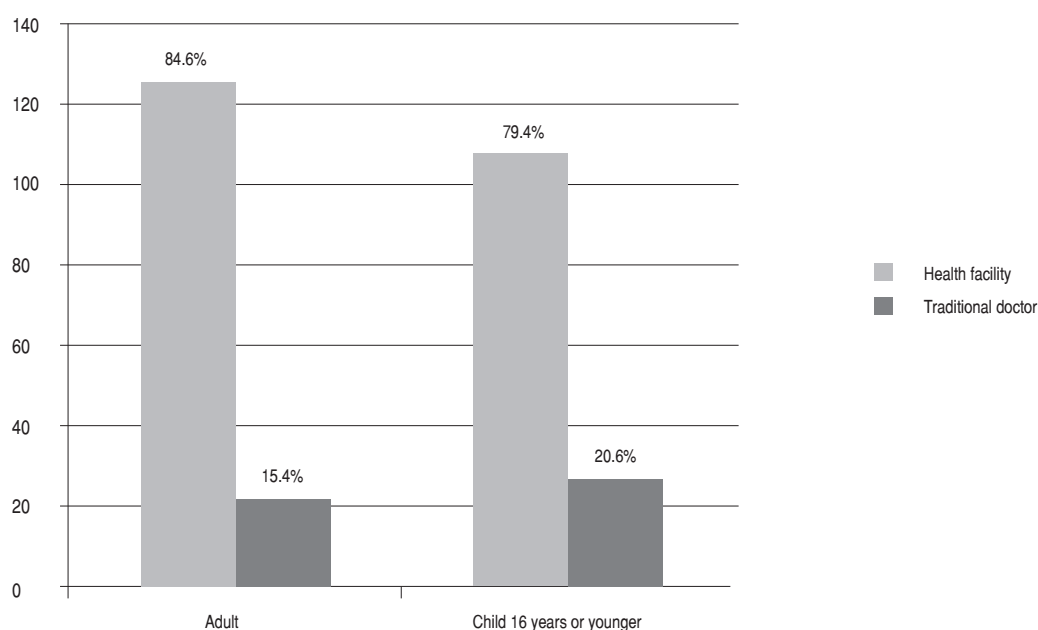


Table 14. Percentage of respondents with ID documents

ID documents	% of total women (n=100)	% of total men (n=49)
Yes	79.8	83.7
No	20.2	16.3

4. FINDINGS

On Sunday 4 November 2012, the Co-Minister in charge of National Healing and Reconciliation, the Honorable Moses Mzila Ndlovu, met about 180 San elders in at the Gariya Community Centre in Tsholotsho Ward 10. This one-on-one meeting was said to be a rare occurrence with a senior government official. During the meeting, a number of issues were addressed by the San and the Co-Minister, including the following: (1) San experience of discrimination, (2) lack of access to clean water, education, and health services, (3) lack of San leadership (both customary and elected), (4) access to land and ownership rights for the San, (5) discriminatory marriage practices affecting the San, (6) the need for San to benefit from cultural heritage sites such as the rock paintings in the Matopos Hills, and (7) the desire for a truth and reparation process on the massive displacements of the San by the past and present governments.¹⁸

The importance of these issues was corroborated in the interviews conducted during the survey and are reflected along with other findings of the survey.

4.1 Land and resettlement

Land tenure

The Zimbabwe laws relating to land see all land as belonging to the state. Divisions of the land in the past into communal areas, commercial farming areas, state land (national parks, forest areas, and safari areas), resettlement areas, and urban areas have in many ways been superseded by the land policies pursued since the initiation of the Fast Track Land Reform (2000-2002). Unlike San in other Southern African countries, Tshwa have not been allocated land on a community basis in Zimbabwe. There are no cases where Tshwa have been granted commercial farming land. Unlike Botswana, where San have been able to obtain commercial land (that is, freehold), as seen in the cases of D'Kar and Dqae Qare in Ghanzi District (Bollig et al. 2000) or Namibia, where Hai//om and other San have been able to obtain resettlement farms in commercial farming areas (Lawry, Begbie-Clench and Hitchcock 2012; Dieckmann et al.

2014), no Tshwa have been allocated commercial farming land, as far as we know, in Zimbabwe.

It is difficult to get an estimate of the number of Tshwa households that have access to land that they manage themselves. Five people said that they had land that they obtained through share-cropping arrangements, under which they had to provide a portion of the crop produced to the household head whose land was being used. Others said that they had approached local homestead heads and asked for permission to use some of the land in the fields that they had established for raising crops. In these kinds of arrangements, they either agreed to give a portion of the crops produced to the land owner, or they worked in the fields of the land owners, providing labour in exchange for land. Whilst no time limit to such agreements was mentioned, transfer of tenure was uncommon in these arrangements. Judging from our interviews, it appeared that 42 people (out of a total of 149) lacked land of any kind (28%).

Of the households with land, most of the fields are near their homesteads and could be considered what some people described as "homefields" or gardens near their residences. Those who were allocated land by the District Council said that they had to walk far to get to their fields, some of which were located in other villages, sometimes as far as 8 km away from their homes. One way to overcome this distance constraint, they said, was to cultivate abandoned fields. A problem with this strategy, they said, was that these fields were sometimes choked with weeds, and the soil fertility was poor. The result was that their crop yields were lower than they were in cases where they established their own fields.

Disputes over land does occur, some of them a result of people being allocated overlapping plots. In some cases, disputes occurred between relatives over land that had been held by a parent who had died. There were people who said that these disputes were usually dealt with at the local level through appealing to local authorities. There were cases, however, where they sought the assistance of the Tsholotsho District Council or the Matabeleland North provincial administration. None of the people to whom we spoke discussed taking either the government or local authorities to court regarding land access rights, although some of them were aware that San in other countries had done so (notably, in Botswana, Namibia, and South Africa).

¹⁸ The meeting was organized by Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust, a San community-based organization that empowers the San people to meaningfully participate in decision making, control of resources, safeguard cultural heritage, and promote human rights and sustainable livelihoods.



This Tshwa family living in one of the most remote areas of Tsholotsho District had been told that they would be resettled soon

Tshwa have raised the issue of land rights at various local, national, and international meetings, as was the case at a Southern African Development Community meeting side event on 28 July 2014 which focused on human rights issues involving indigenous peoples. Tshwa spokespersons have said that the Tshwa would like to be able to get *de jure* (legal) rights over blocks of land, receiving, for example, some of the commercial land being granted to landless people in Zimbabwe. They would also like to get leasehold rights over land in communal areas. The Tshwa have been following developments revolving around land tenure in Zimbabwe and are hopeful that they, like other Zimbabweans, will be able to have secure access to land of their own.

Resettlement and access to natural resources

One of the major concerns of people we interviewed was the risk of being resettled. A quarter of the households that we spoke to in the group interviews said that they had been resettled or had been told that they may have to resettle. Some of the resettlements took place during the liberation struggle (up to 1980) and some during the period of “troubles” from 1981-1988 (known as “Gukurahundi”). There were also people who said that they had been required to leave land set aside as Forestry Commission land under the Forest Act. They noted that they

were not allowed to exploit resources in the forest areas after Forestry Commission land was established, and that if they did so, they were subjected to arrest and fines by the Forest Protection Unit. Additionally, researchers in 1995 in the Tsholotsho District were informed that Tshwa people had been moved out of their former territories by the CAMPFIRE programme due to the establishment of wildlife management areas (Axel Thoma and Magdalena Broermann, pers. comm.).

One of the events that occurred just prior to the initiation of our fieldwork (in September, 2013) was the killing of elephants and other animals with cyanide in the southern portion of Hwange National Park (Mabuko et al. 2014, 2015). As a result some 135 elephants died in at least four localities inside and outside of the park (Mabuko et al. 2014:2). Ivory had been removed from some of the carcasses. Subsequently there were arrests of people from Tsholotsho, Bulawayo, and other places for alleged involvement in the procurement, distribution and use of cyanide and for poaching. A number of people were sentenced for violation of wildlife laws, including at least one Tshwa community member, though a number of suspects implicated in the supply of cyanide and transport of ivory, including police officers, were handed lesser charges or acquitted in January 2014. People residing in the areas close to the southern boundary of

Table 15. Resettlement of local populations in Southern Africa due to the establishment of National Parks, Game Reserves, and Conservation Areas

Park or Reserve Area, Date of establishment and size	Country	Comments
Central Kalahari Game Reserve (1961), 52,730 km ²	Botswana	Over 2,200 G//ui, G//ana, and Baboalongwe Bakgalagadi were resettled outside the reserve in 1997, 2002, and 2005
Chobe National Park (1961), 9,980 km ²	Botswana	Hundreds of Subiya were resettled in the Chobe Enclave, where 5 villages are in a 3,060 km ² area
Game Reserve No. 2 (1907), Etosha National Park (1967), 22,270 km ²	Namibia	Hai//om San were resettled outside of the park or sent to freehold farms in 1954
Hwange (Wankie) Game Reserve (1928); declared Hwange National Park (1961), 14,651 km ²	Zimbabwe	Several hundred Tshwa were rounded up and resettled south of Wankie Game Reserve after its declaration in 1927
Kalahari Gemsbok Park (1931), made a transfrontier park (Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park, KTP) in April, 1999, 37,991 km ²	South Africa, Botswana	‡Khomani and N/amani San were resettled out of the park in the early 1930s
Moremi Game Reserve (1963), 4,885 km ²	Botswana	Bugakwe (//Ani-kxoe) San were relocated out of the reserve in the 1960s and 1970s
Tsodilo Hills National Monument (1992); declared a World Heritage Site (2001), 225 km ²	Botswana	Some 100 Ju/'hoansi San were resettled away from the hills in 1995 by the Botswana government
West Caprivi Game Park (1963), proclaimed Bwabwata National Park in 2007, 6,274 km ²	Namibia	Khwe San and Mbukushu were resettled in the early 1960s; Khwe and !Xun San were moved to South Africa in 1990

the park were told by government and district officials that they had to move to new places away from the southern boundary of Hwange National Park. This included some Tshwa families who had not yet been informed of any relocation plans or compensatory measures at the time we visited.

This security situation for the Tshwa was exacerbated by the killing of a collared lion named Cecil by an American dentist, in July 2015, after it was lured out of Hwange National Park by a professional safari guide. A worldwide outcry about the ethics of sport hunting ensued (Anderson and Regan 2015). This has worried some Tshwa because they are feeling the brunt of pressures from the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management. They are concerned about the possibility of ces-

sation of trophy hunting since a few people said that they do get short-term employment on occasion with safari companies.

