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**RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN PRACTICE?  
THE EXPERIENCE OF THE †KHOMANI BUSHMEN IN THE  
NORTHERN CAPE, SOUTH AFRICA**

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PhD Thesis

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Centre of African Studies

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## **DECLARATION**

I declare that the following thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material that overlaps with that submitted for the award of any other degree at any institution, except where due acknowledgement is made in the text.

Signed

2<sup>nd</sup> December 2011

JULIE GRANT

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis analyses the dynamics, complexities and numerous obstacles that serve to constrain rural development within the †Khomani Community of the Northern Cape Province, South Africa. Following the end of Apartheid, given the disparity in wealth evident among the country's population, in 1994, the South African Government embarked on a process to address inequality. In regard to the rural poor, who constitute the majority of the country's poor, the Government envisioned that a more equitable distribution of land would result in economic development and poverty alleviation for land reform beneficiaries. Consequently, a Land Reform Policy was introduced, which was used by the †Khomani Bushmen to reclaim ancestral land in South Africa's rural Northern Cape in 1999. More than ten years on, however, the living conditions of the †Khomani have not improved, and the Community continues to live in poverty. Despite the award of land and financial input from government and development agencies, the †Khomani have no basic services and are unable to significantly diversify or increase livelihood strategies. Multiple factors including a lack of Community cohesion and capacity, limited opportunities due to remote rural location, and the inability of government and development actors to successfully apply effective interventions, serve to constrain development, and maintain †Khomani disempowerment. The thesis argues that governments, development institutions and actors must recognise the need for a multidimensional approach to development to alleviate poverty, while recognising the limits of external actors and the role of communities in this regard. Essentially, sustainable rural development will only ensue when communities are able to make effective decisions based on meaningful choices.

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## **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

- AFSA-** Aids Foundation of South Africa
- ANC-** African National Congress
- CASE-** Community Agency for Social Enquiry
- CCMS-** Centre for Communication, Media and Society
- CDE-** Centre of Development and Enterprise
- CPA-** Communal Property Association
- CPAMC-** Communal Property Association Management Committees
- CRDP-** Comprehensive Rural Development Programme
- CRLR-** Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights
- CASP-** Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme
- DG-** Director General
- DLA-** Department of Land Affairs
- DMA-** District Management Area
- EPWP-** Expanded Public Works Programme
- FBO-** Faith Based Organisation
- GEAR-** Growth, Employment and Redistribution
- IPACC-** Indigenous Peoples of Africa's Co-ordinating Committee
- KGNP-** Kalahari Gemsbok National Park
- KTP-** Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park
- LCC-** Land Claims Court
- LRAD-** Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development
- LRCC-** Land Reform Coordinating Committee



**M & E-** Monitoring and Evaluation

**NGO-** Non-Governmental Organisation

**NP-**National Park

**NPO-** Non-Profit Organisation

**QoL-** Quality of Life

**RDP-** Reconstruction and Development Programme

**RLCC-** Regional Land Claims Commission

**SAHRC-** South African Human Rights Commission

**SANParks-** South African National Parks

**SANPB-** South African National Parks Board

**SAPS-** South African Police Services

**SASI-** South African San Institute

**SDC-** Sustainable Development Consortium

**SLAG-** Settlement/Land Acquisition Grants

**TPD-** Transfrontier Parks Destination

**UIF-** Unemployment Insurance Fund

**UKZN-** University of KwaZulu Natal

**WHO-** World Health Organisation

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

*I first met the ǀKhomani woman, Anna Radt Witbooi, in February 2007, when she was employed as a domestic worker in a guest house, located approximately 20 km from her home on Witdraai farm. Anna worked six days a week, and given the distance between her place of work and home, she was a live-in member of staff. Consequently, Anna's mother, Nana Witbooi, cared for Anna's three children on Witdraai, where Nana also cared for her three other grandchildren, for which she received no remittance. Although, Anna worked, her income was small, so she was often unable to contribute towards the care of her children. Furthermore, due to transport difficulties, Anna was rarely able to return home to visit her family, or send money if it was available. This meant that although Nana had a part time job as a domestic worker in the house of a local police officer, she had to support her husband and son who were unemployed and also lived in the household, along with all her grandchildren.*

*By January 2008, Anna and Nana no longer had jobs. Anna had moved back to Witdraai, where she was living in a grass house, without basic amenities, with her children and new partner, who on occasion beat Anna following drinking bouts. Anna's sister's children continue to live with Nana, in her grass hut, which only has half a roof made of tarpaulin, meaning they get wet when it rains and days pass when the family cannot afford to eat. Furthermore, as Anna's identity documents were burned in a fire, she is unable to claim social assistance grant for her children. Given the lack of opportunities in the area, it is unclear when or if Anna and her family's living conditions will improve. When I saw Nana in June 2009 she was eagerly looking forward to the day when she would be able to claim an old age pension. While Anna's story might sound unfortunate, this is typical among the ǀKhomani. The fact that Anna and her mother have had employment in recent years actually makes them some of the lucky few.*

Finding sustainable means to support the lives and livelihoods of people like Anna and her mother is one of the enduring challenges of rural development. This thesis will examine some of the dynamics and constraints that limit meaningful rural development in a resource-poor South African context. This introductory chapter will introduce

some of the rationale, argument and context of the study, explain the methodology and present the structure of the remainder of the thesis.

## **1.1 STRATEGIES FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA**

In 1994, following the first democratic elections in South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) was elected to government. The ANC Government inherited a country characterised by extreme income and resource access disparity, which had resulted in a racial hierarchy. While the majority of South Africa's White population lived in the urban areas, the underdeveloped rural areas were home to the majority of the non-White population, housing approximately 50 per cent of the total population. In 1995, it was reported that 50 per cent of South Africa's population of forty million people, were categorised as poor, of which 72 per cent lived in rural areas. Furthermore, rural poverty was generally more acute than that found in the urban areas (May, Stevens, and Stols 2002:294).

To address these inequalities, the Government instituted a combined rural and urban development plan, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which aimed to provide basic services and raise living standards to alleviate poverty. Through the RDP, the ANC recognised the need for integration between government tiers for the purposes of development, and a rigorous monitoring and evaluation programme to ensure success and accountability. Although the RDP aimed to meet the needs of the population through a number of strategies, land reform was highlighted in regard to rural development (ANC 1994). The RDP argued that "[l]and was the most basic need for rural dwellers" (ANC 1994:2.4.1), continuing:

A national land reform programme is the central and driving force of a programme of rural development. Such a programme aims to address effectively the injustices of forced removals and the historical denial of access to land. It aims to ensure security of tenure for rural dwellers. And in implementing the national land reform programme, and through the provision of support services, the democratic government will build the economy by generating large-scale employment, increasing rural incomes and eliminating overcrowding (ANC 1994:2.4.2).

While a land reform policy was under discussion, the RDP was replaced as the Government's economic development policy by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), programme in 1996 (Jara and Hall 2009). This policy argued that economic growth would result in increased employment to alleviate poverty. Additionally, this policy committed the Government to meeting the basic needs of the population (Department of Finance N.D.). Consequently, the South African Government recognises that both economic development and basic service provision have a role to play in rural development and poverty alleviation. As with the RDP, GEAR combined rural and urban development and in regard to rural development, land reform, was flagged as important:

The land reform programme, combining asset redistribution with enhancement of tenure has an important role in improving the long-term prospects for employment and income generation in the rural economy...Complementary initiatives include emergent farmer support programmes. As these gain momentum, emphasis will shift to marketing support, appropriate technological interventions and streamlined extension services. Over time, agricultural development associated with land reform will play a key role in improving the distribution of income and economic activity (Department of Finance N.D.:16).

Accordingly, in 1997, a Land Reform Programme was instituted to redress the policies of past governments and facilitate rural development, namely through economic development in the form of agriculture, to alleviate rural poverty. To achieve these aims, the Land Reform Programme sought to provide secure land tenure, and a more equitable distribution of land (Department of Land Affairs 1997). Despite these development programmes, in 2005 it was reported that although the rural population had fallen to 41 per cent, the majority of poor people, 59 per cent, still resided in the rural areas. Additionally, 68 per cent of rural dwellers were living in poverty as opposed to 33 per cent of urban dwellers (Armstrong, Lekezwa, and Siebrits 2008:11).

This improvement in poverty figures is indicative of the success, or failure, of the aforementioned policies. Given the combined nature of the policies, it is unlikely that the difference between implementing rural development, as opposed to urban development was fully appreciated. Additionally, the complexities and difficulties of

instituting rural and agricultural development strategies, of which land ownership is but one part, was underestimated, while the provision of basic services and infrastructural improvement was often ignored. For example, the provision of basic services and infrastructural development requires co-ordination between several government departments or tiers, which can be problematic given the remote location of particular rural communities. Furthermore, the aforementioned policies suggest that the Government has given little consideration to the broader principles of poverty that constrain development. In particular, Sen (1999), suggests that development should aim to remove the sources of what he terms ‘unfreedom’, which includes poverty, lack of economic opportunities and public facilities, systematic social deprivation and intolerance. While the South African Government included strategies to address some of these issues in the RDP, which were carried over to the GEAR programme, and the Land Reform Policy, others were neglected. Specifically, policies have not sought to build what Sen describes as “free and sustainable agency” in individuals, which he argues is a “constitutive’ part of development”, contributing to the strengthening of other agencies, which are essential for development (1999:4). Essentially, Sen and other development thinkers have been calling for a much broader and more nuanced conceptualisation of poverty, and how it can be alleviated, than most governments, institutions and actors have previously considered. This is particularly true in rural areas. Thus, giving access to land as a productive resource can only be part of any intervention. One must consider the totality of contexts, dynamics and constraints that shape rural poverty and define unfreedoms, and accordingly look at the broader range of interventions and options to give rural people and communities the opportunities and capacities to make decisions about how to live their lives and construct their livelihoods. The ability of the state and other development actors to support this broader approach is limited, even in one of Africa’s richest countries like South Africa, and one central concern of this thesis will be sketching out the drivers and constraints that shape rural poverty and limit options amongst the ǀKhomani of the Northern Cape.

In 2007, at the ANC conference in Polokwane in Limpopo, a new resolution for “Land Reform, Rural Development and Agrarian Change” was introduced (Jara and Hall

2009). As opposed to the RDP and GEAR, this is a specific integrated development strategy for the rural areas. Consequently, in 2009 a Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP) was established, which was implemented in 21 communities throughout South Africa between 2009 and 2010, to reach 160 sites by 2014 (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform 2010:3). CRDP aims to address inadequacies in rural infrastructure, basic service provision and employment. While the programme advocates the use of participatory methods to determine the needs of rural communities, it does not directly aim to build qualities akin to Sen's "free and sustainable agency". A second central concern of this thesis will be to understand the limits of the state, and other development actors in intervening and improving the life of the ꞤKhomani, ultimately to ensure that they can exercise free and sustainable agency.

## 1.2 THE CASE STUDY

When the ANC came to power, a number of "Bushmen"<sup>1</sup> were living in the rural areas of the Northern and Western Cape, in abject poverty. Historically the ancestors of these Bushmen, and indeed some of these Bushmen, had been expelled from their ancestral lands in the Northern Cape, and as such, the Bushmen were eligible to lodge a land claim with the South African Government through the Land Reform Policy. Consequently, in 1995, a group of ꞤKhomani Bushmen lodged a claim for land situated in the Mier Local Municipality, in the Northern Cape. The ꞤKhomani envisioned, if successful, this land claim would be the answer to their problems, allowing them to reconnect spiritually with their land while improving their quality of life. The claim was settled on Human Rights Day (21<sup>st</sup> March) 1999, and given the status of the Bushmen as South Africa's first people, the hand over ceremony was high profile, attended by the ꞤKhomani, the world's media and the then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who publicly signed the land claim settlement, transferring land deeds to the ꞤKhomani (Holden 2007). Since that award of land, however, there has been minimal development with the Community continuing to live in poverty. This is despite the Government arguing that land reform facilitates rural development, and the fact that the ꞤKhomani

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<sup>1</sup> I have dispensed with quotation on words such as "Bushmen" throughout the thesis, unless essential for meaning or context.

Community<sup>2</sup> have been subject to interventions by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) and have received “millions in aid” (Dyll 2009:44). The persistence of poverty among the Community, despite such interventions, is testament to the complexities and difficulties surrounding rural development, which are explored in this thesis.

### 1.3 THESIS AIMS AND CONTRIBUTION

Through an exploration of the †Khomani experience, this thesis aims to highlight the difficulties and complexities of rural development. Although it is beyond the scope of the thesis to include all the factors that contribute to the continued poverty of the †Khomani, the †Khomani experience is an apt case study and is indicative of the complex realities of rural development. While a number of the obstacles to development emanate from within the †Khomani Community itself, others are the result of inadequate development strategies due to a limited understanding of the specifics of the area and Community. The historical persecution and disempowerment of Bushmen has resulted in social and cultural issues within the †Khomani Community that are rarely suitably incorporated into development strategies, consequently such issues continue to have significant affect on development initiatives and life in general. The ability of the South African Government to implement development strategies has also proved problematic, while the remote location of the †Khomani land and the environmental conditions have all been curtailing factors. The †Khomani situation is the result of development actors failing to address the broader aspects of development, and the underlying causes that maintain poverty. Consequently, the †Khomani case study highlights that unless development agencies address the wider issues of poverty, such as empowerment facilitation, to enable communities to take control of the development process and their lives in general, development will continue to elude communities and poverty will persist.

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<sup>2</sup> Prior to the land claim the †Khomani were a family group, referred to as “†Khomani”. Post land claim, a “Community” was formed that incorporated this family group, thereafter, the terms “†Khomani”, “†Khomani Community” or “Community” are used interchangeably.

Drawing on the experiences of the †Khomani Community, this thesis demonstrates that rural development is complex and difficult to implement due to a number of context specific issues, with the interactions of these issues serving to further complicate the realities of remote rural development. Consequently, I argue that rural development requires development programmes that allow sufficient flexibility to enable context specific alterations based on community histories and cultures while taking into consideration the physical environment and location of the said community. The thesis demonstrates that empowerment and participation of the relevant community members is essential regarding development, as is a clear understanding of the desired development outcomes of communities by development agencies. In addition, effective coordination between all parties involved is critical if successful outcomes are to be achieved.

From this study of the †Khomani, this thesis contributes to the South African land reform and rural development literature in addition to that of the †Khomani Bushmen. In reference to South African land reform and rural development, authors such as those cited in chapter two, have identified the aforementioned issues as individual constraints to rural development, usually focusing on a few issues at most. This thesis differs, however, in that it offers a comprehensive holistic account of a case study identifying the existence of, and interaction of, multiple constraints within the one case study. Based on this comprehensive and multi-dimensional study, I argue that while individual issues constrain the development process, the convergence of multiple issues results in complex challenges that are difficult to overcome in practice, with each issue serving to limit the ability of development agents and community individuals to overcome the other constraints. To date, such comprehensive and holistic case studies, that document the extent of development while exploring the effect of community histories and dynamics, community interactions with, and the performance of development agencies, in addition to the effect of location and environment on the development process are lacking in regard to South African land reform beneficiaries. Furthermore, much of the existing literature, regarding South African land reform communities, focuses on the Bantu-speaking populations, and issues that are pertinent to these communities, such as the existence of authoritarian politically aware elites (see section 2.3). Such issues I



argue are less of a concern among less hierarchical and paternalistic populations such as the ꞤKhomani Bushmen. Consequently, this research contributes to the more sparse land reform literature concerning the non-Bantu speaking peoples of South Africa. The thesis also contributes to the literature about the ꞤKhomani Bushmen. While much has been written concerning the ꞤKhomani culture, identity and representation, this thesis differs as it situates the ꞤKhomani within the realm of the rural poor and the context of rural development, which has so far not been done by researchers. It is the first research to give a detailed account of the lives and livelihoods of the ꞤKhomani Community. This will allow future researchers to track the progress of development within the Community, something that I have not been able to do in this thesis given a lack of existing data.

Until development actors address issues such as those highlighted in this thesis, poverty will endure and sustainable development will continue to elude rural communities with money continuing to be spent ineffectively without meaningful progress towards sustainable livelihoods. Consequently, this thesis aims to inform and influence development agencies, including government bodies, to enable more appropriate and sustainable rural development strategies and policies.

## **1.4 METHODOLOGY**

### **1.4.1 Fieldwork Locations and Participants**

Fieldwork for this thesis was conducted in the Mier Local Municipality located in the southern Kalahari in the remote far Northern Cape of South Africa. It is in this municipality that the ꞤKhomani farms are located, approximately 200 km north of Upington, the nearest town (see Figure 1.1). For the most part, the research participants in this study are ꞤKhomani individuals, inhabiting the six farms awarded to them following the land claim. The majority of the ꞤKhomani live on the farms of Andriesvale and Witdraai, where most of the fieldwork took place. Work was also conducted with the ꞤKhomani living on the lesser inhabited farms of Miersouppan, Uitkoms, Scotty's Fort and Erin. Furthermore, ꞤKhomani living in the hamlet of Welkom, 10 km from the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park (KTP) (see Figure 1.2), also participated in the research. Lawyers and socio-ecologists working with the ꞤKhomani

were consulted in regard to this study, as were other researchers. Government officials and NGO workers located throughout the Northern Cape were interviewed in relation to the ǀKhomani, while !Xaus Lodge and KTP management and staff also contributed.

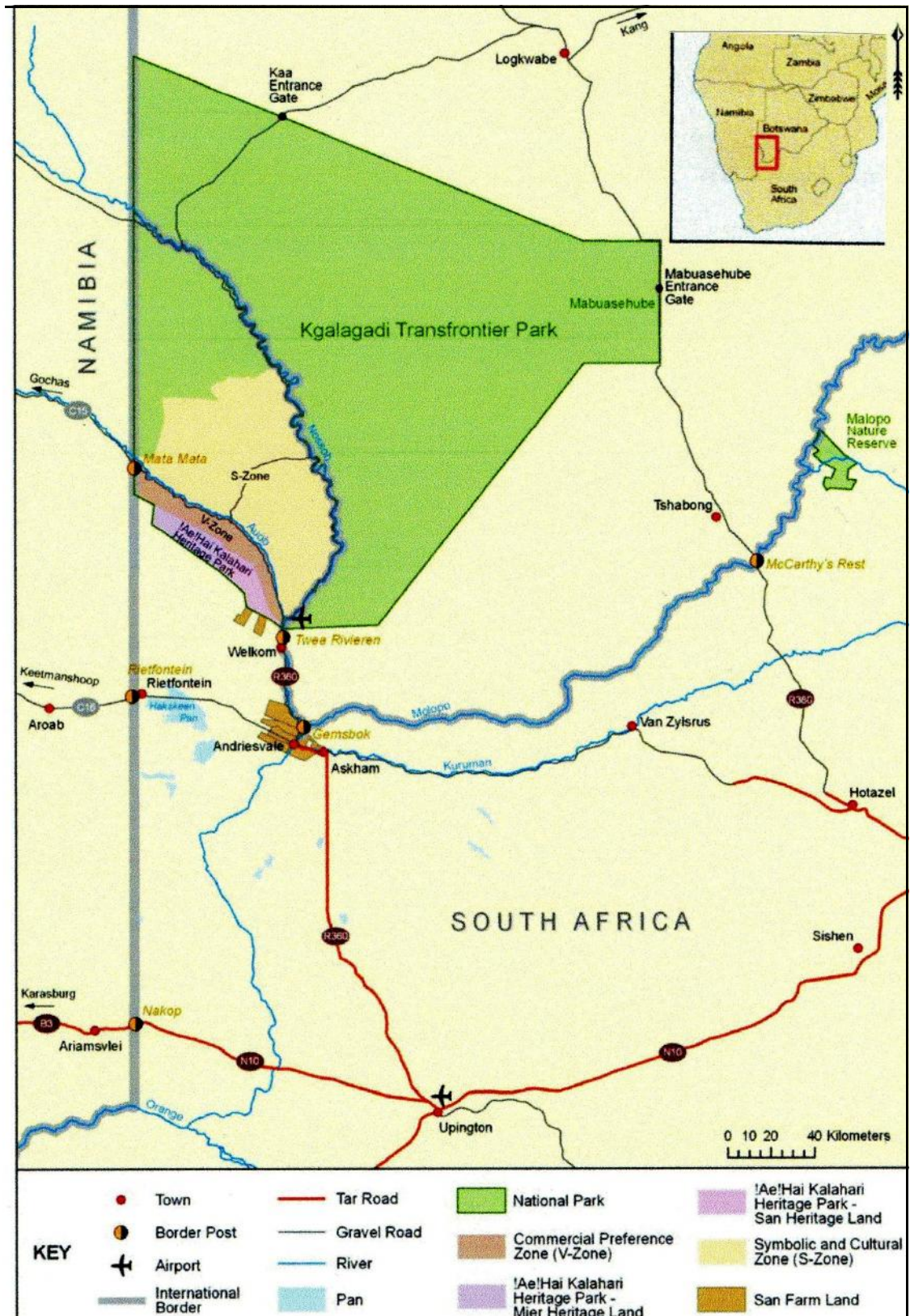


Figure 1.1: Map showing Location of †Khomani (San) Farms in relation to KTP and Upington (K. Dierkes published in Massyn et al. 2010)

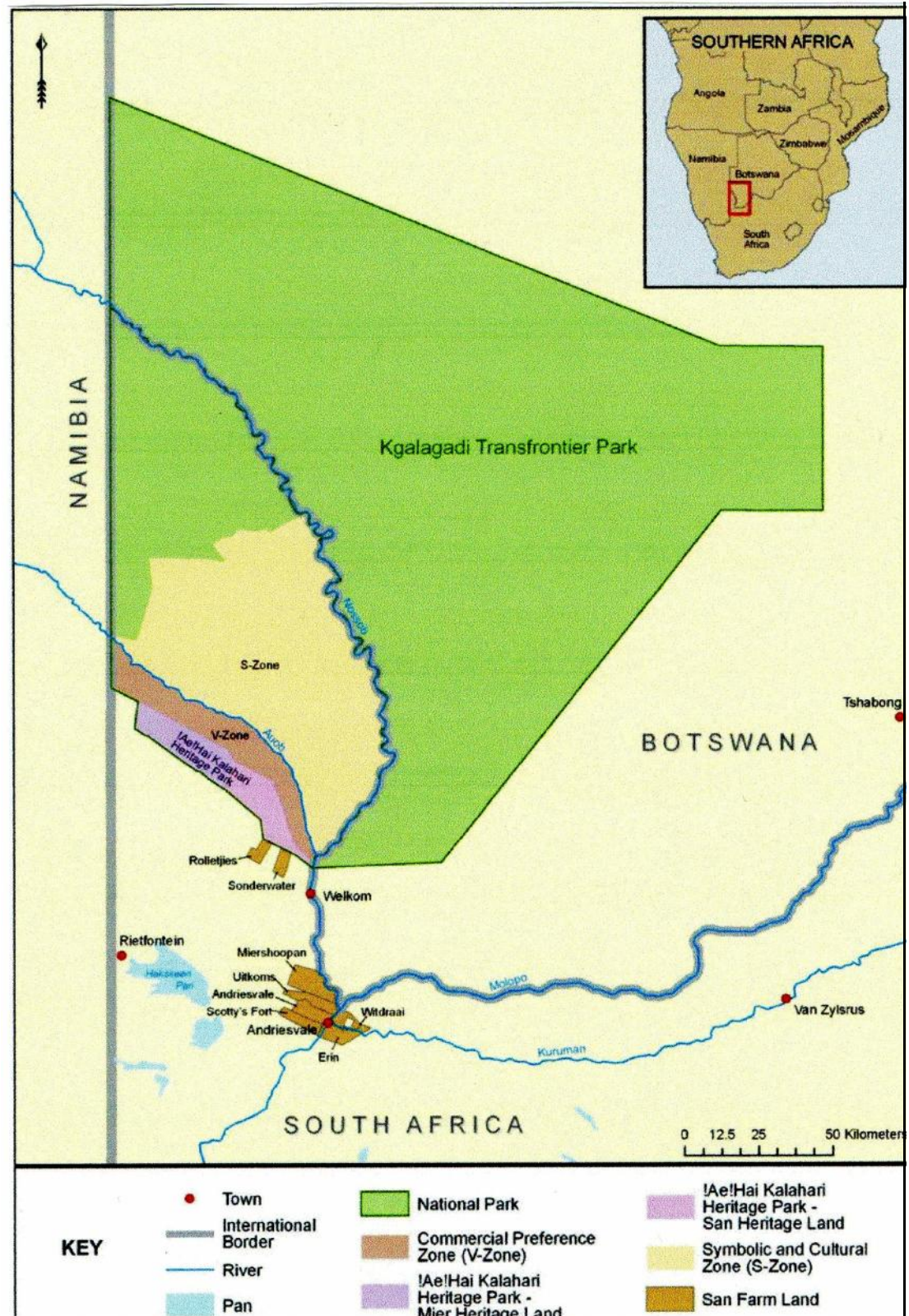


Figure 1.2: Map showing Location of ꞤKhomani (San) Farms and Welkom (K Dierkes published in Massyn et al. 2010)

### 1.4.2 Ethical Issues: Research Permission and Informed Consent

In August 2006, I made my first trip to South Africa's Northern Cape. I travelled from Cape Town to Upington, and Andriesvale to introduce myself to the South African San Institute (SASI), the main NGO working with the ǀKhomani, and the ǀKhomani Community. This initial trip followed a number of emails and phone calls to SASI regarding my proposed research, however, no meaningful outcomes had been forthcoming. Consequently, the round trip of approximately 2000 km was essential to demonstrate to SASI and the ǀKhomani my commitment to the proposed research and working with the Community. Furthermore, it allowed me to assess the practicalities of living and working in such a remote area. It was during this visit that it became apparent that I would need to secure formal permission to work with the ǀKhomani, and that administrative and security barriers would prevent me from living in the Community. I returned to the area in February 2007. In Upington, following discussions about my research, SASI requested that I sign a research contract. The contract is officially between the applicant and the Khomani Communal Property Association<sup>3</sup> (CPA), however, it is signed by Grace Humphreys, SASI area coordinator, on behalf of the ǀKhomani CPA<sup>4</sup>. The contract seeks to ensure that the ǀKhomani peoples, and their knowledge, are not exploited, therefore the contract restricts the commercial use of collected material, while suggesting that remuneration for interviews is made to informants (see section 4.4.3). Although paying participants for interviews does have implications for the quality of data collected (see section 1.3.3), signing the contract and adhering to it was important for me. It indicated that I did not intend to exploit the ǀKhomani and has helped build trust with the ǀKhomani, SASI, the lawyers and other actors working with the Community. Some researchers and the media, however, continue to undertake work with the ǀKhomani without signing the contract or adhering to its principles.

The contract also stipulated that informed consent must be granted by ǀKhomani participants. All data collected for the purposes of my research was collected overtly

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<sup>3</sup> The ǀKhomani CPA are the registered owners of the ǀKhomani land.

<sup>4</sup> By 2009, the South African San Council was responsible for approving research applications with SASI facilitating the research as requested.

and participants were made aware that they were not required to participate. I never concealed that I was in the Kalahari to collect research data. When introduced by SASI or my translator, to †Khomani individuals, I was described as a researcher and an explanation was given. When interviews were arranged, and at the beginning of interviews if necessary, I would be introduced as a researcher and details of my work would be given. As time progressed, there was less need for these introductions, as my presence and purpose had become common knowledge among Community members. During interviews, I asked if the information collected could be used for research. Additionally, I gave individuals the opportunity to be either anonymous or named in the write up of my research. †Khomani individuals were always keen to be named as they argued that they had been voiceless for too long. On occasion, if necessary, I explained I would change an individual's name, or anonymise information if I deemed that information could potentially result in negative outcomes for the individual. Consequently, I gained informed consent regarding the use of the data I collected while assuring I would use names where possible. O'Reilly (2005), has suggested that consent is problematic in long-term research, such as this, as although people give their consent, over time individuals forget that you are a researcher. I do not believe that the †Khomani ever forgot I was a researcher, however as individuals may have forgotten that at any given time I was collecting data for research purposes or that they were being studied, when I deemed it necessary I did reconfirm consent periodically, particularly in regard to sensitive information. While ethically correct, this action once again helped to build the trust of the †Khomani as they realised that I did not intend to take advantage of such situations.

When interviewing government officials, NGO employees, lawyers, socio-ecologists and other actors involved with the †Khomani, I was always overt regarding the purpose of my presence and my intentions regarding data collected. All consent, be it with the †Khomani or the aforementioned actors, was gained verbally. Concerning the †Khomani, given the high levels of illiteracy, particularly among older members of the Community, I never asked individuals to read or sign anything. While some individuals may have been able to fulfil such as request, it has the potential to make those unable to complete these tasks feel inferior or inadequate (Scheyvens, Nowak, and Scheyvens

2003). Due to the disempowerment already apparent in the †Khomani Community, I felt that it was important to avoid such an outcome. Furthermore, illiterate individuals may sign a consent form without understanding the implications, or may decline to partake in research, as they are not able to read the information and are ashamed to request help. Consequently, I chose to use verbal explanation and accept verbal consent. I also chose not to request written consent, regarding the use of data collected from government officials, NGO employees, lawyers, socio-ecologists and other actors involved with the †Khomani. Once again, following appropriate introductions, such individuals were alerted to the nature of my work. Information collected from †Khomani lawyers and socio-ecologists, and SASI occurred in an informal manner, where it seemed inappropriate and unnecessary to overtly ask for consent. On occasion, such individuals have expressed that information is confidential or that it cannot be disclosed until a later date, to which I have responded accordingly. When in doubt regarding the use of information gained from these sources, I clarified the use of the specific information as necessary. In relation to government officials and NGO workers, with whom I met in a more formal manner, usually in their offices, I also accepted verbal consent as adequate. In these situations, I always asked directly for permission to use the data collected at interviews and acted accordingly. Although I state that these interviews were “more formal”, this is relative to my undertakings with other research participants. Accordingly, it seemed inappropriate to request formal written permissions. Rarely did I require appointments for these interviews, and I was only ever required to provide evidence of my position as a researcher when I requested written information from government officials. Written documents were then released following official sanction, with the understanding that the data was to use in my research output. Overall, in accordance with the American Anthropological Association Code of Ethics, “informed consent... does not necessarily imply or require a particular written or signed form. It is the quality of the consent, not the format, that is relevant” (American Anthropological Association 1998:III A4). I am confident that the consent I gained is adequate. Research participants understood the nature of our interactions, were aware of my intention to use collected data and gave adequate permission in this regard.

### 1.4.3 Data Collection Methods

The majority of the research data was collected between February 2007 and April 2008, with additional data being gathered during two, week-long trips to the southern Kalahari in June and July 2009 and 2010. During this time, I adopted an iterative-inductive research approach to allow the research to evolve and develop as appropriate (O'Reilly 2005). Consequently, semi-structured interviews and participant observation were employed to collect in-depth qualitative data. Forty-nine individual interviews with Community members were conducted lasting approximately one hour each, while participant observation, including informal conversations, was ongoing. Additionally, as already stated, interviews and informal discussions were held with NGO staff, government officials and other actors involved with the †Khomani. When I was not in the field, email correspondence and telephone calls were used to access supplementary information from participants. Details of all interviewees, cited personal conversations and correspondence are given in the appendix.

As I was unable to live in the †Khomani Community because of personal safety concerns, due to high levels of crime following alcohol consumption, interviews initially enabled me to gain information while allowing the Community to become familiar with my presence. As interviews were semi structured, they consisted of some predetermined questions and topics, while allowing the incorporation of additional questions and subjects as they arose (Robson 1993). Interviews were conducted in an informal manner in numerous venues, including outside participants' homes, roadside craft stalls, or at the Tourist Information Centre where †Khomani individuals gather. Given that interviews with one individual are easier to manage (Arksey 1996), I always targeted one individual at a time, however, due to the informality of the event, and the fact that interviews were often in public places, additional Community members would normally be present. This resulted in interesting discussions and information being revealed. Additionally, through this process I was able to gain information from individuals that I may otherwise have omitted to interview. Generally, interviewees were targeted in a number of ways. Initially, appropriate potential key interviewees were identified following an explanation of my research aims to SASI and my translator. Participants were also identified through snowballing, the process by which one



interviewee refers the researcher to other relevant potential participants. As this recommendation suggests that the researcher is trustworthy, the researcher is able to speak to individuals that may otherwise be inaccessible. Through snowballing I was able to gain access to Community members which otherwise might have been unwilling to be interviewed. Given that these referral techniques are not random, they could result in a bias (Atkinson and Flint 2001). Consequently, I sought to interview and interact with as broad a spectrum of †Khomani as possible, including †Khomani individuals I met at the shop, the family of a †Khomani woman working at the guesthouse where I stayed, along with individuals I met walking on the road. I also made efforts to include less accessible †Khomani individuals in my research, to eliminate what Chambers calls “the six biases” (see section 2.3). This refers to the fact that researchers often only work with the more accessible people in rural communities who are usually the less poor. This includes those living near the roadside, and elite communities members, such as headmen and teachers, with researchers only experiencing such areas in the more accessible dry seasons (Chambers 1983). Although sealed roads have been constructed between Andriesvale and KTP, and Andriesvale and Rietfontein (see Figure 1.2), during the main time frame of my research, between 2007 and 2008, these roads were unsealed and in bad conditions. The 50 km drive from Andriesvale to Welkom took approximately two hours, while the road to Rietfontein was prone to flooding and impassable in the wet season (see Plate 1.1). Despite this, I regularly drove these roads, along with the sand tracks on the farms, to access Community members living off the main road. Many of these individuals could not be contacted to arrange meetings, therefore I initially relied my translator’s familiarity with the area to enable me to meet individuals located in hard to find areas. Additionally, although I did interview the †Khomani elites, including the traditional leader, I did include people from all aspects of †Khomani society such as farmers, trackers, unemployed, and the elders and the youth of both genders.



**Plate 1.1:** Mier Municipality Road in the Wet Season (Grant 2008)

As I was paying for interviews, I had to be aware of interview bias, meaning that I had to determine if interviewees were giving answers which they thought I required (Thompson 1996), in order to secure additional interviews. Over time, however, participants realised that this approach was obsolete, as I was not looking for any answer in particular. As time progressed and I became known in the Community, I was able to collect data using participant observation rather than interviews. Consequently, these issues became less of a concern. Although I continued to offer participants periodic remuneration, the process became a more fluid and un-prescribed exchange, such as occasionally buying crafts from individuals.

My experiences of participant observation revolved around the daily lives of †Khomani individuals, meaning that for this most part I partook in rather mundane activities that constitute life in the remote rural areas. I visited people at home, sitting around their fires, or I would sit with stall-holders at their roadside stalls while waiting for tourists. Alternatively, I would meet people at the shop, walking around the farms, or I would drive individuals to appointments and destinations as necessary, accompanying people to the medical clinic, all the while, joining in their activities and conversations where appropriate, and listening to their stories. I also attended community events, such as community meetings, school sports days and the viewing of world cup soccer, and

documentaries and films about Bushmen. In my experience, †Khomani life does not revolve around the expected or assumed activities that the †Khomani's status as Bushmen suggests, such as hunting, gathering and traditional ceremonies. Traditional weddings and coming of age ceremonies no longer take place. I have been able to witness traditional dancing, however, and participated in the tracking of wildlife, and collection of medicinal plants, with †Khomani individuals. Throughout the thesis I have used 'personal conversation' to denote information collected directly through conversations during participant observation as appropriate. However, while much of the information in this thesis has been collected through participant observation, when recounting events and experiences I have not necessarily used the first person to denote this. This is because, although I acknowledge that the reporting of such information is influenced by researcher background and experience (O'Reilly 2005), my intention is that the focus of the thesis remain on the †Khomani and their situation and not on the researcher.

During my time with the †Khomani I worked hard to establish trust and demonstrate my commitment to the Community to enable better research outcomes. O'Reilly states, "to be accepted and talked to and have people share their experiences and their ideas with you, you have to gain trust and establish friendships"(2005:96). In 2001, Robbins noted that the †Khomani people had been subject to a "long lineage of inquisitive, and at times intrusive, researchers" (2001:833). These sentiments were again reiterated by †Khomani lawyer Roger Chennels, when he told me that the Community were over-researched (pers. comm., August 2006). Most researchers work short term with the †Khomani, however, only spending a few weeks in the area. While some return for follow up visits, many never do. My long-term presence and interaction with the †Khomani was viewed as unusual. Former SASI manager, Lizelle Kleynhans, was surprised to see I was still in the area after six months, and a number of †Khomani were surprised when I returned after a trip to Cape Town, being further astonished by my arrival back in the area in 2009, following an absence of over a year, then again in 2010. My long-term interaction with the †Khomani has allowed me to better interpret the actions of the Community and understand the data within the appropriate context (O'Reilly 2005), while importantly demonstrating my commitment to them (Davis

1999). This time spent with the Community, and my intermittent contact when absent, in the form of phone calls, emails and post, where possible, in addition to my return visits, has allowed me to build a rapport and trust with Community members. Furthermore, I have consistently fulfilled any commitments made to the Community, meaning that whenever I tell individuals, I will do something I act accordingly. For example, when I take photos of the †Khomani, I tell them I will return copies to them. Consequently, I make copies and I return to the Community with the photographs, or I post the prints to the appropriate people. Although this may seem a trivial gesture, it is important as it gives an indication of my good will, commitment and trustworthiness to the Community. The †Khomani feel that they are regularly exploited as they often partake in activities to help researchers, media or authors, without gain, arguing that they are subject to “empty promises” made by such individuals, along with government and development agencies. Consequently, by fulfilling my “promises” this helps to build trust with the †Khomani, while indicating that I do not intend to exploit them. In this vain I also regularly drove Community members to attend the health clinic at Askham.

It has been suggested that through prolonged participant observation, Community members may forget that they are being studied (O'Reilly 2005). I believe that this was often the case during my time with the †Khomani, however, it has also been noted that there is a limit to the extent that researchers will be regarded as a member of the studied community (O'Reilly 2005). Accordingly, although I worked with the †Khomani for over a year, I was never regarded as a member of the Community and cannot claim to understand all the intricacies of their complex lives. In this vain, Community members expressed their appreciation that I did not try to be †Khomani. Overall, I believe that I have been able to establish, and continue to maintain a good rapport with the †Khomani and many of their affiliates, consequently, this has been of benefit to my data collection and quality of my research.

#### **1.4.4 Translator Considerations**

Despite my attempts to learn Afrikaans, the main language of the †Khomani prior to fieldwork, when I arrived in the southern Kalahari to commence fieldwork, my

Afrikaans abilities remained rudimentary and inadequate for such purposes. Consequently, I employed a translator. As there are no professional translators in the area, I hired a ǀKhomani woman, Annetta Bok, who had prior experience translating for researchers. Annetta is fluent in both Afrikaans and English, and did the majority of my translations. On occasion, when Annetta was not available, I employed alternative ǀKhomani individuals, while a student from the University of KwaZulu Natal translated for me latterly. The name of the interpretators that translated individual interviews and personal conversations is given in the appendix. There are considerations that must be addressed, however, regarding the use of translators in research, and the impact that they can have on the research data. Edwards suggests that “researchers need to acknowledge that they carry out interviews *with*, rather than *through*, interpreters, and that the latter’s role should be made explicit” (1998:197). The presence of the translator adds another dimension to the process of data collection. The life history of the translator can affect the interpretation process resulting in translator bias. For example, inappropriate attitudes and opinions may be assigned to participants which affect the research outcome (Edwards 1998). To assess the extent to which this was happening, I had a selection of interviews, which Annetta had translated, translated again by independent translators to verify accuracy. While Annetta did not always translate the respondent’s answers word for word, she did nevertheless convey the appropriate meanings and attitudes. Consequently, it seems that Annetta did not generally insert her own opinions, into the translation process. It has also been noted that translators impact research as they often fail to recognise subtle cultural or local meanings in language during the translation process, consequently, translators omit to translate significant data (Davis 1999). Given that Annetta is a ǀKhomani Community member, however, she is accustomed to such nuances, which was reflected in her detailed translations. I would argue that although there are negative aspects to working with translators, when translators are community members they can provide valuable insight. Annetta personally knew many research respondents and was able to word questions in an appropriate and sensitive manner when necessary, taking into account any relevant background information regarding the individual respondents. Additionally, over the year I worked with Annetta, she was a valuable source of information regarding the

development of the farms, the perceived obstacles to development, and the responsibilities of involved actors.

#### **1.4.5 Research Outcomes and Limitations of Data Availability**

As suggested by the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth (1997) the results of my research will be available in the country of origin. An electronic copy of my thesis will be sent to the †Khomani Community members with email access, to SASI, appropriate government officials, NGOs that participated in the research, South African National Parks (SANParks), †Khomani lawyers and other relevant actors. Additionally, three hardcopies of the thesis will be sent to SASI. All data collected during this research will be stored electronically, where possible, otherwise, hardcopies will be maintained. Upon request, anonymised data will be made available to third parties following assurances that such data will be used in accordance with the †Khomani CPA contract.

#### **1.4.6 Terminology**

Researching and writing this thesis has been a constant challenge, in relation to the terminology used by others, and regarding the terminology that I should use in order to achieve clarity, while minimising offence. Given that the subject of this thesis is a result of discriminatory racist policies and practices of the past, I cannot forgo the mention of race, therefore, throughout the thesis I refer to groupings of people using racial terminology, as a matter of necessity. Initially this is required to detail the manner in which South Africa's population was divided, while later, I define individuals and groups by race as a reflection of the terminology used in the research area and formal government rhetoric. Overall the terminology throughout this work reflects the language of the people I worked with, who constantly use race to define and separate themselves from other population groups.

According to Seekings and Nattrass, recent convention in South Africa on racial terminology is to refer to people as "White" if they are white and of European decent, "African" if they were classified under apartheid as "Native", "Bantu" or "Black" and "Coloured" when referring to people of mixed race. Despite "Bushman" and

“Khoekhoe” not being mixed of race, Seekings and Nattrass include them in the Coloured category. Lastly, “Indian” refers to people either from, or with ancestors from the Indian subcontinent (Seekings and Nattrass 2005:ix). For the purpose of this research, I use the term White as detailed above, however, I have chosen not to use the term African. I will substitute this with Bantu-speaking peoples, when referring to the pre-colonial era, then Black in regard to colonial and post colonial times. To use African when speaking of only the Black population is misleading, given that Bushmen and Khoekhoe are also African, as are many of South Africa’s white population, whose families have inhabited the country for generations. The use of the label Coloured within the thesis is somewhat complicated and is only used to refer to people of mixed race, not Bushmen or Khoekhoe. However, when I refer to Coloured legislation, instituted during the apartheid era, it should be realised that this legislation is applicable to Bushmen and Khoekhoe, who were classified as Coloured for much of apartheid (see section 3.3).

Much discussion surrounds which terminology should to be used when referring to Bushmen or San. Colonisers constructed both these terms to enable the classification of diverse groups of people into one category. The Bushmen or San people possessed their own indigenous group names, inhabited distinct areas, spoke different languages and possessed individual histories. Despite these differences, a single classification was given to such peoples by the colonial governments, to allow governments to more effectively administer to these peoples (Tomaselli 2007). The terms, Bushman and San both carry connotations of low status, and consequently many Bushmen today resent them (Gordon and Douglas 2000). Despite this, the term San is used most by NGOs, government officials and social planners in both Namibia and South Africa (Barnard 2007), while Gordon and Douglas (2000), have argued that Bushman can be made honourable and respectable through instilling it with new meaning. Among a number of today’s Bushmen, including most ꞤKhomani, Bushman is the term of choice. This was demonstrated during my first interview with a ꞤKhomani Community member, when I was told:

I always knew I was Bushman....not San. The thing is that the Government gave the San name to people, but we are not San, we are Bushmen....I don't know San, I don't want to be called San and we're going to fight it at the highest court, because you see people give you names (Petrus Vaalbooi, interview, April 2007).

For the purposes of this thesis, therefore, and in the spirit of Gordon and Douglas, but more importantly, because the majority of my ꞤKhomani informants identify themselves as Bushmen, I will use this term. When referring to specific groups of Bushmen, however, I use individual group names, such as ꞤKhomani.

## **1.5 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY**

In order to examine rural development in practice, this thesis consists of eight chapters. Chapters two and three lay the groundwork for the forthcoming chapters. Chapter two supplies data supporting the need for rural development and the role of land reform in this regard. The uniqueness of remote rural development is also discussed as are the curtailing factors of development in such remote areas (a theme is expanded in relation to the ꞤKhomani in chapter four and five). Problems related to rural development strategies past and present are also identified in this chapter, particularly in relation to issues of empowerment, community and development agency dynamics and interactions, all of which are reflected in the ꞤKhomani experience of development (discussed in chapters six and seven). Chapter three gives a brief historical account of the processes and legislation that has resulted in a South African society built on inequality to enable an understanding of the need for a land reform policy, before introducing the Policy, its purposes and outcomes. The chapter then introduces South Africa's Bushmen, and the ꞤKhomani specifically, to allow the reader to understand the manner in which the Bushmen were dispossessed of their land, and the situation of the Bushmen immediately prior to, and following the land claim. The land claim and its settlement are detailed, while issues of community formation and cohesion are raised (further developed in chapter six and seven). Chapter four and five detail the situation of the ꞤKhomani farms, the extent to which the award of land has facilitated rural development to date, as the South Africa Government predicts. Consequently, chapter four assesses ꞤKhomani income generating and subsistence strategies, to determine if the ꞤKhomani are able to meet their basic needs, while chapter five examines the extent



to which the †Khomani population has access to basic services. Chapter four and five also consider the effects that the marginal and remote location of the †Khomani land plays in limiting the Community's ability to increase and diversify livelihood strategies and access basic services, while considering to extent to which community individuals share the same desires in regard to service provision. Given that development since the †Khomani land settlement has been minimal, chapter six examines who is responsible for such development and the management of the land, and why development has not been forthcoming. Chapter seven then gives an account of the historical disempowerment of the South African Bushmen and the †Khomani, examining the need for, and importance of empowerment strategies for the Community while determining if, and how empowerment is being applied and the extent of its success. Chapter eight concludes the thesis by drawing the chapters and their findings together, and detailing the academic and practical importance of the study to make recommendations.

## CHAPTER TWO: RURAL POVERTY, STRATEGIES FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND ISSUES OF CURTAILMENT

The previous chapter identified that there is a need for rural development in South Africa in order to overcome the existing rural poverty. A brief explanation was then given regarding government policy in this respect, including the introduction of the Land Reform Policy. This chapter follows on from this by identifying the prevalence and persistence of poverty in general, highlighting the continued need for development in Sub-Saharan Africa and remote rural areas in particular. A number of characteristics typical of the rural poor are detailed, while the uniqueness of remote rural development is recognised, all of which serve to constrain efforts of development. The theoretical and practical problems related to development before and after the introduction of people centred development are discussed, with it becoming apparent that although development agency<sup>5</sup> strategies have changed over the years, regarding what development is appropriate and how it should be delivered, a number of complex issues endure that serve to curtail development in the remote rural areas. The chapter also provides the logic underlying land reform as a contributor to rural development, highlighting some of the issues that limit rural development following land reform in South Africa, such as the role of community dynamics, in addition to the interactions between development agencies and beneficiary communities.

Given that the †Khomani Community constitute part of the rural poor, the chapter provides a context to which the environment, characteristics and development experiences of the †Khomani, as detailed in the remainder of the thesis, can be compared. During the course of the thesis it will become evident that while the †Khomani experience in regard to development is somewhat similar to other land reform beneficiaries in South Africa, the †Khomani's unique set of historical and current circumstances, requires a community specific strategy for development, as do all development projects. Consequently, this thesis argues that while rural development

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<sup>5</sup> For the purposes of this thesis, I use the term development agency to denote organisations involved in the development process. These include, but are not limited to NGOs, CBOs, NPOs, and government agencies, agents and departments involved in this process.

can be planned by development agencies, including government, the uniqueness of individual communities, their dynamics and circumstances make development planning and implementation difficult, highlighting the continued need for more participatory, flexible strategies suited to specific circumstances and projects.

## **2.1 RURAL POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT**

### **2.1.1 The Need for Rural Development**

In 1990, the United Nations reported that in the developing world, 46 per cent of the population were living in extreme poverty on less than \$1.25<sup>6</sup> per person per day. By 2005, this figure had fallen to 27 per cent (United Nations 2010:6). The extent to which poverty declined within the various worldwide regions, however, varied. Notably, Asia experienced a considerable reduction in poverty that resulted in the significant overall drop in the worldwide poverty figures (United Nations 2010; Reddy and Minoiu 2007), while in other areas, such as Sub-Saharan Africa, poverty reduction has been slow, if at all (Reddy and Minoiu 2007). United Nation's figures suggest that in Sub-Saharan Africa, the percentage of people living on less than \$1.25 per person per day has fallen from 58 per cent to 51 per cent (United Nations 2010:6), however, alternative analysis suggests that poverty in this region, and Africa more generally, has risen during this time period (Reddy and Minoiu 2007; Deaton 2004). Whichever is true, presently Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest percentage of the worldwide population living in extreme poverty (United Nations 2010).

Within the developing world, the majority of poverty occurs in the rural areas. While these rural populations are growing in absolute terms, they are shrinking in relative terms compared to country populations as a whole because urban populations are growing. Urban populations are predicted to exceed rural populations in developing countries by 2020 (Ashley and Maxwell 2001; United Nations Population Division 1998). As these urban populations grow, so does urban poverty (Haddad, Ruel, and Garrett 1999), partly a reflection of poor people from the rural areas migrating to the

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<sup>6</sup> \$1.25 is the international poverty line set by the World Bank. People living below this line are said to live in extreme poverty (World Bank 2009).

urban areas. Although rural populations and poverty are in decline compared to urban populations the number of rural poor still outweighs the urban poor, with three quarters of the developing world's poor inhabiting the rural areas (Ravallion, Chen, and Sangraula 2007:693). In Sub-Saharan Africa, 60 per cent of the rural population live in extreme poverty, surviving on less than \$1.25 per person per day, while 90 per cent live in moderate poverty on \$2<sup>7</sup> per person per day. This is the highest percentage of rural poor living on less than \$1.25 per person per day within the developing world sub regions (IFAD 2010:47). Consequently, despite declining worldwide rural poverty, rural poverty continues to endure for many, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa. This means that there is a continued need for rural development strategies. For such strategies to be effective, they must be flexible and context specific, based on the needs of communities.

### **2.1.2 The Rural Poor**

Generally, the rural poor share a number of characteristics that contribute to their impoverished state. Rural peoples livelihoods are determined by the opportunities and limitations of the particular areas in which they live, meaning the opportunities afforded them by the natural resources base, the local infrastructure and market openings, in addition to peoples own personal abilities and characteristics (IFAD 2010). Rural poverty therefore is most often found in remote, marginal areas with low potential and weak ties to the wider society in terms of physical connection, communication and markets. These mutually reinforcing circumstances result in political isolation and limited market opportunities. Such high risk environments, lacking potential for positive livelihood outcomes typify the home of the rural poor (Chronic Poverty Research Centre 2004; Ahmed et al. 2007). In many countries, these poverty prone environments are home to concentrated numbers of tribal and indigenous peoples (groups over-represented among the rural poor), that have been pushed to areas low potential receiving limited public investment. Generally, compared to non-poor households, poor rural households tend to have more members, more dependents (non-working age), less education, less land, and less access to basic services such as water and electricity (Ahmed et al. 2007; IFAD 2010). While some rural households never

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<sup>7</sup> \$2 per day is the second international poverty line set by the World Bank. People living below this line are said to be in moderate poverty (World Bank 2009).

escape poverty, others move in and out of poverty many times throughout their lives. Additionally, although it has been known for people in these rural areas to experience upward mobility, downward mobility is also evident. Such downward mobility is usually the result of households' inability to absorb external shocks, including natural disasters, failed harvests and market dynamics, all of which can result in a loss of farm sales and unemployment and therefore income, family illness, and even conflict. Consequently, although rural households can survive through livestock or crop production from their own farms, employment, including self-employment, and from transfers such as remittances, the majority of these households attempt to engage in a variety of these activities. By pursuing multiple livelihood strategies this serves to reduce risk should there be a failure of any one livelihood strategy (IFAD 2010; von Braun et al. 1992; Ellis 2000).

The †Khomani Community shares many of the aforementioned characteristics of rural poverty. The awarded farms, which the Community own and reside, are situated in a remote area of South Africa, offering little potential or public investment, with few communication networks. Consequently, the farms offer limited livelihood and market opportunities (see Mier Local Municipality 2007; Bradstock 2005), as further discussed in chapter four. Additionally, like other rural poor communities the †Khomani exhibit poor education levels and have access to few basic services and facilities (see Statistics South Africa 2001; Kramer 1985 cited in Koster 2000; Bradstock 2005), issues that are explored in chapter five. Overall, as is consistent with many rural poor communities, despite the need to diversify livelihood strategies to protect against shocks, there are few livelihood opportunities afforded to †Khomani households, while a lack of basic services contributes to †Khomani poverty.

### **2.1.3 The Uniqueness of Rural Development**

Although many of the components of urban and rural poverty are the same, such as a lack of basic services and livelihood opportunities, rural poverty exhibits characteristics that sets it apart from urban poverty (Satterthwaite and Tacoli 2002; Ashley and Maxwell 2001). While it is difficult for development agencies to influence remunerated livelihood opportunities for both the rural and urban poor, given their differing

characteristics, agencies are better able to help the urban poor, as the possibilities of influencing urban access to basic services is easier than that of the rural poor (Satterthwaite and Tacoli 2002). Consequently, development actors must recognise differing local contexts when applying development strategies and tailor them to individual contexts as appropriate. This means that the differences between rural and urban poverty and development must be recognised and the challenges addressed accordingly, an assessment shared by Satterthwaite and Tacoli (2002), and Ashley and Maxwell (2001).

Wiggins and Proctor (2001) have highlighted the requirements and differences associated with poverty and development in the remote rural areas compared to the regions they term the “peri-urban zones” and “the (middle) countryside”. Peri-urban zones are situated close to the urban centres and as the centres grow, the inner edges of the peri-urban zones attract migrants from the rural areas, eventually becoming part of the urban area. People living in these areas can commute daily to the city proper for employment, while manufacturing industries often choose to locate to such areas, due to decreased rental and wage costs. Additionally, given that such areas are less built up than the urban areas proper, households may partake in market gardening for subsistence or income generating purposes (Wiggins and Proctor 2001; Douglas 2006). The countryside is situated further away from the urban centre to the extent that the distance prevents the daily commute to the city for work, as does the cost of travelling to and from the city. Consequently, many individuals from these areas choose to migrate to the urban centres for employment, meaning that populations tend to be low, resulting in higher costs per head for the supply of services. For those that continue to live in the countryside, arable and livestock farming, fishing, forestry etc produce surpluses for the urban market. Tourism, crafting and recreation industries may also be present. When access to natural resources in these country areas is limited, or where resource quality is diminished, this affects the aforementioned farming, fishing, forestry and tourism industries and reduces livelihood potential. Overall, development potential in these areas is low (Wiggins and Proctor 2001).

The rural areas are distinguished from the countryside by their remote location, situated far from the urban centres, it is such an area in which the †Khomani farms are located. A lack of infrastructure and a physical obstacles means that the rural areas are cut off from the urban centres (Kilkenny 1998; Wiggins and Proctor 2001; Kydd and Dorwood 2001). Consequently, the cost of moving people and goods to and from the urban centres are high. Where these remote rural areas have good natural resources farming is possible, however, only surpluses of high value products can bear the high costs of transport. In areas without access to these resources, or where the natural resources are diminished, only low productivity subsistence farming is possible with, very little surplus, if any. Local service industries create some employment, while inhabitants may migrate to the urban centres for employment. It is suggested that there are few “proven” strategies to develop these remote rural areas other than subsidies to increase local incomes and offset the costs of isolation. If infrastructure is improved to enable better access to the urban centres from remote areas with good natural resources, the economic industries in such areas may increase. Where these good resources are lacking the remoteness of the area may be marketed as an attraction for tourists (Wiggins and Proctor 2001; Kydd and Dorwood 2001), this has been attempted on the †Khomani farms and is detailed in section 4.4. Overall, the location of these remote rural areas contributes to poverty in such areas as prospects for development are limited by poor infrastructure and high costs (Irz et al. 2001; Wiggins and Proctor 2001; Ellis and Hine 1998; Farrington et al. 2002; Kydd and Dorwood 2001). The ongoing costs of supplying basic services and maintaining infrastructure given the remote location must be taken into account, while any exploitation of natural resources must be sustainable in order that future generations can access livelihood options based on these resources (Wiggins and Proctor 2001). Furthermore, low population densities in such areas make it easier for urban elites to resist pressure from the rural population in regard to development (Kydd and Dorwood 2001). Consequently, I argue that in accord with Ashley and Maxwell (2001), Wiggins and Proctor (2001), and Kydd and Dorwood (2001), the causes of poverty and challenges to development in such areas differ from that of the urban, peri-urban and countryside areas. This means that specific development strategies are required that tackle the unique challenges of the remote rural areas development.

The †Khomani Community farms are situated in an area consistent with what Wiggins and Proctor term a remote rural area. Consequently, it is costly to supply services and maintain infrastructure. Although some †Khomani have access to natural resources such as farmland, the land is of low potential and has not been managed effectively to date (see Chennels 2006; South African Human Rights Commission 2004), expanded in section 6.3. This means that overall, †Khomani farmland offers costly development options with limited output. Although the remoteness of the farms attracts tourism, this sector is underdeveloped in the area (Mier Local Municipality 2007), and as Wiggins and Proctor suggest, tourism potential is limited. This argument is further discussed in section 4.6.2.

## **2.2 STRATEGIES FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT**

Over the years, development strategies aimed at alleviating rural poverty have changed and evolved to become more appropriate to beneficiaries. Initially these strategies centred on agricultural growth, promoting large then small farming practices. However, it became apparent that these strategies did not address the issues of the landless or those living in environments unsuitable for such practices, while some individuals did not aspire to be farmers. Consequently, it has been recognised that rural development strategies must support both farm and non-farm livelihoods, while land access for the landless has been enabled in some countries through land reform processes to allow landless individuals to benefit from the advantages that land brings.

### **2.2.1 The Role Agricultural Growth**

It has been argued that the best way to address poverty in developing countries is through agricultural growth. Increased agricultural production, either through technological advancement, farm enlargement and/or increased cropping and livestock holding, is not only essential to ensure sufficient food for the growing urban populations, but is necessary to alleviate the poverty of the rural poor (Thirtle et al. 2001; Kydd and Dorwood 2001; Tripp 2001; Irz et al. 2001). Agricultural growth in the rural areas has many benefits, including but not limited to, an increase in poor farmers' income and the creation of employment opportunities on the said farms for landless individuals. This result in increased rural wealth and a growth in the local non-farm



economy and as working individuals pay local government taxes this can be invested to improve the local infrastructure thereby promoting continued rural economic growth. Lower food prices also result for consumers, both in the rural and urban areas. These benefits, however, are not inevitable. For example, farmers' profits will only increase when production increases as long as market prices do not fall due to increased product availability and where countries trade on the world market, lower food prices on these markets encourages countries to provision local markets from these world markets. While this is good for poor consumers, it does not benefit local poor farmers who struggle to make or increase profits. Additionally, where increased production is due to technological processes, labour demand may not increase meaning that the landless poor do not benefit. Furthermore, as farmland landlords may seek to gain from local agricultural growth by increasing land rental costs, this is particularly likely where land is scarce, this results in lower profits for farmers (Thirtle et al. 2001; Irz et al. 2001; Kydd and Dorwood 2001).

The above demonstrates that although not inevitable, given the right set of circumstances agricultural growth can be of benefit, however, it has also been suggested that such agricultural growth in developing countries' rural areas is unrealistic. The reasons include, inadequate infrastructure and the fact that if growth relies on the development and/or application of new technologies which are unaffordable in such countries (Ellis and Biggs 2001; Kydd and Dorwood 2001; Barrett and Swallow 2005). Access to finance is often a constraining factor for small farmers and impedes agricultural improvements or expansion on their farms. Additionally, where farmers lack tenure security, this means that they do not have collateral from which they can borrow against. Even if tenure insecure farmers can access finance, tenure insecurity discourages investment in case farmers leases are not renewed and they lose their investment (see Kydd and Dorwood 2001; Barrett and Swallow 2005). Consequently, the ability of agricultural growth to improve the circumstances of the rural poor is not inevitable, but varies with individual circumstances.

Over the years, the argument that agricultural growth has a significant contribution to make to both rural and urban poverty alleviation, has resulted in the promotion of

various strategies to achieve this aim. In the 1950s, it was argued that small-scale farms<sup>8</sup> had a minimal role to play in agricultural growth and that they should to be replaced by large ‘modern’ agricultural developments such as plantations, commercial farms and ranches, as it was envisioned that these large farms would be more efficient, using modern technologies. This was despite the fact that small-scale farmers constituted half of the rural population in developing countries, many of whom were poor. Under this strategy, following farm restructuring, surplus rural labour was expected to migrate to the urban areas to partake in the increased employment opportunities due to industrialisation. In the 1960s the emphasis shifted from the promotion of large, to small farming practices, to increase agricultural growth to alleviate rural poverty. This thinking dominated rural development strategies throughout the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s (Kydd and Dorwood 2001; Ellis and Biggs 2001). In contrast to earlier arguments research suggested that small scale farmers used land, labour and finance more efficiently than large scale ones (see Binswanger-Mkhize, Bourguignon, and van der Brink 2009; Kydd and Dorwood 2001; Ellis and Biggs 2001).

While development strategies that support small farming practices may help alleviate the poverty of poor rural farmers, they do little for those that do not own sufficient land to pursue such livelihood strategies or that desire to practice alternative livelihoods. Many of the rural poor are not full time or even part time farmers, or aspire to be such (Irz et al. 2001; Ashley and Maxwell 2001; Tripp 2001), as is the case with some traditionalist †Khomani. Even when individuals do aspire to exist on farming alone, given that small farms are often sub-divided for inheritance purposes, the small size of these farms means that many rural people are unable to survive on the proceeds of such farms. Some rural poor own no land whatsoever, a fact that contributes to their poverty. It is argued that these individuals can benefit indirectly through development strategies aimed at small farm development due to increased employment opportunities on these farms, such opportunities are limited, however, given that small farms usually rely on family labour (Ellis and Biggs 2001; Irz et al. 2001; Thirtle et al. 2001). Furthermore,

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<sup>8</sup> None of the authors cited in this chapter define “small farm”. It has been suggested that the term may refer to farm size or family ownership (Ashley and Maxwell 2001; Binswanger-Mkhize, Bourguignon, and van der Brink 2009). Nagayets (2005) offers further discussion.

some rural locations and environments have only limited farming potential (see Wiggins and Proctor 2001), as discussed in section 2.1.3. From this, it is apparent that development strategies that only promote farming are not the most effective way to tackle rural poverty, and that non-farm industries have a role to play in this respect, and assessment shared by Ashley and Maxwell (2001) and Hall and Cliffe (Hall and Cliffe). Consequently, there is a need for more context specific development strategies that support multiple forms of rural development. Consequently, people centred strategies becoming popularised in the 1990s, including the sustainable rural livelihoods approach of the late 1990s (see Carney 1999; Scoones 1998). In the rural areas such strategies enable local people to dictate the most appropriate development strategy for themselves, be them farm based or not, instead of development agencies promoting specific livelihood strategies such as small farm development. The sustainable livelihoods approach to development supports the rural poor to build on existing strengths to realise their potential to alleviate poverty enabling individuals to recognise their vulnerabilities thereby enabling individuals to identify factors that constrain them in poverty, to build resilience against shocks (Scoones 2009; Ellis and Biggs 2001; Carney 1999; Scoones 1998). Despite the application of these various rural development strategies, including agricultural growth through both large and small farm practices, and people centred development strategies, such as sustainable livelihoods approach, rural poverty endures. This is a reflection of the fact that many poor rural people lack access to land, which can contribute to poverty alleviation, as discussed below, in addition to the a number of complexities and difficulties related to rural development as explored within this thesis.

### **2.2.2 The Role of Land**

When rural people have access to land, given the appropriate environment, they can sustain themselves, consequently, the facilitation of land access for rural poor people can contribute to poverty alleviation. Access to land allows the majority of rural people in developing countries to sustain themselves and their families, through the provision of nutrition and income (Hanstad, Prosterman, and Mitchell 2009). Where poor people are given adequate land and support to establish small farms, they can cultivate livestock and/or crops, while edible and medicinal wild plants and wood can be collected, all of

which can be consumed while surpluses can be sold for cash. Consequently, access to land can contribute to household food security, facilitate economic independence and the accumulation of wealth (Binswanger-Mkhize, Bourguignon, and van der Brink 2009; Ashley and Maxwell 2001; Hanstad, Prosterman, and Mitchell 2009). Furthermore, where development strategies are in place to support small farm development, such as those in section 2.2.1, individuals with access to farmland benefit more than those without, who can only access jobs on such farms at best (Thirtle et al. 2001; Irz et al. 2001; Kydd and Dorwood 2001).

Where individuals have land title, such tenure security can encourage investment in, and development on and off the land. In times of hardship, when formal land title is held, the land can be leased or sold to others, as can the livestock to offer protection against shocks. Landowners can also raise credit by using land as collateral against loans, while this valuable resource can be transferred to the next generation, allowing them to benefit from the security it provides (de Janvry et al. 2001; Quan 2000; Adams, Sibanda, and Turner 1999; Thwala 2006; Hanstad, Prosterman, and Mitchell 2009). This means that access to land can enable income generation, wealth accumulation and can allow individuals to gain social status (Hanstad, Prosterman, and Mitchell 2009). Although land access and/or ownership does not guarantee poverty alleviation (de Janvry et al. 2001; de Wet 1994; Kepe and Cousins 2002), it is a primary player in the eradication of rural poverty and rural development (Quan 2000; Kepe and Cousins 2002). Accordingly, in countries with inequitable land distribution and high poverty levels, such as South Africa, land reform can be an important component of poverty alleviation and development in the rural areas.

### **2.3 THE ORIGINS OF PEOPLE CENTRED DEVELOPMENT**

In the 1990s, existing development processes were criticised for promoting and implementing top-down development strategies (see Ferguson 1994; Escobar 1995; Marglin and Marglin 1990). According to theorists, these development strategies and projects aimed at achieving conditions akin to rich industrial societies, a result of development strategies being applied on the advice of development professionals recruited from the North (Escobar 1995; Banuri 1990). It is argued that these “outsider

professionals” believed that their knowledge was superior to that of local people and that while such professionals were capable of appraising and analysing situations, local people were not. On occasion when local people were consulted, development professionals rarely gave any real consideration to the input, as local people were perceived as incapable of worthwhile participation in the development process (Chambers 1994; Edwards 1989; Sneyd 2007). Over time, such perceptions by development professionals become internalised by local people, whose behaviour and beliefs come to reflect the perceptions of the professionals meaning that local people believe themselves to be ignorant and incapable of improving their own situation and act accordingly (Chambers 1994; Vincent 2004). In other words, local people become disempowered and dependent on professionals for answers to improve their situation, an argument supported by Vincent (2004) and Toomey (2011). In such circumstances, development strategies come to reflect the values of Northern professionals (Kothari 2005; Edwards 1989).

At that time, development strategies and development professionals’ technical skills and knowledge were viewed as universal, meaning local contexts did not influence the strategies, knowledge or skills applied. Consequently, experts moved between and within countries, applying development strategies and their particular expertise, without any understanding of the historical, social or cultural context in which they were being applied. As a result, development was similar worldwide with experts promoting a particular view of social change, what they termed development. This meant that development processes and outcomes were not the most suited forms of development for certain areas, and not necessarily what local people desired (Escobar 1995; Binns, Hill, and Nel 1997; Kothari 2005).

Given these concerns, new development strategies, which aimed to be more people centred and participatory were envisioned and developed. These strategies, which are expanded in section 7.1 aim to allow local people a greater input into the conceptions and processes of development programmes, thereby transforming development from a ‘top down’ practice, dominated by the values of Northern professionals, to a ‘bottom up’ process, reflecting the desires and values of local people (see Gardner and Lewis

1996; Crewe and Harrison 1998; Edwards 1989; Chambers 1983). The majority of development agencies have embraced these principles of people-centred development, including the World Bank, with the 1980s and 1990s seeing a rise in the prominence of development NGOs, many of which aimed to improve the situation of the poor through such strategies (Lewis 2003a). Despite many development agencies having accepted and advocating for people centred development strategies, promoting empowerment and participation, such principles have proved more difficult to implement in practice than on paper, as is evident in the present study of the †Khomani. As a result, concerns still exist regarding the extent to which development is people centred, reflecting local values and desires.

In the rural areas, to ensure that development is people centred, Chambers (1983), has argued that development actors must spend time in the said areas interacting with a broad and diverse range of proposed beneficiaries. As a result professionals will be “in touch and up-to-date with the changing realities of people living in poverty” (Chambers 2006:7). To achieve this, professionals must overcome the “urban trap”. This refers to the fact that rural development professionals, including academics, researchers, NGO workers and government officials often reside in the urban centres, due to superior facilities. When these urban-based rural development professionals visit the rural areas, these trips amount to little more than “rural development tourism”, where the development professionals pay a brief all influencing visit to the said rural area, meaning that they fail to engage with the needs of local people (Chambers 1983; 1994; see Blaikie et al. 1997). Due to the brief nature of these visits, a number of biases emerge which serve to curtail the visibility of the rural poor and limit the extent to which urban-based professionals understand the nature of rural poverty. These biases inhibit development professionals from getting a representative view of rural poverty, meaning that subsequent development strategies are not representative of the overall rural population whom they seek to benefit, they are not people centred (Chambers 1983, 1994; see Korten 1980; Blaikie et al. 1997). Initially Chambers (1983; 2006) identified six biases, spatial, project, person, seasonal, diplomatic and professional, later adding a seventh, the security bias.

The first bias, the spatial bias, refers to the fact that when development professionals visit the rural areas, they travel to the areas closest to urban centres and demonstrate a preference for sealed, tarmac roads. This is due to a number of factors including; the hazards of unsealed roads, the short period of the visits (vehicles must travel slower on unsealed roads), the cost of fuel and the location of comfortable places to stay. By only travelling to areas along tarmac roads visitors fail to visit the poorer populations as development, including the establishment of shops and factories, tend to follow main roads, with the poorer populations living in the more remote areas far from tarmac roads and urban centres (Chambers 1983, 1981, 1994; see Mudgal 2006). The second bias, project bias, occurs when development professionals are directed to visit rural areas where money is being spent, projects are running and staff are stationed and well versed (Chambers 1994, 1983, 2008; see Crewe and Harrison 1998). These projects direct attention away from the poorest, with visitors basing their knowledge, research, reports and publications on these “atypical islands of activity” (Chambers 1983:16). Such research and publications, encourage more development professionals to the aforementioned projects, resulting in yet more research and publications, continuing the cycle (Chambers 1983, 2008).