Two people said that they had tried to obtain Forestry Commission permits to harvest timber and other forest products (e.g., thatching grass) but that they were unable to do so. Most of the people whom we spoke to were reluctant to say whether they had entered either national park land or forest land in order to obtain natural resources. There was significant concern expressed about natural resource access. A Tshwa from a village close to the Hwange National Park's southern boundary said that lessons should be learned from the various relocations that occurred in Southern Africa as a result of the declaration of na-

tional parks, game reserves, monuments, and World Heritage Sites (see Table 15 for a list of some of these places).

As numerous studies¹⁹ have shown, the impacts of resettlements related to natural and conservation areas in Southern Africa are considerable and it takes significant time, effort, and resources for the resettlement-affected population to re-establish themselves.

Resettlement and relocation are complicated processes, and are often extremely hard on the people who are relocated. A major problem with conservation-related and development-related resettlement programmes is that government officials or agencies tend to focus their attention on the loss of residences (i.e., homes), other buildings (for example, latrines), corrals (livestock pens), and assets such as fruit trees rather than on loss of access to the means of production, especially land, gardens, fields, grazing, and wild resources on which people depend for subsistence and income (Scudder 2005, 2009; Devitt and Hitchcock 2010, 2012). Provision of cash compensation often works out in such a way that it does not serve as a replacement for lost assets nor a means of ensuring rehabilitation or improvement of livelihoods.

Although the issue of displacement of peoples has been a major subject of discussion internationally for the past several decades (see, for example, Scudder 2005, 2009, 2010) there are relatively few comprehensive legal instruments that deal directly with resettlement. The United Nations has a set of guiding principles (*United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*) which have been helpful in providing a set of standards for organisations working with Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), and the UNDRIP addresses the requirement for consent and compensation in the case of loss of land, territories or resources (Articles 10 and 28). Other organisations have also developed resettlement guidelines, including the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the African Development Bank, and various non-government organisations (for example, Conservation International, World Wildlife Fund) (Scudder 2005, 2009; World Commission on Dams 2000).

Private mining and oil companies, among others, have guidelines on corporate social responsibility (CSR) which devote some attention to issues of resettlement. The Tshwa are hopeful that the government of Zimbabwe will follow the international



Tshwa women with pearl millet seed

guidelines on resettlement and that efforts will be made to ensure that resettled people are able to have the full array of benefits available to people who are affected by conservation and development projects.

4.2 Agriculture and food security

Agriculture

Agriculture is the most important livelihood source for people in Tsholotsho. Agricultural methods range from cultivating the soil using ploughs, oxen, or donkeys borrowed from other people to using hand-held tools such as hoes. We saw one family that used a plough that was pulled by members of that household. Planting seeds is also done using hand-held tools, mainly hoes, shovels, or rakes. Some Tshwa adults and older children work in the fields of other ethnic groups in exchange for a portion of the crop produced. This kind of share-cropping pattern, however, was not common among the people we interviewed.

¹⁹ See Davison (1983); Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau (2006) Hitchcock (2000, 2001, 2012); Hitchcock and Nangati (1992, 1993), Hitchcock, Sapignoli and Babchuk (2011); Dieckmann (2001, 2003, 2007); Suzman (2004); Scudder 2005; Giraudo (2011); Sapignoli (2012); Taylor (2012); Bolaane (2013); and Barume (2000, 2014).

The lack of draught power and farming implements was mentioned frequently. Planting was being done at the time we were in the field (November-December, 2013). Some people had kitchen gardens either in their compounds or next to them. According to interviews, the crops being most frequently planted were maize, sorghum, melons, and beans. A listing of the crops grown is shown below:

beans (*Phaseolus mungo*, mung bean, and
Phaseolus acutifolius, teppary bean)
beetroot (*Beta vulgaris*)
cabbage (*Brassica oleracea*)
cantaloupe (spanspek) (*Cucumis melo*, var. *cantalupensis*)
carrot (*Daucus carota*)
cowpeas (*Vigna unguiculata*)
guava (*Psidium guajaya*)
maize (*Zea mays*)
melon (sweet melon, *Cucumis melo*)
millet (pearl millet, *Pennisetum typhoides*)
onion (*Allium cepa*)
pawpaw (papaya) (*Carica papaya*)
pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo*)
sorghum (*Sorghum bicolor*)
tomato (*Solanum lycopersicum*)
tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*)

It was not possible for us to get detailed information on crop production from local farmers, but we did hear about crop yields from agricultural extension personnel (AGRITEX) and members of agriculturally oriented non-government organisations (e.g., CTD), who said that crop production levels of Tshwa were considerably below those of other ethnic groups in the area such as the Ndebele and the Kalanga.

One of the issues that people highlighted was damage to crops by wild animals, including elephants, antelopes, baboons, and rodents and birds. An important activity of people was bird-scaring in the period of the year when sorghum and millet were ripening. Keeping livestock, especially cows, goats, and donkeys out of the fields was necessary and the responsibility of both adults and children. Most households constructed fences of thorn branches, poles, and shrubs.

People cited several constraints on agricultural production including insufficient or too much rainfall, destruction of crops by both wild and domestic animals, insect problems such as grasshoppers and locusts, plant diseases, lack of access to draught animals, insufficient numbers and varieties of seeds, especially of drought-resistant crops, and lack of agricultural extension assistance. It should be noted that government officials from AGRITEX said that they tried to provide as much advice and technical assistance as they could, but they were faced

with budgetary, personnel, and transport constraints. Several non-government organisations were assisting Tshwa and other people in Tsholotsho District, including Community Technology Development Trust (CTDT), Organisation of Rural Associations for Progress (ORAP), and PLAN International, but they, too, said that they faced constraints in providing assistance to local people.

Livestock

Very few Tshwa had livestock of their own. Of 149 households interviewed, 106 said that they had no livestock. Forty-three said that they had livestock of some type. For purposes of this report we defined livestock as domestic animals, including poultry (chicken and ducks). Of the 43 households that had livestock, 31 had chickens; 18 of those had chickens only, and 13 had chickens in combination with other animals. Nineteen households reported that they had goats; 5 reported that they had donkeys, 4 had cows, and one had sheep. No households reported having horses. People remarked about the importance of donkeys for transport and for pulling wagons and ploughs – the lack of draught power was raised repeatedly in interviews.

There was a total of 9 households that looked after domestic animals for other people. Of those, 5 had their own animals, and 4 had no other animals. Two people reported that they were allowed to use the milk of the animals that they cared for. In one case, the individual was given food in exchange for his livestock-related labour but no cash. Some people in Tsholotsho reportedly got access to livestock through the *usisa* system, a long-term cattle loan system where the benefits of the cattle, such as milk and draught power, are exchanged for management and oversight. Unlike in neighbouring Botswana, people were not given a calf after a period of herding-related service.

One of the constraints affecting the people of the Tsholotsho area was the presence of tsetse fly (*Glossina morsitans*) which carries *nagana* (sleeping sickness); this disease affects both livestock and people. Wild animal elimination (mainly through shooting) was used as a strategy to control tsetse fly in north western Zimbabwe from 1919 to the mid-1970s (Alec Campbell, David Cumming, pers. comm. 2011, 2013) as well as other diseases such as Foot-and-Mouth Disease (FMD). In the 20th century there were efforts to establish veterinary cordon fences to prevent the movement of livestock and curtail the spread of diseases such as rinderpest, *Contagious bovine pleuropneumonia* (CBPP, lung sickness), and FMD. Vaccination campaigns were undertaken by Veterinary Services in order to deal with livestock diseases in the 1980s and 1990s into the new millennium.



With an absence of draught power a San family pulls a plough that they received in exchange for traditional healing of a Ndebele man

Since Tshwa have so few livestock, they often do not avail themselves of opportunities to get immunisations for their animals, and only one cattle owner said that he used the government-sponsored dip tanks for dealing with tick-borne diseases. One of the recommendations arising from the work on livestock issues in Tsholotsho is the establishment of a revolving loan scheme or a repayment by progeny scheme, which would be aimed at increasing access to livestock, especially sheep and goats.

Lack of food security

The San of western Zimbabwe faced challenges regarding food security. As noted previously, Tshwa access to land was lower than that of other groups. Their low crop yields and their limited amount of livestock coupled with unpredictable weather patterns that have affected Tsholotsho District in recent years,²⁰

²⁰ The district experienced a severe drought period in 2012, flooding in early 2014 and poor rains in late 2014/early 2015. In 2012, people were preparing to leave their homes and move elsewhere, but they were having trouble getting permission to take up residence in new localities. <http://www.minorityvoices.org/news.php/en/1309/zimbabwe-san-people-forced-to-abandon-their-homes-in-search-of-water#sthash-ib45r1c3.dpuf>)

means that food security in general is poor. We observed a large variation in sources of food for Tshwa villages, with some people indicating a substantial reliance on natural resources (gathered bush foods) and others focusing on utilising small fields for agriculture. A number of individual informants mentioned they had not eaten a satisfactory meal in several days. A common factor was people's reliance on food/drought relief provision or food-for-work projects (facilitated by NGOs, including World Vision and Plan International, and the state) to the point that food relief has become one of the most important livelihood source for people in Tsholotsho.

4.3 Income generating activities

Like other people in Zimbabwe, the Tshwa were affected by the hyperinflation and economic stagnation that prevailed in the first decade of the new millennium. Whilst a tentative return to growth since 2009 has fostered relative improvements in the country, a number of organisations working with the Tshwa maintain that these are marginalised and suffer from discrimination. Some of the problems people face stem from physical isolation and a lack of access to external support.



Tshwa women and children returning with a substantial harvest of mopane worms

Piece work

As with comparable San communities elsewhere in Southern Africa, irregular labour, or “piece work”, is an important source of income for Tshwa households. Some of the Tshwa in Tsholotsho work for Ndebele and Kalanga as field hands, herders, and domestic workers. They assist these and other groups in collecting water, firewood, poles, and termite earth, constructing homes, building fences, ploughing fields, and harvesting crops. In general Tshwa work for a relatively low payment if they receive cash, and the same is true if they are paid in kind (that is, in food and other goods). There were also a few Tshwa who worked at Hwange Colliery, and some Tshwa were hopeful about the employment possibilities in a newly discovered diamond area in Dogwe, Tsholotsho.

At least four Tshwa had worked on neighboring commercial farms such as those in the Gwayi Lands. A few Tshwa in the past worked for the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority in Hwange National Park but there are no Tshwa employed currently in Hwange or by the National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (ZNPWLA). We attempted to learn why no Tshwa were employed in Hwange but were unable to find out the reasons. We were told of six people who worked in Bulawayo, two in government offices, two as

mechanics, and two as gardeners. Expansion of the number of formal sector work opportunities in Tsholotsho was called for by the Tshwa.