The third bias, person bias, is divided into four sub categories: elite, male, user and adopter, and active, present and living bias. Elite bias is evident when the main source of information for the development professionals comes from the elite, meaning the less poor and more influential of the rural population. Most commonly, the elite include village and religious leaders, headmen, traders and progressive farmers. Generally, it is such individuals that are involved in the progressive and successful projects of the areas, often monopolising the time and attention of the visitor (Chambers 1981, 1983; see Crewe and Harrison 1998; Mudgal 2006). The poor tend to be reluctant to push themselves forward to speak and therefore left unheard. Male bias refers to the fact that most development professionals are men, as are the rural people with whom they establish contact. In many cultures, women are inferior in status, and maybe shy to speak with male development professionals. As women are often the poorest in these rural communities, attracting lower wages and working longer hours, this means that once again the communities poorest remain unrepresented in the

development professionals analysis and output (Chambers 1983, 1981, 1994; see Crewe and Harrison 1998; Elson 1995). User and adopter bias occurs when visitors are interested in facilities and innovations. Consequently, the visitor interacts with the users or adopters of these new, facilities, practices and technologies and fails to engage with the non-users and non-adopters. Active, present and living bias refers to the fact that visitors are able to meet and observe the happier, healthier population, as they are the individuals that are present and more visible. This means that visitors fail to interact with the apathetic and ill, typically the poorest, community members who are absent, while those who have died due to poverty are unmet, with their situation, and that of other in similar situations remaining unrecognised (Chambers 1983, 1994; see Crewe and Harrison 1998; Mudgal 2006).

Most development professionals visit the rural areas during the dry season, which Chambers terms the dry season bias, his fourth bias. Visiting the rural areas at this time of year is easier than making trips during the wet season when the rains result in floods and landslides that can lead to vehicles breaking down and/or being stuck, meaning lost time and discomfort. Many of the poorest rural areas are inaccessible by vehicle during the wet season (Chambers 1983, 1994; see Mudgal 2006), which is perhaps the worst time of the year for such communities, as individuals are hungry awaiting the coming harvests, and weather conditions favour infection and disease (see Chambers, Longhurst, and Pacey 1981; Mudgal 2006). This is the time of year least experienced by the development professionals from the urban centres, who visit in the dry season when health is improving and food accessibility increases (Chambers 1981, 1983; Wright, Yang, and Walker 2011).

The fifth bias, the diplomatic bias, is evident when visiting professionals choose not to address or interact with issues of poverty due to politeness and timidity. Some professionals are reluctant to see extreme poverty first hand due to feelings of discomfort and shame. Additionally, some hosts only wish to highlight the positive aspects of their community and do not encourage discussions about existing poverty, meaning that the visitor may be reluctant to raise such issues. Furthermore, raising issues of existing poverty could be construed as impolite and the visitor may be



construed as implying that existing livelihood strategies are failing, as poverty continues to exist (Chambers 1983, 1994; Hirschmann 2003). The sixth bias is the professional bias. This is when professionals, only research, and identify issues that fit with their own ideas, specialisation and discipline, rather than looking at the integrated nature of poverty. As a result, the visitor only recognises and confronts one aspect of poverty, failing to recognise its multidimensional nature, and underestimating its complexity (Chambers 1983, 1994). Since recognising the six biases, Chambers has since added a seventh bias, the security bias (2006; 2008). This relates to the fact that issues of security discourage development professionals from visiting certain areas, where conflict, violence or sickness is perceived to exist (Hirschmann 2003; Chambers 2006). This results in visitors lacking the experience of being personally insecure and do not appreciate the effect physical insecurity has on the rural poor, or its importance (Chambers 2006).

Despite Chambers highlighting the urban trap and biases that inhibit development practices from being truly people centred, many development professionals and agencies still fail to recognise or address these issues (see Crewe and Harrison 1998; Mudgal 2006; Hirschmann 2003). Lewis has noted that development NGO workers continue to be based in urban areas and have no understanding of life in the rural areas in which the beneficiaries live (Lewis 2003b). According to Chambers (2008; 2006), visits from urban based development professionals to the remote rural areas have lessened as development agencies' funding has declined, along with the fact that agencies are spending increasing amounts of time harmonising with each other, and attending workshops. Furthermore, internet access has enabled development professionals to 'learn' about poverty through visits to websites, while email ties development professionals to their computers, both of which once again result in fewer visits to the rural areas. The rise in urban poverty in recent years has also meant that many development agencies have specialised in urban poverty relief, as visiting sites of urban poverty are easier to arrange, and take less time than visits to rural area. Consequently, with fewer visits being made to the rural areas, the findings of these brief visits are weighted with a higher significance (Chambers 2006). Overall, despite the recognition of the aforementioned biases, many aspects of rural poverty continue to remain

unobserved and unperceived by development professionals, meaning that people centred development and poverty alleviation still eludes many of the rural poor.

During my time in the field, it became evident that the majority of development actors working with the †Khomani fall into the urban trap, being based in the urban centres and visiting the Community for a minimal time period, if at all. Although some development agents visit the Community for a short time period, many times over the course of years, other actors only visit once for a matter of days or maybe a week, never to return. A number of these professionals also exhibit the aforementioned biases. The majority of development actors and researchers that visited the †Khomani during my time in the field only possessed sedan cars, one had no car whatsoever. Given that the roads on the †Khomani farms are unsealed, many areas only having 4 x 4 access, such professionals were only able to meet with Community members located nearest the tarmac roads (special bias). Consequently, Community members living in the hard to reach areas remain unrepresented in the resulting development or research outcomes. Furthermore, many development professionals and researchers only visit up and running projects (project bias), in particular the operational SASI projects and only confer with the most accessible, usually traditionalist †Khomani (person bias). This means that professionals do not access the more dysfunctional projects, or individuals experiencing less favourable outcomes, such as Anna, featured in the opening paragraphs of the thesis. Diplomatic and professional biases are also evident, as is security bias, with only a very limited number of development agents choosing to live in the Community. Consequently, short term visits to specific people and projects means that many aspects and dynamics of †Khomani poverty remain undetected and invisible to development agents. The brief nature of the visits means that the complex Community dynamics are not always understood or factored into development strategies, while the selective consultation processes means that development strategies are not always appropriate to Community members. Furthermore, given that most professionals and researchers do not experience or observe life in the hard to reach areas, or meet with †Khomani living in such areas, the difficulties of accessing development projects for these individuals, who often lack communication and transport services remains unappreciated, underestimated and therefore unchallenged.

## **2.4 LIMITATIONS TO PEOPLE CENTRED DEVELOPMENT**

People centred development recognises the role to be played by development agencies and professionals as facilitators of development. Such professionals must enable the participation of a wide range of the beneficiary population to ensure their desires are integrated into development strategies, as Chambers has advocated. Concerns have arisen, however, over the fact that many of these professionals, who continue to tend to be from the North, often dominate rather than facilitate the development process. The extent to which disempowered beneficiary populations have been able to participate in the conceptualisation of development strategies, and access such programmes has been questioned, with it being suggested that such agencies continue to heavily influence the development process, as do the more empowered elites within beneficiary communities.

### **2.4.1 Professionalism**

Prior to the popularisation of people centred development strategies, the participation of non-local urban based development actors in the development process was criticised by theorists such as Chamber and Escobar, as discussed above. Since adoption of people centred development strategies, however, development agencies are still dependent and heavily influenced by non-local professionals, who are not passive in the facilitating of development strategies, continuing to shape and control the process. Such professionals often cite that specialised training, such as they possess, is necessary to enable the identification and implementation of appropriate development strategies, consolidating their position as experts through the use of specialised language (Kothari 2005; Brockington and Sullivan 2003; Blaikie et al. 1997; Crewe and Harrison 1998). Accordingly, Kothari has commented “development orthodoxies seem to be more concerned with generating exclusive professional knowledge and skill, and “experts” who possess these vaunted qualities, than with alleviating poverty and addressing exclusionary processes” (Kothari 2005:440). Consequently, given their lack of training and formal expertise, non-experts and local community members are often unable to participate in the development process or raise issues they deem as important. Where such individuals are able to voice their opinion, the issues are not considered legitimate or of relevant concern, to feature in the development process (Mosse 1995; Crewe and Harrison 1998; Vincent 2004; Toomey 2011). Development professionals therefore

continue to exercise their power as experts to influence project implementation and research topics, recording the appropriate and necessary information to best support the outcomes of the favoured development projects (Mosse 1995; Kapoor 2005; Kesby 2007; Blaikie et al. 1997). This means that to apply bottom up development, much confidence in being placed in the expertise of the outsider professional, often referred to as “facilitators” (Kothari 2005; Kapoor 2005; see Kelegama and de Mel 2007; Sneyd 2007).

To date, the development professionals that tend to be hired by international development agencies continue to be from the North, as agencies still perceive their input as more important than that of their Southern counterparts. This is despite the fact that Northern professionals tend to have preconceived ideas about the beneficiary population, with it being suggested that Southern professionals would be more suited because they better understand the local context (Crewe and Harrison 1998; Elliot 1987; Sneyd 2007; Kelegama and de Mel 2007). Where development agencies bring professionals into the rural areas, cross-cultural interactions between agency staff and beneficiaries occur, with professionals often misinterpreting aspects of local culture to the detriment of the development process. Furthermore, these professionals have been reported to demonstrate culturally inappropriate behaviour (Lewis 2003a, 2003b; Kothari 2002). Additionally this culture of Northern professionalism, and the status it carries, serves to encourage hierarchical relationships between these professionals and locals, causing resentment and impeding training and skills development at the grassroots level (Lewis 2003b; Kapoor 2005). From this, it is apparent that despite the popularisation of people centred development strategies, many development agencies continue to invest their trust development professionals rather than local people. As a result, the empowerment, training and participation of beneficiaries is still being impeded and inappropriate development strategies continue to be employed by professionals that do not fully appreciate the local context. This suggests that the adoption of people centred development strategies by development agencies has made little difference in this respect. Kothari is in agreement stating, “The development industry has thus successfully established and sustained its expertise, authority and

managerial distance despite challenges from development alternatives” (Kothari 2005:439).

Most development agencies that work with the †Khomani are from the South, while a number of researchers, from the North and South have conducted research with the Community. Although on occasion inappropriate development strategies and training techniques have been implemented, such as computer training, for individuals without computer access (see section 7.4.2), this thesis argues that the †Khomani Community is in need of support from development professionals, the lack of which I argue has impeded the development process. While I recognise that such professionals can dominate the development process as suggested above, if development professionals are able to overcome Chambers’ biases to facilitate beneficiary participation, while incorporating Community dynamics into the development process, this will positively contribute to the development process.

#### **2.4.2 Development Agencies, Elites and Participation**

Prior to the introduction of people centred development, many rural development strategies failed to benefit the poorest individuals, often assisting the rural elites instead. Within the rural areas, there are a number of elites, typically men, usually local business owners, farmers and traditional authorities. These individuals are more economically secure, physically healthier and stronger, and better educated than their poorer counterparts, meaning that they dominate the Community spatially, socially and politically, to their own benefit (Chambers 1983). Consequently, they are better placed, informed and able to access development programmes. As a result, in the past a number of development programmes were planned and implemented in a manner that was easy for elites to access. For example, extension workers often work with wealthier progressive farmers, and with men rather than women, who are usually the poorer members of society. Consequently, elites were able catch and trap the resources and benefits (Chambers 1983; Mosse 2005; Blair 1978; Kelsall and Mercer 2003).

Since the introduction of people centred development, agencies have recognised the effects of power imbalances *within* communities, particularly between the elites and

other community members and therefore have sought to empower impoverished and disempowered community members, to allow them to realise their power and participate in society to alter their situation. Such empowerment strategies seek to enable the removal of the encumbrances that constrain peoples' power, allowing the said peoples to realise their potential to alleviate poverty. This process involves the poor and powerless taking control of their own lives through recognising their oppression and actively articulating their social and political needs within oppressive relationships, including domestic, private, public and international contexts (Kelsall and Mercer 2003; Cornwall and Jewkes 1995; Nikkhah and Redzuan 2010). Given the psychological component of empowerment, that an alteration of self-perception is required, it is unclear how external interventions can alter internal capacities to empower such individuals (Rahnema 1992; Kelsall and Mercer 2003).

The extent to which people centred development has empowered the non-elite and disempowered community members to voice and realise their desires has been questioned, as has the ability of such individuals to access, participate in, and benefit from development strategies and their outcomes. As participatory development strategies are often public in nature, less powerful members of communities can be intimidated by the more powerful and dominant community members. This means that the disempowered refrain from attending meetings, or attend such meetings but remain mute and do not participate (Crewe and Harrison 1998; Kelsall and Mercer 2003), something that I have witnessed within the †Khomani Community (see section 7.5). Furthermore, although agencies should keep communities informed regarding development processes, it is not uncommon for the less empowered individuals or groups within communities to be unaware of such strategies, again this is something that is evident in the present case study (see section 7.6.1). As a result, disempowered individuals remain as such, unable to participate in project conceptualisation, or benefit from development strategies, while elites are able to dominate development processes, with little being done by development agencies to address such issues (Kelsall and Mercer 2003; Crewe and Harrison 1998; Mosse 1995). Consequently, within communities, certain groups or individuals become empowered, or further empowered,

usually the elites, at the expense of other groups or individuals (Kelsall and Mercer 2003; Crewe and Harrison 1998).

Development agencies often work in tandem with elite community members to achieve mutually beneficial outcomes, with elite community members manipulating such relationships to influence development processes for their own benefit (Mosse 1995; Crewe and Harrison 1998; James 2000a). As already stated, elites are better able to access development strategies, consequently, when development agencies deliver goods or services to Communities, elites become aware of what can be attained from such associations. Development agencies also benefit from these relationships, however, as they are able to generate “participants” for projects when needed, with projects can report successful participation and outcomes. Such outcomes are acceptable to many development agencies, as agencies that are “too participatory”, spending too much time researching the needs of the less dominant members or the Community, and therefore delivering fewer projects or concrete outcomes, are seen to be under performing by higher management, funders and the Community (Mosse 1995; Crewe and Harrison 1998). From this it is apparent that despite the rhetoric of people centred development, development processes are often exclusionary (Cooke and Kothari 2001) with relations of power continuing to “determine whose concerns are expressed, who is able to access new resources, who can adopt new public roles, and thus influence the progress of external programmes” (Mosse 1995:1).

In addition to relationships between development agencies and Community elites serving to exclude the most disempowered from the development process and therefore empowerment strategies, it has been argued that some agencies exhibit signs of paternalism, which discourages empowerment, encouraging dependence (Elliot 1987; Lewis 2003b). NGO personnel have been cited as viewing themselves as protectors or patrons of the communities in which they work, with community members suggesting NGOs treat them like children, keeping them dependent (Lewis 2003b). Within the †Khomani case study, while development agencies do not exhibit paternalism, many employers in the area demonstrate such attitudes and behaviours, therefore contributing to the continued disempowerment of individuals. This is elaborated upon in section

7.6.2. While some NGOs fail to empower communities due to paternalistic attitudes, others advocate people centred development strategies while utilising more authoritarian development practices, which also undermines the empowerment process. Kelsall and Mercer (2003) report instances of NGOs implementing development strategies through “commandism” dressed up as participation. In other words, community members are organised and told what role they should play and how to play it. Consequently, community members reported that they participated through fear of reprisals rather than desire, resulting in development strategies that are more an exercise in mobilisation than participation. While such methods served to improve basic service provision in the said circumstance, such methods do little to empower the Community. It has been argued that when development agencies employ external professionals to facilitate community empowerment, they imply that target communities are incapable of recognising the cause of their own oppression, or the manner in which to address it, meaning that development agencies imply beneficiaries empowerment is dependent through the facilitation of external professionals (Kelsall and Mercer 2003; Mosse 2005).

Overall, despite the recommendation that development professionals and development agencies need to access the most marginal of beneficiary populations to ensure participation in the development process, dynamics of power within beneficiary population continue to constrain such participation. Even when development agents access such marginal populations, given community dynamics, the psychological component of empowerment and the need for agencies to attain favourable programme outputs, empowerment remains difficult to facilitate. This results in development processes that are dominated by community elites, and development agencies and professionals.

Within the †Khomani Community, elites do exist and include the traditional leader, community elders and educated westerner farmers, however, these individuals are only elite in specific contexts. In the appropriate context, these elites are able to influence, access and benefit from development strategies. Many of these elites do not fit into Chambers definition, however, as not all †Khomani elites are more educated or wealthier than other Community members. Although some elites, such as the farmers



living on the farms, are better versed in bureaucracy and slightly wealthier than other †Khomani living on the farms, compared to †Khomani Community members that reside in the urban centres and strive to influence development on the farms, the †Khomani elites living on the farms are less educated and no more wealthy. Consequently, while farm based †Khomani elites may attempt to influence development processes for their own benefit, urban based †Khomani elites, with their superior education, have tried to influence the development process to their own benefit at the expense of the †Khomani living on the farms. Development agencies have attempted to address issues of empowerment in relation to †Khomani non-elites and elites living on the farms, both of which require empowerment to enable equitable interactions among the †Khomani living on the farms, and to facilitate such relations with the urban based †Khomani. Where appropriate the manner in which the various †Khomani elites influence the development process is recounted within the thesis.

## **2.5 SOUTH AFRICA: LAND REFORM FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT**

Given the potential beneficial outcomes of land access and ownership for the rural poor, as recounted in section 2.2.2, the South African Government implemented a land reform programme to address the injustices and inequalities, including land ownership inequality, following apartheid. The Land Reform Policy, which aimed to facilitate equitable land ownership, development and poverty alleviation, consisted of three programmes to redistribute land, to provide land tenure security and to enable the restitution of land to people that had previously been dispossessed of land. Through these programmes, people can gain land in either the rural and urban areas, which can be used for residential, farming and conservation purposes. Land titles can be held individually or communally, meaning that options for both small and large farming practices are available. Claimants were also able to accept monetary compensation instead of land (Department of Land Affairs 1997). Section 3.2 further details this policy and outcomes. Overall, it was envisioned that the Land Reform Policy would contribute to poverty alleviation through either monetary compensation, or the livelihood options made possible through land ownership, including subsistence or commercial farming or alternative livelihood strategies. As mere land access or land

ownership does not, on its own, result in poverty alleviation and development, the South African Government pledged post-settlement support to ensure productive use of land, while basic service provision was also acknowledged as important in this respect. Altogether it was envisioned that access to land, post-settlement support and basic service provision would result in sustainable development and poverty alleviation (Department of Land Affairs 1997). To date despite the implementation of the Land Reform Policy, the promise of post-settlement support and access to basic services, in addition to the involvement of additional development agencies such as NGOs, many land reform beneficiaries, such as the †Khomani, continue to live in poverty. This is due to issues related to top-down development strategies, unequal power structures, community and development agency dynamics that constrain the development process. Such issues are akin to those already described in section 2.4. This suggests that issues such as these are more difficult to address in practice than on paper. The remainder of this chapter, and indeed the thesis, further explores the difficulties and complexities of rural development through the South African land reform process.

### **2.5.1 South African Land Reform: The Influence and Impact of Development Agencies**

Long-term commitment and support from development agencies is important for South African land reform beneficiaries, particularly land restitution beneficiary communities, such as the †Khomani. This is because these communities have been estranged from their ancestral land for long periods, meaning that they have lost the skills to work the land, or survive on it (de Villiers 2003; Cross et al. 1996). In South Africa, post-settlement support is provided by various development actors, such as government departments, NGOs and researchers (Hall 2007; Thwala and Khosa 2008), all of whom influence which development strategies, including land use practices, are implemented (Cousins ND; Hall and Ntsebeza 2007). The attitudes of beneficiary communities in regard to land and property ownership, and development, often contrasts with that of development agencies (James 2000a; van Leynseele and Hebinck 2009; Wisborg 2007). Van Leynseele and Hebinck (2009), highlight the differences evident in post-settlement expectations between development agencies and beneficiary populations in their case studies in KwaZulu Natal (KZN) and the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. They

argue that development agent's visions focus around commercial farming practices, which differs from that of land beneficiaries, who favour a more traditional approach to land use, such as subsistence farming. Neither of these case studies resulted in the development outcomes envisioned by the agents. The outcome of the Mandlazini Community's land claim in KZN has been based on subsistence farming in addition to landowners choosing to earn income through land sub-division and leasing as opposed to commercial farming. In the Eastern Cape, the Makhoba Community decided not to proceed with the resettlement of their land, as the development plans offered by agents, who promote commercial farming over traditional subsistence farming techniques, are not deemed desirable by the Community. Furthermore, while the agricultural potential of land is often highlighted by development agents as a route out of poverty not all rural peoples desire to enter into agriculture (Slater 2002; James 2000b; Ellis and Biggs 2001). According to James (2000b), resituated communities in South Africa rarely return to their land in order to farm. Instead, these communities reclaim land based on the bitterness of past dispossession and the need to return to the place of their ancestors, to access sacred ancestral sites such as burial ground. Such reasoning instigated the ‡Khomani land claim.

Within South Africa, the Government has been responsible for not only influencing development strategies, but for restricting the manner in which beneficiaries are able to use their land. For example, where communities claim land in or near protected areas, such as national parks and nature reserves, their land use options, including use of natural resources, are often curtailed (see Fay 2009; Spierenburg et al. 2009). This was the case for the Dwesa-Cwebe land claim community in the Eastern Cape. Although the Community won ownership rights to the land, the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve had to be maintained as a protected area under the control of the Eastern Cape Nature Conservation. Although the Community received a cash payment and limited rental agreements, they do not have access forest products or grazing rights (Fay 2009). The ‡Khomani have been subject to similar land use restrictions in relation to their land use in the KTP (see Bosch and Hirschfeld 2002), as detailed in section 3.4.3. In such circumstances, development agencies, including government, often influence the development process by promoting tourism development as the best hope of improving

local livelihoods, however, the potential of tourism is often exaggerated, with the results being disappointing, due to infrastructural and market constraints (Fay 2009; Allen and Brennan 2004; see Turner 2001). The South African Government has more forcibly used its authority to dictate how land restitution beneficiaries utilise their land in the Levubu area of the Limpopo Province. Despite the Levubu claimants experiencing a shortage of residential land, given the high commercial value of the land to be returned, land beneficiaries have been denied the right to resettle on it. The land is to be used for agricultural purposes by the Community and cannot be leased to other commercial farmers. As the Community lack farming experience, they have entered into a “partnership”, which will ensure appropriate management of the land while community members enter into a skills transfer programme. In 15 years it is envisioned that the Community will have the skills to independently work and manage the land as commercial farms (Fraser 2007a, 2007b). Land use practices dictated in this top down manner will ensure that the aforementioned land remains in ‘productive’ use, facilitating poverty alleviation while beneficiaries receive training. However, as the Government has neglected to include effective beneficiary participation in the conceptualisation and planning of this development, the values and desires of the beneficiaries have not been incorporated into the development strategy, this means that it is unlikely that beneficiaries will be committed to, or take ownership of the project, meaning that it may prove unsustainable in the long term. From this it can be seen that development agencies influence land reform outcomes, while the South African Government has restricted and even dictated how the land belonging to land reform beneficiaries, is to be developed.

Development agencies not only influence development strategies but can impact development or land reform outcomes. When many different agencies are involved in post-settlement support this complicates the development process, as the different agencies each have their own agendas regarding the development process, also competing with each other, which delays development and results in few tangible changes, such was the case in regard to the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve land claim in the Eastern Cape of South Africa (Fay 2009). Accordingly, in South Africa where multiple government departments are involved in the land reform process and

subsequent development, internal power struggles, confusion regarding which government departments are responsible for implementing the different development strategies, and their ability to fulfil their duties impede progress, as does the existing poor coordination and communication between government departments (Hall 2007; Hall, Jackson, and Lahiff 2003; Lahiff 2011; Levin and Weiner 1997). This has been the experience of the †Khomani which is elaborated on in section 6.1. In South Africa's Free State, the land reform process has been negatively impacted due to the administrative reorganisation of government departments. The physical boundaries over which government departments are responsible have changed, as have the concrete operations and responsibilities of these departments. During such times institutional responsibility becomes paralysed as the responsibilities of various government departments and agencies working with government is often ambiguous (Murray 1996). Such reorganisation is widespread throughout South Africa and continues to impact and slow the land reform process. For example following the outcome of the 2007 ANC conference in Polokwane, the Department of Land Affairs is no longer in existence. Instead, the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform has been created. Overall, constant reorganisation adds to the confusion surrounding what department is responsible for what functions regarding land reform, and therefore delays the land reform process, post-settlement support and the subsequent development.

As government in South Africa is responsible for delivering basic services, such as housing, water supply, sanitation services and refuse collection, government bodies often negatively impact land reform outcomes through deferring from such responsibilities. This is evident in relation to the †Khomani Community and is detailed in chapter five. In the rural areas, reasons given for this failure to deliver these services, typically include the fact that high unemployment in such areas means that local people are unable to pay for these services, without which government struggle to meet the costs of supplying the services (Bannister 2004; Atkinson 2002). In regard to the Doornkop Community in the Transvaal region of South Africa government stated that they could not make provision to supply basic services until it is known how many community members intend to inhabit the land. Lack of services, however, deters individuals from returning to the land (James 2000a, 2000b). From this, it can be seen

that development agencies, specifically the South African Government, shape land reform outcomes through influencing and impeding the development process. This means that although the Government awards land rights, the process is undermined through a lack of support from other government departments that are charged with post-settlement support, which is not forthcoming. Accordingly, the various government departments involved in post-settlement support must be involved at this planning stage, thus ensuring departments are involved, understand and are capable of the service provision and the roles for which they are responsible, meaning that departments are clear as to which services they must deliver. This assessment is supported by de Villiers (2003), Hall, Jackson and Lahiff (2003), and Lahiff (2011).

Civil society can be an important agent in limiting authoritarian governments, enforcing accountability and transparency, demanding appropriate action from government and empowering communities (Amanor 2008; Foley and Edwards 1996). Accordingly, civil society could conceivably challenge the action of South African Government in relation to land reform restrictions and outcomes. In South Africa, civil society organisations such as NGOs, political parties and organisations have criticised the ANC led government regarding the slow pace of land reform. Despite a number of these civil society organisations being directly involved in land reform processes, since 1994, there has been a decline in civil society activities in the rural areas (Thwala and Khosa 2008; Alden and Anseeuw 2009). This is due to a number of reasons. It has been suggested that during this time many NGO personnel moved into government positions, with NGOs becoming more closely aligned with government departments and policy and therefore less radical (see Alden and Anseeuw 2009; Koch, Massyn, and van Niekerk 2001; Hall and Ntsebeza 2007). In specific relation to the remote rural areas, it is difficult to organise and co-ordinate campaigns, activities and demonstrations due to the remoteness (Pearce cited in Thwala and Khosa 2008). This is further exacerbated by the fact that within South Africa there is no national NGO to co-ordinate similar bodies around campaigns or to mobilise activities. Consequently, civil society activities in the rural area are scarce, due to issues of organisation, mobilisation and cost (Thwala and Khosa 2008). This means that land reform communities in the rural areas, given their disempowered status and lack of support from civil society, struggle to hold government

to account regarding land development and restrictions following land reform transfers, as is evident in this thesis through the case study of the †Khomani Community.

The support and actions of development agencies including government can improve outcomes for land reform beneficiaries and rural development processes, providing such inputs are based on participatory practices and reflect the desires of the said communities. The actions and organisation of these agencies, however, can have negative impacts, dominating, influencing, delaying and restricting development processes, as has been the case with the South African Government in particular. This is a reflection of the involvement of too many development agencies, many of whom lack adequate capacity in addition to a lack of will or ability to implement people centred development strategies.

In accordance with many other land beneficiary communities in South Africa, the Khomani peoples require long-term support from development agencies, including government bodies. Confusion has surrounded which government departments are responsible for this support, while government capacity to deliver support and services has meant that these have been slow to materialise (see section 6.1 and 6.2). Additionally, the †Khomani have been restricted in the use of their land in the KTP, with development agencies having influenced the development process through promoting tourism as a livelihood option. As has been suggested above, the potential of this industry in the †Khomani Community's area is limited (Mier Local Municipality 2007), as expanded in section 4.6.2. Although development agencies, specifically government departments, have impeded the development process on †Khomani land, community disempowerment and a lack of an organised and co-ordinated civil society has meant the †Khomani, have as yet been unable to hold government to account regarding lack of support and basic service supply.

In light of such outcomes, it has been suggested that the South African Government demonstrates a lack of commitment to the land reform process, with government failing to develop sustainable long term land reform practices and the necessary support systems, such as long term administrative, and technical support, along with needed

finance (de Villiers 2003; Dekker 2003). This is indicative of a government that is only committed to land reform in as far as the land reform policy brings political gain or distracts from other social and economic issues (Alden and Anseeuw 2009; de Villiers 2003; Deininger 1999). Alternatively, it may reflect a government struggling to adequately address the complexities of rural development, given the legacy of apartheid, which means that the South African Government has an immense number of issues to address, with a limited budget and limited capacity within many government departments.

### **2.5.2 South African Land Reform: Community Dynamics**

Within the South African land reform process, community dynamics have been reported as impeding and delaying the land reform and development process (James 2000a; Beyers 2009). Land reform beneficiaries and development agencies, however, often present such beneficiaries as cohesive communities, recognising the strategic benefit. By promoting communities as such, this implies positive development outcomes to strengthen land claims (James 2000a; Fay 2009). Consequently, community decisions regarding rural development are presented as consensual, thereby omitting the negotiations and compromises that have been made to reach these decisions, with that differences of opinion within communities being obscured (Mosse 2001). Although, these invocations of cohesive communities are initially beneficial to land reform beneficiaries, it has been suggested that tensions later arise in the post-settlement phase. This is because communities are initially united through their general aspirations for resettlement, however later, during the post-settlement stage, as specific plans for development are discussed and become a concrete reality, community members begin to differentiate into sub-groups reflecting their material desires and social differences (Beyers 2009; van Leynseele and Hebinck 2009). James agrees with this assessment noting that communities are more likely to be united “when there is a something to struggle for [rather] than when the struggle has been won” (2000a:634). Consequently, following land resettlement, the reality of cohesive communities becomes problematic (Beyers 2009; van Leynseele and Hebinck 2009; James 2000a).



Accordingly, in South Africa, where communities have been reconstituted for the purpose of land restitution claims, the development processes has been problematised. The aforementioned Doornkop and Dwesa-Cwebe Communities, and the †Khomani Community, have all been reconstituted or formed for the purposes of land restitution, having initially been promoted as cohesive communities, later encountering problems in this regard. Following the Doornkop Community's initial removal from Doornkop, the Community became scattered and disparate. Consequently, when the Community reformed for the purposes of the land claim, the Community no longer constituted a close-knit community, if ever it had been. As a result, the Community did not share similar desires in respect to development, therefore consensus could not be reached in regard to the development process. Despite this, both community members and NGOs continued to present the Community as a united group (James 2000a, 2000b). Eventually, community discord in regard to development strategies led to a community split, with the NGO involved suspending its involvement for a time (James 2000b). Such outcomes slow land claim development progress with communities often becoming disenchanted. From this, it is apparent that while the concept and promotion of community cohesion is beneficial at the initial stage of land claims, the reality of the situation often becomes apparent during the post-settlement stage.

When land claim beneficiary communities, identify themselves as such, as a separate entity, they distinguish themselves from other surrounding communities, excluding such communities from land, and at times promoting themselves as superior (James 2000a, 2000b; Fay and James 2009; Cohen 1985). Such has been evident with the Doornkop and †Khomani communities, both of which have secured land by differentiating themselves from neighbouring communities, while implying superiority. The Doornkop Community perceive themselves as superior to their neighbours given their Christian beliefs (James 2000b), while the †Khomani, who have reasserted themselves as indigenous to differentiate themselves from the local coloured communities and legitimise their land claim, view themselves as superior to such communities, given their indigeneity, according to White (1995). Consequently, some †Khomani embellish their indigeneity to justify their land possession, dressing in traditional clothing and promoting traditional culture. It has been suggested that when people classify

themselves as indigenous communities, distinguishing themselves from other communities to secure land rights, this is problematic as it is akin to apartheid era practices where people gain benefits based on racial classification (Robins 2001). It should be noted, however, that the †Khomani did not win their land on the basis of their indigeneity but due to past inhabitation (see section 3.4.3). Overall, while invoking a sense of community benefits land claim populations initially, intra-community rivalries often become apparent and impede decision-making processes and development. Furthermore, as land claim communities differentiate themselves and exclude neighbouring communities, this can result in inter-community discord. Such issues are evident in relation to the †Khomani Community land claim as noted in section 3.4.4.

### **2.5.3 South African Land Reform: The Role of the Elite**

Within the South African Land Reform process, elites are able to access position of power due to their status, significantly influencing community dynamics and politics, to affect the land transfer processes and subsequent development strategies and land use management. Such elites often take the form of western educated individuals, and/or traditional authorities. In regard to the Doornkop Community land claim, powerful western educated, urban-based elites emerged as the individuals most able to get themselves elected to land management committees. This allowed these individuals to dominate decision-making processes, favouring community members not living on the land, namely themselves. Consequently, land management committee decisions had limited, if any, benefit for the wider community that do reside on the land. Furthermore, NGOs working with Doornkop land claimants have been guilty of further empowering these elites at the expense of other community members. This is because NGOs choose to work with the said elites due to convenience of the elites' location, as such elites live near the urban NGO offices, compared to other community members who reside in remote rural areas (James 2000a).

In many African societies, elites take the form of traditional authorities, usually unelected and unaccountable. Following the implementation of democracy in South Africa, the South African Government transferred the control of local development in the rural areas, from traditional authorities to local municipal councils. However,

traditional authorities have also been recognised as agents of development in these areas, although the exact role, power and function of these authorities in rural governance and land administration has yet to be clarified (Mathis 2007; Ntsebeza 2006, 2008). In the former homelands legislative constraints and a lack of institutional capacity at the local municipal level has meant that municipal councillors have been slow to provide basic services, meaning that many rural area communities continue to invest their trust in traditional authorities (Ntsebeza 2006, 2008). Among South Africa's land reform beneficiary communities, traditional narratives regarding chieftaincy and "royal blood" have been used by individuals to access positions of power (Fraser 2007a). As with all elites, however, chiefs can curtail the participation of other community members within development projects (Levin and Weiner 1997; King 2005), and therefore significantly influence the development process to reflect their own desires. Traditional elites also use their powerful positions to control natural resource use and ownership, including land (Ntsebeza 2008, 2006; King 2005; Fraser 2007a). Typically, traditional authorities are male with patriarchal belief systems, consequently they often fail to allocate land use rights or land ownership to females, thereby compounding poverty in female headed households, in addition to restricting female input in decision making processes, which serves to maintain female disempowerment (Beall 2005; van Kessel and Oomen 1997).

Traditional authorities are able to gain control over the land reform process due to their hereditary rights and the fact that many have previous experience in the administration of the former homelands. This means that they are better placed educationally, and have a better understanding of bureaucratic procedures than other community members (Fraser 2007a; van Leynseele and Hebinck 2009; Oomen 2005). In South Africa such individuals are often supported by government bodies given their progressive attitude to development (van Leynseele and Hebinck 2009; Fraser 2007a, 2007b). The Makhoba Community of in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, is such an example. The chief's cousin, given his "royal blood" and western education, has been able assume leadership of the land claim process, accessing development actors and directly influencing the development process for his own benefit. In this case, this elite leader has chosen to promote less traditional land use practices than many community members support.

Due to his progressive attitudes to development, government departments have supported this traditional authority despite the Community desiring different development programmes (van Leynseele and Hebinck 2009). The South African Government have also keen to work with, and empower the “progressive” traditional authorities of the already cited Levubu land claim in Limpopo. In this instance, the restrictive components of the land claim agreement were strongly supported by traditional authorities, whom it has been suggested stand to make personal gains from the outcome. Other community members, however, were unaware of the details of the restrictions and the manner in which these restrictions could affect land reform outcomes (Fraser 2007a, 2007b). Although the †Khomani have a traditional leader, he does not hold the power or process the western education, or political or administrative experience, consequently his power and influence is limited to specific contexts as discussed already discussed in section 2.4.2.

Although, the South African Government cite their reasons for implementing a land reform policy as a means to encourage development and alleviate poverty, given that such processes are often dominated by elites, such outcomes are not necessarily evident. As the South African Land Reform Policy does not ensure that leaders of land beneficiary groups are democratically elected, rather than hereditary traditional authorities, or individuals appointed by such leaders, this means that land reform outcomes often benefit community elites and not the intended community as a whole, to which the wider community can do little to change. Given that these unaccountable structures in South Africa can still legitimately maintain power and control rural development, with government endorsement, it has been suggested that the principles of democracy on which the “New” South Africa was established are being undermined (Ntsebeza 2005, 2008; Fraser 2007a).

## **2.6 CONCLUSION**

This chapter, through a review of existing literature, has provided an overview of the theoretical and practical issues that need to be considered in the development and implementation of policies aimed at rural poverty alleviation, including policies that promote land reform. The logic behind land reform as a rural development strategy has

been detailed, while a broad introduction to the South African Government's strategy for land reform has been given. The chapter has also highlighted that although people centred development continues to be acknowledged as important, such strategies are more difficult to implement in practice than on paper. Consequently, a number of factors have been identified by authors as constraints to development generally, and rural development specifically. These include community dynamics, interactions between development professionals, agencies and communities, along with the location and potential of the physical environment, all of which are further explored in this thesis.

While these issues are valid, with many being apparent in this case study of the †Khomani, authors, including those cited in this chapter, have tended to focus on particular limitations of rural development, such as the effects of remote location, community dynamics and/or the influence of elites. Although I develop such issues in the remainder of the thesis in regarding the †Khomani, I argue, that it is not just the existence of these individual constraints that delays and limits development, but that it is the existence and interaction of multiple constraints that further problematises the development process, something that many other authors have failed to recognise adequately. For example, in regard to rural development, although Chambers highlights the effects of the urban trap on rural development and recognises that elites often dominate the development process, he does not adequately address the effect that disempowerment has on the ability of individuals to participate in development strategies or how it can be overcome. Crewe and Harrison have recognised the limitations that such issues have on the development process, however, do not expand their analysis to include the impact of environment and location on rural development. Wiggins and Proctor have identified the impact of remote rural location on development outcomes, but do not factor the potential impact of community dynamics, be them positive or negative, into the development outcome. Such is also true of South African land reform literature. For example, James highlights the importance of community histories and dynamics as constraints to positive land reform outcomes, while Fraser concentrates on who dominates the land reform process, neither author, however, explores the role of empowerment in relation to their cited case studies. Such

authors also defer from examining the underlying constraints of rural development, such as the ability of government to apply appropriate development strategies. This is a particularly pertinent issue in relation to South Africa, where widespread underdevelopment in the rural areas has resulted in limited capacity of local government personnel, coupled with constrained government budgets, to address rural development. Although, development theorist, Sen, has recognised the multi-dimensional nature of rural poverty, I suggest, that authors need to offer less fragmented research and more practical recommendations, based on comprehensive research that recognises the challenge of implementing development strategies in these remote communities.

In this thesis, I argue for the continued implementation of people centred development strategies, that acknowledges the differing components that serve to constrain rural development, given that inter and intra group dynamics vary in relation to individual projects, communities and agencies, making each set of circumstances unique. Furthermore the recognition that when these dynamics are combined with unique and often marginal environmental locations, rural development outcomes are even more difficult to plan, and problematic and complex to implement to achieve positive outcomes, as is evident in this †Khomani Bushmen case study. In order to identify the multitudes of constraints that must be addressed if rural development is to be successful, research must be more holistic than is evident in current research outputs. Research must identify the many concrete and psychological constraints, including those internal and external to communities, and those relating to the local environment, in order that factors limiting rural development can be addressed. This is especially important as constraining factors reinforce each other to make the development process more complex. For example, limited education restricts peoples' ability to secure work as does poor transport infrastructure, while a lack of employed people within a municipality means that government receives less tax to ensure improved infrastructure. Poor communication and transport infrastructure also deters people from attending and participating in empowerment strategies as does psychological disempowerment, resulting in strategies that are not meaningful or sustainable while beneficiaries remain disempowered. Unless research and development initiatives, including policy, fully

appreciate and address the multiple and interacting constraints of rural development, rural poverty will continue to endure.

The next chapter, chapter three, supplies the background information needed to set the present study in context. Generally, it details the historical reasons behind the existing inequality of land ownership in South Africa, while detailing the South African Government's Land Reform Policy, its outcomes and limitations, identifying a number of common problems surrounding land reform outcomes in South Africa, some of which are evident in the ꞤKhomani land claim. The chapter also gives an account of the history of the Bushmen generally, and the ꞤKhomani specifically, to enable the reader to better appreciate the reasons for the land claim, the subsequent award of land, and issues relating to group cohesion. Such information and histories have been included as they have shaped the needs and desires of the ꞤKhomani Community, while contributing to the problems and outcomes of the ꞤKhomani land claim. Consequently, chapter three presents further some of the commonalities present in land claim outcomes, while providing information relating to the ꞤKhomani, which it is later argued, has uniquely influenced the ꞤKhomani and their land claim, reinforcing the need for flexible and people centred development strategies to complement planned strategies.

## **CHAPTER THREE: OVERVIEW OF SOUTH AFRICA'S LAND REFORM POLICY AND THE ꞤKHOMANI LAND CLAIM**

South Africa has a history of land dispossession that has resulted in extreme inequality and poverty for many of its people, particularly those inhabiting rural areas, as detailed in this chapter. Consequently, when the ANC was elected to government in 1994, it embarked on a process to address such inequalities. It envisioned that through enabling more equitable access to land, economic development would be encouraged, while the agricultural industry in the rural areas would diversify and develop, to alleviate poverty. This chapter details the manner in which the Government sought to address rural development through land reform, and the subsequent outcomes, demonstrating that development in rural areas is complex and challenging. The chapter demonstrates that land beneficiaries are encountering common obstacles that serve to undermine the development process. A number of these same obstacles have been experienced by the ꞤKhomani and are explored in later chapters. Given that many land beneficiaries continue to live in poverty, I argue that rural development and poverty alleviation in South Africa requires a more comprehensive, holistic land reform and rural development programme.

The chapter also introduces the historical background of the Bushmen of South Africa, highlighting the manner in which Bushmen have been, and continue to be, affected by the policies and practices of past colonial and South African Governments. In 1999, however, the South African Land Reform Policy allowed the ꞤKhomani Bushmen to gain ownership of their ancestral land in the rural Northern Cape. This chapter gives an account of the historical circumstances that resulted in ꞤKhomani land dispossession and subsequent re-possession of their ancestral land. The land settlement is detailed, highlighting the compensation offered and the development potential that the land was envisioned to offer. These details, in addition to those regarding community origins and formation, are essential in order to understand the uniqueness of the ꞤKhomani Community and its land claim, and the difficulties associated with facilitating favourable land claim outcomes for this particular community. Consequently, in addition to



arguing that a more comprehensive land reform and rural development programme is needed in South Africa to address common obstacles to development, given the uniqueness of beneficiary communities and subsequent land claim processes, as demonstrated through the †Khomani example in this thesis, a flexible rural development process is required to incorporate the specific needs of communities.

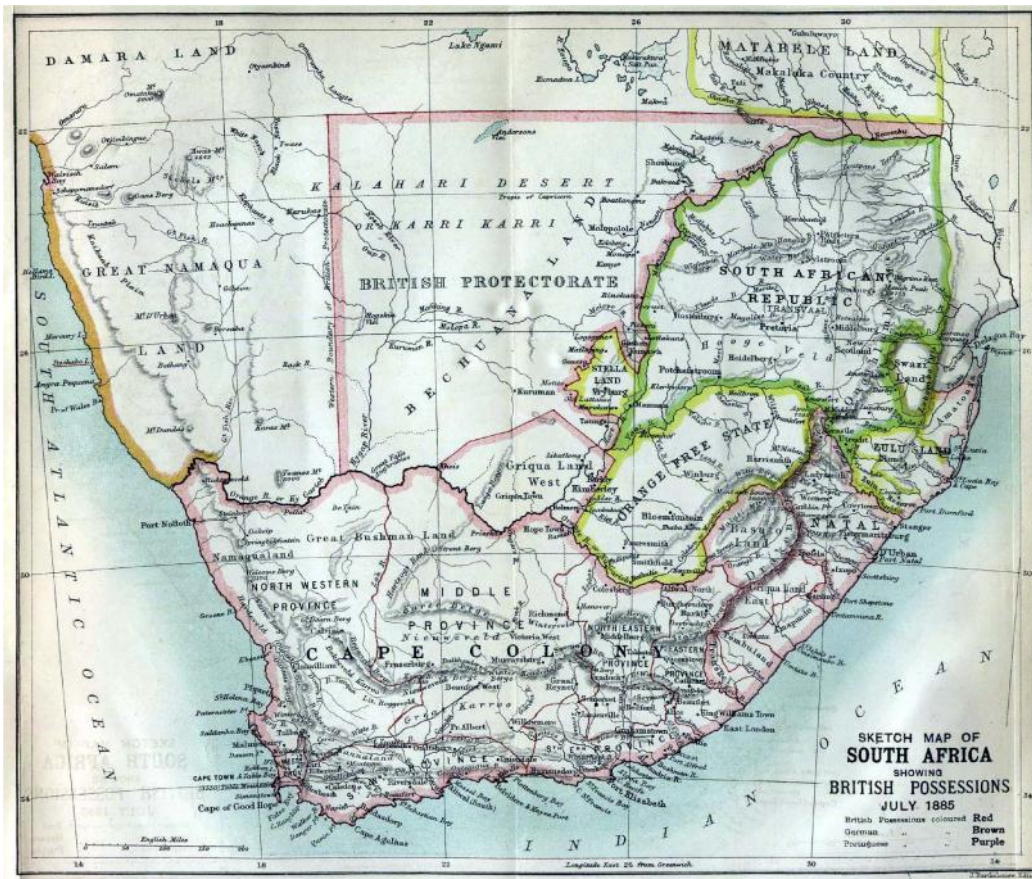
### **3.1 ORIGINS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S LAND INEQUALITY**

#### **3.1.1 Pre Colonial Land Competition**

Competition for land has been apparent in the area of present day South Africa, since Khoekhoe herders migrated south into the land of the ancestral Bushman, approximately 2,500 years ago (Crawhall 2004:105). As the herders spread south and west through the Cape, they increased their livestock numbers and in so doing, their need for land. As a result, the herders increasingly encroached on land used by hunter-gatherer Bushmen. Eventually the Bushmen were out competed by the herders, particularly in areas where land was of high quality. Consequently, coastal Bushmen were forced to retreat inland to more inhospitable land, less suited to their mode of subsistence. To survive this new environment, ancestral Bushmen had to adapt to the available resources resulting in dietary changes and smaller group size (Robertshaw 1999). This new distribution of land was further challenged by the arrival of the Bantu-speaking peoples, again from the north, who began dispersing throughout central and eastern South Africa (Johnson 2004), approximately 800 years ago (Crawhall 2004:106). Over time, livestock came to play an increasingly important role in the lives of the Bantu-speaking peoples, with many becoming livestock farmers. Due to this, competition increased between Khoekhoe and Bantu-speaking peoples for livestock and pasture. Consequently, struggles between Bushmen and Khoekhoe escalated as Khoekhoe peoples sought to appropriate more Bushmen hunting ground to replace the land which the Bantu-speaking farmers had acquisitioned from them. Bushmen also clashed with Bantu-speaking farmers as the Bushmen tried to retain their land. Eventually, the hunter-gatherers were pushed inland to more marginal lands (Johnson 2004).

### **3.1.2 Western Colonisation: Towards Racial Segregation**

Western colonisation in South Africa commenced in 1652, when the Dutch East India Company arrived in the south-western Cape, and established a settlement to act as a supply post for trading ships. At this time the area was inhabited by Khoekhoe herders, with Bushmen hunter-gatherers living to the north-west, and Bantu-speaking peoples occupying the land to the east. Although the Dutch met the Khoekhoe on arrival, they did not encounter Bushmen until 1655 (Boonzaier et al. 1996; Iliffe 1995). By 1656 the Dutch had ordered Khoekhoe herders to remove their livestock from pastures near the fort, which the Dutch had built. The objections of the Khoekhoe to the move were dismissed, as the Dutch East Indies Company argued that they needed the land on which to raise their livestock. This was the first of many land acquisitions by colonists. As the numbers of settlers grew the need for land on which to grow food, and keep livestock, also increased. By 1672, the Dutch had negotiated two treaties with the Khoekhoe peoples, who surrendered considerable tracts of land to the colony. Due to such treaties, by 1715, colonists had acquired most of the Khoekhoe land. This forced the Khoekhoe to expand north, searching for new pastures, into land occupied by Bushmen (Boonzaier et al. 1996; Omer-Cooper 1994). By the 1730's, the colony's Coloured population were following suit, also searching for land to settle (Boonzaier et al. 1996). The British having recognised the strategic importance of the colony seized its control in 1795. Although, the colony was briefly under Batavian (Dutch) rule from 1803, it was once again occupied by the British in 1806, being officially confirmed as such in 1814, when it became the British Cape Colony (see Figure 2.1) (Boonzaier et al. 1996).



**Figure 3.1:** Map of Cape Colony 1885 (Scottish Geographical Magazine published in The British Empire ND)

In 1910, the British Cape Colony and Natal, along with the Transvaal and the Orange Free State (see Figure 3.1) united to become the four provinces of the Union of South Africa. Although each province had its own legislation, they shared a constitution and central government, which was supreme over local institutions, which was supreme over local institutions (Reader 1998). Initially, during the colonial period, racial segregation only existed informally, however, following this union, a number of legislative acts were passed which served to remove the rights of non-whites and restrict their movements. These acts included the Mines and Works Act of 1911, which was used to reserve skilled and better paid employment opportunities for Whites (Seekings and Nattrass 2005). The 1913, Natives Land Act, formalised rural segregation by creating reserves (these later became Bantustans or homelands). These reserves comprised seven per cent of the Union’s land (later increased to 13 per cent following the Native Trust Land Act in 1936), and were established to home the majority Black population and restrict their right to land

ownership outside of the reserves (Beinart and Dubow 1995-4). This Act facilitated the forced removal of the Black population from productive land into reserves, comprising of poor quality land and high population densities. As a result, farming could not sustain the population of the rural reserves, who were forced to enter the labour market, often working for low wages on White owned farms (Seekings and Nattrass 2005). Furthermore, in 1923 the Natives (Urban Area) Act was introduced to control the influx of the Black population into and within the urban areas (Beinart and Dubow 1995). These acts allowed racial discrimination in the workplace, while restricting the occupation and ownership of urban and rural land, resulting in inequality and poverty. In regard to the rural areas, given that the overcrowded reserves were located in such areas, rural South Africa was home to many of the country's poor.

### **3.1.3 Apartheid: the Consolidation of Racial Segregation**

The National Party was elected to power in 1948, and further formalised and intensified racial segregation and inequality, officially instituting apartheid or separate development. Legislation was passed allowing the population to be classified by race, which assisted in the enforcement of discriminatory laws. These laws continued to use race to restrict and divide access to facilities and services, including health, education and transport (Beinart and Dubow 1995). Legal access to land also continued to be dictated by race with the Group Areas Act of 1950 being introduced to limit and control non-White settlement in urban areas, often requiring individuals to move to rural areas. By 1976, 305,739 Coloureds, 153,230 Asians<sup>9</sup> and 5,898 Whites had been relocated using this Act, while Black populations were relocated to townships, located on the outskirts of towns (Iliffe 1995:279-280). In 1951, the Bantu Authorities Act was introduced. This legislation was the first of many that facilitated the evolution of the existing reserves into homelands or Bantustans. It was envisioned that these homelands would eventually become self governing independent states (van Kessel and Oomen 1997). Using legislation such as the Group Areas Act, vast numbers of people were relocated. Between 1960 and 1980 the population of the rural homelands grew from 4.2 million (39 per cent of the Black population) to over 11 million (52.7 per cent of the Black

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<sup>9</sup> Iliffe does not define Asian.

population) (Beinart and Dubow 1995:16). Given these increased population densities on the homelands farming pressure increased on the already poor quality land. This, in addition to a reduction in available employment on commercial farms, mines and industry, further entrenched poverty in the homelands (Seekings and Nattrass 2005).

Reserves in South Africa were not restricted to the Black population. Prior to apartheid, in 1909, Coloured reserves had been formally established through the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, which allocated communal tenure rights to Coloured populations living in reserves (Boonzair 1987 as cited in May and Lahiff 2007). As occurred in the homelands, population movements dictated by legislation such as the Group Areas Act of 1950, increased the number of inhabitants in these rural areas. Although it was never compulsory for Coloureds to live in such areas (Surplus People Project 1990), since legislation restricted Coloured peoples' access to land outside of the reserves, Coloured farmers found themselves forced to live in the reserves in order to secure grazing. Given such restrictions, long term pressure on resources has resulted in land degradation (Rohde and Hoffman 2008). In 1963, the Government introduced the rural Coloured Areas Act that allowed the communal land of the Coloured reserves to be divided up for private use by individuals or groups. This meant that the majority of reserve inhabitants lost access to grazing and arable land resulting in increased poverty (May and Lahiff 2007). Overall, legislation introduced during apartheid strengthened the existing practices and policies of racial segregation and division already apparent in South Africa. Specifically, legislation restricted land access and ownership for non-Whites, resulting in high densities of the non-White population living in poverty on the rural reserves and homelands. The White population meanwhile had secured the most productive land, and a supply of cheap labour which increased the earnings of the minority White population, further consolidating the poverty of many non-Whites. Such policies continued until the end of apartheid, when according to Seekings and Nattrass (2005), South Africa was one of the most unequal societies in the world.

## 3.2 LAND REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA

### 3.2.1 Addressing Injustice, Inequality, and Poverty: South Africa's Land Reform Policy

Following apartheid policies, by 1995, half of South Africa's inhabitants were categorised as poor, 72 per cent of which lived in the rural areas, with rural poverty being more entrenched than its urban counterpart (May, Stevens, and Stols 2002:294). Consequently, in 1994, the ANC Government acted in accordance with international indicators that suggested land reform policies which facilitate resource access, and enable the creation and diversification of livelihoods and incomes, to encourage economic development and poverty reduction (May et al. 2008). The South African Government recognised land reform as an important means of rural development. This was reflected in the RDP of 1994 and then the GEAR programme of 1996. As a result, the White Paper on Land Reform Policy was introduced in 1997 to deal with the inequality, insecurity and poverty related to land dispossession. To achieve this, the Policy aimed to address:

- the injustice of the racially based land dispossessions of the past,
- the need for a more equitable distribution of land ownership,
- the need for land reform to reduce poverty and contribute to economic growth,

This was to be accomplished through a threefold approach to land reform, consisting of land tenure reform, land redistribution and land restitution (Department of Land Affairs 1997). While each individual element targets a different beneficiary group, all the programmes aim to achieve the same outcome, equitable land ownership and access, along with secure land tenure to enable development.

#### *Land Tenure Reform*

The purpose of land tenure reform is to improve land tenure security. Specifically, it targets people inhabiting the communal areas; the former homelands and Coloured reserves, which house South Africa's poorest people and account for nearly one third of the population (Didiza 2006; de Villiers 2003). Former Minister of Agriculture and Land

Affairs, Thoko Didiza (1999-2006), argues that secure tenure in such areas would encourage development and investment, which was being impeded as people were unwilling to invest time, effort and money into land without guaranteed tenure (2006). This programme also intends to benefit farm workers living on commercial farms by offering them security through legal protection from home and land eviction, following job loss. Overall, land tenure reform seeks to secure peoples' legal access to land while promoting diverse forms of land tenure, including communal tenure (de Villiers 2003; Didiza 2006).

### *Land Redistribution*

The land redistribution programme aims to provide the disadvantaged poor with access to land for both residential and productive purposes (Department of Land Affairs 1997). Didiza, argues that this redistribution of land will diversify the ownership of the commercial farming industry and allow the poor the opportunity "to improve their livelihoods and quality of life as well as to stimulate growth in the agricultural sector" (2006:8). Specifically, this programme is for people who would like to access land but have no documentation of displacement (May et al. 2008) and are therefore ineligible for land restitution. In order to redistribute land, the Government awards successful applicants monetary grants that allow beneficiaries to purchase land on the open market. It is expected that these grants in combination with others provided by additional institutions, such as the Department of Agriculture, will allow beneficiaries to establish productive enterprises (May et al. 2008; de Villiers 2003).

### *Land Restitution*

The final element in South Africa's Land Reform Policy, land restitution, aims to compensate people unfairly and often forcibly dispossessed of land after 1913, due to legislation that facilitated racial segregation and curtailed land access, such as the Natives Land Act. As the land restitution process is claim driven, the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights (CRLR)<sup>10</sup> was established to solicit and investigate claims. Additionally a Land Claims Court (LCC) was formed to validate claims and decide

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<sup>10</sup> CRLR is the formal name of the Land Claims Commission (Walker 2008).

which form of redress to be offered, either the return of the land in question, or compensation in the form of money or alternative land (Didiza 2006; Department of Land Affairs 1997).

To achieve the aims of the Land Reform Policy, the South Africa Government recognises that the land reform programmes must include post-settlement support in the form of infrastructural improvements, such as water and power supplies, sanitation and road access. Additionally, given apparent low capabilities of many beneficiaries, programmes are to be implemented to give advice and assistance, and training to land reform beneficiaries. Responsibility for these services and initiatives resides with various government departments, therefore the DLA recognises that the success of the land reform programme is contingent on governmental departmental co-operation (Department of Land Affairs 1997).

### **3.2.2 A Summary of Land Reform Outcomes**

Despite the South African Government recognising the need to monitor and evaluate (M&E) the land reform programmes to provide insight regarding their effectiveness at achieving the aims of the Land Reform Policy, while highlighting problems to be addressed (May et al. 2008), there is a lack of official data in this regard (Hall 2007; Lahiff 2007a). A number of Quality of Life (QoL) surveys have been undertaken by the Monitoring and Evaluation Directorate of the Department of Land Affairs (DLA). Initially these surveys were to be conducted annually, later this was reduced to every second year, however, since the institution of the Land Reform Policy, only four such surveys have been conducted, with reports being published in 1998, 2000, 2003 and a draft report in 2008. These surveys and reports have been fraught with methodological problems. Consequently, government's efforts at M&E in this respect have been regarded as an ongoing failure and a key weakness in the land reform process (Lahiff 2007a). Despite this, the results of these reports have been included in this thesis where appropriate. In addition to these government surveys and reports, independent researchers and institutions have used a variety of methods to assess if the South Africa's Land Reform Policy is achieving its aims. Such research has provided both general outcome analyses and assessments of individual case studies and is used



henceforth to examine the extent to which South Africa's Land Reform Policy is targeting appropriate individuals, resulting in development through access to basic services and livelihood opportunities to improve quality of life, therefore achieving its aims.

### *Extent of Land Transfers*

In accordance with many international land reform programmes, South Africa has given much attention to the quantity of land transferred and the number of beneficiaries (Tilley 2007; Hall 2007). Although, data regarding beneficiaries and the number of hectares of land transferred is available for each of the three land reform programmes, the manner in which the data has been collected, collated and released differs periodically. As a result, direct comparison within and between programmes is problematic. According to Lahiff (2008), the land tenure programme is the weakest of the three land reform programmes. By 2007, through this programme, approximately 126 500 hectares of land had been transferred since 1996, the majority of which has been awarded to individuals removed from commercial farmland (Lahiff 2007b:6). Despite this, it has been argued that the programme is failing, as effective legislation has yet to be introduced to address the needs of farm dwellers, meaning that farm worker abuse and evictions continue (Lahiff 2008). This programme has also performed poorly in relation to reform in the communal areas (Coloured reserves and former homelands). Consequently, in 2004 the Communal Land Rights Act, was created to facilitate communal areas reform (Lahiff 2008). In October 2009, however, a high court judge found this Act to be unconstitutional, as it has the potential to improve the tenure security of some individuals while undermining the security of others (Cousins 2009). The constitutional court, must now judge on this Act, if the judgement is upheld, the Government will have to revise its approach to land reform in communal areas (Lahiff 2008).

In regard to the land redistribution programme, initially the Government aimed to transfer 30 per cent of South Africa's farmland, amounting to 29.72 million hectares, between 1994 and 1999. Delivery was slow, however, and by 1999 only 200 000 hectares of land had been transferred to 20 000 households, amounting to only 0.6 per

cent of the land target. This meant that only 0.2 per cent of households who requested land under this scheme had actually received it. As a result between 1999 and 2002 the settlement process was accelerated, however, it was then curtailed by budgetary constraints (May et al. 2008:4-5). By 2007, according to the DLA, an estimated 2 299 000 hectares had been transferred under the land redistribution programme, however, this was still far short of the official target of 30 per cent (Lahiff 2008:5). Although DLA aimed to redistribute a further 1 500 000 hectares of land the following year, it only managed to award a further 443 600 hectares, benefiting nearly 14 500 individuals<sup>11</sup>, as escalating land prices limited the quantity of land that could be purchased for this purpose (Department of Land Affairs 2009:5-6).

Applications for land restitution had to be submitted by December 1998, with 63,455 claims being lodged. This included claims for individual families and communities. As multiple claims, however, were often represented on a single application, the number of actual claims investigated was approximately 69,000 (Lahiff 2001:3). By August 2002, officially nearly half of these restitution claims had been settled. As most of these claims had been settled through monetary compensation, the programme did little to rectify the imbalance of land ownership (Kepe and Cousins 2002). This issue was addressed, however, and by 2007 many large community claims had been awarded substantial tracts of valuable rural land (Lahiff 2008). In 2008, it was estimated that the land restitution programme had benefited 245 000 beneficiaries over 234 projects (May et al. 2008: 5). Furthermore in 2009, the DLA reported that 95 per cent of all restitution claims had been settled (Department of Land Affairs 2009:6) amounting to 2.47 million hectares of land (Department of Land Affairs 2009:30). A further 4 296 claims remained to be settled due to their complexities (Department of Land Affairs 2009:6). Overall, the land reform programmes have been slow to meet their targets. The land tenure programme has failed to perform as envisioned due to legislative problems. Although the land redistribution programme has performed better, it has yet to achieve its target of transferring 29.72 million hectares of land, a target that was originally set for 1999.

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<sup>11</sup> Unlike previous years, data released regarding the cumulative figures for land redistribution include those relating to both the land redistribution program and the land tenure reform programme. Land reallocation, however, under the land tenure reform program was minimal for the time period under consideration (Lahiff 2008).

Given that the restitution programme has settled 95 per cent of its claims this would seem to be the most successful of all the programmes, in this respect. While these figures give a simple indication of the amount of land transferred and the number of households benefiting, they do not give an indication of who these beneficiaries are or if land reform resulted in development and improved quality of life for beneficiaries. It is to these issues we now turn.

### *Appropriate Targeting*

The South African Land Reform Policy aims to benefit individuals without land tenure security, or access to land, specifically targeting the rural poor to enable rural development. According to Lahiff (2008), however, no specific strategies have been implemented to ensure the programmes benefit those most in need, a requirement if the Policy is to alleviate poverty. Additionally, given that there is a lack of reliable baseline data regarding land reform programme beneficiaries' situation prior to land transfer, it is difficult to determine if the policy has alleviated poverty. The 2000 QoL report stated that the land reform programmes had been successful in targeting the most disadvantaged, including the rural poor, as beneficiary households were extremely poor in comparison to other South African households and the educational level of the heads of beneficiary households was lower than the national average (May and Roberts 2000). Unfortunately, detailed figures to support these arguments are unavailable, and it is possible that the individuals or households in question became poorer than others following the land grants. In contrast to this finding, it has been suggested that the Land Reform Policy, in particular the redistribution programme, has not sufficiently targeted those most in need. The redistribution programme aims to diversify the commercial farming industry by transferring agricultural land to the poorest (Didiza 2006). Initially, the programme gave Settlement/Land Acquisition Grants (SLAG) of R16 000<sup>12</sup> per applying household, to households with incomes of less than R 1 500 per month (Lahiff 2008:34). Although this allowed urban household to buy adequate land, the grants were not sufficient to enable rural households to purchase the larger commercial farms that were on offer. Groups of rural dwellers were forced to pool

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<sup>12</sup> During the research period, the Rand fluctuated between R10 and R14 to the pound.

together to enable the purchase of large areas of land (Hall 2004; Seekings and Natrass 2005). As there is often restrictions on the subdivision of such land individuals must farm collectively, constantly renegotiating land access and use of the communally owned land (Lahiff 2007a). Following a policy shift in 2000, however, the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) programme, made larger grants available to those who could also invest their own funds in land. The maximum available grant was R100,000 (Seekings and Natrass 2005:345). Turner (2002) argues, that at this point, the redistribution programme effectively became a programme that prioritised individuals that already possessed resources and were committed to becoming commercial farmers. Consequently, small scale farmers and the poorest individuals without funds to invest were actively excluded (de Villiers 2003).

#### *Beneficiaries' Access to Basic Services*

The 2000 QoL report states that basic service delivery to land reform beneficiaries is superior to that of the rural population as a whole (May and Roberts 2000). In contrast, however, Zimmerman (2000), suggests that beneficiaries still have to contend with poor infrastructure, often being unable to access services, such deficiencies can impact claimants substantially, as Hall (2007), found in a study of nine beneficiary communities in the Eastern Cape. Hall states that due to insufficient infrastructure, training and capital, beneficiaries were unable to implement business plans. In particular restricted water access meant that communities could not produce crops to sell. Consequently, a lack of basic services for land reform beneficiaries' impacts the ability of individuals to improve livelihoods. A study in the Limpopo produced similar findings. Water access was a problem for the Community who had to travel long distances to use a public tap. Additionally, pit latrines were the norm for the majority of beneficiary households, while there was no refuse collection. Although this community was within travelling distance to a local hospital few community members can travel there in an hour. In relation to education, claimants in this study were able to access primary school, however, the ability to attend secondary school is curtailed due to transport difficulties. In this study households with fixed telephone lines were rare and although a few individuals did have cell phones, the majority of beneficiaries only had access to a public telephone, some distance away. Due to this limited access to important basic services, land reform

beneficiaries in this study have not been able to improve livelihoods, or contribute to economic development (Mamphodo 2006). Similar outcomes are evident on the †Khomani Community lands, detailed in chapter four and five. The above studies from the rural Eastern Cape and rural Limpopo, demonstrates that the land reform process has not resulted in basic service delivery, meaning that the land reform has not resulted in rural development in this respect.

#### *Beneficiaries' Livelihood Opportunities and Diversification*

According to Lahiff (2008) there is little evidence to demonstrate that land reform has resulted in increased employment for beneficiaries. The QoL report for 2000, concludes that many projects did not show any economic potential (May and Roberts 2000). Where work has become available, usually on farms, it is often at the expense of existing farm workers who become unemployed, as the new owners, the beneficiaries, replace them with unpaid family or community labour (Hall 2007). Despite this, Hall (2007) concedes that where beneficiaries have direct access to land for subsistence farming, and have resources and time to invest in farming, nutritional intake can be improved, while cash expenditure on food decreases resulting in an overall improvement in quality of life. Much transferred land, however, remains under-utilised (Lahiff 2008). Beneficiaries of collectively held land often find land use curtailed pending permission from CPAs and trusts, which are formed by communities to manage communal land (Hall 2007). In fact, chapter six discusses such a situation on the †Khomani farms. CPA's and trusts also regularly insist on deferring access rights to beneficiaries until post-settlement support materialises (Hall 2007). Alternatively, when access is granted for crop production or livestock rearing, given the poor quality of the land or that due the large numbers of claimants utilising it, the access to land does significantly improve peoples' lives or contribute to development. This is particularly true of land in the semi-arid zones of the Northern Cape Province (Chimhowu 2006).

### **3.2.3 Issues Curtailing Land Reform Performance**

The South Africa Government envisioned that through the Land Reform Policy, land access would allow better access to basic services and improve livelihood opportunities for beneficiaries, contributing to poverty alleviation and rural development, however, as

the above studies indicate this is rarely the result. A number of issues serve to constrain development following the land reform process all of which must be addressed if outcomes are to be favorable.

#### *Post-settlement Support*

Although South Africa's White Paper on Land Reform recognises the importance of post-settlement support to achieve desired outcomes, the White Paper fails to detail the manner in which this process is to happen in practice (Lahiff 2007a). This ambiguity has been reflected in the post-settlement support process which Hall (2007), suggests is plagued by insufficient concrete planning and commitment from institutions and government departments. Consequently, these institutions and departments are often unaware of which agency should take the lead, resulting in negative outcomes. Lahiff (2008), reiterates this, arguing that key government departments and institutions must be committed, co-ordinated and communicate more effectively to offer prolonged and effective support. The Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), studies into land reform, demonstrate a strong correlation between the degree of post-settlement support following land claims and positive livelihood outcomes (Hall 2007). Correspondingly, the 2008 QoL draft report recognises that post-settlement support plays a significant role in improving beneficiaries quality of life (May et al. 2008). Despite such findings, Lahiff (2008), argues that inadequate support, particularly from state agencies, has been a feature of South Africa's Land Reform Programme since its inception, with beneficiaries having received little in the way of training, finance, extension advice or support in general (Human Sciences Research Council 2003; Bradstock 2005; Lahiff 2008). This can be attributed to the fact that there are only one- third of the required government extension officers, of which only 20 per cent are adequately trained (Lahiff 2008:39). Additionally, Hall (2007) highlights that poverty curtails beneficiaries' access to support. In a 'rapid systematic assessment survey' into LRAD in 2004, beneficiaries revealed that they had difficulty contacting officials for advice and support as transport to the nearest town, where the officials were based, was expensive.

It has been suggested that the private sector should become involved in respect to the post-settlement support of land beneficiaries, however, little interest has been shown

from this sector. Lahiff (2008) suggests this is because most beneficiaries are not in a position to pay for the services of the private sector. In 2004, however, the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP) was introduced to provide monetary grants to beneficiaries, for such purposes. Due to difficulties associated in gaining access to this fund, however, much of the allocated budget remains unclaimed. Overall, despite the recognition of the importance of post-settlement support it is rarely forthcoming in South Africa, due to a lack of initial planning and commitment on the side of the Government, while the private sector remains disinterested. When support is available, it is often difficult for claimants to access.

### *Institutional Capacity*

The 2008, QoL draft report, states that institutions formed to manage communal land following acquisition, such as CPA's and trust committees, must be able to function effectively to ensure the efficient use of land. Consequently, the empowerment of local institution members is an important aspect of land reform (May et al. 2008). Although, the 1998 QoL report recognised problems in this respect, the 2000 QoL report notes that there was less evidence of institutional problems studies (May and Roberts 2000). In contrast, it has been suggested that members of such institutions continue to lack capacity, in regard to business and administrative issues and that there has been there has been a failure to provide the ongoing support that these institutions require (Lahiff 2007a), often failing to meet legal obligations, with many having collapsed altogether (Lahiff 2008). Even when individuals on such committees are capable, Hall tells us that according to the CASE studies, these individuals frequently pursue their own interests rather those of the Community. Despite this, members are rarely held accountable, possibly due to the incapacity of other committee members and the Community in general. No official agency has been charged with the responsibility for capacitating these institutions or community members (Hall 2007), while the DLA has generally failed to adequately support such institutions. This has meant land reform and beneficiary issues resulting from these committees are rarely identified or dealt with (Lahiff 2008). This deficit in government support however may be due to a lack of capacity and experience within national and provincial government departments, however, which renders them incapable of offering adequate support to land claim

beneficiaries (Bernstein 2005). Although it has been recognised that the performance of local management institutions is important for the effective management of communal lands, it is rarely forthcoming as these institutions are often incapable and ineffectual at fulfilling their duties.