As few formal employment opportunities exist amongst the Tshwa, the majority of other livelihoods strategies are dependent on the environment, using combination of traditional knowledge, crafts and harvesting.

Forestry

An important source of income for some people in Tsholotsho District is timber product extraction. Six Tshwa men told us that they cut poles for other people. They also build fences for other people. Several people said that they cut valuable timber such as teak (*Baikiaea plurijuga*), which they sell to commercial buyers. These buyers are linked to companies who use the teak for furniture manufacture and for sale to other companies that require railway sleepers or supports for use in mine shafts.

Frequently several community members in a village generate income from harvesting trees and carving large pestles and mortars for processing grains. These items are sold to neigh-

bouring communities for up to \$10 and are an important income sources for the Tshwa.

There were also people who had worked in the past for commercial timber operations in Tsholotsho and Bulilima Mangwe and in the Northern State Lands (previously called the Northern Crown Lands) of neighbouring Botswana, such as on the Nata Ranches. Forestry activities also took place in the 1990s in the Forest Reserves and communal areas under the guidance of the *Forest Act* of Zimbabwe (1948, amended several times), which only a few people appeared to be familiar with. Expanding knowledge of some of the implications of environmental legislation such as the *Forest Act* would clearly be useful. Several people said that they had run afoul of the *Forest Act* and had been arrested by members of the Forest Protection Unit. There was clear resentment among some Tshwa and other groups in Tsholotsho of forestry enforcement personnel.

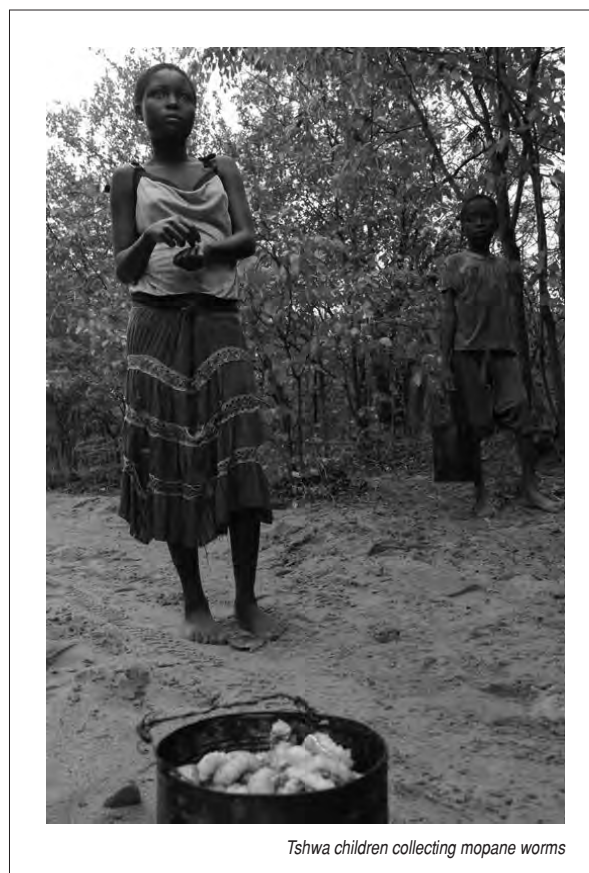
Traditional activities

Hunting

We saw no evidence of hunting by Tshwa at the time we were there. Most people said that they did not do any hunting, and that the main source of protein came from the gathering of mopane worms (*Gonimbrasia belina*). Mopane worms also form an important seasonal cash or goods income, as they are sold or traded with Ndebele and Kalanga neighbours. At times they are also traded for beer.

Scavenging used to be a useful strategy and made up a portion of the subsistence returns of Tshwa in the past. Historically people searched the skies for vultures and other raptors, which they believed might indicate the presence of a dead animal or a kill by lions, leopards, or cheetahs. They would then go to that place and, if there were predators or scavengers on a carcass, they would attempt to scare them off by shouting, clapping their hands, running at them, or cracking a whip. In some cases, the predators would leave their kill and move off into the bush, allowing the Tshwa to help themselves to whatever meat was left. Today, scavenging of carcasses is still done occasionally, but at some risk of arrest by game scouts or police.

Some Tshwa in Tsholotsho have dogs, but they maintain that the dogs are not used for hunting but are kept to warn them of predators or people coming to their residences and. The meat of wild animals was reportedly an uncommon part of the diet among the Tshwa in western Zimbabwe in 2013. Some people said that in the past they had gotten to eat some of the meat from problem animal control (PAC) operations of the Zimbabwe Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management, but they had not had such meat during the previous year. They also



Tshwa children collecting mopane worms

complained that the Tsholotsho District CAMPFIRE (Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources) personnel had not given them any meat from culling operations for years. Several mentioned that game meat consumption was a part of Tshwa culture.

Gathering

Gathering of wild plants was and is an important part of the livelihoods of many Tshwa households. Data obtained on Tshwa in northern Botswana in the 1980s indicated that over 100 species of plants were exploited for food, medicines, manufacturing of tools and other items, clothing, and construction purposes (Hitchcock 1982, field notes, 2013). The collecting of thatching grass was done by 90% of the 149 households that we interviewed. Some of the thatching grass is used for domestic purposes, while people also sell the grass to their neighbours or to people who would visit Tsholotsho in search of grass to purchase. Table 16 presents data on economically valuable plants and insects that are exploited by Tshwa for domestic use or for sale. It can be seen that there are a number of different species, many of which are non-timber forest products (NTFP).

Table 16. Economically valuable plants and insects used by Tshwa and Shua groups in western Zimbabwe and northern Botswana

Common Name	Scientific Name	Local Name	Uses
Baobab	<i>Adansonia digitata</i>	<i>Mowana</i>	Food, medicine
Cochineal	<i>Dactylopius coccus</i>	Cochineal, an insect that feeds on <i>Opuntia</i> spp. (prickly pear)	Collected and sold for use in carmine dyes, food coloring
Devil's Claw, grapple plant	<i>Harpagophytum procumbens</i>	Sengaparile	Headaches, made into a tea for medicinal purposes
<i>Commiphora</i> spp. (<i>pyracanthoides</i>) plants as host to larvae of beetles	<i>Diamphidia nigro-ornata</i>	Antidote to the poison is from the bulb <i>Ammocaris coranica</i>	Used in making arrow poison among Tshwa and Shua in the past
Hoodia	<i>Hoodia pelifera</i> , <i>H. gordonii</i>	<i>Ghaap, xhooba, !khoba</i>	Plant used in allaying thirst and hunger, has very high potential commercial value
Marula	<i>Sclerocarya caffra</i> or <i>birrea</i>	<i>Marula</i>	Making wine, fruits into candy, Amarula
Mongongo	<i>Schinziophyton</i> [<i>Ricinodendron</i>] <i>rautanenii</i>	Mongongo, mokongwa, mangetti	Nuts for consumption, wood for stools and other items
Mmilo	<i>Vangueria infausta</i>	Small fruit on vine	Used for food
Morama	<i>Tylosema esculentum</i>	Morama, tsin bean <i>cam</i> (Naro)	Nuts and roots for consumption
Truffle	<i>Terfezia pfeilii</i>	Kalahari truffle, <i>kama, dcoodcoo khuuts'u</i> (Naro)	Fungus that is eaten and sold
Wild currant bush	<i>Grewia flava</i>	<i>kg'om</i> (Naro) <i>‡aus</i> (Hai//om)	Berries that are collected, eaten, and sold
Gembok Cucumber	<i>Acanthosicyos naudiniana</i>	<i>ncoro</i>	Procured, eaten for moisture purposes, seeds consumed
Wild coffee bean	<i>Bauhinia petersiana</i>	<i>‡angg‡oa</i>	Seeds procured, consumed, sold

Note: Data obtained from fieldwork by Robert Hitchcock and from Tanaka (1980:56, 71, Tables 8 and 12; 2014); Tanaka and Sugawara (2010)

Fishing

Fishing is a strategy employed by Tshwa in Tsholotsho. Some of the fishing is done in rivers such as the Little Inkwazi or the Maitengwe (Nata) or in pans such as Dzivanini. A common fishing method is to use fish baskets (*dumbu*). Tshwa, mainly adult males, also use spears for fishing; two kinds of spears are used, a thin spear shaft made of *Grewia* branches, with a wire tip inserted in the end which is used as a kind of searching spear. People also use more substantial spears with iron blades, but these are rare as most people said that they had gotten rid of their hunting and fishing spears, presumably for fear of being arrested. Hooks and fishing line were used by both adults and children. There was no evidence of the use of poison for fishing or for hunting among the Tshwa in Tsholotsho in 2013, though poison from plants for arrows was reportedly used in the past in the region (see Parry 2007). The only fish that we saw in people's residences were barbels (sharp toothed catfish) (*Barbus barbatus* and *Clarias gariepinus*) though people reported catching other types of fish such as bream (*tilapia*). According to informants, fishing is on the decline in many areas, in part because of changing environmental and economic conditions.

4.4 Community-based natural resource management and forestry

Tshwa communities in Tsholotsho have taken part in activities related to CAMPFIRE. This programme, which was initiated in the late 1980s (Peterson 1991; Jones and Murphree 2004, 2010; Borgerhoff Mulder and Coppolillo 2005:45, 260-263, 288-291) is the Zimbabwean version of what is known in other parts of Southern Africa as community based natural resource management (CBNRM) projects, sometimes also described as integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs), that were initiated in the 1980s, 1990s and early part of the new millennium.

These projects were based on a number of assumptions. First, it was assumed that Southern African governments would be willing to devolve authority over natural resources to the local level and would enact legislation to make this possible. Secondly, it was assumed that local people would be willing to participate in community based conservation and development. A third assumption was that government, traditional authorities, and non-government organisations would be willing to consult local people and have them be involved in planning and decision-making. A fourth assumption was that if local people had the rights over natural resources and got the benefits from them, they would work to conserve them. Fifth, since CBNRM combines natural conservation and rural development, it was assumed that both human and wildlife populations would benefit. A sixth assumption was that sustainable use of resources

would ensure that resources were available for both present and future generations.

The main goal of communities that opt to get involved in CBNRM programmes is subsistence and income security. The Tshwa have taken part in the CAMPFIRE programme, and several Tshwa mentioned that they had found that CAMPFIRE had reduced their access to natural resources (further research would be needed to make an accurate assessment of these statements). Over time there have been changes in CAMPFIRE, and the benefits that went directly to local communities were reduced, with district councils taking up to 85 per cent of the funds derived from community-based natural resource management activities. In Tsholotsho the numbers of jobs in CAMPFIRE programmes had declined to the point where in late 2013 fewer than five Tshwa were employed in CAMPFIRE programmes.