### *Overambitious Policy*

According to Bernstein, land reform in South Africa is failing to meet its aims due to too many complex issues and challenges having been attached to the concept. As a result, the DLA has been expected to perform a task which is outside the capabilities of any single department, no matter how skilful or dedicated that department may be (Bernstein 2005). Initially, the Government ambitiously aimed to redistribute 30 per cent of the agricultural farmland to the non-white population by 1999. In 2001, however, this timescale was extended to 2014, stating that this would be a collective aim of the land reform policy, no longer just the aim of the land restitution programme. The Government also stated that an additional 20 per cent of high quality farmland should be made available to non-whites to lease, with another 10 per cent being available to farm workers for personal use, again by 2014 (Bernstein 2005:9-11). The Centre of Development and Enterprise (CDE), suggests that these targets are unrealistic. Consequently, Bernstein argues that the Government is failing to meet the political and developmental objectives of the Land Reform Policy, and will continue to do so unless it sets realistic and achievable targets, taking into account its limited budget and official capacity. Such actions will encourage confidence in government abilities. Furthermore, the CDE argues that land reform is not the process by which rural poverty should be addressed and that land reform should be just one programme in the national development strategy aimed at alleviating poverty which must also include quality education and employment strategies (Bernstein 2005).

### **3.3 DOMINATION, DISPOSSESSION, AND ASSIMILATION OF BUSHMEN**

Following the arrival of colonists to South Africa, a number of populations groups were forced to relocate, a process that would ultimately and eventually drive the need for land reform. The manner in which the Bushmen were dominated and dispossessed was



particularly brutal and the treatment of Bushman by colonists was generally one of distaste, resulting in persecution, land loss and assimilation. In South Africa, against this historical background, the ꞤKhomani Bushmen have been able to use the Land Reform Policy to reclaim ancestral land. The historical experiences of South Africa's Bushmen are not unique. Prior to European colonisation, it is estimated that there were 250,000 Bushmen in Africa, occupying most of the land south of the Zambezi River. Over the years the number of Bushmen has decreased substantially, due to persecution and assimilation, to between 85,000 and 100,000 individuals (Hitchcock 1999:178; Suzman 2001:4), living in six countries, Angola, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Suzman 2001:4). South Africa is home to an estimated 6 000 people who identify themselves as Bushmen or of Bushman descent (Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa 2008), the majority of which live in the Northern Cape Province. Living in this region are the !Xun and Khwe numbering 3 500 and 1 100 respectively<sup>13</sup>. While there are 1000s of /Xam descendants dispersed throughout the Northern and Western Cape. Mpumalanga is home to an estimated 30 to 100 people of ||Xegwi descent. The ꞤKhomani, the subject of this thesis, also live in the Northern Cape approximating 1 500 adults (South African San Institute 2008).

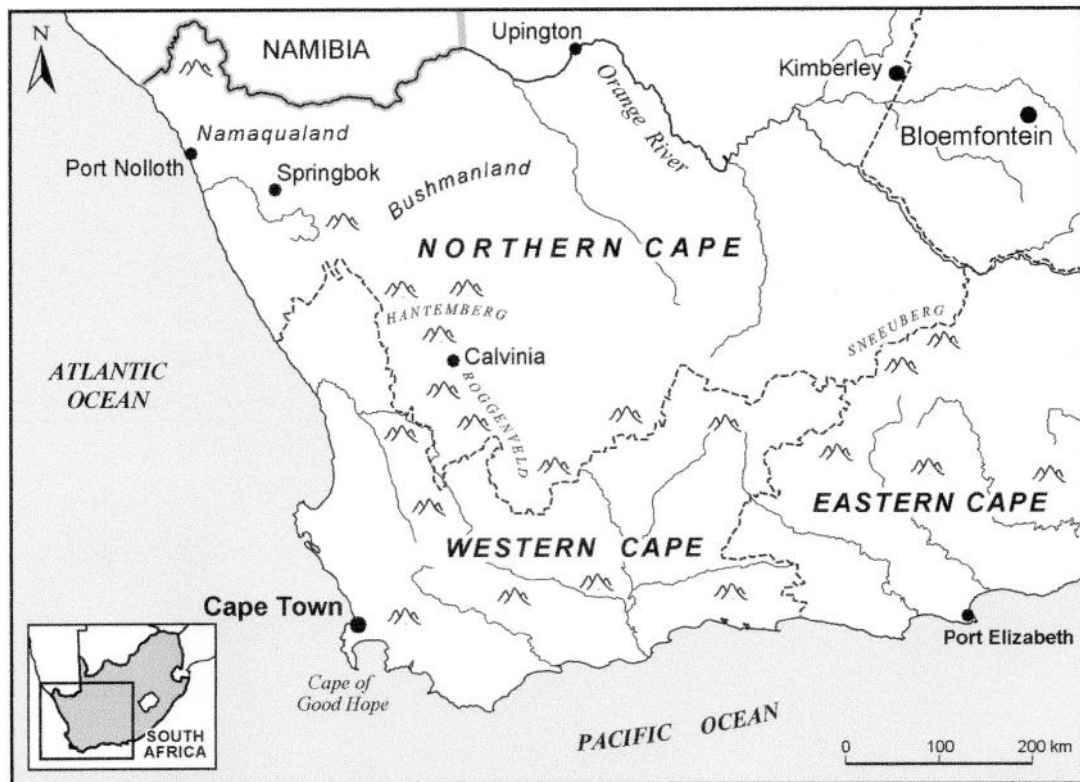
Since settling the Cape Colony, colonists demonstrated their distaste for the local inhabitants, the Bushmen and Khoekhoe, throughout the seventeenth century many Europeans asserted that it was unfortunate “that so beautiful and rich a country should be inhabited by so barbarous and rude a people” (Heylen quoted in Chidester 1996a:53). According to Chidester, Europeans “continuously reported the absence of any religion among the Khoisan people” (Chidester 1996a:52), and consequently the indigenous people were afforded “no human rights to life, land, livestock or even their own labour” (Chidester 1996a:54). Given such perceptions, colonial governments and settlers were

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<sup>13</sup> The !Xun originate from Angola and northern Namibia, while the Khwe are from the Caprivi area of Namibia (Barnard 2007). In 1990 these Bushmen and their families relocated to South Africa. Prior to this, members from these families had fought in South African Defence Force (SADF), against the independence movements of Angola and Namibia (then South West Africa). Following the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia, where the battalions were based, many Bushmen soldiers were apprehensive of remaining in, or returning to their countries of origin, fearing retaliation from the successful independence movements. Approximately 50 per cent of these Bushmen soldiers and their families relocated to the Northern Cape Province of South Africa (Robbins 2007).

able to justify the land dispossession, the slavery and the loss of life suffered by Bushmen. The impact this treatment had on the Bushmen is discussed in section 7.2.1 and 7.2.2.

In the 1770s, when Dutch settlers sought to increase their farmland and expand the colony to the north, into today's Northern Cape, they effectively launched a war against the Bushmen who already inhabited the land. This war, which was situated near the present day provincial border of the Western Cape and Northern Cape, near Calvinia, around the Roggevelt, Hantamberg and Sneeuwberg Mountains (see Figure 3.2) resulted in the death of many Bushmen, during both frontline warfare, and raids, which settlers made on Bushmen homesteads. During these raids, settlers outnumbered Bushmen, and benefited from the use of firearms which Bushmen lacked (Penn 1996). Overall, the raids served to rid the colony of "troublesome" Bushmen while increasing the colony's labour supply (Penn 1989). Consequently, Bushmen men, who settler farmers argued lacked any herding skills and were therefore useless to them, were killed (Penn 1996), while the women and children became indentured servants to settler farmers often for the remainder of their lives (Penn 1989). Official figures state that between 1785 and 1795 at least 2,500 Bushmen were killed and 700 captured (Ilfie 1995:126) while few colonists were killed. At this time, the general maltreatment of Bushmen was justified due to their lack of religion, while settlers specifically argued that the use of force to appropriate land from Bushmen was a necessity, as Bushmen lacked leaders with whom settlers could peacefully negotiate (Penn 1996). As the century progressed the violence between the settlers and Bushmen escalated (Penn 1986). Settlers struggled to gain the upper hand in the war due to the guerrilla tactics employed by the Bushmen, who stole livestock of settlers, often killing shepherds (Penn 1996). Eventually settlers became less concerned with extending their territory and defending their livestock and more concerned with the complete eradication of the Bushmen. Settlers did not want people in their society, like Bushmen, who would not accept the settler farmers superiority and rule (Penn 1986). By the end of the century, settlers perceived the Bushmen as a people without religion (Chidester 1996a), political structures, literacy, decency, religion or even intelligible language, they were no better than vermin, to be exterminated (Penn 1996).



**Figure 3.2:** Map showing the Mountain Ranges of the Hantenberg, the Roggenveld and the Sneeu Berg (Shand, 2011).

According to Penn (1996), when the British Government took control of the Cape Colony, they were appalled by the violent inter group relations at the frontier. The British Government sought to end this violence and as such, missionaries were encouraged to evangelise the Bushmen. Additionally, settlers were encouraged to gift livestock to Bushmen, while a Bushman reserve, Bushmanland<sup>14</sup> (see Figure 3.2), was created in the Northern Cape, as a safe haven. Through this, the British Government hoped that the Bushmen would adapt to a pastoralist lifestyle, becoming ‘civilised’. All these measures effectively failed, mission work among the Bushmen was unsuccessful, the Bushmanland reserve was essentially ignored, settlers were reluctant to give livestock to Bushmen, and the Bushmen showed little interest in becoming herders. Despite this, the policies served to end the incessant violence at the frontier and settler farmers were able to expand into Bushman territory. On occasion Bushmen did resist this expansion,

<sup>14</sup> Not to be confused with the proposed Bushman reserves between 1937 and 1973.

however, by this time the land was already inhabited by the settlers, meaning resistance was too late and therefore ineffective. Despite the British Government's policies, the settlers' perceptions of Bushmen as vermin endured, with Bushmen being persecuted into the 1870s. Some were hunted, while others were enslaved on settler farms. In order to avoid this fate some Bushmen fled to the dry arid lands further north where many starved to death. Through years of colonisation, Bushmen were driven to near extinction. Despite the Bushmen managing to survive the violence of Dutch rule, they were unable to maintain their culture, given the subtle but effective policies introduced by the colonial British Government. As a result, by 1910, when the Union of South Africa was established, the destruction of the South African Bushmen, their languages and cultures was almost complete (Skotnes 1996).

Under the Union of South Africa, and subsequent governments of South Africa, the country's population has been racially categorised, first in the census (1911-present) and later under the Population Registration Act, (1950-1991). Pre-democracy, some South African Governments used racial classification for the purposes of segregation (see section 3.1). For the majority of time between 1911 and 1991 the Bushmen were classed in the national census as people of "mixed race and other Coloureds", later falling under the Coloured category. The exception was during the census of 1950 and 1960 when they were termed native. By 1970, however, the Bushmen were once again categorised as Coloured. Correspondingly, the 1950 Population Registration Act initially classed Bushmen as native, however, by 1970, this act was also categorising the Bushmen as Coloured (Khalfani and Zuberti 2001:165; Christopher 2002:405). By this time, policies had been introduced to enable the assimilation of groups such as the Bushmen into the Coloured population. These policies encouraged individuals to speak Afrikaans instead of indigenous languages, and accept the Christian religion in order to advance their Coloured identity. Although not all Bushmen welcomed this opportunity to become Coloured, given the racial prejudice against Bushmen at that time, it has been suggested that many Bushmen embraced the opportunity (Robins 2001). Following this many of South Africa's Bushmen became completely assimilated into the Coloured population, consequently, there is little documentation of South Africa's Bushmen between the 1970s and the late 1980s.

### 3.4 THE ǀKHOmani BUSHMEN AND THEIR LAND CLAIM

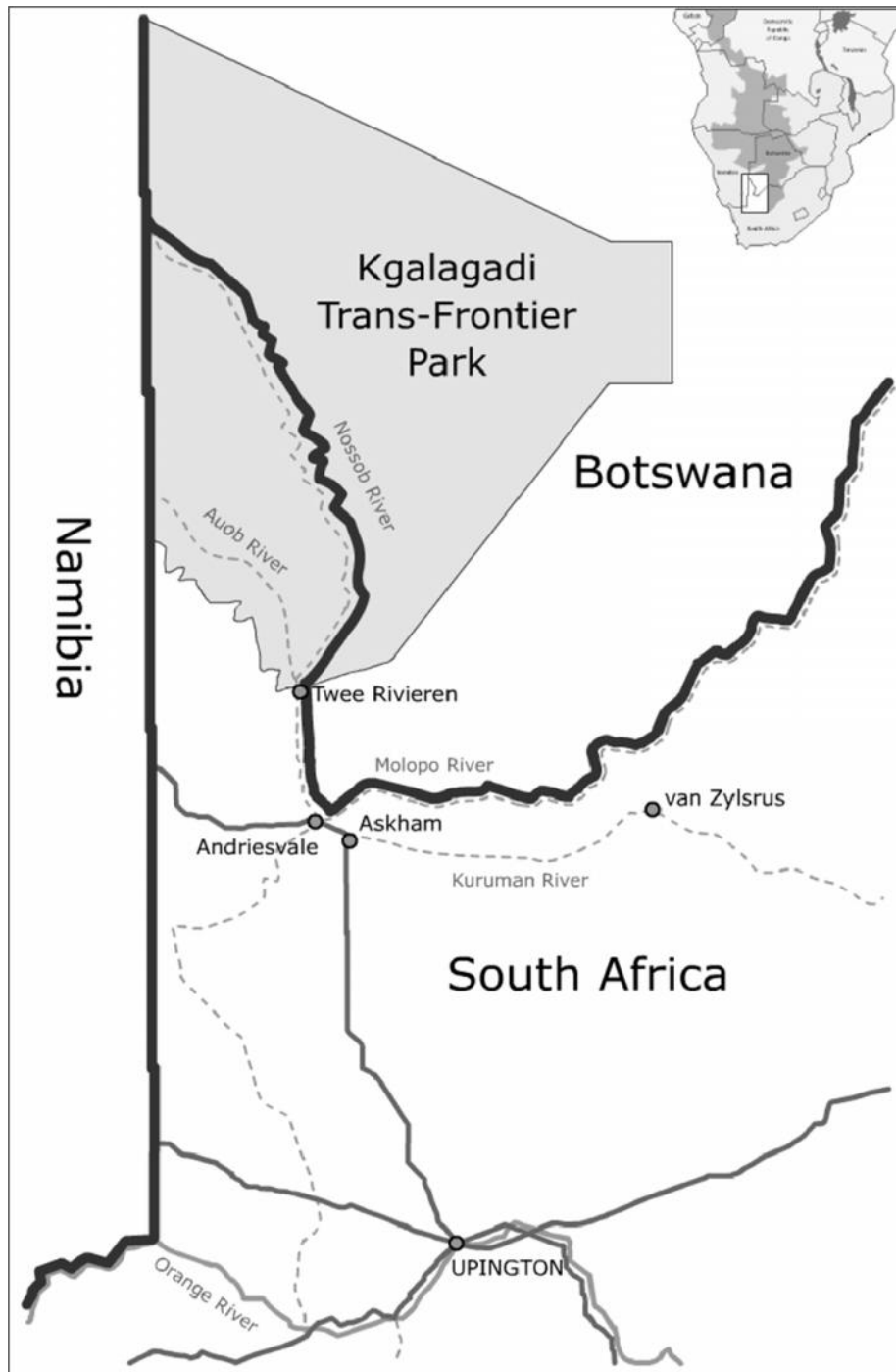
#### 3.4.1 ǀKhomani Community Origins

Although the Bushmen involved in the land claim process have been classed as one population group, the ǀKhomani, since the late 1990s, they are the descendants of the various Bushmen groups that inhabited the southern Kalahari during the 1900s. Of the groups living in the area at that time, the largest referred to themselves as the N|ǀnǀe<sup>15</sup> or Sasi (a non-specific term for Bushmen) and spoke the N|u language. Smaller Bushmen groups also inhabited the area, namely the |'Auni and Khattia. Although these two groups spoke different languages from the N|ǀnǀe peoples, they all spoke languages from the !Ui-Taa family. The 1920s saw the arrival of the Khoekhoegowab speaking ǀHanaseb Bushmen into the area following expulsion from Namibia. These were the ancestors of David Kruiper and his extended family. This was followed in the 1930s by the arrival of the |Namani Bushmen, also Khoekhoegowab speakers from Namibia. Today descendants of all these groups (N|ǀnǀe, |'Auni, Khattia, |Namani and ǀHanaseb) call themselves ǀKhomani and live in the southern Kalahari (Jacobs, Kassie, and Sauls 2004; Crawhall 2001), however, there are distinct groupings, based on language and traditions, within the group, as has been explained in section 3.4.4. Although all ǀKhomani speak Afrikaans as their main language, a few are able to speak N|ǀn, while the instigators of the land claim, the Kruiper extended family speak Khoekhoegowab.

The area occupied by these ancestral ǀKhomani, and in which present day ǀKhomani land is located, is in the remote southern Kalahari, in a specialised semi-arid environment, comprising unique flora and fauna that is adapted to the environment. Given the area's specialised and limited environment, people living in the area, such as the ǀKhomani, have had to adapt to survive.

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<sup>15</sup> According to Crawhall, in 1911 and again in 1936, the N|ǀnǀe were referred to as ǀKhomani by European researchers. It is unclear where this term came from, it may have been a mistake or a name given to the group by others in the area (Crawhall 2001).



**Figure 3.3:** Map of Southern Kalahari Rivers (A Horn published in Horn 2008)

The southern Kalahari consists of the south-western corner of Botswana and the land of south-eastern Namibia along with the adjacent lands in South Africa which covers an area of 124,00 km<sup>2</sup> (Werger 1978:933; Leistner and Werger 1973:354). The area comprises of two distinct landscapes, to east and north east of the Nossob River (see

Figure 3.3), is a virtually dune free undulating landscape with abundant trees, while to the west and the south west of the river (van der Walt and le Riche 1999), the landscape is characterised by stabilised parallel sand dunes (Horn 2008; van der Walt and le Riche 1999; Mier Local Municipality 2007), where grasses are the dominant vegetation (van der Walt and le Riche 1999). These dunes reach an average of 10 meters above the dune valleys which separate them (Horn 2008), both running in a north westerly direction, reflecting the wind direction (Werger 1978) (see plate 3.2).



**Plate 3.1:** A Kalahari Landscape: Looking from the Dune Valley to the Dunes (Grant 2007)

The southern Kalahari is climatically arid (Thomas 2002), receiving summer rainfall, averaging approximately 300 mm in the most northerly region (Werger 1978:933), falling to a yearly average of 150 mm in the Mier area, in which the ǀKhomani lands are situated. As such, the research area is located in the driest part of the Kalahari, where irregular rains fall in the hot wet season between November and April (Thomas 2002; South African National Parks 2007). In this season, the average maximum air temperature is 35.7°C, however, temperatures can reach up to 42°C in the shade, with the ground temperatures reaching 70°C (van der Walt and le Riche 1999:32; South African National Parks 2007:4). This season is followed by the cool dry season between May and August when the average maximum air temperature is 22.2°C and the average

minimum air temperature is 1.2°C. At this time, temperatures can drop to -14°C, meaning that ground frost is common. The short hot, dry season between September and November are the windiest and characterised by dust storms (van der Walt and le Riche 1999:32). Overall, the Southern Kalahari climate is one of extreme seasonal temperatures with low annual, variable rainfall (Parris 1984).

There are four rivers in the area, the Nossob, the Auob, the Kuruman and the Molopo, which serve to drain the rainfall. Given the sparse rainfall, however, rain rarely accumulates in the riverbeds, meaning that all four rivers are predominately dry, only flowing for short periods following extremely heavy rainfall. The Auob River most recently flowed in 1973, 1974 and 2000, while the Nossob flooded in 1963 (South African National Parks 2007). Given sufficient rainfall, rainwater collects in the pan depressions, which are common in the area (see Plate 3.3). Many pans have a high clay component in their soil, which acts as a seal, preventing the rainwater from being quickly absorbed by the sand as happens elsewhere. Consequently, these pans can retain surface water for days, weeks or even months (Thomas 2002; Mier Local Municipality 2007).



**Plate 3.2:** A Pan Depression in the Kalahari (Grant 2008)

Although rainwater accumulates in riverbeds and pans, given the low annual rainfall, in addition to the high evaporation rates experienced (van Rooyen 1998; Parris 1984) which can exceed annual rainfall (Scholes and Walker 2004), due to hot temperatures (van Rooyen 1998), these water sources cannot be relied on (van Rooyen 1998; Parris



1984). Consequently, people living in the southern Kalahari exploit groundwater, which is extracted through boreholes using pumps and stored in small dams or reservoirs. The majority of people in the research area and Mier as a whole are dependent on ground water, for human consumption and that of their livestock. The groundwater, however, is of poor quality, particularly along the border of the KTP, where it deemed unfit for human consumption (Kramer 1985 cited in Koster 2000). In addition, questions have arisen over the sustainability of the practice. Given the low annual rainfall and high evaporation rate, even when conditions are favourable only a small fraction of rainwater infiltrates down to the ground water table (Koster 2000). As a result, despite the fact that the soil of the southern Kalahari is adapted to absorb maximum rainwater levels, groundwater replenishment is a slow process. Consequently, water replenishment is not counter balancing ground water extraction rates, meaning that the continued use of ground water at existing levels will eventually result in complete borehole failures and increased mineralization of ground water (Thomas 2002), making it unsuitable for consumption.

Throughout the Kalahari, the soil types are relatively infertile due to the low nutrient level of the sandy soils (van Rooyen 1998; Thomas 2002). The differing soils of the area affect the vegetation distribution of the southern Kalahari. The soil of the landscape to the north east of the Nossob River, consists of fine yellow sand. To south west of the River, the sandy soil of the duneveld is red, pink or white depending on the content of iron oxide. These red soils of the duneveld, which dominate the research area, consist of coarse sand grains, which retain rainwater more effectively than the fine sand further north, an important adaptation to the drier climate. While this adaptation serves to allow vegetation prolonged access to water, to fully benefit from this moisture, the vegetation has had to make adaptations. Some vegetation types have evolved water storage systems that include underground organs such as bulbs, or fleshy leaves and stalks. Alternatively, vegetation possesses far-reaching root systems, which are either shallow and widely distributed, or long and deep. In order to protect against moisture loss, leaves with protective wax covers have also been developed. In order to maximise species survival, in this dry environment, vegetation only germinates at the most appropriate time, such as the wet season when the required amount of rain is present.

Vegetation germinates by either flowering or producing edible fruits, such as the tsamma melon and the gemsbok cucumber (van der Walt and le Riche 1999).

Overall, however, for much of the year, the research area is comprised of shrub savannah. Perennial grass species dominate (Thomas 2002), with some less nutritional annual grasses. These perennial grasses occur mostly in the dune valleys, however, they can occur on the dunes themselves, where the grass serves to stabilise (Koster 2000). Although occasional stunted shrubs occur in this shrub savannah (Thomas 2002), they are mostly out competed by the grasses (Koster 2000). In addition to the grasses and shrubs, fully-grown trees, such as the camel thorn tree, have also adapted to survive in the dry riverbeds and dune slopes (see plate 3.2), through developing extensive root systems to access water stored either in the soil or underground. In the research area it has been noted that many trees along the Molopo and the Nossob river beds are dead, with Thomas (2002), suggesting that this is an indication of a diminishing ground water. Overall, nutrient deficient soil, and a water poor environment, can only support a limited amount of vegetation, consequently, vegetative ground cover is less than 35 per cent in the southern Kalahari, which is a reflection of the harsh environment.

The fine soils found in the pans, and to a lesser extent the riverbeds, of the Southern Kalahari, are the most fertile, being relatively rich in appropriate minerals (van der Walt and le Riche 1999; Parris 1984) and able to support relatively dense and diverse vegetation (Parris 1984). This vegetation is in turn an important nutritional resource for the indigenous wildlife of the area (Parris 1984; van der Walt and le Riche 1999), as are the raw minerals present in the soils. A number of these large mammals have learned to directly ingest and process these raw minerals to supplement their nutrient poor diet (van der Walt and le Riche 1999). Consequently, despite the harsh environment, wildlife species have adapted to survive in the southern Kalahari which is home to many wildlife species including invertebrates, reptiles, birds and mammals (Bosch and Hirschfeld 2002; South African National Parks 2007). In the vicinity of the research area, however, most of the large mammal species, such as Eland and Gemsbok are confined to the KTP, game farms, and nature reserves. Although there are a few large mammal species outside these protected areas, this is the exception rather than the rule. No large

predators, such as lions or leopards, exist outside the KTP, however, smaller predators in the form of black backed jackal, honey badgers, and caracal inhabit the research area, as do other small mammals including the yellow mongoose, the suricat, springhare, and steenbok. In order to survive many animals hide in burrows or shelter in the shade to protect against the hot daytime temperatures, foraging or hunting at night. Mammal species such as the gemsbok have become adept at detecting nutritious plant roots and bulbs which they dig up and ingest for moisture in the dry season (van der Walt and le Riche 1999). While the southern Kalahari has been able to support, flora, fauna and people for many years, given its specialised environment, livelihood and development opportunities are limited as discussed in section 4.6.

### **3.4.2 The History of Land Dispossession in the Mier Area**

Despite the land dispossession being experienced by Bushmen further south (see section 3.3), until the 1780s, the ancestors of the ꞤKhomani, lived relatively undisturbed in the southern Kalahari in the Northern Cape. At this time, despite the limited environment of the southern Kalahari, Coloured families started migrating across the Gariep (Orange) River onto land used by Bushmen. This migration was a consequence of colonialists expelling Coloured farmers and acquiring land further south. Subsequently, the Coloured farmers migrated to the north, away from the colonists, in search of farming land (Jacobs, Kassie, and Sauls 2004; Boonzaier et al. 1996). Consequently, in 1865, a group of Coloured farmers led by Captain Vilander<sup>16</sup> arrived in the southern Kalahari, from the Western Cape, and settled on land, which they called Mier<sup>17</sup>. When this community, who were known as the Vilander Community, took up residence in the area intending to farm, the land was already home to a number of Bushmen groups, including the ancestors of the ꞤKhomani. The Vilander Community found the land ideal for their purposes of livestock farming, as had the Bushmen found

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<sup>16</sup> Also spelled Philander.

<sup>17</sup> By 1885, Mier stretched from the Orange River in South Africa into Botswana and Namibia. The Vilander Community lost much of this land due to colonial boarder agreements (Surplus People Project 1990). Accordingly, the area that became known as the “Mier Area” equates with today’s Mier Local Municipality, established in 2002, within which the ꞤKhomani farms are situated. Throughout the text I use “Mier”, “Mier Area” and “Mier Local Municipality” interchangeably to refer to the area now represented by Mier Local Municipality. “Mier Community” is used to refer to the collective Coloured population of Mier Local Municipality. Politically, the ꞤKhomani Community are part of the “Mier Community”, however, due to cultural differences both Communities regard themselves as distinct.

it ideal for hunting and gathering, due to the consistent underground water supply and the ample wildlife to hunt. Over time, some Bushmen became integrated into Vilander's Community through either marriage or working as servants, while others continued to hunt and gather, deep in the Kalahari (Surplus People Project 1990).

Between 1904 and 1908, disputes originating in German South West Africa spilled over into the southern Kalahari as the colonial German Government waged wars against a number of peoples, including Bushmen, Khoekhoe, and Herero. This served to displace people living in the southern Kalahari, including the Bushmen and Vilander Community and unsettled the South African Government. The Government decided that to maintain the stability of the area in the far north of the country, the land should be given to White settlers (Jacobs, Kassie, and Sauls 2004; Crawhall 2001). Consequently, following the World War I, the Government had the southern Kalahari surveyed and divided into farms, which were allocated to White farmers. Given the semi-arid environment farming was difficult and the farmers often resulted to hunting wildlife (South African National Parks 2007). The establishment of these farms displaced the Bushmen, Khoekhoe and Coloureds already living in area (Jacobs, Kassie, and Sauls 2004; Crawhall 2001). By the 1920s, the Bushmen of the southern Kalahari were in crisis due to the environmental pressures of the increasing population. Land that had only supported hunter-gatherer Bushmen was now home to Coloured and White settler communities. The farming practices of these communities severely curtailed the Bushmen's movements, which impacted not only the Bushmen's access to food but also restricted access to spiritually and culturally significant sites, while the over-hunting of wildlife by the settlers resulted in food shortages for the Bushmen (Jacobs, Kassie, and Sauls 2004). Eventually, in order to settle issues related to land ownership, access and use, in addition to wildlife depletion, a number of reserves were proposed.

#### *The Mier Reserves*

In 1888, following Captain Vilander's death, his son David Vilander granted ownership of the Mier farms to community members, in the hope that this would prevent White settlers from appropriating the land (Surplus People Project 1990; Bosch and Hirschfeld

2002). Following the incorporation of Mier into the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland, a concession court provisionally ratified these land grants in 1894 (Bosch and Hirschfeld 2002), however, it seems that many of these provisional land titles were never registered with the British Crown (Surplus People Project 1990). By 1909, the Mier Community and the Rhenish Mission Station at Rietfontein, then part of the Cape Colony, were self governing under the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act (Bosch and Hirschfeld 2002) (see section 3.1.3). In 1930, the Union of South Africa Government, by whom Mier was now ruled, passed the Coloured Persons Settlement Areas (Cape) Bill, to assure Coloured communities access to land following dispossession. That same year the Government used this Bill to establish the Mier Coloured Settlement Area, which later became the Mier Rural Reserve. Essentially, the land that comprised the Mier Settlement Area was acquired from the Vilander Community and White farmers, who already inhabited the area. While the required land was acquisitioned without payment from the Vilander Coloured Community, possibly due to their land ownership not being registered, White farmers received payment for their farms. Although, the Mier Reserve was formed in 1930, there was no significant migration into the area until the Group Areas Act of 1950 enforced resettlement. As habituation and farming in the Mier Settlement Area was available to all Coloured people, not just the Vilander Community, it served to secured land access to the Coloured population in general, including the Vilander descendants, however it also served to deprive the Vilander Community of the ownership rights they had previously held (Surplus People Project 1990). Both the Vilander Community and the wider Coloured community rights were further curtailed in 1963 when the Mier Coloured Settlement Area began to be administered under the Coloured Rural Areas Act. This act allowed large proportions of the communal land to be privatised for individual use, which was against the will of the majority of Mier Community members, many of whom lost access to land (Bosch and Hirschfeld 2002).

From 1888, the Vilander Community was aware of their potential to lose land ownership rights in the Mier area at the hands of white settlers. In 1909, the Community saw their land rights diminish due to legislation introduced by the Cape Colony then the Union of South Africa Government. By the 1963, the National Party

introduced legislation which served to further restrict communal land use (and ownership), benefiting the individual over the Community, something which was opposed in the Mier area.

#### *Kalahari Gemsbok National Park*

In 1931, to combat the over-hunting of the area's game, and following Parliamentary debates regarding whether and how the Bushmen should be protected, the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park (KGNP) was established, on land already used by Bushmen, Coloured and White populations (Jacobs, Kassie, and Sauls 2004; van Wyk and Le Riche 1984). To procure land for the Park, "with a few exceptions, all the privately owned farms in the area were purchased" and prior to the creation of the reserve the "general and unanimous support of all parties concerned was gained", including that of "all local Coloured leaders" (van Wyk and Le Riche 1984). Notably, it seems that the Bushmen were not consulted. At this time, Bushmen were allowed to continue their existence in the Park (van Wyk and Le Riche 1984; Da Gama 1998a), although their rights were somewhat vague as legislation did not make any special guarantees regarding Bushmen activities in the KGNP, as the Minister of Land Piet Grobler had advocated (Jacobs, Kassie, and Sauls 2004; Crawhall 2001). In 1934 Joep Le Riche became the Park ranger, taking responsibility for the day to day running of the KGNP (van Wyk and Le Riche 1984), which extended its boundaries in 1935 through the incorporation of "farms referred to as crown land" (Da Gama 1998b:2). Prior to becoming crown land this farmland would have been used by Bushmen, later appropriated by the Vilander Community (Da Gama 1998b).

From 1937 Le Riche was officially employing a number of local people, including Bushmen, to work as labourers and wardens in the Park (Crawhall 2001). Regopstaan Kruiper, father of the present day †Khomani traditional leader, was employed at this time, to tend Le Riche's own private livestock (White 1995). Additionally, Bushmen employees, due to their knowledge of the local environment, often assisted in natural resource research, conservation and tracking in addition to training soldiers in bush survival skills. As employees of the KGNP, these Bushmen were given a small income, basic commodities including clothing and were allowed to hunt and gather in the Park

(White 1995; Crawhall 2001). At this time, however, Bushmen who were not employed by the Park were driven out (Crawhall 2001). South African National Parks Board (SANPB)<sup>18</sup> justified this action by arguing that these Bushmen were not true Bushmen, as they did not speak any Bushmen language<sup>19</sup> (Robins, Madzudzo, and Brenzinger 2001), therefore there was no reason for their continued existence in the Park. Consequently, many Bushmen were forced to work as cheap labour for local farmers (Crawhall 2001; Jacobs, Kassie, and Sauls 2004), due to the lack of free land on which the Bushmen could legally hunt and gather. Outside the Park, the majority of the areas land was now either owned privately by individuals or was crown land, such as the Mier Coloured Settlement Area and the KGNP. Despite the fact that the Park management wanted the Bushmen who were not in the Parks employment to leave, some Bushmen families continued to live in the KGNP. This situation may have endured as the Park was not fenced at this time (van Wyk and Le Riche 1984), meaning that it would have been difficult to restrict access. In 1952, the National Party's Secretary of Coloured Affairs W.H. Boshoff, stated that the "removing of the Bushmen from the Gemsbok National Park needs urgent attention from the National Parks Board and this department"(cited in Da Gama 1998a:43). Subsequently, in 1957 SANPB made an official representation to the Government requesting the removal of the remaining Bushmen. As a result those Bushmen still residing in, but not employed in the KGNP, were finally removed from their homes to be resettled as Coloureds in the Mier Coloured Settlement Area in 1973 (Da Gama 1998a). Consequently, although it was initially suggested that the establishment of the KGNP would serve to protect both game and Bushmen from increasing hardships, it served to further dispossess the Bushmen of their access to land on which to hunt and gather. Between 1937, when it was first suggested the Bushmen should be relocated, until 1973 a number of options regarding the relocation of the Bushmen were considered, and are outlined below. Although a number of compensatory measures were suggested there are no records of compensation ever being awarded (Da Gama 1998b).

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18 SANPB were the predecessor of SANParks.

19 By this time, many Bushmen had already adopted the common languages of the southern Kalahari, Nama and Afrikaans, in order to communicate with other peoples (Jacobs, Kassie, and Sauls 2004; Crawhall 2001).

*A Bushman Reserve*

Prior to the establishment of the KGNP, a local farmer and entrepreneur Donald Bain recognised the impact that settler farmers and the resulting land dispossession was having on Bushmen in the southern Kalahari. As a result, in 1925, he unsuccessfully attempted to obtain a tract of land to act as a reserve for the Bushmen. In 1931, Bain intensified his efforts to protect the Bushmen, arguing that the newly established KGNP would be detrimental to them (Robins, Madzudzo, and Brenzinger 2001). Consequently, in 1936, Donald Bain took a group of 70 Bushmen, who were living in the KGNP, to participate in the British Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg<sup>20</sup> to publicise their plight (Jacobs, Kassie, and Sauls 2004). Following this, a number of academics and scientists supported the Bushmen's cause, calling for their protection (Gordon and Douglas 2000; Robins, Madzudzo, and Brenzinger 2001). In addition, in 1936, the Minister of Native Affairs promised that the Bushmen would be allowed to continue their hunting and gathering lifestyle in the KGNP. Despite this promise however, when the KGNP fell under the jurisdiction of the SANPB, SANPB refused to allow the Bushmen to hunt in the Park (Robins, Madzudzo, and Brenzinger 2001). Consequently, when these Bushmen, known as Bain's Bushmen, later returned to the KGNP, they were denied access to their homes and their possessions were burned (Crawhall 2001; Jacobs, Kassie, and Sauls 2004). In 1937, Donald Bain took 55 Bushmen to Cape Town, where they succeeded in having their situation discussed in Parliament. Despite the support that Bain's Bushmen had attracted, the idea of a reserve for Bushmen was opposed by settler farmers, local to the KGNP. The farmers were afraid that they would lose access to cheap Bushmen labour (Robins, Madzudzo, and Brenzinger 2001), and argued that "a reserve was unnecessary as there were no *real Bushmen* left" (Robins 2001:849). Accordingly, SANPB claimed that these Afrikaans/Nama speaking individuals were not *real* Bushmen and therefore should not be allowed to live in the KGNP. As a result, refuge for Bushmen in the KGNP was not forthcoming (Robins, Madzudzo, and Brenzinger 2001). Furthermore, that same year,

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<sup>20</sup> The British Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg was held between September 1936 and January 1937 to celebrate Johannesburg's Jubilee year. It commemorated 50 years since gold had been discovered on the Highveld, leading to the Witwatersrand gold rush that resulted in the founding of Johannesburg. The Exhibition, therefore was a celebration of Johannesburg, and South Africa's, economic and industrial success (Robinson 2003).



SANPB stated that they were opposed to any Bushman settlement on land in the immediate area surrounding the KGNP (Da Gama 1998a).

By 1940, the Minister of Native Affairs, Denys Reitz, was so concerned with the possible demise of Bushmen culture that he reiterated the idea that a reserve should be created for the Bushmen to inhabit (cited in Da Gama 1998a). Over the years, a number of different local sites were suggested for this purpose by various government departments and interested parties. In 1937, the Mata Mata Reserve had been proposed, as had the farm of Struis Zyn Dam, in the Mier Coloured Settlement Area. The possibilities of Struis Zyn Dam farm were debated until 1954 (Da Gama 1998b), when the Department of Coloured Affairs declared all departmental land in the area, including this farm, unavailable. Following this, in 1958, when the KGNP intensified its efforts to rid itself of the Bushmen, again various farms in the Mier Coloured Settlement Area were suggested as suitable Bushmen reserves (Da Gama 1998a). Following much debate agreement regarding these local land proposals was not reached. In 1961, consideration was given to relocating the Bushmen to land in the Western Caprivi of South West Africa, later Namibia. This suggestion was ruled out due to anticipated problems with the Ju'hoansi Bushmen living near Tsumkwe. The South African Government made a last attempt to create a Bushmen reserve in 1971, when land near Gobabis, in SWA was proposed (Da Gama 1998a) but the Bushmen refused this offer in 1973 (Da Gama 1998a). Following this, it seems that the South African Government decided that no special provision would be made for these Bushmen based on their Bushman identity, an identity that had been brought into question. In 1973 the Bushmen's official classification of Coloured (Khalfani and Zuberti 2001; Christopher 2002) was enforced, meaning that Bushmen living in the KGNP, but not employed there, were relocated to the Coloured Persons Settlement Area in Mier (Da Gama 1998a). As documented earlier, this area was a farming area and as such, it was not suitable for the hunting and gathering lifestyle familiar to the Bushmen. Additionally, for those Bushmen aspiring to farm, land access in Mier was limited and unlikely (Surplus People Project 1990) as the 1963 Coloured Rural Areas Act, had already allocated land to individuals thereby curtailing the amount of land available to the majority. This meant that throughout the 1970s and 1980s the relocated Bushmen

moved around the Mier Settlement Area, seeking casual employment as domestic workers and farmhands (White 1995). Some, however, settled further afield in the Northern and Western Cape, while others relocated to Namibia and Botswana.

### 3.4.3 The Land Claim

#### *Background to the Land Claim*

By 1987, a number of Bushmen from the southern Kalahari, had taken up employment with a tour operator named Lorkie Henning from Kuruman, in the Northern Cape (White 1995). This Bushmen group were of ǀHanaseb descent and mainly consisted of the extended members of the Kruiper family (Jacobs, Kassie, and Sauls 2004), including the present day ǀKhomani leader Dawid Kruiper. Under Henning's guidance, these Bushmen were marketed as South Africa's last surviving hunter-gatherers, and as such came into the public eye. This image secured these Bushmen an income. They were in demand to perform for tourists, make product advertisements and feature in a number of films. By 1989 however, their working relationship with Henning had ended. The Bushmen accused Henning of exploitation, claiming that although Henning had taken care of the Bushmen's immediate needs he had appropriated much of the Bushmen's earnings. According to the Bushmen, Henning left them in Kuruman, with barely enough money to survive. Subsequently, the Bushmen group fragmented in order to seek wage labour. Some remained in Kuruman while others returned to their home in the Mier Settlement Area (White 1995). The group regrouped in 1991 following an approach by the owners of the Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve in the Western Cape, who offered to resettle the Bushmen on the reserve where the Bushmen were to be viewed by tourists in a specially constructed traditional village (White 1995; Bregin and Kruiper 2004). Although the Bushmen received no cash income or profit share for this work, they were allowed to harvest a limited amount of the reserve's flora and fauna, which they cooked on open fires. Additionally, they were allocated accommodation in shacks, given access to an open latrine and an intermittent water supply, meaning that although the Bushmen were instrumental in attracting tourists to the reserve, they received little in return (White 1995).

Given the working and living conditions of the Bushmen at Kagga Kamma, in the early 1990s, Roger Chennels, a human rights lawyer, visited the nature reserve to examine the Bushmen's situation. During Chennels' visit, the Bushmen expressed their desire to return to their ancestral land, in the southern Kalahari (Ellis 2004). Following this, a number of discussions took place between the Bushmen of Kagga Kamma, their relatives in the Northern Cape and Roger Chennels. In 1995, Roger Chennels lodged a land claim on behalf of the Bushmen, using the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994 (Chennels 2006). The claim aimed to restore approximately half of the KGNP to the Bushmen, in addition to a number of farms in the northern section of the Mier Rural Area, all this was estimated to equal around 500 000 hectares (Bosch and Hirschfeld 2002:164). As legislation precluded the restitution of land based on indigenous rights, the claimants were unable to reclaim the land on the basis that their ancestors had been the original inhabitants (Ellis 2004). Instead the Bushmen had to show that they had lost the land after 1913 due to racial legislation (Department of Land Affairs 1997). Accordingly, the Bushmen cited 1931 as their moment of dispossession, when the KGNP was proclaimed, arguing that it was the establishment of the park, which led to the eventual total exclusion of the Bushmen from the Park, both a living area and somewhere in which to harvest food (Ellis 2004).

In 1998, in response to the Bushmen's land claim, the Mier Community submitted their own claim using the Restitution of Land Rights Act. The Mier Community sought to retain their farmland in the Mier Rural Area, while claiming for land in the KGNP, areas both of which were being claimed by the Bushmen (Ellis 2004). Like the Bushmen, the Mier Community argued that following the establishment of the Park, community families inhabiting the area had been forced to relocate, while the whole community lost access to this land for grazing and hunting, without any compensation for their losses (Bosch and Hirschfeld 2002). As the Bushmen and Mier Communities were claiming land in the KGNP, they came into conflict with SANParks, who manage South Africa's National Parks (NP). Prior to 1997, SANParks often resisted claims for land in NPs, which they viewed as a threat to SANParks control and therefore conservation (Ellis 2004). Efforts were underway to transform both SANParks management and community relations, meaning that SANParks re-evaluated their position in relation to

these land claims (Turner 2004). Such changes greatly benefited both the Bushmen and the Mier communities land claims (Ellis 2004). Consequently, in 1997 the first formal negotiations took place between the Bushmen claimants, the Mier Community, SANParks and the DLA (Chennels 2006).

### *The Land Claim Settlement*

Following negotiations, on 21<sup>st</sup> March 1999, phase one of the Bushmen land claim was completed and an agreement signed. Six farms were awarded to the Bushmen: Scotty's Fort, Andriesvale, Uitkoms, Miersouppan, Witdraai and Erin (see Figure 1.2), constituting approximately 36 900 hectares of land in the Mier area (Chennels 2006:3). In order to receive the land, by law the Bushmen had to form a management body. The Bushmen chose to form of a CPA for this purpose (Grossman and Holden 2007), holding formal elections at Welkom to establish the ꞤKhomani San CPA (Chennels 2006). Formally, the Bushmen claimants had become the ꞤKhomani, a title that henceforth became the general term (Grossman and Holden 2007) used to refer to the Bushmen of the Mier area and their relations dispersed throughout the Northern Cape. In addition to the six farms, the ꞤKhomani received R2 300 000 in monetary compensation, with a further R516 000, specifically for the purchase of common land at Welkom to recognise of the special role played by the Welkom Bushmen, primarily the Kruiper family. It was also stipulated that the Mier Community were to return 7000 hectares of land, to the ꞤKhomani. Furthermore, the Bushmen were to be given 25 000 hectares of land in the Park, to be managed as a contract park. The overall value of the ꞤKhomani claim, comprising farmland and its assets, which included a large guesthouse and game, the land in the Park and the monetary compensation was R15 516 000 (Chennels 2006:3). Although, at this time, it had been indicated that the ꞤKhomani would be granted land in the KGNP, this land would not be handed over to the Bushmen until phase two of the land claim, when the specific rights of the parties within the KGNP would be detailed (Chennels 2006; Grossman and Holden 2007). Following the completion of phase one, negotiations regarding these rights were postponed, however, as the Government argued that this was an ideal opportunity for the original ꞤKhomani, namely the Kruiper family, to expand the claimant group to

include others, who could prove Bushmen heritage and become the †Khomani Community (Grossman and Holden 2007; Bosch and Hirschfeld 2002).

By August 2002, phase two of the land claim was also complete. This resulted in the production of the †Khomani Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement, which detailed the complex rights of the †Khomani and Mier communities in the KTP. In 2000, the KGNP amalgamated with the Gemsbok National Park in Botswana, to become the KTP (Chennels 2006; Peace Parks Foundation N.D.). Phase two of the land claim resulted in the †Khomani being awarded 25 000 hectares of heritage land in the south east of the park (see Figure 1.2). The Mier Community were given 28 000 hectares of adjoining heritage land in the south west of the KTP (see Figure 1.2). Both areas, situated on the southern boundary of the park were to be managed as contract parks in conjunction with SANParks. The agreement stipulated that the †Khomani could utilise this land for economic purposes which are sustainable and meet the conservation requirements of the Park. Accordingly, the agreement suggested that ecotourism ventures, including walks, overnight treks and 4 x 4 routes, would be appropriate. Although no permanent settlement, agriculture or mining is permitted in the contract parks, the †Khomani can use the land for cultural purposes such as the sustainable hunting of wildlife and gathering of plants (Bosch and Hirschfeld 2002:247).

The †Khomani also received 'preferential commercial use' of the land between the contractual parks and the Auob River (see Figure 1.2), on which they could establish ecotourism projects or use for cultural purposes. Furthermore, the †Khomani were granted symbolic and cultural rights, to a 4000 km<sup>2</sup> area in the southern section of the park (Figure 1.2). This area constitutes almost half of what had been the KGNP (Bosch and Hirschfeld 2002:247), and comprises the whole area which the †Khomani had sought to claim. Although this particular land cannot be used for commercial purposes, it can be used by the †Khomani to educate community members in their cultural and symbolic heritage (Bosch and Hirschfeld 2002), again in accordance with the †Khomani Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement (Chennels 2006). By signing the agreement the three principal parties, the †Khomani, the Mier Community and SANParks, agreed to the construction of a co-operation lodge. This lodge was to be co-owned by the †Khomani

and Mier Community, however decisions regarding the lodge in general would need the consensus of all three parties. This lodge was to be built either on land in the †Khomani or Mier contract parks, or on both, and would symbolise the co-operation between the three parties in regard to the outcome of the land claim. Additionally, the lodge is to serve as “a facility for eco-tourism, which will generate income for them [the principle parties], and contribute to the alleviation of poverty in the region” (Bosch and Hirschfeld 2002:195-197).

Through the AelHai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement, the †Khomani and SANParks, in principle, committed to the opening of a commercial lodge, in addition to the co-operation lodge discussed above. This commercial lodge, was to be built near the park’s main South African entrance gate and aims to highlight the link between the †Khomani, their identity and the Kalahari, while giving the visitor the opportunity to experience the Kalahari with the guidance of the †Khomani. Accordingly, employment at the lodge was to be made available to the Bushmen, in particular as trackers. It was also hoped that further commercial opportunities could be realised, which would economically benefit the †Khomani while giving guests the opportunity “to explore the Kalahari through the eyes and experience of the †Khomani” (Bosch and Hirschfeld 2002:248). In addition, the agreement proposed a number of economically beneficial schemes outside the park. These include the establishment of a community game park by the †Khomani, for which SANParks were willing to make a financial contribution of up to R500 000 (Bosch and Hirschfeld 2002:204). Tentative plans for a community nature park were suggested to be established between Welkom and the Park. This nature park was to be shared by the †Khomani and Mier communities, providing opportunities for the sale of crafts and artwork to tourists (Bosch and Hirschfeld 2002). It can be seen that the award of farmland to the †Khomani, provided them with the potential for income generation. Additionally, it is clear from the AelHai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement, through the number of income generating projects that are suggested, both generally and specifically, that the land in the KTP was also envisioned to benefit the †Khomani economically. Furthermore, the land in the KTP was expected to benefit the †Khomani culturally, by giving them the means necessary to conduct and

teach traditional practices. Chapters four and seven include details of the co-operation lodge, !Xaus Lodge, as the only one of these opportunities to have been realised.

### 3.4.4 The ꞛKhomani Community

In 1999, on the recommendation of the Government, the original ꞛKhomani Bushman land claimants, opened membership of the claimant group to all people in the Northern Cape that could prove Bushmen ancestry (Grossman and Holden 2007; Holden 2007). Traditional leader, Dawid Kruiper, argued that this would strengthen the land claim and allow many Bushmen descendents to benefit from the land. Consequently, after the completion of phase one of the land claim in 1999, Dawid Kruiper recruited SASI to locate potential beneficiaries (South African Human Rights Commission 2004), while the CPA instigated a claimant membership drive in 2000. Consequently, the ꞛKhomani Community is composed of individuals from differing backgrounds, some with divergent values and aspirations. The following gives a general overview of ꞛKhomani Community life on the farms along with an account of some of the people and influences shaping the Community. Although aspects of ꞛKhomani individuals' lives, values and aspirations differ, as is apparent in other land claim beneficiary groups (see James 2000a, 2000b) similarities are also evident.

With this enlargement of the claimant group, different groups emerged within the Community, commonly termed the traditionalists, made up of two sub-groups, and the westerners<sup>21</sup> (Ellis 2004). I would argue that while some ꞛKhomani fit into these two discrete categories, most individuals fall somewhere in-between. In fact, the traditionalists and westerners can be viewed as two extremes on a continuum, with other individuals being dispersed along the continuum depending on the strength of their attitudes. Ellis (2004) tells us that the first traditionalist sub-group comprise approximately 40 individuals, all members of the extended Kruiper family, which includes the Swarts family, the original instigators of the land claim under the leadership

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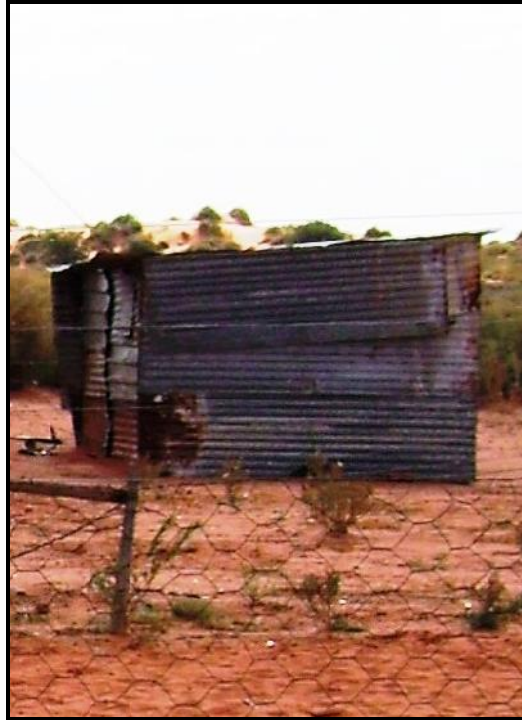
<sup>21</sup> See appendix for denotation of cited individuals as traditionalists or westerners. Where denotation is absent this is because the individual does not clearly fit within a category. Additionally, throughout the text, I have cited individuals as traditional or westerners where relevant. Where no category is given, this is because once again, the individual does not fit clearly within a category, or the information is not deemed relevant.

of Dawid Kruiper. This sub-group is able to trace their removal from KTP to the 1970s. Prior to the land claim members of this group worked and lived at Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve in the Western Cape, while others were dispersed throughout the Northern Cape, living in places such as Kuruman and Welkom near the KTP. This sub-group envisioned that the return of their ancestral land would allow them to revive and rediscover their traditional Bushmen lifestyle, surviving on the farms through the harvesting of natural resources. These Bushmen planned to teach the children traditional Bushmen skills, including tracking and medicine making, while performing for tourists to earn cash income (Ellis 2004). Presently, this sub-group of traditionalists live in informal houses, often made of grass (see Plate 3.3), sometimes constructed of corrugated iron (see Plate 3.4), on the farms of Witdraai and Andriesvale (see Figure 1.2), while some individuals continue to live in similar informal houses on Welkom (see Figure 1.2). Many of this group state that they do not desire to live in formal houses (see section 5.2.2).



**Plate 3.3:** Lena Kruiper Malgas and Son:  
Traditionalist †Khomani outside their Grass House on Welkom (Grant 2007)





**Plate 3.4:** Corrugated House of ꞛKhomani Bushman in Welkom (Grant 2007)

The second traditionalist sub-group that emerged formed around the three elderly Swartkop sisters, of which Oma !Una is one, and their families from the Upington area. This sub-group also have demonstrable ancestral ties to the KTP having been either direct members of Bain's Bushmen group, or their descendents, who lived in the KTP until their expulsion in 1930s (Ellis 2004), further explained in section 3.4.2, when they scattered throughout the Northern Cape, and into Namibia and Botswana. In contrast to Dawid Kruiper's group, this group argues for access to basic service provision, including formal housing, electricity and running water, on the farms. In accordance with the other traditional sub-group, however, this group also seek to preserve and impart their cultural knowledge to the youth, particularly their language skills and it is for this reason that they are considered part of the traditionalist group. Two of the aforementioned sisters and their families took occupancy of one of the existing farmhouses on Andriedvale following the death of their other sister during a cold winter (Ellis 2004). While many members of this group live in the existing farmhouses on the ꞛKhomani land others continue to live in informal houses, mostly on Andriesvale, the most populated of the farms. As this sub-group strives for formal housing, their informal shelters are less likely to be made of grass, and income permitting, their houses

tend to be constructed of more modern materials such as corrugated iron (see Plate 3.4). None of the traditionalist group has access to electricity and therefore individuals cook outside on wood fires. Only individuals living in the farmhouses have sanitation facilities and running water, while those living in informal housing must fetch water from water taps located on the farms (see section 5.4.2 and 5.5.2). Traditionalists, generally travel from place to place by foot, or rely on lifts or use the occasional taxi, given their lack of roadworthy vehicles. A few families own donkeys, however, and travel locally by donkey cart (see section 5.9.2). Despite being termed traditionalists, all members of both these sub-groups wear western clothing on a daily basis, although many individuals do wear and use traditional style accessories, including jewellery and bags. Some individuals dress in traditional clothing for the purposes of tourism, such as working on craft stalls or dancing for tourists (see Plate 3.5), or for formal events. Both traditionalist sub-groups, given their demonstrable ancestral links to the ǀKhomani land and the surrounding area, and their desire to preserve and continue the Bushman culture, perceive themselves as more authentic Bushmen, with a more genuine claim to the land, than the westerner Bushmen. Between the two traditionalist sub-groups, however, members of the group centred around the Swartkop sisters often cite that they have a better claim to the land than the other traditionalist sub-group under the leadership of Dawid Kruiper. The justification for this comes from the fact that the Swartkop sisters group are descendents of the N|ǀnǀe people, who originate from the immediate area. This is in contrast to the alternative traditionalist sub-group consisting mainly of the Kruipers and their extended family, who are the descendants from the ǀHanaseb Bushmen that migrated into the Mier area from Namibia in the 1920s (see section 3.4.1).



**Plate 3.5:** Traditionalist ǀKhomani wearing Traditional Dress (Grant 2008)

The group of ǀKhomani, termed as westerners, has been built around livestock farmers from the Mier area. According to Ellis (2004), members of this group tend to be educated with institutional experience and political affiliations, and are generally in employment. Many of these individuals reside in formal housing elsewhere in Mier or in Upington, with some owning motor vehicles. Given the shortage of farmland at their place of residence, these people desire to graze their livestock on the ǀKhomani farms and are consequently less interested in the socio-economic development of the farms or Bushman culture. In addition to these non-resident individuals, a number of ǀKhomani farmers that previously lived in the surrounding Mier area or near Upington, have become resident on ǀKhomani farms and are considered part of this group. This includes Petrus and Willem Vaalbooi cited in this thesis. Such farmers live in the farmhouses on Uitkoms (see Plate 3.6), Miersouppan and Scotty's Fort where they also graze their livestock.



**Plate 3.6:** Willem Vaalboo: Westerner ǀKhomani Farmer outside Uitkoms Farmhouse (Grant 2008)

The ǀKhomani farms, like all farms in the area, comprise of duneveld (see Plate 3.7), with some pan depressions, relying on groundwater. All the roads on the ǀKhomani farms are unsealed, rough and sandy. While a few of the westerner farmers are able to travel around in their own motor vehicles, many do not own such vehicles and therefore have to travel by foot or rely on lifts (see section 5.9.2). The technology used by westerner individuals for the purposes livestock farming is very limited. The utilised farmland is fenced to contain the livestock, and water pipes and dams are maintained to the best of the farmers' abilities, given the vast size of the farms, lack of motor vehicles and financial constraints. The farmhouses on these farms, like other ǀKhomani farmhouses, have sanitation facilities and running water but no mains electricity (see chapter five). Generally, the westerner ǀKhomani living on the farms desire basic services and are interested in developing the farms for the purposes of livestock farming. Additionally, some of these individuals are keen to learn about and maintain Bushman culture, specifically making and selling crafts and tracking wildlife.



**Plate 3.7:** Farmland: The ꞤKhomani Farm of Witdraai (Grant 2007)

For the most part, life for the ꞤKhomani does not significantly differ from that of other people. Accordingly, on a daily basis, employed individuals attend work and farmers tend their livestock, while those without employment partake in activities such as seeking employment, cleaning their homes and caring for their children. ꞤKhomani individuals also spend much time during the day and in the evenings socialising. Within the Community, the traditionalist groups tends to socialise mostly within their own sub-groups or family groups, however, members of the larger traditionalist group sometimes work together and come together for organised events. The westerner ꞤKhomani farmers also typically socialise within their own families and group. Those who do not envision themselves as belonging to any group, mix across the board. Informal socialising occurs in peoples' homes, around the fires, at the shop, the SASI office, the craft-stalls or while standing around on the farms. Notably, most individuals live closest to those in their family and common group, therefore, it is easier to visit and socialise with such people, although people from all groups do interact if they find themselves at a common place or at an organised event.

On the ꞤKhomani farms, there are no regular events, educational or recreational, organised. Consequently, community events and meetings are somewhat rare, only occurring periodically as organised by various actors and agencies. During the period of my fieldwork, SASI screened two films, 'The Gods Must be Crazy', (directed by Jamie

Uys) and ‘The Great Dance’, (directed by Craig and Damon Foster), both inspired by Bushman culture and very much enjoyed by †Khomani individuals in attendance (attended, August 2007). At irregular intervals, The World Assemblies of God Fellowship, visits the Mier area and hold religious services in tents on the †Khomani farms. These services are well attended and appreciated by both traditionalist and westerner community members<sup>22</sup>. In June 2010, a FBO arrived from Pretoria with a large TV screen, which was set up in the †Khomani Community centre on Andriesvale to allow interested community members view World Cup Soccer (attended, June 2007). Unfortunately, the FBO departed before the World Cup final, taking the screen with them. Prior to this, in 2007 the Community centre had also played host to the †Khomani Woman’s Day Celebration. Such events are not always formally celebrated by the †Khomani annually. In 2007 this event was attended by †Khomani women and children and was characterised by the singing of hymns, and the offering of prayers, while the opportunity was taken to introduce and discuss health issues, such as TB, HIV/AIDS, and domestic violence (see Plate 3.8) (attended, August 2007). SASI in conjunction with socio-ecologists and lawyers working with the †Khomani, also arrange community meetings periodically to discuss the future development of the farms. During the fieldwork period such meetings took place at Oulet Kruiper’s house on Witdraai farm (attended, January 2008), and at the SASI office on Andriesvale (attended, March 2008). These meetings are open to all, and attract a variety of community members. Although the purpose of the meetings is to discuss development planning, community socialisation also takes place.

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<sup>22</sup> A number of †Khomani I interacted with indicated that they were of varying Christian denominations, as noted in the appendix. Where no indication of religion is made, in the appendix, this is not to suggest that the individual is non-Christian, as the area has been heavily evangelised in the past, it is merely an indication that such information was not expressed to me. There was never any verbal or demonstrable evidence that any †Khomani individuals followed any traditional Bushman religion.



**Plate 3.8:** †Khomani Woman's Day Celebration, 9th August 2007 (Grant 2007)

The nearest neighbouring Communities to the †Khomani farms, are the Coloured and White Communities at Askham, 15 km from Andriesvale, while the Mier Coloured Community is situated around Rietfontein to the north, approximately 60 km away. The †Khomani living at Welkom live directly alongside, but separate from the Welkom Coloured Community. The †Khomani at Welkom only live in the north west of the settlement. Despite, most visitors to the area being unable to differentiate between the †Khomani and Coloured Communities, unless the †Khomani are attired in traditional dress, the †Khomani perceive themselves as distinct from the Coloured peoples and are quick to identify themselves as such. If an event is arranged in Askham, Welkom or Rietfontein, transport difficulties limit the ability of the †Khomani to attend. Interactions that do occur are usually the consequence of visits to the medical centre at Askham, or trips to the shops, and suchlike. Overall, less socialisation and interactions are apparent between the White and Coloured Communities and the †Khomani, compared to †Khomani intra-community socialisation. As the †Khomani were awarded their land on the basis of being disposed Bushmen, the †Khomani may be keen to separate and differentiate themselves from the Coloured Communities to better validate their claim to the land. Such behaviour may have been necessitated by some members of the neighbouring Coloured and White populations, who argue that †Khomani Community are no more deserving of the land awarded to them, than the resident Coloured Communities, because many locals perceive that there is no difference

between the ǀKhomani and Coloured population groups due to past intermarrying. On occasion, however, events are arranged that bring together the ǀKhomani and Askham Coloured Community, such as Askham Primary School's annual sports day, which attracts mainly women from ǀKhomani Community to watch their children compete (attended, February 2008). Attendance at such events, however, is limited by the ability of ǀKhomani individuals to afford and/or secure transport.



**Plate 3.9:** Members of ǀKhomani and Askham Coloured Community at Askham Primary School Sports Day (Grant 2008)

Although it seems that the ǀKhomani Community comprise groups of individuals, with differing values and aspiration, similarities are also evident in relation to current lifestyle, values and desires. Within the ǀKhomani Community, although within group associations are more regular than between group interactions, between group associations are more common than interactions between ǀKhomani individuals and external neighbouring communities.

### 3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined the historical processes that shaped access to land in South Africa, and in part, at least, drove land reform within the post-apartheid government. One should not forget, however, that the apartheid state limited far more than access to land. South Africa's Land Reform Policy has encountered obstacles in its attempts to address inequalities and encourage rural development, to alleviate the poverty apparent



in the rural areas. This chapter has identified a number of common constraints in this regard, including a lack of post-settlement support and basic service provision, something that the South African Government has struggled to provide. Such barriers to development have been identified in relation to †Khomani land claim beneficiaries and are discussed in chapters five and six.

While a number of constraints to development following land reform have been recognised, such as those above, little consideration has been given to the role that the location of the awarded land and its characteristics play. This chapter has indicated that †Khomani are fundamentally constrained by the geography and the productive potential of their land, meaning that they are limited in their ability to pursue and diversify livelihood opportunities. This is further developed in the next chapter. The dynamics of land beneficiary communities and the influence of such communities on land reform and development processes have been identified in chapter two. Consequently, this chapter has supplied background material relating to the history, formation and dynamics of the †Khomani Community which continues to shape the Community, and influence their land reform process. Such details contribute to a holistic understanding of the †Khomani land claim and development process and are necessary in order to enable an appreciation of the constraints to development. Community dynamics limit †Khomani farmland development and interact with the lack of post-settlement support and basic services, to further constrain and complicate the development process. This is explored later in the thesis. Although a number of these constraining elements are evident among other land reform beneficiary groups in South Africa, the uniqueness of these community dynamics and development constraints, and their combinations and interactions, means that development strategies must be people centred to address the individuality of beneficiary communities and enable sustainable development.

The next chapter, chapter four, assesses the extent to which the †Khomani living on the farms are, or are not living in poverty. Without such information, it cannot be determined if land reform as a form of rural development has contributed to poverty alleviation among the †Khomani. In order to do this, chapter four considers if, since

the land claim, the †Khomani have been able to, or would like to increase and/or diversify their livelihood strategies, in order to alleviate poverty.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: ꞤKHOMANI LIVELIHOODS: MEETING BASIC NEEDS?**

Chapter three identified that the majority of people living in South Africa's rural areas are poor, living in a state of chronic poverty. The Land Reform Policy was introduced to facilitate economic growth, and development to alleviate this poverty. The relationship between poverty and its alleviation, and indeed, what constitutes poverty is complex. At its most basic, poverty can be equated with a lack of resources necessary for survival (Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute 2007). Individuals can access a number of these necessary resources or basic needs, such as food, through income generation and/or subsistence activities (Chambers and Conway 1992). In order to determine if the South African Land Reform Policy has resulted in rural development and poverty alleviation among the ꞤKhomani it must be determined if the ꞤKhomani are currently living in poverty. Consequently, this chapter focuses on the ability of the ꞤKhomani to access income generating and subsistence activities to secure adequate food and meet basic needs, while identifying any existing constraints in this regard. From this it can be assessed whether the land claim has made a material impact on ꞤKhomani individuals, to enable them to escape poverty.

This chapter, therefore, explores the realities of poverty among the ꞤKhomani. As there is no available documentation (written or oral) relating to the employment or income status of the majority of ꞤKhomani Community members prior to the land claim, it is not possible to determine if the land has enabled an increase in ꞤKhomani income, income generation opportunities or subsistence activities to improve quality of life. This highlights the limitations that data gaps impose on research and has implications for development and policy, which should not be built upon assumptions. The South African Government, therefore, must think carefully about how it can intervene to build sustainable rural development in communities such as this one. Although existing data is limited we can still explore the livelihood and income generating opportunities that exist for the ꞤKhomani through fieldwork data. Additionally, the chapter makes use of existing data in regard to industries present and employment levels in Mier Local Municipality, within which the ꞤKhomani Community exist, and South Africa in

general. Comparisons are made accordingly to give an indication of the extent to which †Khomani livelihoods are comparable to the Municipal population and South Africa as a whole. An account is also given of †Khomani Community aspirations in regard to livelihood options, while individuals' ability to diversify income generation strategies to build more resilient livelihoods is considered. Although on paper there appears to be several opportunities for income generating opportunities, such opportunities are limited, and it is not clear that land reform has made any difference in this respect. Overall, the chapter assesses the extent to which the †Khomani are able to meet basic needs through employment and subsistence activities, and if this is comparable to the rest of Mier and South Africa. Consequently, a determination can be made regarding the extent to which the †Khomani are able to meet basic needs or are living in poverty. From this, it will become apparent if the land reform process and land ownership has resulted in poverty alleviation among the †Khomani.

#### **4.1 OVERVIEW OF MIER LOCAL MUNICIPALITY**

Given that documentation relating to the population of Mier Local Municipality and the †Khomani Community, regarding income generating activities is sparse, the material below is reliant on a few publications. The majority of the information in regard to the Mier Local Municipality has been taken from the most recent population census of South Africa conducted in 2001. Although a community survey was conducted in South Africa in 2007, much of the population data was extrapolated from the 2001 census, while small sample sizes in relation to local municipalities and other methodological issues, resulted in a recommendation that "past censuses are considered as the best available sources of data that give information at lower geographical level" (Statistics South Africa 2009:4). As a result, I have chosen not to use the data sets from the Community survey in this thesis. I have included information from Koster regarding the Mier Community, however, this research is based on a small sample size and does not include individuals living on the †Khomani farms. Data regarding the †Khomani has also been taken from work commissioned by the Aids Foundation of South Africa (AFSA) and UNESCO, again based on small sample size and due to the data collection methods employed it is not intended to be representative of the Community as a whole. Data collected during my fieldwork has also been used.

Mier Local Municipality comprises a number of farms and settlements spread over an area of more than 415 000 hectares (Development Bank of Southern Africa 2007:85), located the far north of the Northern Cape Province of South Africa. By population, Rietfontein is the largest settlement in the municipality and home of the Local Municipal Council (Koster 2000). The municipality has a low population density (Mier Local Municipality 2007) and the smallest municipal population in the Northern Cape Province, totalling 6 838 individuals in 2001 (see Table 4.1), 0.7 per cent of the province's population (Statistics South Africa 2001). Mier Local Municipality is inhabited by a predominately Coloured (see Table 4.1) Afrikaans speaking (see Table 4.2) population. Although the †Khomani Community farms are situated in this municipality, the census gives no indication of the number of †Khomani living in the area. During census data collection an 'other' population group category did exist, for population groups such as the †Khomani, however, for the purposes of analysis, as few individuals classified themselves 'other', individuals in this category were reallocated to the nearest appropriate population group (Statistics South Africa 2001), therefore the †Khomani were included as Coloured. For this reason, it is not possible to obtain †Khomani baseline data from the census.

**Table 4.1:** Mier Local Municipality and South Africa by Population Group<sup>23</sup>

Population Group	Mier Municipality	Mier Municipality	South Africa	South Africa
<b>Black</b>	83	1.2%	35 416 166	79.0%
<b>Coloured</b>	6501	95.1%	3 994 505	8.9%
<b>Indian</b>	0	-	1 115 467	2.5%
<b>White</b>	254	3.7%	4 293 640	9.6%
<b>Total Population<sup>24</sup></b>	6838	100%	44 819 778	100%

**Source:** calculated from census data 2001, Statistics South Africa.

<sup>23</sup> This refers to the population group with which the respondent chooses to identify (Statistics South Africa 2001).

<sup>24</sup> As "total population" at the municipal and national level is inconsistent throughout Statistics South Africa's Census 2001 data, baseline figures for "total population" will be based on the totals from the "population group" data.

Additionally, the number of ǀKhomani individuals living in Mier cannot be estimated from the census language group data. Although in the past the ǀKhomani spoke a traditional languages (see Crawhall 2004; Jacobs, Kassie, and Sauls 2004), as explained in section 3.4.1, the majority of the Community now speak Afrikaans as a first language, therefore, it is not possible to differentiate the ǀKhomani from other Afrikaans speakers in the census. Consequently, the number of ǀKhomani individuals living in Mier is not available through either the population or language group data of the census. As a result, there is no official indication of the number of ǀKhomani living in Mier Municipality. According to SASI, it is estimated that 400 ǀKhomani live between the six farms which they own (Fonnie Brou, pers. correspondence, August 2010), with additional ǀKhomani situated throughout the municipality, particularly at Welkom. Using this figure, the ǀKhomani constitute approximately 5.8 per cent of the population of Mier Local Municipality.