The majority of the people to whom we spoke were unaware of the various government land and resources acts that affect community-based natural resource management, such as the Land Acquisition Act of 1992 or the Forest Act of 1948. One person said that he had been prosecuted under the Forest Act for having tried to smoke out bees in Inseze Forest Land north of Tsholotsho town. The issue of the use of fire was seen as an important one, since some people felt that burning off the debris on new fields was useful to do, while others said that in the past, fires were set at certain times of the year in order to encourage the growth of plants that could be consumed by livestock. A few people said that they had heard of the fast track resettlement programme that began in 2000, but noted that they had not been affected either directly or indirectly by this programme. They did say that they heard of other people in Zimbabwe who had been affected by the Fast Track Resettlement Programme (for discussions of this programme, see Scoones et al. 2011; Dube and Moyo 2015).

One person from Dlamini village said that he was unhappy with the government's decision, made under the Communal Lands Act of 1982 (amended in 2002) and the Communal Lands Forest Produce Act of 1987 (amended in 2001) to allow the Tsholotsho District Council to enter into an agreement with a commercial logging company. He said that local people in Tsholotsho did not benefit from forestry concessions, only the company and the council. He recommended that revisions be made in the government legislation on land and forestry to allow local communities to benefit more directly from concession agreements. Another man said that the movements of cattle from one area to another, known locally as the *lagisa* system, had been affected negatively by the decision of the Tsholotsho District Council and Matabeleland North to get Appropriate Authority status from the Zimbabwe government.

4.5 Climate change

Zimbabwe, as other Southern African nations, may face increasingly unpredictable and extreme weather patterns related to global climate change. Areas such as Tsholotsho District are susceptible to both drought (as of late 2014, early 2015) and flooding (as seen in early 2014). In almost all the communities we visited elements of climate change were mentioned as leading issues in relation to food security. Interviewees stated on a number of occasions the increasing unpredictability of season weather patterns, particularly rainfall. Discussions indicated a lack of adaptation to these ongoing issues, possibly as there are few existing resources and alternatives to current food security and livelihood strategies.

In particular the following issues appear recurrent for communities:

- **Agricultural production:** Differing timing, frequency and strength of seasonal rains lead to poorly timed sowing and limited harvests from rain damage or lack of water.
- **Livestock:** Unpredictable rainfall affects the availability of grazing, animal health and cost of livestock farming.
- **Water for human consumption:** Water sources traditionally relied upon including rivers and seasonal pans have become unreliable due to variability in the timing and availability of rainfall and temperatures, which affect evaporation rates.
- **River and pond levels, including fishing:** Inhabitants of several settlements near the river mentioned that fishing used to be a regular (seasonal) food source, but now was rare.
- **Food security, including gathering natural products (including mopane worms, tubers, water lilies):** Differing seasonal availability of a number of staple plants and particularly mopane worms. Whilst in the past these may have formed a substantial part of the Tshwa diet in certain seasons, they can no longer be relied upon.
- **Storms;** several people said that rain and wind storms were more severe than they had been in the past, and some of them said that they wanted an early warning system to be established which would warn people of potential droughts, floods, tornados, and other potentially disastrous events. They also said that the early warning systems should draw on local ecological knowledge about weather, climate, and environmental change.

4.6 Water, sanitation and health issues

Water, sanitation and hygiene

Access to clean water is a significant problem in Tsholotsho. During the course of our survey, we saw people collecting rain-water from puddles in the roads using tin cans. We were asked to avoid driving through water on roads due to the reliance on this water source. Most of the Tshwa potentially have access to boreholes. However most of these require payment for water (fuel and maintenance costs) and we were informed that maintenance issues are common - numerous boreholes in settlements we visited had broken pumps or casings. Lack of funds to pay the fee (\$3 per month at several villages) in particular necessitated that other water sources be utilised. Household sizes varied, but some of the households had as many as 7-10 people residing in them.

Just over 1 in 4 households we surveyed said that they had access to clean water sources. One of the issues related to obtaining water was the distance that people had to go to the water points. There were cases where people had to go 3-5 kilometres to a water source. Water quality was cited as a problem by a number of the people that we interviewed. None of the people to whom we spoke said that they used effective methods to treat their water to make it safer to drink. Non-government organisations told us that they encouraged people to boil their water, but Tshwa told them that they lacked sufficient firewood to do so. Some interviewees stated that if time allowed they would put fire ash in the water, asserting that leaving the ash to settle at the container's bottom removes many of the impurities. They also sometimes used cloth as a filter. This may reduce sediment and make saline water more palatable, and theoretically may inhibit bacterial growth through raising alkalinity, but is unlikely to reduce serious waterborne disease and may have other health consequences.

Some of the people who live in the areas where there are seasonal water pans collect water from them during the rainy season, though some pans were frequented by elephant herds that dirtied the water and can present a physical risk. Villages within walking distance of Gariya Dam—a water reservoir—collect water from there. When the dam is high, they noted, the water quality was good, however, during the dry season the remaining water becomes fouled by cattle, game and elephants using the dam.

Wells (*jinaa*) were dug in the Maitengwe River using buckets, tin cans, and shovels. At the time we observed these wells (December, 2013) they were less than 30 centimetres to 1 meter deep.



A basic well in the river bed

Some deeper wells were seen in the river, which had acacia thorn tree fences around them to protect them from cattle, goats, and other domestic stock. Wells were also dug by hand for purposes of watering livestock. These hand dug wells were seen along the Maitengwe River. This water was said to be of good quality, likely because of filtration through the sand river-bed.

Sanitation is also a problem in rural Tsholotsho. Only three households had sanitation facilities that they used; the rest of the households said that they went to the bush for defecation purposes. Some people had ablution facilities, and there were a number of people who washed at places along the sand rivers and pans. One of the problems with open defecation is disease. We were told that some people came down with illnesses that they attributed to the lack of sanitation facilities in the area.

General health, HIV/AIDS, TB and chronic illness

Health challenges include HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria, water-borne diseases, hookworm, tick-borne diseases, sleeping sickness, and infant diarrhoea. The infant mortality rate is moderate but could be reduced substantially by improved access to maternal and child health (MCH) in general. Women said that

they would like to have more health programmes available to them. Some people said that there were insufficient numbers of clinics in the region, however the quality of service provision from these clinics appeared adequate compared to many we have seen in other rural areas in Southern Africa. We found most communities very open in discussing HIV/AIDS and issues of sexual health, which was unusual and welcome compared to experiences in San communities elsewhere in Southern Africa.

The health status of many Zimbabweans, especially children, has improved over the past several decades. Part of the reason for health improvement is the expansion of physical infrastructure and health services in rural areas. The government of Zimbabwe has also made significant efforts to improve preventative and curative health care. The infant mortality rate in Zimbabwe in 2012 was 28.23 per thousand live births, as compared to 62 per thousand live births in 2000 (Zimbabwe Ministry of Health and Child Welfare data).

Zimbabwe, however, is facing some major health challenges. One of the most important of these challenges is HIV/AIDS. While in general the HIV prevalence rate appears to be relatively low in Tsholotsho compared to rates in other parts of Southern Africa, there were substantial numbers of people being treated

for HIV in the Tshwa villages we visited. For example, in one group discussion of 11 San women, 8 disclosed their status, 7 of whom said they were HIV positive.

Knowledge of HIV transmission was generally good, and availability of condoms appeared sufficient and often supplied for free, though teenage pregnancy rates were reportedly high (see below Women and Children's health). Some people were aware of factors such as multiple partners, early diagnosis and not using traditional healers for HIV-related illness, as well as seeking early treatment for tuberculosis (TB). Antiretroviral drugs (ARVs) were available at the clinics and hospitals in Tsholotsho free of charge. One of the difficulties people faced was having sufficient food and clean water necessary to ensure the effectiveness of the ARVs, and some felt this strongly affected their ability to carry out family duties.

Other health problems that people we interviewed mentioned were TB, malaria, respiratory infections, and infant and child diarrhoea. The latter problem was mainly addressed with oral rehydration therapy (ORT). Long-term solutions to reducing diarrhoea prevalence include changing hygiene practices and increased use of latrines. Some health personnel noted that there were sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) such as gonorrhoea and chlamydia that were reported among people in Tsholotsho, including the Tshwa. Schistosomiasis (bilharzia or snail fever) infections were low compared to people living along Lake Kariba or the Zambezi, though not uncommon. TB infections were said to be common and we noted possible symptoms among many people we interviewed; a number of informants referred to the frequent unfiltered tobacco smoking exacerbating this problem. However frequency of drug resistant TB is relatively low.

Tshwa are taller and heavier now than they used to be. We did not hear of diabetes in Tsholotsho and we were told by health workers that the Tshwa had very low serum cholesterol, low blood pressures, and little in the way of heart disease. But diets today are higher in carbohydrates and refined sugars, and according to health workers there are indications that adult-onset diabetes is on the increase among some San, and that cardiovascular disease is more common today than it was in the past, as are various kinds of cancer (see also Zimbabwe Ministry of Health and Child Welfare data).

Though bed nets had been distributed, malaria was reported as a problem, particularly in the rainy season, and there were cases where almost entire villages came down with malaria; the problem was so severe that the residents had difficulty collecting sufficient food or water or doing agricultural and other kinds of work. In 2011 there was a serious outbreak of scabies in Tsholotsho District which particularly affected the Tshwa, and

is known to have greater adverse effects in resource-poor communities, though this has not occurred on such a scale since. Hookworm was reported as a problem by several people.

Participants stated that other acute illness amongst the Tshwa was treated in hospitals, accessed through local clinics, which was also reflected in data collected; however, as we have seen with other remote resource-poor communities, individuals with severe chronic health issues cannot always access quality health services, and we came across a number of elderly and one young disabled girl who lived with considerable health difficulties and without access to state services.