**Table 4.2:** Mier Local Municipality and South Africa by Language Group<sup>25</sup>

Language	Mier Municipality	Mier Municipality	South Africa	South Africa
<b>Afrikaans</b>	6772	99.0%	5 983 423	13.3%
<b>English</b>	53	0.8%	3 673 202	8.2%
<b>IsiXhosa</b>	6	0.0%	7 907 156	17.6%
<b>Setswana</b>	8	0.1%	3 677 010	8.2%
<b>Other</b>	11	0.2%	23 578 988	52.6%
<b>Misrepresented</b>	+12	0.2%	+1	0%
<b>Total Population</b>	6838	100% <sup>26</sup>	44 819 778	100%

**Source:** calculated from census data 2001, Statistics South Africa.

<sup>25</sup> These figures refer to the home language of the respondent. For babies language was recorded as that of the parents. However if the parents home languages differed from each other, the language of the mother or primary caretaker was recorded (Statistics South Africa 2001).

<sup>26</sup> Throughout the chapter, percentage figures in tables are not necessarily consistent with percentage totals due to rounding.

The age and gender split by population in Mier does not deviate significantly from the rest of South Africa (see Table 4.3). In Mier Municipality, however, between the age categories of 15 to 19, when most people leave school, and 20 to 24 the population drops by 3.2 per cent, supporting Koster's argument that following the completion of school many individuals leave the area (Koster 2000).

**Table 4.3:** Mier Local Municipality and South Africa by Age and Gender

Gender/Age	Mier Municipality	Mier Municipality	South Africa	South Africa
0-4	830	12.1%	4 449 816	9.9%
5-14	1751	25.6%	9 915 469	22.1%
15-19	676	9.9%	4 981 719	11.1%
20-24	458	6.7%	4 294 520	9.6%
25-64	2 737	40.0%	18 963 026	42.3%
65+	384	5.6%	2 215 220	4.9%
<b>Total Male Population</b>	3256	47.6%	21 434 033	47.8%
<b>Total Female Population</b>	3580	52.4%	23 385 737	52.2%
<b>Misrepresented</b>	-2	0.0%	-8	0%
<b>Total Population</b>	6838	100%	44 819 778	100%

**Source:** calculated from census data 2001, Statistics South Africa

The 2001 census indicates that of the economically active population of Mier Municipality 33 per cent are unemployed. Although this is a lower percentage than the country overall which had a rate of 41.6 per cent unemployment (see Table 4.4), Mier levels are comparable to the national rural unemployment rates of 32.2 per cent (Klasen and Woolard 2008:3). Calculations using Labour Force Surveys and household surveys, suggest that nationally unemployment was 29 per cent (Bhorat 2009:4; Klasen and Woolard 2008:3). These figures are all calculated using the strict definition of unemployment, which requires that to be classed as “unemployed” rather than “not economically active”, an individual must have sought work in the four weeks prior to data collection (Hirschowitz and Orkin 1997; Statistics South Africa 2001). This means that “people who would readily accept work, but who have given up seeking it” are not deemed unemployed (Hirschowitz and Orkin 1997), but as “not economically active”,

which results in a higher estimation of “employment”, as employment figures are calculated as a percentage of the economically active population.

**Table 4.4:** Employment Rates in Mier Local Municipality and South Africa (strict definition)

<b>Labour Force</b>	<b>Mier Municipality</b>	<b>Mier Municipality</b>	<b>South Africa</b>	<b>South Africa</b>
<b>Employed</b>	1158	67%	9 583 764	58.4%
<b>Unemployed</b>	570	33%	6 824 075	41.6%
<b>Not Economically Active</b>	2182	56.4%	12 019 289	42.6%
<b>Total Economically Active Population</b>	1728	44.6%	16 407 839	58.1%
<b>Misrepresented</b>	+39	1%	+187 863	0.7%
<b>Total Population age 15-65</b>	3871	100%	28 239 265	100%

**Source:** calculated from census data 2001, Statistics South Africa.

Given that this strict definition of “unemployed” excludes discouraged job seekers, in areas such as Mier, where there is high competition for available employment, high costs and transport issues associated with job hunting, an expanded definition of unemployment has been recommended (Hirschowitz and Orkin 1997). Using this definition, which includes discouraged job seekers, Koster estimates that 42.4 per cent of the economically active population in Mier is unemployed (Koster 2000:50-51), lower than the rural national rate of 51 per cent (Klasen and Woolard 2008:3), but higher than the overall national rate of 34 per cent in 2000 (Bhorat 2009:4). Since the end of apartheid South Africa has experienced some of the highest unemployment rates in the world which peaked in 2002 before gradually declining again (Bhorat 2009; Klasen and Woolard 2008). There are no data regarding unemployment figures among the ‡Khomani Community either pre or post land claim.



## 4.2 EMPLOYMENT, INCOME AND LIVING COSTS IN MIER LOCAL MUNICIPALITY

### 4.2.1 Employment Strategies and Income Levels

According to South Africa's Population Census 2001, the most common form of employment in Mier Municipality are those associated with agriculture and hunting which accounts for 29.5 per cent of the working population compared to 9.4 per cent nationwide (see Table 4.5). Agriculture is in the form of livestock farming, including cattle and goat, with sheep farming predominating. Game farming is also present, with game being hunted for meat by tourists, while domestic livestock is sold at markets, the closest being in Upington (Mier Local Municipality 2007). Employment in community, social and personal services is next, followed by work in private households of which 17.4 per cent of Mier Municipality's working population are employed, almost double the national figure of 9.8 per cent (see Table 4.5). The high number of Mier's population employed in agriculture, hunting and private households is indicative of the 40.3 per cent of Mier's working population employed in unskilled professions, which is substantially higher than the national figure of 26.5 per cent (Statistics South Africa 2001). While this may be due to inadequate skill development of Mier Local Municipality's population (Mier Local Municipality 2007), it could equally be because there is more work in unskilled professions available in the area.

**Table 4.5:** Industries in Mier Local Municipality and South Africa

Economic Sector	Mier Municipality	Mier Municipality	South Africa	South Africa
Agriculture, Hunting, Forestry and Fishing	342	29.5%	960 486	9.4%
Mining and Quarrying	7	0.6%	383 496	4.0%
Manufacturing	38	3.3%	1 206 846	12.6%
Electricity, Gas and Water Supply	3	0.3%	71 622	0.7%
Construction	20	1.7%	520 488	5.4%
Wholesale and Retail	90	7.8%	1 454 447	15.8%
Transport, Storage and Communication	20	1.7%	442 734	4.6%

<b>Financial, Insurance, Real Estate and Business Services</b>	21	1.8%	904 567	9.4%
<b>Community, Social and personal Services</b>	226	19.5%	1 841 854	19.2%
<b>Private Households</b>	202	17.4%	940 320	9.8%
<b>Undetermined</b>	193	16.7%	856 905	8.9%
<b>Misrepresented</b>	+4	0.3%	+1	0.0%
<b>Total Employed Population (15-64 year olds)</b>	1158	100%	9 583 764	100%

**Source:** calculated from census data 2001, Statistics South Africa

In relation to income poverty, Statistics South Africa, set the poverty line at R322 per head per month, based on 2000 prices, which is the equivalent to R431 using 2006 prices. This is deemed the amount needed to satisfy daily food requirements and purchase essential non-food items such as accommodation and clothing (basic necessities). People surviving on R322, however, barely live above extreme poverty (Statistics South Africa 2007-8). There are no specific data available in regard to the number of Mier individuals living under this income poverty line, however, the 2001 census, states that 28.5 per cent of the employed individuals in Mier Municipality earned R400 or less per month, which is relatively close to the poverty line. Only 16 per cent of people nationwide earned this little. It is notable that unemployed people are not included in these figures, so realistically those living under R400 per month is substantially higher. The data also shows that in Mier Municipality, 57.9 per cent of the employed population earns R800 or less per month compared to 33 per cent in South Africa. These figures suggest that employers in Mier are paying lower wages than employers elsewhere in South Africa, supporting Chamber's argument that in areas of surplus labour, workers are paid less, making it difficult for individuals to rise out of poverty (Chambers 1983). Alternatively, low wage levels may be reflective of the unskilled nature of employment opportunities common throughout the area. Overall, without sufficient detailed data, it is difficult to draw conclusions from such data. It seems, however, that in the Mier Municipality, as wages are low, and given the high unemployment figures, a significant proportion of the population live in poverty. The sheer extent of people living in deep poverty limits economic opportunities and the

basis on which rural development can be built. This sense of a lack of progress, and little on which to build future progress, characterises life in the Mier Municipality.

**Table 4.6:** Monthly Income of Employed Individuals (age 15-64 years) in Mier Local Municipality and South Africa

Income	Mier Municipality	Mier Municipality	South Africa	South Africa
No Income	98	8.5%	214 377	2.2%
R 1-R 400	232	20.0%	1 319 986	13.8%
R 401-R 800	340	29.4%	1 625 549	17.0%
R 801- R 1 600	188	16.2%	2 108 072	22.0%
R 1 601- R 3 200	129	11.1%	1 821 443	19.0%
R 3 201- R 6 400	109	9.4%	1 337 428	14.0%
R 6 401- R 1 2800	48	4.1%	717 075	7.5%
R 1 2801- R 25 600	15	1.2%	283 390	3.0%
R 25 601- R 51 200	6	0.5%	93 769	1.0%
R 51 201- R 102 400	0	-	35 311	0.4%
R 102 401-R 204 800	0	-	17 207	0.2%
R 204 801 or more	0	-	10 157	0.1%
Misrepresented	+7	0.6%	0	-
Total Employed Population (15-64 years old)	1158	100%	9 583 764	100%

Source: calculated from census data 2001, Statistics South Africa.

#### 4.2.2 Living Costs

Wage rates in Mier Local Municipality are lower than in South Africa as a whole (see Table 4.6). Despite this, when product prices at Askham Store, near the †Khomani farms, are compared to prices at Pick n Pay Supermarket in Upington, the closest town, all products, except meat and eggs, are more expensive (see Table 4.7). Products in Askham Store cost more because the storeowner must travel to Upington three times weekly to purchase goods to sell. Consequently, transport costs are added, which increase the sale price. Meat prices are comparable to those in Upington, as livestock is purchased and butchered locally, to be sold in the store, meaning that no transport costs are added.

**Table 4.7:** Upington Prices compared to Askham Prices (grey rows).

Product	Weight	Price	Brand
Potatoes	2kg	R18.49	
	1kg	R8.50	
Tomatoes	750 gms	R9.99	
	1kg	R13	
Coke	2 lit	R12.49	Schweppes
	2 lit	R17	Schweppes
Bottled Water	1.5 lit	R7.49	Bonaqua
	1.5 lit	R10.80	Bonaqua
Frozen Chicken	2 kg	R26.75	
	2 kg	R35	
Bread		R7.99	Sasko
		R10	No name
White sugar	2.5 kg	R16.59 (special)	Hulett's
	2.5 kg	R42	Hulett's
Corn Flakes	500 gms	R23.99	Kellogg's
	300 gms	R20.45	Kellogg's
Wheatbix	450 gms	R16.79	
	450 gms	R22.50	
Minced beef	1 kg	R43.50	P n P
	500 gms	R21	No name
Borewors	1 kg	R47.50	P n P
	500 gms	R22	No name
Full Cream Milk (UHT)	1 lit	R 8.99	First Choice
	1 lit	R12.30	First Choice
Fresh Milk (full cream)	2 lit	R16.69	P n P
	500 ml	R6.45	Clover
Teabags	100	R13.69	Tringo
	100	R17.35	Tringo
Coffee	100 gms	R29.99	Nescafe classic
	100 gms	R56	Nescafe classic
	400 gms	R 34.99	Ricoffy

	250 gms	R30.60	Ricoffy
Crisps	30 gms	R3.45	Samba
	30 gms	R4	Samba
Rice	500 kg	R6.19	Tastic
	500 kg	R8.60	Tastic
Cake Flour	2.5kg	R15.89	Golden Cloud
	2.5 kg	R21.95	Snowflake
White Bread Flour	2.5 kg	R12.99	Snowflake
	2.5 kg	R17.70	Sasko
Baby Food	125ml	R6.19	Purity
	125 ml	R7.85	Purity
Nan (milk formula)	400 gms	R44.79	Nestle
	400 gms	R59.70	Nestle
Baby Powder	200 gms	R18.99	Johnsons
	50 gms	R10	Johnsons
Nappy (all sizes) (3-5 and 5-9kg)	25	R39.99	P n P
	25	R62	Huggies
Soap	100 gms	R4.39	Lux
	100 gms	R5.40	Lux
Toothpaste	100ml	R7.89	Colgate
	50 ml	R5.10	Colgate
Toilet Paper	1 roll	R3.79	P n P
	1 roll	R5.30	No name
Eggs (large)	6	R8.49	
	6	R7.40	
Soap Powder	250gms	R7.79	Omo
	250 gms	R8.10	Omo

**Source:** Pick n Pay Supermarket, Upington and Askham Store, Kalahari, June 2009.

Given these higher product costs in Mier, in addition to the low wages being earned by †Khomani workers, many working †Khomani indicate their wages are not sufficient to live. In 2007, Anna Witbooi, was a live in domestic worker, earning R720 per month, after deductions, for working a 6 day week. Anna's three children did not live at her

place of work but were cared for by her mother. Due to her low rate of pay, after buying food, Anna rarely had any money left to send to her mother as a contribution to her children's upbringing. Furthermore, during the cold winter, when Anna bought a warm coat, she was unable to afford adequate food for the month, demonstrating that the earning of many  $\text{ZKhomani}$  are insufficient to alleviate poverty. Consequently, as goods and food products are more expensive in Askham Store, the lower wage rates paid in Mier Local Municipality, and to the  $\text{ZKhomani}$ , cannot be justified due to lower living costs. This means that due to high products costs and low wage rates, the population of Mier is at a disadvantage in relation to people elsewhere, with many working  $\text{ZKhomani}$  often having insufficient earnings to support their families. This disadvantage is also evident when a comparison of household goods is made between households in Mier Local Municipality and South Africa generally. A lower percentage of people in Mier own radios, televisions, computers, refrigerators, household telephone and cell phone than people nationwide (see Table 4.8).

**Table 4.8:** Ownership of Goods in Mier Municipality and South Africa (at the household level)

Goods Owned	Mier Municipality	Mier Municipality	South Africa	South Africa
Radio	696	44.3%	8 182 497	73.0%
Television	322	20.5%	6 029 414	53.8%
Computer	46	2.9%	968 741	8.6%
Refrigerator	562	35.8%	5 737 536	51.2%
Telephone in dwelling	316	20.0%	2 734 836	24.4%
Cell phone	135	8.5%	3 615 243	32.3%

Source: calculated from census data 2001, Statistics South Africa

Overall, this suggests that due to high unemployment, low wage rates and the high cost of food and other products, the people of Mier cannot afford such household goods.

### 4.3 SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

Given the low wage rates and lack of employment opportunities nationwide, the South African Government has introduced a number of social assistance measures for those

without adequate means to reduce poverty. The South African Constitution, through the Bill of Rights states, “Everyone has the right to have access to social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependants” (Republic of South Africa 1996:1255). Accordingly a number of social assistance grants and programmes have been established, some of which are accessible to qualifying †Khomani individuals.

### 4.3.1 Monetary Grants

The South African Government has introduced a number of social assistance grants, including the state old age pension, the child support grant, and the war veteran’s and disability grants (South African Social Security Department N.D.). The old age pension and child support grant are both means tested and the most commonly claimed forms of social assistance grants in the Mier Local Municipality. The old age pension pays R1010 per month, while the child support grant pays R240, per child under 15 years old per month, for a maximum of 6 children (South African Social Security Department N.D.). Although it is not possible to detail the exact number of †Khomani in receipt of monetary grants, in 2010 the South African Social Security Agency stated that at Andriesvale, which is home to the majority of †Khomani, 84 individuals were in receipt of child support grant, 26 received the old age pension, 14 got disability grants and 6 individuals received foster care grant, while no one claimed the care dependency grant (Portia Makgoe, pers. correspondence, September 2010). Research commissioned by UNESCO and AFSA showed that, of mothers sampled, only 54.9 per cent were in receipt of the child support grant (Letsoalo Forthcoming :21), probably due to the difficulties involved in applying for social assistance grants. This is expanded in section 4.6.3.

Additionally, the South African Government has implemented an Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF), to which employed individuals can register and make contributions. These contributions then allow individuals to claim money during sickness and maternity leave, if work contracts end or if the individual is dismissed. The fund does not pay if the individual resigns. The length of time benefits continue is dependent on the number of contributions made. Maternity leave payment last for a

maximum of 121 days, while unemployment benefit last for a maximum of 238 days. Additionally, if a spouse has made contributions before death, death benefits will be paid (South African Labour Guide N.D.). Of the unemployed †Khomani I encountered during fieldwork, none are eligible to claim UIF, because either the individuals have not been in employment to allow them to make contributions, or if they have been employed they have not been registered or made contributions to the fund. Some employers, however, indicate that they make payments on behalf of employees, Adam Bok states “When I worked they deducted money from me monthly to pay towards this [UIF], but I never got it when I was let go” (interview, June 2007). Alternatively, as community members often resign from employment due to dissatisfaction and are therefore not eligible to receive benefits. Additionally as many of the employed †Khomani work on an irregular informal basis, employers do not register them for the fund. The above demonstrates that although social assistance grants are available to the South African population in general, many of the †Khomani fail to claim the child support grant, while most unemployed individuals do not qualify for payment of UIF.

#### **4.3.2 Food Assistance**

In addition to the aforementioned monetary grants, the Department of Social Welfare also supports a National Food Relief Programme, to supply food to the poor. In particular the programme targets households who cannot afford their next meal, households which spend less than R300 per month on food, vulnerable children, disabled people and HIV/AIDS affected households (Department of Social Development N.D.). In the Mier Municipality, this programme supports various food kitchens, local social worker, Bienta Ghooste says:

In Askham a multi- purpose centre has been established...It is for elderly and disabled people or those with, HIV/AIDS who come together three days a week at the centre to socialise. It's three hours a day, three days a week. When they arrive they get a small food and bread with coffee and before they leave they get a full meal, then they go back home. We did want to involve Andriesvale people but we have a transport problem, they can't come here and we can't go there, we only have this bakkie [vehicle] and we didn't have the money to feed and run up and down with them. So we [Department of Social Development] decided to start up an elderly and disabled centre in Andriesvale...There is also a soup kitchen at Askham



twice a week for the unemployed, children of the unemployed, HIV/Aids of anyone that is hungry and feels that they have a need” (interview, August 2007).

Although few of the †Khomani Community live at Askham, †Khomani individuals who attend the Askham clinic daily for TB medication also attend the soup kitchen for food, following the advice of the nurses. Additionally, a food kitchen, open three days a week, has been established on the †Khomani farm of Andriesvale to benefit those in need from the †Khomani farms. While the Department of Social Development funds the purchase of the required food, the food kitchen is organised and staffed by volunteers. Overall, few †Khomani benefit from the Government’s social assistance grants. Food assistance for the sick and needy is available however, to those who attend either the food kitchens at Askham or Andriesvale.

#### **4.4 EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES AND INCOME LEVELS OF THE †KHOMANI**

Income generation and subsistence strategy diversification by households in rural areas serves to safeguard individuals against the failure of any one strategy. This is because diversification spreads risk and provides resilience to protect against unforeseen circumstances that undermine individual strategies (Koch 2004; Chapman and Tripp 2004). Such diversification therefore can contribute towards poverty alleviation and towards individual wealth. It is often difficult for the poorest individuals to diversify, however, due to a lack of access to quality land, or capital to invest in alternative activities (Chapman and Tripp 2004). There is little data in regard to the income generating and/or subsistence activities employed by the †Khomani prior to, or since the land claim. The information that does exist suggests that prior to the claim some †Khomani worked in the KTP, while others were employed in cultural tourism. Additionally, farm work was also common. Given that the †Khomani now own land they may have been enabled to either increase or diversify their income generation and/or subsistence activities, to alleviate poverty. If so this would suggest that the land claim had contributed towards poverty alleviation as envisioned.

#### 4.4.1 Agriculture and Domestic Work

Domestic livestock farming was introduced into the Mier Area by Captain Vilander and his followers on arrival in 1865. At that time, the Bushmen, as practicing hunter-gatherers lacked farming knowledge, however, a number of Bushmen became farmhands on Vilander farms. Since then, †Khomani individuals have continued to be employed as farmhands, with many †Khomani being born and raised on farms where their fathers were employed as farm workers. Andries Steenkamp said, “I was born at Swartkopklip, a farm near Noenieput...My parents were farm workers” (interview, May 2007). Gradually, some of these Bushmen that had worked on farms acquired livestock. With the award of the †Khomani farms the adult children of such individuals, who were also livestock owning farmhands, were able to leave their employment and relocate their livestock to the †Khomani land, and become full time farmers. Petrus Vaalbooi recalls:

I was born in Burgersdorp...a farm near Upington. When I was still small I had to start to know things, my father and mother already had livestock, so I grew up with it. Now I keep livestock on the farms...a hundred sheep and thirty goats (interview, April 2007).

Jan Vaalbooi has a similar story, “I have always farmed...Before the land claim I was a farm hand and kept livestock...Then I moved here [Uitkoms] after the land claim. I have thirty sheep and a bull here”. Farmers, such as Jan, either kill their livestock for personal consumption, send it Upington for sale, or it is sold to the local shop owner where it is then butchered and sold (Jan Vaalbooi, interview, June 2010). The number and type of livestock owned by †Khomani individuals varies greatly. Livestock owned includes fowl, sheep, goats, donkeys with a few cattle being kept. The majority of the Community own no livestock, while some individuals own between 30 to 100 sheep, with at least one individual owning 200 sheep and goats. While many livestock owning †Khomani, such as Andries, Pertus and Jan, mentioned above, are regarded as westerner †Khomani (see section 3.4.4), not all livestock owners are considered as such. A number of individuals continue to be employed as farmhands, aspiring to buy their own stock. Adrian Thys states “I’d like to buy animals for my own farm ...I worked on nearby farms owned by Coloureds on a monthly basis” (interview, May 2007). †Khomani individuals such as Toppies and Lena, both traditionalists (see section 3.4.4),

who work in the cultural tourism business, have not worked on farms for over twenty years but would still like to own livestock. Toppies Kruper said, “I’d like some livestock, but not a lot, just for meat as the meat at the shop is very expensive. I would slaughter them for food” (interview, June 2007). Lena Malgas stated, “I would like a farm here, I’d like sheep, goats and donkeys (interview, May 2007). Unlike, in the past, when land access was a limitation for aspiring †Khomani farmers, individuals now have ample farmland but do not have the needed finances to purchase livestock. This means that although the land claim has allowed individuals with a background in farming that already own livestock, to leave their farm-hand positions and farm in their own right, few if any individuals have been able to diversify into farming as an additional livelihood activity. Furthermore, as some individuals have deserted income generating activities, namely farm-hand work, to pursue farming, the opposite of diversification is happening as these individuals become reliant on fewer sources of income. In addition, the land claim has not enabled other community members to learn domestic livestock management and acquire livestock.

Typically, in the past when †Khomani men entered into farmhand employment, if they are married, their wives were employed as domestic workers in the households. Accordingly, while many †Khomani grew up on farms, in addition to their fathers being employed as farmhands, their mothers were domestic workers. Marie Jacobs says, “we lived on a farm, my mother was a domestic worker and the father was a farmhand” (interview, February 2008). †Khomani women, such as Nana Witbooi, continue to secure work as domestic workers. Nana who worked as a domestic prior to the land claim says, “I have a job as a domestic at one of the police houses, I get paid monthly and have worked there two months. Before that I worked for Sara de Wee also as a domestic” (interview, April 2007). Consequently, Nana has not diversified into other employment fields, since the land claim, meaning that when she was made redundant she had no other income or subsistence activity. Again, this demonstrates that diversification in failing to happen with individuals continuing to rely on the same single occupation pre and post land claim. Domestic workers and farm workers constitute the majority of the lowest paid workers in South Africa (Hertz 2002). Accordingly in 2002 the Government, instituted a minimum wage for these professions

(The South African Department of Labour 2009), which in 2010 was R1316.69 for rural farm workers (The South African Department of Labour 2010) and R1191.78 for domestic workers, working over 27 hours (The South African Department of Labour 2009), subject to rent deductions for live in staff (The South African Department of Labour 2009, 2010). †Khomani individuals employed as full time farmhands earn between approximately R600 (Adrian Thys, interview, May 2007) and R1400 per month (Adam Bok, interview, June 2007). Domestic workers earn approximately, R700 per month for a six day week. Most †Khomani farmhands and domestic workers receive housing and electricity in addition to wages. Nevertheless, it is apparent that many farm hands and domestic workers are paid below the minimum instituted wage for these professions. Although these occupations are low paid, they do offer the †Khomani stable employment with regular income, unlike many other employment opportunities in the area.

In addition to raising livestock, limited produce can be cultivated for personal consumption. Accordingly, Willem Swarts grows squash beside his home on Witdraai. Although a number of †Khomani recognise the benefits of such an activity, such as Willem's neighbour, unemployed single mother of three Anna Witbooi and her extended unemployed family. Andrew Vaalbooi on Uitkoms, also stated that he would like to grow fruit and vegetables. Apart from Willem, however, no other individuals have attempted to grow produce. Notably, no †Khomani individuals reported produce cultivation prior to living on the farms, or of working on the regional seasonal fruit farms. Accordingly, there is no precedent for such an undertaking, meaning that once again, the land claim has failed to encourage individuals to partake in new or additional livelihood strategies.

#### **4.4.2 Construction and Technical Work**

In the Mier Local Municipality, only 1.7 per cent of working individuals are employed in construction as opposed to 5.4 per cent nationwide (see Table 4.5). During the research period, between 2007 and 2008, few †Khomani individuals were employed in this industry. Historically, it also seems to have been an uncommon occupation for Bushmen compared to farmhand and domestic work. Pre land claim, Andries

Steenkamp recalls “For my first job I worked for Siyanda District Municipality, in Upington. I was a handyman road worker. I threw the stones off the road, working all over the district” (interview, May 2007). At that time, Andries lived in Noenieput, but travelled for work accordingly. Adam Bok also worked in construction, “I ended up living in the Transvaal due to travelling for work. I was a builder, I built houses” (interview, June 2007). Consequently, it can be seen before the land claim, employment in the construction sector was located outside the immediate area in which the †Khomani inhabited, meaning that individuals had to leave the area to find such work. Following the land claim Adrian Thys, a younger community member living at Welkom, has been employed in construction, “my first job, when I was 16, was working locally, helping people to build houses for three months in Welkom” (interview, May 2007). Although Andries, cited above, no longer works in construction, Adam occasionally secures such work. In 2007 to 2008, he was temporarily employed as a driver working on the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP)<sup>27</sup>, constructing the sealed road from Andriesvale to Rietfontein. The EPWP pays individuals R60 per day, to work on the local road construction projects. Workers work 12 days over 14 days (Lottering, interview, October 2009). This means that wages amounted to R1440 per month, comparable to the minimum wages for rural farm workers. Adrian Thys also secured work through this programme in the “technical” sector.

The term “technical work”, refers to a variety of semi-skilled, technical service jobs. Predominately, these jobs entail the basic repair and maintenance of vehicles, roads and machinery. In Mier Municipality, the majority of individuals working in this field are unqualified, and employed by the KTP, or on the EPWP. As with the construction industry, few †Khomani have worked or do work, in this technical sector. Adrian Thys, was the only †Khomani individual employed in this occupation during my fieldwork. He was employed by the EPWP to work in the KTPs technical department, repairing and maintaining the Parks vehicles and those of tourists. Adrian comments, “I have worked in the technical department for 11 months... the job will finish in September”

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<sup>27</sup> The Expanded Public Works Programme is a South African Government initiative launched in 2004. It aims to create temporary work to expose a significant number of the Country’s unemployed to the work place, as many have never experienced such an environment. The programme also offers training to increase individuals’ abilities and make them more employable (Department of Public Works N.D.).

(interview, May 2007), meaning his employment contract is for 15 months. Although permanent contracts are available in this industry, through the KTP, the work available through the EPWP and private business only offers fixed term temporary contracts. Employment in the construction industry and technical sector is rare among the ǀKhomani and since the land claim, there has been no significant increase in ǀKhomani individuals employed in, or diversifying into, these industries.

#### 4.4.3 Cultural Tourism

In recent years, South Africa has become a leading tourist destination for international visitors (Harrison 2001), with local people generating income from the increased employment opportunities (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism 1996). Cultural tourism refers to when cultural traditions, heritage and lifestyle, are marketed for tourism purposes to promote an awareness and understanding between cultures (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism 1996). Cultural tourism is a valuable resource (van Veuren 2004) and accessible to the ǀKhomani, given their status as Bushmen. There are no specific figures or details regarding the number of ǀKhomani employed in cultural tourism either in the past or since the land claim. Prior to the land claim, a number of the ǀKhomani, namely the traditionalist Kruiper and the Swarts families, were employed in the cultural tourism industry in the 1980s and 1990s (see section 3.4.3 and 3.4.4). Following the land award, many of these ǀKhomani continue to exploit this niche while a number of additional ǀKhomani, not necessarily traditionalists, have chosen to enter into this occupation as a means of income generating. Although some individuals partake in numerous cultural tourism jobs, as these jobs are all within the same industry, this does little to build resilience. For example, if a ǀKhomani individual fails to earn an income through selling crafts due to lack of tourism, the fact that the individual is also a tour guide, will not provide an alternative source of income, given the circumstances. A few ǀKhomani who are involved in other industries, such as farming, have diversified into cultural tourism activities, meaning that this diversification offers increased resilience. SASI, an NGO that works with Bushmen populations in South Africa, encourages the ǀKhomani in such income generating schemes. SASI has implemented a number of projects targeting cultural tourists offering appropriate training to the ǀKhomani to enable them to enter

the industry. The projects include; Sisen Crafts and Home and Textiles, Tourist Information Centre, Witdraai Bushcamp, //Uruke tracking, and an official tour guiding programme, which are detailed below. Consequently, two full time ǀKhomani members of staff, Fannie Brou and Martha van der Westhuizen, are permanently employed by SASI and responsible for managing the projects. The projects also create a number of casual employment opportunities for the ǀKhomani. Since 2007, Martha van der Westhuizen has been based in the Tourism Information Centre, established by SASI on the ǀKhomani farm of Witdraai, situated by the main road leading to the KTP. The Centre's purpose is to supply visitor information regarding the general history of the Bushmen and the ǀKhomani. In addition, Martha takes booking for, and encourages tourists to visit the ǀKhomani run tourist facilities and services, including the SASI projects, in the area.

#### *Cultural Tourism: Witdraai Bushcamp*

In 2008, a Bushcamp was opened on the ǀKhomani farm Witdraai, by SASI. The Bushcamp offers tourists camping facilities and two huts that sleep up to eight people. It is managed by Martha as part of her job at SASI. The Bushcamp serves as a base from where visitors can experience ǀKhomani cultural tourism ventures while increasing casual employment for community members. When visitors stay at the camp individuals are paid to prepare and service the area for guests. Furthermore as cultural food service, traditional dancing and storytelling are offered to guests in the evening, along with early morning bushwalks with ǀKhomani trackers and guide. Consequently, as visitor numbers increase, the Bushcamp employment for community members will also increase. Without land ownership, the ǀKhomani could not have built this Bushcamp, meaning that these employment opportunities, despite being casual, would not have existed.

#### *Cultural Tourism: Tracking and Guiding for Tourists*

Among the ǀKhomani there are many individuals that possess tracking and plant knowledge, from which they generate income through cultural tourism. David !Noi, Buks and Toppies Kruiper, all traditionalists, were taught these skills by their grandfathers and uncles when growing up. Buks and Toppies have worked as trackers

and guides for tourists in the past. Toppies says “At Kagga Kamma we took tourists on walking trails and by 4x4 to show them Bushman rock art, show them animals and tell them the history” (interview, June 2007). More recently, through SASI, some †Khomani individuals, including Martha van der Westhuizen and Richard Jacobs, have been formally trained, certified and registered as trackers and/or tour guides. The registration process means that these individuals can officially work with tourists (Annetta Bok, pers. comm., March 2008), unlike those who are unregistered, such as Buks and !Noi above. Most of the eight formally trained trackers and guides are new to the craft. Richard Jacobs recalls, “I did the tracking first in 2002, then the guiding in 2005. The information on these two courses was new to me” (interview, June 2007). Other individuals, such as Toppies however, already had tracking knowledge and only required a trackers certification and registration to enable him to legally work with the tourists. The English speaking tour guides impart knowledge to visitors about †Khomani history and culture, including storytelling, while sharing information about the areas natural environment (Nannette Flemming, interview, June 2007). Unlike tour guides, trackers are not required to speak English. Trackers take visitors on walks through the nearby dunes, identifying animal tracks, using these tracks to follow animals, while spotting and recognising wildlife and flora. Additionally, trackers have knowledge of the local flora and its uses. Given that few trackers speak English, only Afrikaans, trackers are accompanied by the English-speaking tour guides, for translation purposes when necessary. At present, of the registered individuals, only Toppies (tracker) and Martha (tour guide/ tracker) have been able to secure regular employment in this occupation. As Martha staffs the Tourist Information Centre, if tourists require a tour guide or tracker, and circumstances allow, Martha fulfils this request. Alternatively, she arranges for another registered individual for the tourists. Accordingly, employment for the majority of registered individuals is on a casual basis and rare, therefore, although the land claim has allowed individuals to diversify into tracking and guiding for tourists as a new profession, as it had not resulted in a regular income.

#### *Cultural Tourism: †Khomani Traditional Dancing and Medicine*

In order to generate income, a number of †Khomani individuals perform traditional dances for tourists or at functions (see Plate 3.5), even travelling to Cape Town to



perform in 2007. Most of the group including Isak, Toppies and Oulet Kruiper, along with Sanna Swarts, are members of the extended Kruiper family and traditionalists. While the men do the majority of the dancing, the women make music and sing. Given the Namibian background of the Kruiper family, much of the singing is in Khoekhoegowab (Nama), as the songs and dances have been passed down from the family's forefathers. Oulet recalls, "my grandfather Oupa Makai taught me" (pers. Comm..., Feb 2008). Before the land claim, many of the dance group members worked for either Lorkie Henning or at Kagga Kamma and have therefore danced for tourists previously. Toppies Kruiper, the lead dancer, recalls, "at Kagga Kamma, we would dance for the tourists if the tourists asked" (interview, June 2007). The land claim has allowed a number of ǀKhomani to continue generating income from traditional dancing charging R1500 for an hours performance, which is divided among approximately ten individuals. Although this is a substantial amount of money for an hours work, the work is highly irregular. As with other tourist-based industries, traditional dancing is seasonal and dependent on the presence of tourists. Given the limited demand for the service, additional community members, out with the extended Kruiper family, have been unable the gain training in this activity to enable them to generate income.

A few ǀKhomani individuals, with specialist knowledge offer traditional medical treatments to locals and tourists. Some tourists travel to the area to specifically seek out the traditional medicine of the Bushmen. Traditionalists Jan van der Westhuizen, Gert Swarts and Dawid Kruiper generate income in this manner. Gert says:

I know about medicine plants....I gather them and make the medicine. Many people come to me for treatment. The day before yesterday, there were people from Cape Town came to see me (interview, June 2007).

Nannette Fleming, former manager of SASI recalls:

Dawid Kruiper works with people, HIV patients coming from Johannesburg. He gives them the traditional medicine to take back with them. He believes that he's got a combination of medicinal plants that keeps HIV at bay (interview, June 2007).

Accordingly, since the land claim some ꞤKhomani individuals have been able to generate income from both traditional dancing and health tourism, however, due to the seasonal nature of tourism, this form of income generation is unreliable. The limited demand has meant additional ꞤKhomani individuals have been unable to diversify and access these occupations.