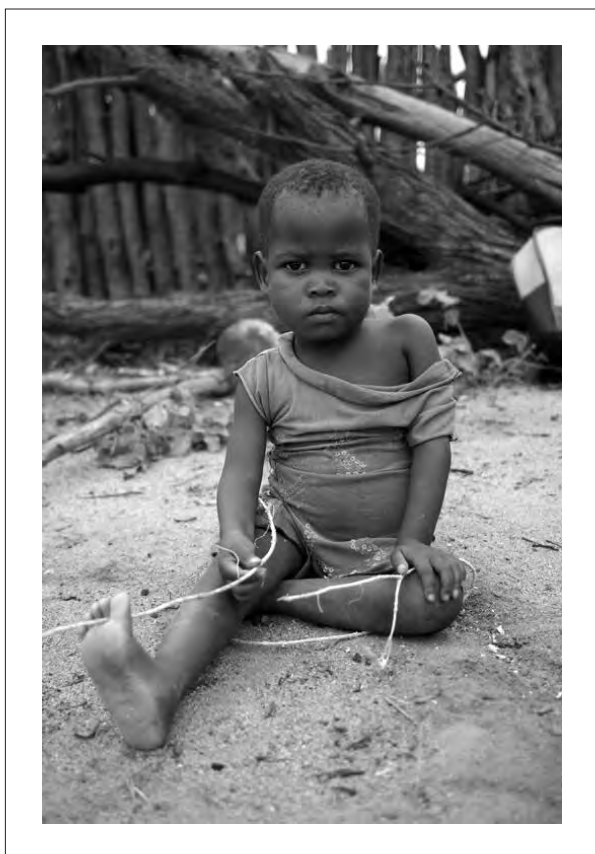
Women and Children's Health (also see Gender section)

The health and well-being of children and pregnant and lactating women and other segments of the population have been monitored under the Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment system and by Ministry of Health personnel in the health posts, clinics, schools, and communities of western Zimbabwe. Some of the adults, mainly women, and children who had worked in tobacco fields or on commercial farms said that they had illnesses, some of which may relate to tobacco poisoning or to the use of pesticides. Some people noted that gastroenteritis was a problem for some of the infants and young children, particularly at times of the year when seasons changed.

Several of the focus groups raised the issue of teenage pregnancy, which they said was widespread. They stated that many San girls fall pregnant by the age of 13 and attributed this to a number of factors: dropping out of school due to lack of funds; poverty and transactional sex; not listening to parent's advice. Suggestions to combat teenage pregnancy included building schools nearer the villages and assisting with funds and clothes for children. Rape and domestic violence were cited by some people we interviewed as significant problems.

Nutrition

Whilst the nutritional situation amongst the Tshwa varied, it generally appeared and was reported as low; the very poor nutritional situation among some households must be addressed, as must the income levels. A significant percentage of family income is expended on food. Many people said that they were not getting sufficient food to meet their needs. They also said that the food that they did get was not balanced nutritionally. The lack of protein in particular was cited as a major problem. The food that was provided by government and NGOs was appreciated, but people said that there were long periods when they did not get any food. It would be useful to evaluate the livelihood



support programmes that exist in Tsholotsho and come up with recommendations for their improvement.

Tshwa are very active, going on forays for foraging and visiting purposes, carrying infants, and engaging in extensive work activities both in their communities and in the bush. There are periods, however, when people go hungry, especially during the late dry season, and under-nutrition is a problem with which some Tshwa have to contend. As one Tshwa man put it, “Look at us. We are thin. We are dying from hunger.” It should be noted, however, that not a single life was lost to starvation during the severe droughts of 1982-1985 and the early 1990s and early part of the new millennium, thanks to the effective nutritional and health surveillance and relief programmes that were established by the Zimbabwe government and non-government organisations.

Alcohol and Substance Abuse

Limited substance abuse in Tsholotsho District, consisting largely of marijuana use but some harder drugs, was mentioned by a handful of informants during our research, but alcohol abuse was mentioned frequently. Some Tshwa did occasionally frequent shebeens (often unlicensed local shops which sell traditional, but sometimes stronger commercial, alcoholic drinks),

most of which were owned by members of other ethnic groups. Tshwa rarely own shebeens. Some Tshwa people do brew traditional beer in order to generate income. Most people said that they did not have the expendable income to spend on traditional beer or other forms of alcohol.

Alcohol addiction is common in Southern Africa, and has been observed to have particularly devastating effects on San communities (Felton and Becker 2001:52, 60-63; Dieckmann et al. 2014). Alcohol related violence was responsible for substantial numbers of injuries to women, children, and men in Tshwa villages. Some villages reported recent serious incidents from conflicts related to alcohol abuse, including stabbings and domestic violence. A significant number of alcohol related crimes in San communities was confirmed by local police officers in Tsholotsho. Alcohol consumption is a major cause of social conflict. Of particular concern in San communities is the abuse of alcohol to reduce hunger pangs or to alleviate boredom due to unemployment and a lack of traditional or other livelihoods activities. Another concern is the payment or exchange of goods for alcohol by other ethnic groups. This occurs, for example, with mopane worms harvested by Tshwa in Tsholotsho District.

Several women suggested that a “community wellness programme” should be instituted and include an alcohol and tobacco awareness component as well as a component dealing with sexually transmitted diseases. Having a culturally sensitive intervention programme for substance abuse that treats not only the symptoms but also addresses some of the root causes of the problems would go a long way toward assisting the people in the communities of western Zimbabwe.

4.7 Education and language

A common but mistaken perception of San peoples in Zimbabwe is that they do not wish to participate in education and that they “resist civilisation”. In fact, most Tshwa parents we met understood the importance of education and encouraged their children to attend school; however our data indicated that more than half of the school-aged Tshwa children were not attending school. In many cases, Tshwa parents and other adults stated that they want their children to be educated in schools. However, few Tshwa raise a significant income with which to pay school fees, alongside other deterrent issues including long distances to schools, social issues such as teenage pregnancy and truancy, and a lack of appropriate curriculums in schools.

Pre-primary education/early childhood development

There is some pre-primary education, most of it provided by Tshwa parents. In Sanqinyana village the community has constructed a basic preschool and raised private donations for materials. The quality of instruction was not clear, as it appeared that no teacher training had been provided. However, there was strong motivation within the community for mother tongue Early Childhood Development (ECD) provision. Construction had begun on a similar preschool at Gariya village, though at the time of our visit the community had run out of money for materials and construction had been suspended. There were discussions of setting up other preschools in Tshwa communities. Tshwa parents definitely considered ECD to be an important facet of Tshwao language development for their children.

Primary and secondary education

Tshwa children rarely complete primary school and progress into secondary education (see section 2.3). The costs, and to a lesser extent distance, appeared to be the primary reasons for the high number (41%) of children of a school-going age who were not enrolled in formal education. Tshwa parents indicated that their children were occasionally discriminated against in schools, and the children were also sometimes subjected to bullying by their peers and to corporal punishment by teachers and administrators. There is a high dropout rate from school, resulting in low levels of qualifications necessary for getting jobs in the formal economy of Zimbabwe. School dropout is a particular problem for Tshwa girls, some of whom left school because of the ways in which they were treated and in response to pressures to engage in work in their families' homes and fields. Teenage pregnancy was also mentioned several times in group interviews as a cause of Tshwa girls dropping out.

There are 30 primary schools in the Tsholotsho North Constituency and 13 secondary schools. None of the schools meets the national standard for teacher-pupil ratio. All of the schools are day schools except for Tsholotsho High School, which has boarding facilities. The Tsholotsho District Council owns 29 of the 30 schools; the other school, at Thebano, is owned by a mission. The pass rate for Tshwa students is very low. Parents said that the students were willing to learn, and that they appreciated the efforts of the teachers in the schools. They did want to see greater access to books and curricular materials, which may be limited in some rural schools.

Tertiary education and vocational training

Few, if any, of Zimbabwe's Tshwa have attended university. This is in a marked difference from the Shua of Manxotae and Nata areas of Botswana who have received advanced university degrees and are working either for government (e.g., for the Min-

istry of Finance and Development Planning) or for non-government organisations such as the Botswana Khwedom Council, a national representative San body. This disparity between these two related San groups merits further analysis.

Vocational training for Tshwa and other people in Tsholotsho is available on a limited basis through food security projects. There are NGOs that work at the local level, and some people have gone to Tsholotsho, Nyamandlovu, and Bulawayo for training. Workshops have been held by the Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust and other non-government organisations including World Vision, Plan International and Médecins Sans Frontières, including some relating to education, health, language, and practical skills, for example, in agriculture, water, and sanitation.

Language

There are significant efforts to promote multiculturalism and diversity by local non-government organisations and by individuals. The Constitution of Zimbabwe defines all black Zimbabweans as indigenous and therefore does not recognise the San as distinct indigenous peoples. As noted previously, the new Constitution (Government of Zimbabwe 2013) does, however, recognise "Koisian" as a language (see section 2.5, this volume), one of 16 official languages in the country.

We asked the question "what languages are spoken in your household?" as part of our survey. It was found that the number of Tshwao speakers was 29; three people said that they spoke Ganade, a Tshwao language. The vast majority of Tshwa were Ndebele speakers, while the next most common language was Kalanga (forming 62% and 35% respectively of languages reported as spoken every day). Two people spoke Nambya, six spoke Shona, three spoke Tonga, and two spoke English. Multilingualism was common.

One question that came up frequently, and merits further research in order to resolve, was why the San on the Botswana side of the border especially along the middle third of the Nata River, who have cultural and linguistic similarities with the Tshwa of Zimbabwe, were able to speak their language (most often Shua) to a greater degree than those on the Zimbabwe side of the border. Additionally, there is very little information on the numbers of Tshwa and Shua and the degree to which there are differences in terms of social identities and languages among them. The uncertainty over the classification of group names and language names is something that could be cleared up through concerted linguistic work, some of which has been carried out in Nata, Botswana by William McGregor of Aarhus University and by Andy Chebanne of the University of Botswana. Jeffrey Wills of the University of Zimbabwe has been coor-



Group discussion

dinating efforts with the Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust in documenting Tshwao on the Zimbabwe side of the border.

The Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust held cultural festivals for Tshwa in 2013, including one at Gariya on 17 August. The Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust and the Creative Arts and Educational Development Association (CAEDA) have also collaborated over several years with local communities and with personnel from the University of Zimbabwe in the documentation of the Tshwao language. Workshops and meetings have been held with Tshwa communities as part of an effort to promote Tshwa cultural and language revitalisation.

As previously mentioned in this report, the Tshwao language is at a critical juncture where without formal support and development it is at risk of extinction, due to the low number of fluent Tshwao speakers. Most fluent Tshwao speakers are elderly and a number pass away each year. However, a proportion of the Tshwa community and individuals from civil society, academia and government are pursuing the documentation and teaching of Tshwao language in the district. A large proportion of Tshwa we spoke to viewed the continuity of their language as very important, which can be evidenced by the community constructed ECD centres for the purpose of teaching language and culture.

As of early 2015, community members, Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust, University of Zimbabwe and Great Zimbabwe University are assisting with Tshwao development, partnered with various experts from regional and international academia. This has included drafting of a dictionary, grammar and developing orthography. However, substantial support and investment will be needed to ensure that Tshwao teaching materials, well trained teachers and acceptance of the language into the national curriculums (at least at ECD/early primary grades) is forthcoming.

Our discussions with the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education indicated that the Ministry expects to produce basic school materials in the Tshwao language but it is dependent in part upon having good basic linguistic information. It remains to be seen whether the Zimbabwe government will have the resources and capacity to develop orthography of Tshwao along with culturally appropriate educational and language materials. Given the volume of work required a time frame of 5 to 10 years should be expected for Tshwao language and curriculum development to be taken forward within the national education framework. Substantial local efforts would be needed during this period to maintain the language's use.

4.8 Gender

Whilst traditionally San cultures had very differing roles for men and women, gender relations were commonly equitable, with some groups having been historically described by anthropologists as among the most equitable in the world. In practice we have observed limited gender discrimination in San communities across Southern Africa over the last decade. Gender-based violence certainly occurs in some San communities, the majority with men as aggressors though it is not uncommon to hear of wives beating husbands. Additionally there are more men in San local leadership roles across Southern Africa (e.g. headmen, traditional leaders), though where women leaders do emerge they are well respected and not limited to low-level representation. Often San women, particularly younger women, prefer to discuss matters in an informal environment rather than in meetings or workshops as their participation in the latter might be seen as wanting to impress men, which can be considered culturally inappropriate.

Tshwa villages in Tsholotsho District appear to have both female and male leaders, though we observed a greater number of men in these roles. On questioning, a number of women leaders told us there was no discrimination against women, as this was foreign to Tshwa culture. One female focus group stated that women were commonly known as the family decision makers, in contrast to neighbouring Kalanga and Ndebele households, though Tshwa women would often appear submissive towards men despite this decision making role. We were also told by a number of groups of men that they were happy to have women leaders, and that in fact other Africans and whites were the groups who discriminated against women rather than the Tshwa. Questions arose as to whether the Tshwa were emulating neighbouring groups in their practices such as having women do the bulk of the household work, having males dominate political discussions, and having more men in positions of influence than women. The Tshwa, in answer to this question, said that they felt that at least some Tshwa were following some of the models of their neighbours.

Female focus groups stated that gender based violence was low in the San community, though others described that it did occur sometimes and attributed it in part to alcohol abuse (see Alcohol and Substance Abuse in the Health section).

4.9 Cultural identity and discrimination

Cultural Identity

Despite the lack of language skills and apparent dilution of traditional knowledge, San or Tshwa identity seemed to be strong. Frequently Tshwa respondents established the differences be-

Figure 9. Overview of representative institutions relevant for the San of Zimbabwe



tween the Tshwa and their neighbours in terms of livelihood, representation and cultural variations. Despite this, intermarriage with other ethnic groups was mentioned several times as being completely acceptable.

Culturally, cross-border relationships between Zimbabwe and Botswana are important to the people of Tsholotsho. Tshwa have relatives on both sides of the Zimbabwe-Botswana border and would like to visit them without risk if at all possible and maintain links with them. Cross-border issues are therefore a concern since some Tshwa and others who have crossed the border into Botswana have been arrested and deported back to Zimbabwe. According to Tshwa in both Zimbabwe and Botswana, the presence of electrified fences along the Botswana-Zimbabwe border has raised concerns about people's safety.

The need for children to learn Tshwao and to pass on traditional knowledge was raised frequently. Whilst traditional healing dances may not be performed very often, use of traditional medicine is still widespread, as is the use of bush food, with some plants apparently specifically known and collected by the Tshwa. Children certainly took part in gathering of some food items during our research, notably harvesting mopane worms. In a number of discussions the historical connections with the land were brought up; several informants mentioned family history in the Hwange National Park area, where Tshwa were previously resident and evicted during colonial rule.

Whilst we were informed that some, especially younger male Tshwa were working in Bulawayo, typically as gardeners, and examples of some Tshwa working in Botswana or South Africa were given, the general impression was one of limited social mobility and migration. As mentioned elsewhere the low educational attainment of the Tshwa is undoubtedly a factor in this situation. However, whilst the Tshwa's distinct cultural identity was often mentioned within the community, despite reasonably

homogenous communities and the lack of migration there appears to be a lack of successful transfer of cultural practices and language to younger generations of Tshwa, which warrants further attention.

Discrimination on the basis of culture, ethnicity and language

Whilst we observed limited discrimination on the basis of ethnicity compared with some other San groups in Southern Africa, it was present to some degree. On a national level in Zimbabwe, very little is known about San people. Many Zimbabweans we met outside of Matabeleland North knew of the San, but not that any lived in Zimbabwe, and those who did know of the Tshwa typically reiterated stereotypes of San culture (nomadic hunters). Care should be taken not to reinforce such stereotypes and occasional comments of this nature by government staff and others to the media and in public speeches should be avoided. This aside, the Government of Zimbabwe on the whole presented a positive outlook towards ensuring San rights are to be respected and the Zimbabwean public appears interested in San culture and livelihoods.

In Tsholotsho District relations with other ethnic groups appeared generally positive, though some discrimination is present. Local representation is inclusive of all ethnic groups but ethnic nepotism is a particular point of concern, especially with regard to cases mentioned where resettlement of Tshwa due to encroachment for grazing land by more affluent groups occurs (see section 4.10 below). Some cultural discrimination was reported. For example, one elderly informant who was half Tonga and half Tshwa emphasized that, whilst both groups were minorities, no person had ever verbally abused her for being Tonga, but it had frequently occurred in reference to being Tshwa on the basis of culture or appearance. However, it was also clear that some aspects of Tshwa culture including traditional medicine and certain bush foods were highly regarded by non-Tshwa.

As Tshwa people have adopted the languages of their neighbours over time, little discrimination occurs based on Tshwa language use; however rapid action is required to prevent this language from becoming extinct.

4.10 Leadership and representation

During our research we met numerous Tshwa headmen and leaders, both men and women. The leadership structures conformed more to Zimbabwe local governance structures than traditional leadership roles in Tshwa culture (see Figure 9). However, with the exception of kraal heads, of which there are two,

none of these people had official positions within defined local governance structures. Therefore representation and political influence outside of their Tshwa communities varied, and was dependent to some extent on personal relations, though some San headmen are frequently consulted by local government. A few individuals appear to be recognised across the Tshwa as representatives, and though they have no official role or title, they do present community issues to district officials or other state structures.

In areas where San live with other ethnic groups it was stated that only a few San village headmen existed. This could be a source of friction, especially where land allocation is concerned. Several San community members highlighted issues with non-San village heads who had told them to move their homesteads due to grazing or other land requirements of non-San neighbours. The Tshwa felt their local representation was poor in such circumstances.

There are at least half a dozen Tshwa traditional authorities in Tsholotsho, and one Tshwa is a local chief. There is also one Tshwa district councillor in the Tsholotsho District Council. A goal of the Tshwa is to increase their participation in government and civil society activities. Another goal is to get more people into local-level, district-level, provincial, and national-level government positions, since this is seen as a way to foster development in their communities. In March 2015, Tsholotsho Rural District Council (TRDC) agreed to sign a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the San to collaborate on issues to do with development and leadership in their communities.

The Tshwa would also like to play a greater role in regional and Africa-wide activities involving San and other minority peoples. As early as 1995, a delegation of San and development workers from Namibia and Botswana visited the Tsholotsho and Bullilima-Mangwe districts and found that there were some 2,500 Tshwa in the two districts, some of whom expressed their wish to be part of a larger San regional organisation (Axel Thoma, pers. comm. 1995, 2012, 2013). In 2013, some Tshwa representatives took part in regional meetings of San organisations, including ones sponsored by WIMSA (Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa) and various international donors. A regional San planning meeting was hosted by a faith-based organization, Habbakuk Trust and WIMSA in Bulawayo from 23-27 July, 2014 in which issues concerning San were discussed. One of the participants in the meeting was the Member of Parliament for Tsholotsho North, Roseline Nkomo, who pledged to support initiatives to empower and promote the rights and welfare of San people in Zimbabwe. It was clear from this meeting that greater efforts are needed to coordinate the efforts of non-government organisations working with San and other peoples in western Zimbabwe.

During group discussions held during the survey, the Tshwa stated that they hope that broad-based participation and knowledge sharing opportunities will increase in coming years. They also hope to participate in meetings on indigenous peoples and minorities in the future and to work alongside other groups in Zimbabwe to facilitate equity, social justice, and human rights in the country. However, the Tshwa's own representative structure has yet to emerge, and as discussed above little local government representation yet exists. Access to justice is also an issue, since they do not always have equal access to customary and state courts for redress of wrongs and when tried before courts they are often given longer sentences.

4.11 Indigeneity and the need for a rights-based approach

The issue of indigeneity

As mentioned earlier (section 2.5), the GOZ—like most governments in Southern Africa—does not recognize the concept “indigenous peoples” in its modern analytical understanding. Instead, the Zimbabwe government espouses in public statements and policies what it terms “indigenisation” which in line with the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (IEEA, 2007) refers to localisation, empowerment, and expansion of economic opportunities for all Zimbabwean groups considered to have been disadvantaged before independence. But unlike Botswana, Namibia, and South Africa the Zimbabwean government does not even have a government unit or programme devoted specifically to minority affairs.

It is, however, important to note that many hunter-gatherer and former hunter-gatherer groups in Southern Africa—including the Tshwa of Zimbabwe—identify themselves as indigenous peoples (Saugestad 2001; Sapignoli 2012; Lee 2013). Not only because many of them believe that they represent clear and archetypal examples of “first comers”, having resided in the areas for generations. But also because they have a history of hunting and gathering, and foraging that is viewed as an important part of their identity both by them and by some of their neighbours; they furthermore have a long history of marginalisation and discrimination that has put their distinct culture and identity under threat. The San thus meet the African Commission's criteria for indigenous peoples, and are therefore recognized as being indigenous by the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR 2005, 2006).

One of the misunderstandings of states about indigenous peoples' rights is the idea that protecting the rights of indigenous peoples necessarily means that government would be giving special rights to one group over another, and that separating certain groups out as indigenous would be reminiscent of

apartheid (separate development). This could potentially lead to unfair situations with respect to the delivery of services and development assistance. Indigenous peoples are quick to point out that they are seeking equitable treatment, not special treatment. They want the same rights as other groups: the right to representation, the right to organize and take part in the political process, the right to be consulted, and the right to benefit equally from development projects.

The rights-based approach

This is why San human rights activists and NGOs have suggested that a rights-based approach be taken to the issues facing San in Zimbabwe. Some of the kinds of rights to which San drew attention in our discussions were as follows:

Subsistence rights are those rights related to the fulfilment of basic human needs (e.g. water, food, shelter, and access to health assistance and medicines). The Tshwa realise full well the need for conservation of wildlife, plants, and other resources. At the same time, they feel that they should be able to exploit resources as long as they do so sustainably.

Development rights are those rights to engage in development, or the raising of the social, economic, and psychological wellbeing of people. Tshwa have sought to enhance their development and have sought to get government and civil society to help them in this process.

Land rights include individual or collective tenure to land and resources, including for economic benefits, culture and identity. Alongside the right to utilise natural resources detailed above, the Tshwa seek better representation and participation in solving local land disputes, where some perceive their right of occupation to be less respected than grazing rights and, when it occurs, in resettlement processes.

Heritage rights include those rights to culturally and ideologically significant property such as sacred sites, places on the landscape that are viewed by local peoples as important. Indigenous peoples view land as holy, as having far more significance than simply as a material or economic good. Some groups have argued vociferously for the protection of sacred sites, including caves and rock shelters containing rock art and open, boulder-strewn areas where there are engravings (petroglyphs). The protection of archaeological sites, historic sites, and shrines and other sacred sites was seen as particularly important. This issue arose in the discussions surrounding the setting aside of the Matopos Hills (in Matabeleland South) as a national monument/park (Ranger 1999). Several Tshwa told us that they wanted to have access to the rock art and archaeological sites and shrines inside Hwange National Park without hav-

ing to pay the entrance fees for the park, and they wanted to be able to do ceremonies at these localities. In other words, Tshwa wanted on the one hand to promote conservation of natural resources, but they also wanted to ensure that cultural heritage rights were taken into consideration.

Intellectual property rights (IPR) are those rights of groups to their unique knowledge and cultural information, much of which is informal and is transmitted orally from one generation to the next. San have sought to have governments, international organisations and multinational corporations recognise their intellectual property rights and compensate them for the exploitation of culturally significant knowledge (Wynberg, Schroeder, and Chennells 2009). Tshwa, like other indigenous peoples, would like to see their traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) be drawn upon in conservation and development efforts. They also want to have intellectual property rights over valuable commodities in their areas. Some of the plants for which there are discussions concerning intellectual property rights are (1) Hoodia spp. (e.g., *Hoodia gordonii*) which is a succulent that has thirst and hunger-allaying properties, (2) Devil's Claw or grapple plant (*Harpagophytum procumbens*), a nuisance plant on the one hand, and one that is useful for medicinal purposes on the other. Devil's Claw is used for treating headaches, and there is a market in South Africa, Europe, Canada, and the United States for the

product; (3) morama (tsin bean, *Tylosema esculenta*), a bean that grows on a vine which is high in proteins, fats, and nutrients, (4) mongongo (*Schinziophyton rautanenii*) nuts and oils, and (5) marula, both of which have been described previously. Efforts are being made to expand the exploitation and sale of those products, with an eye toward ensuring sustainable utilisation by non-government organizations in Zimbabwe and elsewhere in Southern Africa, and the Tshwa of Tsholotsho would like to be a part of these efforts.

Biological property rights include rights to people's biological materials, including their bodies and genetic materials such as DNA. In Southern Africa, efforts were made by indigenous groups and their supporters to have the bodies, body parts, and cultural property of individuals who had been taken to Europe for display or analysis returned or repatriated to the countries from which they came (Parsons 2002). The Tshwa, aware of some of the efforts of other countries in Southern Africa, notably Angola, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, and Zambia would like to see greater care taken regarding the obtaining of genetic materials and would like the return of biological and cultural materials from other countries and their institutions. This point was raised during the course of visits to communities by geneticists and their colleagues in Southern Africa in 2015 (Pankhorst and Stone 2015). ○

5. CONCLUSIONS

The Tshwa in Zimbabwe experience considerable levels of poverty, lack of service provision, lack of representation, poor access to education and some discrimination. These findings correspond with issues facing San communities in remote rural areas of Southern Africa, especially in remote areas of Botswana, Namibia and Angola, though the loss of language in particular is far more acute among the Tshwa. The Tshwa in Zimbabwe appear to often live in close proximity to other ethnic groups, principally Ndebele and Kalanga, somewhat more so than seen in the other countries mentioned. While all ethnic groups in Tsholotsho District experience similar issues of poverty and lack of service delivery as the Tshwa, the further extent to which the Tshwa were affected was marked, and the lack of representation and poor educational attainment were very apparent.

Supporting the Tshwa will require policy change, advocacy and programme implementation. There are a number of conclusions that can be reached about the Tshwa and their neighbours in western Zimbabwe and what they would like to see for themselves.

Communities must have the power and authority to undertake projects and development activities that they deem necessary. What this means is that power and authority must be devolved from central, regional, and district levels not just to the community-based organisation level, but to the sub-groups of the communities involved, including classes, socioeconomic groups such as groups of craft producers, ethnic minorities, households, and individuals.

Local institutions should be self-governing; they should not have to answer to higher-level authorities for all of their activities. At the same time, those institutions should be allowed to have the power and authority to make decisions regarding such issues as benefits distribution from programmes such as CAMPFIRE.

All members of the community, not just the elites or members of specific ethnic groups, should have a significant say in the operations of community-based organisations. All community members should be able to participate in all aspects of the institution's planning and project implementation and decision-making.

Crucial to the success of a community-based organisation are transparency, openness, and flexibility. Community-based organisations and non-government organisations must set their own priorities and mobilise themselves to achieve those priorities. Mechanisms must be developed in coordination with such organisations, which foster accountability and responsibility, and not just participation.

Natural and cultural resource management and governance regimes must take account of diverse interests. Careful attention must be paid to constraints within government, private and non-government sectors in terms of the ways in which they treat specific groups (for example, ethnic minorities or people who are perceived as being non-members). If it is determined that there are biases in the ways that groups are treated, efforts must be made to ensure that all actions are equitable and that they do not either favour or harm a specific group. Equity and fair treatment are keys to successful sustainable development and natural resource management.

It is in the best interests of community-based natural resource management and local communities if the state and other agencies recognise those communities, including but not limited to the Tshwa, officially as proprietary units with *de jure* rights over land, wildlife, veld products, minerals, and other natural resources over which they maintain legal control in perpetuity.

The conservation and development work undertaken at the local level must be planned and monitored in detail in order to ensure environmental sustainability, and the institutional capacities of the community-based organisations, communities, households, and individuals involved.

It is very important for the Government, national institutions and civil society to conduct detailed social, economic, and political assessments of communities and to implement methodologies that are sensitive to community and individual differences to ensure that class, gender, age, power, identity, disability, occupational, and other characteristics are taken into consideration.

The constitutional, management and administration systems of community organisations and projects should not be overly complex from an organisational standpoint. The implementation of community-based natural resource management activi-

ties is both time-consuming and labour-intensive. Working at the rhythm of communities is critical in local-level development.

Democracy, equity, participation, open-ended consultation, information sharing and group and individual responsibility are all keys to success in project implementation. Government institutions, non-government organisations, and communities should all be willing to allow bottom-up decision-making and open to allowing local people, regardless of their ethnic, class, or social backgrounds, to make their own choices regarding conserva-

tion, development, and governance and to benefit from the various activities being implemented. The devolution of authority must be done through negotiation and interaction rather than through statutory mandate and the imposition of strict rules and conditions. The differing traditional leaderships of San communities, which were often consensus-based with defined leaders for different objectives according to their knowledge and experience, should be recognised in the process of defining San leadership. ○

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

We have provided a range of recommendations below based on data, observations, interviews and international standards. Certainly many of these recommendations depend on investments—finance, time and skills—and hence will require government and donor resources in order to implement them. Whilst some recommendations are specific to the situation of the San in Zimbabwe, many are applicable to all residents of Tsholotsho District, and no doubt other rural communities across the country.

6.1 General recommendations

Urgent:

- (1) Government should review the status of other minorities in Zimbabwe alongside the San, and consider the creation of an office of minority affairs at the national level. This could commence with follow-up work on the Tshwa San of Matabeleland South and of the Doma (Vadema) in the Zambezi Valley.
- (2) A stakeholder workshop to discuss the recommendations of this report should be held at the community level in the Tsholotsho district, in district council offices in Tsholotsho town, and in the Matabeleland North provincial office in Bulawayo, and in government and civil society offices in Harare.
- (3) A coordinating meeting should be held among all of the stakeholders to discuss the implications of the current assessment.
- (4) Urgent attention should be paid to the issue of minority languages in Zimbabwe, including undertaking research on the Tshwao language, which is seriously endangered.

Short- and medium-term:

- (5) An applied research programme should be undertaken in which land and resource issues are addressed among minority peoples in Zimbabwe.
- (6) Give wide-ranging powers to the new Human Rights Commission, as recommended in the most recent review of Zimbabwe by the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review.
- (7) Expand coordination among government agencies, donors, non-government organisations and communities in western Zimbabwe.

- (8) Government and local authorities should ensure that San communities and representatives be involved in discussing and designing government initiated projects and interventions that will affect them.
- (9) Encourage cross-border cooperation on indigenous peoples and minority issues: Zimbabwe should undertake an investigation of the efforts of neighbouring countries to address minority and indigenous peoples' issues. This would entail evaluating the various offices, such as the San Development Programme in the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister of Namibia, the Remote Area Development Programme in the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development in Botswana, and the KhoeSan related offices in South Africa.
- (10) Zimbabwe government should strengthen its dialogue with the Working Group on Indigenous Communities/Populations of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights and invite it for a country mission to Zimbabwe.
- (11) Zimbabwe government should expand its involvement in international conventions concerning minorities and indigenous peoples including considering sending a delegation to the meetings of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues.
- (12) Zimbabwe government should seek to obtain the services of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous People, Vicky Tauli-Corpuz, for a visit to assess the situation of minority and indigenous peoples in Zimbabwe.
- (13) Zimbabwe government should promote discussion with the International Labour Organisation (ILO) on Convention No.169 (the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention).
- (14) Zimbabwe should increase national awareness of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), to which Zimbabwe is a signatory, with a view to strengthening participatory development strategies for minorities in Zimbabwe and invoking rights-based approaches.
- (15) The Zimbabwe National Archives and the University of Zimbabwe should consider collecting the various reports on minority and indigenous peoples in Southern Africa; these would include the recent (2014) report on the situation of the San in Namibia

(Dieckmann et al. 2014), the statement by the government of Botswana to the 2014 meetings of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, statements made by Southern African governments made at the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples, the various reports of organisations such as the International Labour Organisation (2010), and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights and some, if not all, of the policy papers of the various governments.

6.2 Land and resettlement

Urgent:

- (1) Secure *de jure* (legal) rights to land for Tshwa populations, in line with recommendations of national reports on land tenure and recommendations of the Land Commission and government and non-government policy recommendations on land reform.
- (2) Ensure that where resettlement occurs, risks have been accurately evaluated, and families affected have participated in consultations and provision has been made for compensation and resettlement assistance.

Short- and medium-term:

- (3) Undertake additional research on land use and land tenure among Tshwa, with an eye toward coming up with recommendations for addressing land access and land tenure security issues.
- (4) Examine possibilities for innovative communal land tenure developments for the San people in Zimbabwe by drawing inspiration from group rights schemes in Southern Africa and other parts of Africa.
- (5) In line with article 10 of the UNDRIP, indigenous peoples should not be forcibly removed from their lands or territories. Where resettlement is unavoidable and agreed with Free, Prior and Informed Consent, ensure that compensation meets requirements to re-establish long-term livelihoods and that information is widely available to those affected.

6.3 Agriculture and food security

Urgent:

- (1) Assess current annual drought relief provisions by civil society and state, including participation of community representatives and health services, to identify and preempt times of acute food shortages.

Short- and medium-term:

- (2) Efforts must be made to improve livestock and agriculture knowledge and skills, through trainings, monitoring and/or local livestock and agriculture mentoring systems.
- (3) Alongside training and technical support, increase provision of seeds and farming implements to remote communities, ensuring appropriate seasonal timings of seed delivery.
- (4) Promote availability of draught power, if not through provision of animals then through loan systems arranged in local communities.
- (5) Provide access to livestock through a livestock loan and repayment by progeny scheme.
- (6) Ensure veterinary services can be accessed in remote areas.

6.4 Livelihoods and access to natural resources

Short- and medium-term:

- (1) Seek to raise living standards through a diversified development approach, use a poverty alleviation strategy aimed at reducing the constraints affecting communities, households, and individuals.
- (2) Conduct a thorough examination of the CAMPFIRE programme and other CBNRM or environmental programmes with a goal of improving benefits to local communities and individuals.
- (3) Research the viability of opening or expanding markets for agriculture, natural resources and tourism for the Tshwa.
- (4) Local government should sensitise community leaders to different livelihood practices and land uses, including use of natural resources as practised by the Tshwa.
- (5) Increased monitoring of land disputes within or between communities and facilitation of conflict resolution should be implemented to ensure that marginalised groups, including those with lower numbers of cattle, are treated equitably.
- (6) Promote the establishment of recognised natural resource rights for communities, especially in regard to natural products where ongoing livelihood or food reliance exists, including the areas in which they are collected.
- (7) Consider improve San employment opportunities within the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Authority or Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality, particularly for San with heritage links to Hwange National Park and/or tracking skills.

- (8) Expand the research on the effects of global and local climate change among the Tshwa and their neighbors in western Zimbabwe.
- (9) Monitor the occurrences and impacts of changing seasonal rainfalls that has greatly affected agriculture, fishing and bush food harvesting, and severe weather that has resulted in serious floods.

6.5 Health

- (1) Ensure immunisation provision reaches the most remote areas.
- (2) Improve knowledge, availability of testing and treatment for both malaria and tuberculosis (TB).
- (3) Ensure adequate provision of bed nets during high-risk malaria seasons, or consider subsidising local businesses to provide bed nets.
- (4) Institute a “community wellness programme” that includes an alcohol and tobacco awareness component as well as a component dealing with sexually transmitted diseases.
- (5) Implement a culturally sensitive intervention programme for substance abuse that addresses some of the root causes of the problems.
- (6) Households who care for orphans and vulnerable children should be particularly monitored and/or supported to ensure children are reaching minimum nutritional standards.
- (7) Ensure local representatives identify and report individuals at risk to social or health services, including elderly, disabled, orphans and vulnerable children.
- (8) Ensure adequate provision of food and water to people on ARVs.
- (9) Implement alcohol education and treatment programmes in Tsholotsho District, including participatory discussions with affected communities.
- (10) Monitor shebeens and business centre stores for compliance with the law.

6.6 Water, sanitation and hygiene

Urgent:

- (1) Expand the availability of functional water facilities and improve maintenance of water points, including increasing the local availability of spare parts.
- (2) Supply water purification tablets/equipment, or training for basic or UV-based purification measures, where short-term water needs cannot be met, particu-

larly to families with infants and chronic health problems.

- (3) Increase provision of information and basic infrastructure for sanitation to reduce open defecation.

6.7 Education

Urgent:

- (1) Improve access to education through subsidising of school fees and expanding the numbers of schools and training institutions. Short- and medium-term:
- (2) Examine and solve issues related to uniform and clothing provisions which act as barriers to school attendance for very poor families.
- (3) Include sensitisation training for education staff on Tshwa school attendance issues and investigate whether curricula are culturally appropriate.
- (4) Establish peer support programmes for Tshwa children at risk of dropping out of school.
- (5) Alleviate transportation problems through the additional provision of local transport or encouragement of the private sector in this area.
- (6) Support community preschool programmes in Tshwa communities, through provision of funding, infrastructure, and teachers, building upon current independent community efforts.
- (7) Recognise diverse needs of both learners and communities, including involving Tshwa parents.
- (8) Evaluate and where necessary expand school feeding programmes.
- (9) Increase access to vocational education, particularly for San youth.
- (10) Make additional curricular materials available in the schools and communities, some of which should be devoted to ethics and rights-based education.

6.8 Language

Urgent:

- (1) Support financially the development of an orthography for the Tshwao language.

Short- and medium-term:

- (2) Support the translation of available culturally relevant San basic education materials into Tshwao for both pre-schools and primary schools (e.g., the Government of Namibia approved ECD materials in Khwe and !Kung) to encourage teaching in mother tongue.

- (3) Subsequently plan the Zimbabwean development of Tshwao materials.
- (4) Support Tshwa elders to teach in ECD or similar settings.
- (5) Support expansion of linguistics research among Tshwa, particularly through encouraging Zimbabwe students and linkages with foreign universities with relevant experience (including University of Botswana, and European and South African university experts on Tshwa and Shua).

6.9 Gender

Short- and medium-term:

- (1) Practice gender-based programmes which are sensitised to San culture rather than blanket approaches, preserving aspects of traditional gender equality.
- (2) Improve availability of contraception to young women and ensure that family planning advice is available, particularly targeting those at risk of school dropout.
- (3) Encourage programmes and activities for youth and especially young women, in light of drop out and teenage pregnancy rates.

6.10 Cultural identity and discrimination

Short- and medium-term:

- (1) Publicise San culture in a more positive light in the national media, avoiding negative stereotypes and paternalistic development approaches common in Southern Africa.

6.11 Leadership and representation

Short- and medium-term:

- (1) Ensure local non-Tshwa representatives encourage balanced representation in Tshwa areas, and actively discourage ethnic nepotism.

- (2) Expand opportunities for Tshwa and their representative to attend district, provincial, national, and international meetings and workshops.
- (3) Support the capacity development of Tshwa institutions and organizations, and expand the capacity of Tshwa institutions and traditional authorities to address issues of development.
- (4) Incorporate additional Tshwa leaders in traditional, district, provincial and national authority structures.
- (5) Provide training sessions for leadership especially in understanding the different leadership structures of ethnic groups and government in Zimbabwe.
- (6) Assist in coordinating and facilitating community leadership training as has been done in other Southern African countries such as Namibia (Bieseke 2003; Dieckmann et al. 2014) and Botswana (Hitchcock 1988; Hitchcock and Vinding 2004).

6.12 Rights-based approaches (RBA)

Short- and medium-term:

- (1) Examine the recommendations of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights Working Group of Experts on Indigenous Populations/Communities and provisions of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIPs), including those related to land, resources and self-determination and consider how these provisions can be implemented in Zimbabwe.
- (2) Ensure that rights enshrined within the Zimbabwean Constitution, national acts and international conventions to which Zimbabwe is a signatory are applied with equal merit to all populations within the country. ○

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7. INDEX

African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR)	22, 54
Agriculture	7, 13, 22, 30, 32, 39, 41, 50, 59, 60
Borehole	34, 46
Chief	8, 53
Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE)	37, 43, 45, 56, 59
Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM)	45, 59
Dams	34, 39, 46
Doma	3, 8, 58
Education	8, 10, 11, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 36, 49, 50, 51, 52, 56, 60
Elephants	15, 34, 37, 40, 46
Fast Track Land Reform Programme	22, 36
Fire	32, 33, 37, 42, 43, 45, 46, 56, 59
Fishing	15, 45, 46, 60
Food relief	32, 41
Foraging	22, 49, 54
Forestry	37, 38, 42, 43, 45
Gender	25, 26, 27, 48, 52, 56, 61
Gukurahundi	19, 36
HIV/AIDS	8, 11, 35, 47, 48, 58
Hunting	12, 13, 15, 16, 32, 33, 38, 43, 45, 54
Hwange National Park	11, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22, 37, 38, 42, 52, 54, 59
Independence	18, 19, 22, 54
Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act	22, 24, 54
International Labour Organisation (ILO)	25, 58, 59
Land rights	37, 54
Livestock	8, 10, 13, 17, 19, 20, 31, 32, 34, 39, 40, 41, 45, 46, 47, 59
Local government	7, 18, 53, 58, 59
Matabeleland North	7, 10, 11, 14, 18, 26, 28, 32, 35, 36, 45, 53, 58
Matabeleland South	7, 14, 18, 19, 26, 54, 58
Medicinal Plants	12
Mining	13, 39
Mopane worms	32, 33, 42, 43, 46, 49, 52
Nata River	14, 50
Ndlovu, Davy	10, 21, 26
Nutrition	8, 48, 49
Poaching	16, 37
Police	11, 37, 43, 49
Poverty	10, 18, 32, 48, 56, 59
Resettlement	8, 18, 19, 22, 30, 36-39, 45, 53, 54, 59
South Africa	10, 12, 13, 17, 18, 20, 24, 25, 36, 38, 52, 54, 55, 58, 61

Southern African Development Community (SADC)	18
Tourism	13, 22, 30, 59
Traditional Healers	4
Tshwao Language	8, 10, 26, 32, 50, 51, 53, 58, 60
Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust (TSDT)	8, 13, 14, 18, 36, 50, 51
Tuberculosis (TB)	35, 47, 48, 60
United Nations Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues (UNPFII)	18
Universal Periodic Review	8, 24
Ward	8, 10, 13, 15, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 31, 36, 49, 51, 52, 53, 55, 59
Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA)	13, 18, 53
World Heritage Site	38, 39
Zimbabwe Constitution	24