### *Cultural Tourism: Crafts*

A number of ꞤKhomani individuals have constructed stalls on the roadside of the main tourist route, between Askham and the KTP. The stalls display and sell hand made crafts, including necklaces, bracelets and hanging mobiles, made from wood, seeds and animal products including ostrich eggshell (see Plate 4.1). Additionally, rocks and ostrich eggshells decorated with designs and pictures are available for purchase. While some stalls are worked by individuals, selling their own products, others are manned by a variety of community members, selling a selection of crafts made by various people.



**Plate 4.1:** Craft Stall-holder, Blade Witbooi at his Stall (Grant 2007)

Many ꞤKhomani, such as traditionalists Isak, Buks and Fytjie Kruiper have been involved in this industry of crafts production and sale, since the 1990s, when they worked at Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve. Oom Buks, who worked there for ten years, says:

I had a stall there...I made crafts at Kagga Kamma. Me and my wife make everything, necklaces... the men make the bows and arrows, spears and ostrich eggs. We make these things for tourists...we used to shine stones, and paint letters and animals on them (interview, May 2007).

Buks's wife Fytjie recalls, "I liked it at Kagga Kamma...I got money there by selling bows and arrows and crafts. I still make crafts now, windblowers, necklaces, bracelets and handbags and they are sold on the stall" (interview, May 2007), with Isak also recalling "I was down at Kagga Kamma...and we were selling the crafts" (interview, March 2008). Today all of these individuals continue to sell crafts at the roadside stalls. While some †Khomani stall-holders have a history in this industry, others have only recently started to sell crafts to tourists. Elia Fetus, also a traditionalist, "I used to make crafts, but I didn't make it for selling. I just used to make it at home. It's since after the land claim that I started to make it to sell" (interview, March 2008). Selling crafts in this manner appeals to many †Khomani, given that minimal funds are initially needed as cost of the raw products are almost negligible and there are no overhead costs such as rent or energy or commission to be paid, meaning that nearly all income is profit. Additionally, stall-holders also enjoy that they have no employer or boss. Earnings from the craft stalls are variable, however, stall-holder and traditionalist, Andrew Kruiper says, "Sometimes I make R150 a day, but sometimes I don't make a cent" (interview, May 2007). Another traditionalist stall-holder Gert Swarts confirms this adding, "the amount of money I earn on the stall depends on the tourists, maybe for two or three weeks I'll not make any money then I'll make a lot of money the next two or three weeks to live off for maybe a month" (interview, June 2007), once again demonstrating to unreliable and seasonal nature of income from tourism.

Sisen Craft Shop is a SASI project established in 2000 to sell the products of Sisen Craft Project, established the same year. Currently, the shop is situated at the entrance to the Molopo Kalahari Lodge, across from the Tourist Information Centre, selling products made by members of the Project. In addition, since 2009 the shop has also sold articles made by individuals from the Home and Textile Project. The Sisen Craft Project and Shop were formed to create income generating opportunities, in response to the poverty

of the †Khomani living on the farms following resettlement (Laurenson ND). The project consists of community members working at home, making crafts such as earrings, key-rings, necklaces, belts and bags, most of which are made of leather, ostrich eggshell, wood and seeds. Sisen articles differ from the those available at roadside craft stalls, as Sisen crafters produce more standardised, contemporary, high quality items with traditional features (Laurenson ND). Unlike many of the roadside stall crafters, most Sisen crafters have only recently learned to make crafts. Adam Bok states, “I used to make crafts for Sisen. I had never made crafts before. I learned when I came here [to the †Khomani land]. Oma !Una taught me (interview, June 2007). His daughter also recalls, “I used to do my crafts for Sisen when I came to the farms... I learned here from Oma !Una and my father, they were the ones who taught me to make crafts (Annetta Bok, interview, January 2007). Marie Jacobs also learned the skill following the land claim, “I learned to make crafts when I came here [the †Khomani farms], when I came here to stay...It was something I learnt when I came here” (interview, February 2008). Marie then taught the craft to here grandson Richard Jacobs who also worked for Sisen. Richard Jacobs recalls, “I was a craft worker for Sisen crafts, making crafts... my grandmother taught me, she also made crafts for Sisen”. Richard also gives an indication of the contemporary crafts referred to above, ” Sometimes people had their own ideas about what crafts to make... the more modern crafts like cell phone bags and picture frames were the peoples ideas”. Furthermore, Richard suggests, “The people who make crafts for Sisen aren’t normally the people who make crafts for the stalls” (interview, June 2007). There are a few Sisen craft makes, however, who previously made crafts but did not generate income from the products. Martha van der Westhuizen states, “I made handbags and necklaces with leather and key rings for Sisen. ... I already knew how to make the crafts”. In accordance with Richards’s statement above, Martha says “ ...I don’t and have never made crafts to sell on the stalls. I won’t make things to be sold on the stalls” (interview, May 2007), none of the Sisen respondents above have ever sold crafts on stalls. Individuals involved in the Sisen project include both traditionalists, and some westerners, in addition to other †Khomani that do not directly fit into these categories.

In addition to the Sisen Craft Project, the Home and Textiles project sells products at the craft shop. Home and Textiles was established in 2003 to enable ꞤKhomani women living on the farms to earn “adequate income to support themselves and their dependants” (South African San Institute N.D.). The women, all westerners, involved in the project, produce art and crafts at home which “reflect their connectedness to mother earth and nature” (South African San Institute N.D.). Products includes hand painted or embroidered clothes and home ware. In order to sell its products, the Sisen Craft Shop employs one full time paid shop assistant, while Sisen Craft Project generates income for approximately 20 crafters whose products are sold in the shop (Martha van der Westhuizen, pers. correspondence A, Oct 2009). The Home and Textiles Project also creates income for an additional eight women. As few of the Sisen Craft workers made crafts to sell prior to the land claim, the claim has allowed these individuals to partake in a new form of income generation. As with the other tourism industries, wages are unreliable. Sisen Crafts Shop crafters are paid 70 per cent of the selling price of the crafts, with the remaining 30 per cent being banked for the project. Accordingly, as with roadside stall-holders, Sisen crafters only receive earning if their products sell. Adam Bok says, “Wages depend on what the tourists buy as there are many people’s stuff in the shop. Some weeks you can get R30 or R50 or if you are lucky you may make R100, it just depends if the tourists buy your stuff” (interview, June 2007).

#### *Cultural Tourism: !Xaus Lodge*

In July 2007, the co-operation lodge, as explained in section 3.4.3, was realised. The twelve chalet !Xaus Lodge, is situated on the border between the ꞤKhomani and Mier Heritage Lands, inside the KTP. It is the only fully catered luxury lodge in the KTP, costing upwards of R1550 per person per night inclusive of all meals and activities. While the lodge offers wildlife tourism activities in the form of game drives and walks, a number of cultural activities can be experienced. !Xaus Lodge website invites visitors to:

Walk to our re-created cultural village to visit the Bushman crafters at work, see young Bushmen demonstrating their traditional games and purchase

traditional crafts hanging from the branches of the tree under which the crafters sit peacefully at work (Transfrontier Parks Destinations N.D.a).

While their Brochure suggests that:

... try your hand with a traditional bow and arrow under the watchful eye of these legendary hunter-gatherers... Gather around the fire in the boma and marvel at the tastes of the Mier's unique culinary offerings (Transfrontier Parks Destinations N.D.b).

To enable the provision of these services, cultural experiences and activities all the employees, except management personnel<sup>28</sup>, are from the local Mier and ꞤKhomani Communities. As the Lodge was enabled through the land reform process, income generation possibilities for the ꞤKhomani have been increased through the process. By December 2007 the Lodge was employing a total of fifteen people from the ꞤKhomani and Mier communities. Ten individuals (one chef, two waitresses, three room attendants, one maintenance man, and three guides) from Mier Community along with five people from the ꞤKhomani Community. All ꞤKhomani employees work at the ꞤKhomani cultural village, beside the Lodge, with all employees provided with staff accommodation. Staff work and live at !Xaus for three weeks, followed by one week off, when they return home. Traditionalists, Oma Lena Malgas, Isak Kruiper and his wife Lys, all of whom worked at Kagga Kamma prior to the Land Claim, have been employed at !Xaus, for over six months. Isak says, "the Bushmen only work in the village...for the handcrafts" (interview, March 2008), making and selling handcrafts to tourists. Oma Lena, Isak and Lys also provide traditional medicine and massage for the benefit of tourists at the Lodge, "there's people that come with certain complaints and then Isak gives them the medicine... But if you feel like having a massage then we are doing the massage, me and Oma Lena" (Lys Kruiper interview, March 2008). During the fieldwork period, no ꞤKhomani were employed at !Xaus as field guides, only individuals from Mier Community held these position. Isak did accompany these guides

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<sup>28</sup> The ꞤKhomani and Mier Communities recognise that at present they do not have the capacity to manage the !Xaus Lodge, therefore Transfrontier Parks Destinations have been appointed as a management company. Given the lack of suitable, qualified individuals in the area, the management personnel at !Xaus have been hired from outside the area.

on game walks and drives, to enable visitors to benefit and experience the trekking skills and environmental knowledge of the Bushmen. At no point though was Isak introduced to the visitors, or were the visitors given any indication that most of information being imparted to them through the guide had been learned from Isak. Isak says, “he [the guide] doesn’t know tracks, I teach him” (interview, March 2008). Consequently, Isak is not given suitable credit for his contribution to the experience, nor has he been offered a position in the Lodge that openly recognises his abilities. Lys would also like to work in the Lodge kitchen, “I asked the question why can’t I, why must I only do craft work. I can also work in the kitchen” (interview, March 2008). Lys, however, has never been given a position in the kitchen. Overall, Isak and Lys are frustrated with the opportunities afforded to them at the lodge. Accordingly, it is apparent that, although !Xaus Lodge has provided employment opportunities for the †Khomani, due to the land claim, these are again of an elementary nature and similar to occupations previously held by the said individuals. Consequently, the Lodge has not facilitated individuals to branch into new occupations, although it does offer long-term employment opportunities. †Khomani individuals who work at the Lodge, in the cultural village, are paid a monthly rate of R750 per month, with R350 worth of food a month, which management supply, R1000 in total. Additionally †Khomani individuals selling craft at the !Xaus Lodge cultural village retain 80 per cent of the selling price (Lys and Isak Kruiper, interview, March 2008). Consequently, †Khomani individuals working at the Lodge earn a regular wage that is more than domestic workers in the area.

#### *Cultural Tourism: Research Respondents*

Given the †Khomani Community’s status as Bushmen, a number of independent researchers, and research organisations, have worked in the area, along with commercial authors and media originations. As most researchers, organisation and media are interested in the cultural aspects of the †Khomani Community, individuals who attract the most attention are those who are perceived to retain the most cultural knowledge, the traditionalists. Specifically this includes the extended Kruiper family and certain community elders, all traditionalists. Roadside craft sellers also attract attention as they are easily accessible. For researchers, organisations and media, such work results in

either monetary or career benefits. Although researchers and organisations often indicate that the ꞤKhomani will also benefit in some manner, this often fails to materialise. Jan van der Westhuizen recalls that ꞤKhomani individuals who partook in National Geographic research did not receive research results, as he had expected:

National Geographic, they tested [DNA testing] me and showed that I was really San...I was one of the lucky people who got my results from the National Geographic. National Geographic also took other peoples tests and got the results but never gave the people the information (interview, June 2007).

Accordingly, a contract was compiled to ensure that the ꞤKhomani benefit from interactions with researchers, organisations and media, “recommending” that respondents be paid for interviews, in order ꞤKhomani individuals are not exploited.

The contract states:

Informants should be remunerated at R200 per day and at R50 for any interview less than 2 hours. Rates can be flexible depending how much work is done, i.e. more days means a lower daily rate, no lower than R100 per day. Work that is more inconvenient or complex can be remunerated for a higher rate (e.g. instrumental phonetic research should be at twice the normal rate- subject to duration and consent)(South African San Institute N.D.:2-3).

As all ꞤKhomani have Afrikaans as a first language, many researchers require translators. In regard to payment for such services, the contract states “If you are going to be using Afrikaans interpreters these should be remunerated at between R100 and R250 per day, depending on conditions” (South African San Institute N.D.:2-3). Despite this recommended pay structure, few researchers pay the recommended rates. Although some researchers pay respondents in cash, many choose to remunerate respondents through gifts of food or tobacco, while the purchase of crafts from stall-holder respondents is common. Some researchers continue not to remunerate respondents in any manner. While most respondents are satisfied with any of the aforementioned payment methods, and many ꞤKhomani never ask for any form of remuneration, certain community members command substantial payment for interviews. Two particular elders, one of whom is affectionately referred to locally as “the Elizabeth Taylor of the



Kalahari” given her popularity with researchers, demand R100 per hour-long interview. Although opportunities exist which allow †Khomani individuals to generate income through research participation or translating, this work is restricted to certain individuals in the Community, notably those who are perceived as possessing the most cultural knowledge or those who speak English. Accordingly, given that the land claim has facilitated the forming of a physical †Khomani Community, it is easier for researchers and media to targeted and access Bushmen. When suggested pay guidelines are followed, a substantial amount of money can be earned by certain †Khomani respondents and interpreters, compared to individuals working in alternative employment. As with income generation in other cultural tourist industries, pay is very much irregular as many researchers only visit the area for one or two weeks, meaning that wages are irregular and unreliable.

#### **4.4.4 Wildlife Tourism: Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park**

Tourists are attracted to the KTP, which borders Mier Local Municipality, to view wildlife in the unique Kalahari environment. The Park is the biggest single employer in the area, employing approximately 88 individuals. Unofficially, where appropriate, the Park preferentially employs local people from Mier, including the †Khomani, as such individuals remain in the said positions for longer periods than non-locals, given the remoteness of the location. Consequently, the majority of employees are from the Mier area (Carli Venter, interview, March 2008). Before and since land claim a number of the †Khomani have lived and worked in the KTP. Oupa Apie Malgas said, “we [his wife Oma Griet and himself] were both born, grew up in the Park and worked there for about twenty years” (interview, May 2007). Although, some individuals worked in the KTP for a number of continuous years, others have interrupted employment patterns, having been employed a number of times. Andrew Kruiper recalls, “I took a job in the Park in 1984 for eleven years, I later returned in 2000 with my family. We went to live at Nossob [a camp in the Park] where I was a field ranger for 4 years, until 2004”. During Andrew’s employment in the Park, he recounts, “there were five or six other Bushmen working there including Riekie Kruiper and Vetpiet Kleinman and Jacob Malgas, living there with their families” (interview, May 2007). Andrew and Jacob both, traditionalists, as are Riekie and Vetpiet, had parents that worked and lived in the Park

when they were children, accordingly, Andrew and Jacob partially grew up in the Park. Vetpiet Kleinman, spent nearly his whole life in the KTPs employment, living and working there while raising his grandson, Diedie. The majority of these †Khomani men who worked in the Park, were all employed as field rangers, the typical job †Khomani men secure in the Park. †Khomani women are usually employed as room attendants or cleaners. Anna Thys, daughter of Oma Griet above, who also spent part of her upbringing living in the Park, says, “I went to work in the park, cleaning rooms” (interview, May 2007).

†Khomani individuals living in the Mier area still desire to work in the KTP. Adrian Thys, who was born and lived in the Park until age eight, expressed “I would like to be a field ranger in the Park (interview, May 2007), while Abraham Kariseb also stated that “I’d like to work in the Park” (interview, May 2007). Despite this and the fact that many †Khomani have worked in the KTP over the years, by 2008, Diedie, was the only †Khomani employed there. Diedie has held various posts, as a builder, a shop assistant, and latterly as gate guard. Although he has applied for alternative employment in the Park’s technical department, and as a field ranger, he has failed to secure the posts, as the Park did not think he possesses the required skills (interview, February 2008). The majority of posts offered and secured by the †Khomani in the KTP are unskilled, requiring few formal qualifications and paying between R2 300 to R5 4000 per month, higher wages than other employers in the area. More skilled work pays higher wages, with R33, 900 per month being the highest wage. KTP workers who live in the Park receive free of charge housing, although electricity must be paid (Michael Esterhuizen, interview, February 2008). From this it can be seen that the lowest wage rate offered by the KTP is substantially higher than †Khomani individuals working as farm hands or domestic workers earn. The land claim, however, has not encouraged or increased the number of †Khomani working in the Park, in fact less †Khomani now work in the KTP than in the past. Individuals that do continue to seek positions in the Park, such as Diedie and Adrian continue to seek unskilled employment typical of that held in the by past †Khomani employees. Overall, the land claim has not encouraged individuals to maintain their employment in the KTP. Most individuals that have left the Park’s employment are retired, or are unemployed. Since the land claim †Khomani individuals

that have not worked in the Park, have not diversified and taken employment to supplement additional income generating or subsistence activities.

#### **4.4.5 Traditional Knowledge Industries**

Although unregistered trackers cannot officially work with tourists, many of these individuals, including traditionalists Buks and !Noi are known to be the best trackers in the area, and accordingly have been able to secure work utilising their tracking skills. Buks Kruiper said, “I don’t have any formal government qualification for tracking or guiding, like the ones the others go through...but I worked as a teacher on the guiding and tracking courses”. Due to his tracking knowledge Buks has also “worked with soldiers in the Park, walking in the evening, showing them how to survive without water and what velt [field] foods to eat” (interview, May 2007). Most recently Buks has been in working with researcher, Gus Mills, on cheetah research based in the KTP:

I still work in the park, with the cheetahs and Gus Mills... We put radio collars on to track the cheetahs in the park, watch their movements, and mark where they have been...we also work in the evening and night, to see how long they sleep and hunt. I work for five or six days one week then has a week off (interview, May 2007).

David !Noi also recalls his employment experiences in which his tracking knowledge played a role:

I was a field ranger in the park...we would recover animals which leave the park...we would shoot them with non-killing poison using arrows then bring the animals back to the Park (interview, May 2007).

The above demonstrates that some ꞆKhomani have been able to generate income from their tracking knowledge both pre and post land claim. The land claim has not allowed these individuals to diversity their income generating strategies, meaning that when there is no call for this skill they are unable to generate income from another.

#### 4.4.6 Unpaid Employment

In Mier Local Municipality, according to the census, 8.5 per cent of employed individuals receive no income, as opposed to 2.2 per cent of workers in South Africa (see Table 4.6). Among the ꞤKhomani it is not unusual to work without payment. Annetta Bok worked as a volunteer for the National Food Relief Programme with the Department of Social Welfare, in the hope that if a job became available, this experience would enhance her chance of securing the position. No paid position was ever materialised, however, and Annetta eventually moved to Upington to secure employment. Additionally, Koos Titus who works as a sales assistant at Sisen Craft Shop said “I’m waiting for a position here, I’m on trial so we’ll just have to wait and see” (interview, June 2010).

#### 4.5 SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES OF THE ꞤKHOMANI

In addition to the income generating opportunities that become available when individuals have tracking and plant knowledge, this traditional knowledge can also be used to secure foods. This knowledge enables the identification and collection of appropriate edible plant foods, while tracking skills can be developed to hunt wildlife for consumption. The trackers that hunt are mainly traditionalists that who grew up with the knowledge rather than the newly trained individuals. Martha van der Westhuizen, who recently learned tracking techniques states, “[a]lthough I know tracking, I don’t know how to hunt but ...I would like to know” (interview, May 2007). Toppies and !Noi grew up tracking. Toppies says, “I still hunt, that’s how I know the tracks and I can teach others about the tracks and hunting. I hunt springbok and smaller not bigger game. I hunt with a walking stick and bows and arrows” (interview, June 2007). !Noi also continues to hunt “I still hunt for food using dogs and bows and arrow. I hunt in the field beside Welkom catching steenbok, caracal, porcupine, cape fox and jackal” (interview, May 2007). Plants continue to be gathered widely for medicinal purposes, particularly by the specialised traditional medicine practitioners, however, few ꞤKhomani gather food plants. Despite the ꞤKhomani owning their own land, the claim has not enabled the majority of the ꞤKhomani to hunt or gather food because many individuals do not have the competency for such activity.

Overall, most †Khomani have pursued the same occupations pre and post land claim. Many †Khomani that worked in agriculture, domestic service, tourism and construction, pre land claim continue to work in these industries. The claim has allowed some †Khomani, mainly westerners, that were employed in the agricultural industry to become farmers in their own right. It has been difficult for individuals to enter into new professions, however, with many †Khomani who desire to farm, being as yet unable to realise this career change. The physical construction of a †Khomani Community, following the land claim, has allowed for the continuation of employment in cultural tourism for traditionalist †Khomani. Westerner †Khomani and other individuals that do not fit within the discreet traditionalist/western categories have been enabled to enter the cultural tourism profession through SASI projects, allowing them to generate income in this manner for the first time. Despite this, however, less traditional members of the Community have been unable to diversify into some cultural tourism occupations, such as traditional dancing and medicine, or as research respondents due to a lack of traditional knowledge. The seasonal nature of the cultural tourism industry means that the majority of individuals are only able to generate income in an irregular and unpredictable manner, with the exception of !Xaus Lodge. Overall, work in the agriculture industry, domestic work, and employment in the KTP remains the most secure income-generating schemes and pay the highest wages. Outside these industries, it is unlikely that individuals, such as craft sellers, are managing to regularly achieve income akin to that of the poverty line already cited. When individuals do earn an income, goods bought are often shared among the family and friends depending on need. The land claim has not significantly facilitated livelihood diversification. Although a few individuals employ craft making in addition to farming, little income is made from craft making. Generally, †Khomani individuals attempt to generate income from one source and when this fails, there are rarely any significant reliable safeguards to rely on. Accordingly, the †Khomani are in the ‘very poor category’ as they are unable to diversify to any meaningful extent (Chapman and Tripp 2004). Furthermore, although agriculture is often a way for individuals to rise out of poverty (Chapman and Tripp 2004), despite the †Khomani being land owners, the lack of a farm management plan and ineffectual farm management, means that land access has remained disputed and problematic (Chennels 2006), as discussed in section 6.3. As a result, few

‡Khomani individuals have been enabled to farm or secure food for personal consumption through cultivation or hunting and gathering. Consequently, living standards have not improved for the majority of ‡Khomani who continue to live in poverty.

## **4.6 CONSTRAINTS TO INCOME GENERATION AND SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES DUE TO LOCATION**

The economy of Northern Cape Province is reliant on natural resources, through mining valuable minerals, producing crops and livestock, and attracting tourists (Bradstock 2005). Despite being in the Northern Cape, the natural resources of the Mier area are not particularly lucrative. Mier lacks quality minerals, while crop and livestock production is limited due to environmental conditions (see 3.4.1). Consequently, given that the ‡Khomani farms are located in this remote rural area without access to productive natural resources, income generating opportunities and subsistence activities are limited. The specialised semi-arid environment curtails agriculture while the poor infrastructure is a barrier to employment and social assistance grants. Such areas according to Wiggins and Proctor (2001), are difficult to develop, given the poor natural resource base, and the high costs of maintaining infrastructure and supplying services. While it has been argued that an area's remoteness may attract tourism, I argue that although the Kalahari farms are located in the specialised and remote environment that attracts tourists (Wiggins and Proctor 2001; Mier Local Municipality 2007), the distances and cost required to visit the area also limits its tourism potential and therefore income generating opportunities and economic development.

### **4.6.1 Constraints to Agriculture**

In the Northern Cape Province, individuals living near reliable water sources can and do irrigate crops (Bradstock 2005). This is not possible in the Mier area, however, given the lack of surface water, this along with poor quality soils makes produce cultivation problematic. Nevertheless, as it is difficult to source fresh fruit and vegetables in Mier, with local shop owners driving to Upington to collect fresh produce, and as individuals often struggle to afford food for their families, a minority of ‡Khomani individuals grow produce for personal consumption. The success of these ventures is dependant on

access to water. Willem Swarts, is able to grow fruit and vegetables at his home as he lives close to a water tap, which allows him to water his garden regularly (see Plate 4.2). Nevertheless, the quantity of produce is curtailed by the amount of water he is able to carry home for this purpose (Ousie Swarts, interview, January 2008).



**Plate 4.2:** Vegetable Garden of Willem Swarts at his Home on Witdraai Farm (Grant 2008)

Since the land claim, produce cultivation has also been attempted at the Community level in the form of a SASI project, aimed to improve the health of the ǀKhomani, while establishing a business venture for the Community. In 2002, SASI established a vegetable garden on Andriesvale, to grow produce such as tomato, onion and beetroot. The project aimed to make fresh fruit and vegetables more abundant and cheaper for the Community while selling additional produce to local businesses. The project, however, encountered a number of problems and failed to cultivate adequate produce for such purposes. Nanette Flemming former field office manager of SASI commented:

it's very difficult if you don't have a big budget and the water pump keeps on shifting. Now it's fine cause it's winter, but in the summer if the water pump isn't there for two days everything dies. That's what happens when livestock gets priority over the vegetables.....So that's not functioning exactly as it should (interview, June 2007).

This comment highlights a number of issues that constrain the success of the vegetable garden. Nanette indicates that water is essential to grow produce, however, the only available water on the †Khomani farms is ground water, which must be pumped to the surface for use. This is problematic as the †Khomani do not have enough water pumps for the boreholes on all the farms, meaning that water pumps are shared between farms. Consequently, individuals often remove the pump from Andriesvale borehole for use on other farms, mainly those with livestock. This demonstrates that while water scarcity is an issue in relation to cultivation purposes, the competition, which exists over water pumps, further complicates the matter. By June 2009, the vegetable garden project was closed, due to the water issues, which made the project unsustainable, while financial pressures meant that the project could no longer be supported by SASI (Fonnie Brou, pers. comm., June 2009). Overall, in the Mier area it is possible to cultivate limited produce for subsistence purposes, however, cultivation quantity is limited by the soil quality, availability of, and access to water. This means that this Kalahari environment cannot provide surplus produce for individuals to sell as an income generating strategy.

Domestic livestock production is the most popular agricultural practice in Mier, with the NGO FARM-Africa encouraging domestic livestock production by †Khomani individuals on their farms (see Festus and Joseph 2007). This is discussed in section 7.3.3. However, there is concern regarding the profitability and environmental sustainability of the industry in the area, including on the †Khomani farms. In relation to profitability, the fact that farmers must bear the costs of transporting livestock to town in order to sell it, makes the industry less profitable than for farmers located in less remote areas (See Wiggins and Proctor 2001). †Khomani farmers sell a limited number of livestock locally, to shop owners, but must transport larger numbers to Upington. Furthermore, as stated above, the Mier area and the †Khomani farms are dependent on ground water. Consequently, farmers who lack ground water on their farms, have to transport the resource from elsewhere, for consumption by domestic livestock. This makes farming a more expensive process and less profitable. Concerns have also arisen over the chemical composition of ground water in Mier, which has detrimental effects on the quality of domestic livestock (Mier Local Municipality 2007). With regard to



environmental sustainability, domestic livestock is degrading the southern Kalahari environment. According to Werger (1978), the dunes are becoming unstable due to overgrazing and trampling by domestic livestock which destroys the stabilising vegetation. In 2002, it was estimated that two-thirds of the †Khomani farmland was overgrazed (van Rooyen cited in Bradstock 2007), something which some †Khomani are aware, Abijoul Kruiper stated:

There is velt kos [wild edible vegetation] that grows...it's used for medicine and food. But the thing is in the park there are more and here there are less. Okay, there is only a few of them here because there is too many...goats and sheep walking here that is why (interview, March 2008).

Overall, in Mier, the level of ground water usage and its slow replenishment rate, along with the land degradation caused by domestic livestock means that concerns regarding the environmental sustainability of domestic livestock farming are apparent. Furthermore, the use, and transportation of ground water for consumption by domestic livestock, affects the quality of the produce, making the industry less profitable. Although, the †Khomani farmland is used for domestic livestock production, wild game production is more suitable industry for the farms. This is because game is adapted to the specialised Kalahari environment, requiring less water per head than domestic livestock. Additionally, as much of the ground water in Mier has a high salt content, game farming is more appropriate, as wild game has a higher saline tolerance than domestic livestock. Furthermore, game is less destructive to the environment as it grazes less selectively than domestic livestock (Thomas 2002).

#### **4.6.2 Constraints to the Tourism Industry**

Tourism is often cited as a means to increase employment strategies in rural areas, particularly where agriculture is in decline (Swartbrooke 1999; Wilson et al. 2001). Due to the limited agricultural potential of the Mier area, and the fact that it situated in the unusual Kalahari environment, tourism rhetoric exists suggesting that Mier offers many tourist attractions and activities including cultural encounters, impressive wilderness scenery, along with wildlife photography and hunting (see Mier Local Municipality 2007). Tourism must be demand driven, however (Swartbrooke 1999; McKercher and

du Cros 2002). Despite the attractions of Mier, the opportunities to generate income through tourism are limited at present due to the industry being undeveloped (Mier Local Municipality 2007). The KTP is the most developed tourist attraction in Mier, and is the destination of the majority of the area's tourists. The area also boasts a number of game farms that tourists visit to hunt wildlife. At present, the ꞤKhomani tourism ventures benefit from the passing trade of the aforementioned destinations, however, tourism as a livelihood strategy for ꞤKhomani individuals is constrained, due to the limited number of tourists to the area. Low-grade unsealed roads in the KTP, coupled with extensive travelling distances to the area means that the area attracts a limited number of niche tourists. Additionally, there is very little through traffic in the area. The Northern Cape was the least visited province by tourists in South Africa from 2007 to 2009 (South African Tourism 2010). Visitors to the KTP drive past the ꞤKhomani tourist projects en route to, or when exiting the Park from the South African gate. This means that the ꞤKhomani working on craft stalls have the opportunity to sell goods to the tourists, with visitors occasionally stopping at the Sisen Craft Shop or SASI Information Hut. Consequently, the greater the number of visitors to the Park, the more opportunities the ꞤKhomani have to earn money. However, the number of visitors to the area is limited, as the KTP and the Kalahari area only attracts a particular kind of visitor.

While the road to the Park has been sealed since 2009, the roads in the Park are problematic for vehicles without 4 x 4, with SANParks website stating "the roads in the Kgalagadi are not sedan friendly, although management intervenes to maintain them on a monthly basis" (SANParks 2010). A recent survey<sup>29</sup> of Park visitors, however, indicated that more than 10 per cent of groups sampled indicated that they were particularly unhappy with the quality of the roads in the Park (Scovronick and Turpie 2009:153). Although Park roads are maintained, the KTP is a wilderness park, meaning that management and modification to the environment is minimal. The aforementioned survey also stated that more than 10 per cent of respondents were discontented with wildlife abundance in the Park (Scovronick and Turpie 2009:154). This is indicative of

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<sup>29</sup> The survey collected responses from 296 groups of tourists in the KTP, representing 767 individuals, over a 1 month period. A group represents individuals sharing a vehicle (Scovronick and Turpie 2009).

the size of the KTP, which is 3.6 million hectares, meaning that visitors have to make efforts to locate wildlife, unlike smaller parks. Consequently, the KTP is not ideal for all visitors, however, wildlife and/or 4 x 4 enthusiasts specifically enjoy the experience, returning often. Furthermore, given that the KTP is situated 1076 km from Cape Town, 1090 km from Johannesburg and 1463 km from Durban, visitors must have time and be willing to drive these long distances. Flights are available to Upington, however they are expensive, as is the 4 x 4 vehicle that must then be hired for the remainder of the trip in the Kalahari. Additionally, budget travellers find the Kalahari difficult to visit, given the need of a 4 x 4 vehicle. Consequently, due to the remoteness, inaccessibility and expense of visiting the Kalahari, including the Mier Area, tourists that make the journey are committed to the experience, and as such are a small niche market. As a result at present the tourism potential of Mier is limited, meaning that the number of !Khomani individuals that benefit from the industry is also curtailed.

#### **4.6.3 Constraints due to Inadequate Infrastructure**

The inadequate transport infrastructure of the Mier area specifically, the lack of sufficient road systems and public transport in addition to an almost non-existent private vehicle ownership among the !Khomani (see section 5.9), limits poverty alleviation as it constrains income generation and social assistance grants. In Mier, there are often large distances between houses, settlements, shops and workplaces. While a few !Khomani have secured employment within walking distance to their homes, other individuals employment opportunities are curtailed by their ability to travel to the workplace, due to the lack of affordable and reliable transportation. As a result, some employers, including !Xaus Lodge, KTP and many commercial farms, offer workplace accommodation for staff. While the KTP and some farms allow accompanying family to live with employees in staff houses, this is not possible at !Xaus Lodge or some of the commercial farms. !Xaus Lodge however, located three hours drive from Andriesvale, does offer staff transport to work and home again following a three-week working period. Staff on commercial farms are usually less fortunate, having to seek lifts or walk home to visit families. One !Khomani individual worked on a farm 30 minutes drive from the family home, where her mother cared for her three children. This individual had one day off a week, usually Sunday, and had to hitch a lift home and

back in that one day to see her children, as there was no public transport and the farmer did not offer transportation. Consequently, despite wanting to see her children more regularly, she only managed to return home once a month at most. Such individuals often rely on lifts from researchers, including myself, or NGO workers.

While some †Khomani individuals accept these employment conditions, others are unwilling to be separated from their families for such long periods. In July 2007, when !Xaus Lodge opened it did not supply staff transport. This, in addition to the fact that the lodge requires employees to be separated from their families for three week time periods, meant that individuals such as Annetta Bok chose not to pursue such employment, as she was unwilling to be separated from her children for such long periods (Annetta Bok, pers. comm., May 2007). Consequently, apart from individuals that live within working distance to the workplace, the lack of transport and long distances between the home and workplace in Mier, means that many †Khomani cannot travel to work on a daily basis. As a result, in order to secure employment many †Khomani are required to live at the workplace without their families. Although these conditions of employment are acceptable to some, they are not acceptable to all †Khomani. Consequently, without adequate transport infrastructure which allows individuals to commute to work daily while residing in the family home, the livelihood opportunities of many †Khomani individuals is limited.

According to Chelechele (2010), inadequate transport infrastructure affects the ability of individuals to access social assistance grants and the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) payments in rural areas. It is often difficult and costly for individuals to travel to departmental offices to apply for grants, or to travel to service points to collect grants, given lack vehicles and public transport. This is applicable to †Khomani individuals, with only approximately, 54.9 per cent of eligible †Khomani mothers in receipt of the child support grant (Letsoalo Forthcoming :21). To apply for social assistance grants or UIF, †Khomani individuals are required to travel to Upington, at a cost of R220 return by private minibus taxi. The high cost being a reflection of the distance to be travelled. To apply for these payments, individuals must have the appropriate documentation, either a birth certificate, an identity book or a passport, which costs approximately R70.

As many ꞤKhomani lack these documents, two trips to Upington are needed, the first to procure the appropriate documentation and the second to apply for the payments. Overall, the cost of applying for social assistance grants and UIF are considerable, between R220-R510 and unaffordable to most ꞤKhomani individuals. Consequently, given the distance from the ꞤKhomani farms to Upington, and the unavailability of affordable, subsidised transport to Upington, a number of ꞤKhomani are not in receipt of social assistance grants or UIF payment of which they are entitled. Those who do manage to make the trip, often rely on lifts to Upington from researchers, including myself, or NGO workers, and therefore are able to save on the cost of transport at least. Such lifts are not regularly available however. For individuals who do manage to apply for, and are eligible for payments, a van with armed guards comes from Upington, every two weeks, stopping at Andriesvale and Welkom to make cash payments to beneficiaries.

Overall, the location and environment of the ꞤKhomani farms interacts with insufficient transport infrastructure and services to limit livelihood opportunities for the ꞤKhomani. Given the remote location of the farms, it is expensive for farmers to transport livestock to Upington to sell, while the physical environment of the ꞤKhomani farms means that agricultural practices are curtailed and must be limited and adapted to ensure the environmental sustainability of the industry. Additionally, the remote location of the ꞤKhomani farms, along with the time taken, and expense of, travelling to these areas serves to limit tourists to the area and therefore tourism based livelihoods. This means that income generation from tourism is limited and the industry is only able to support a certain number of individuals. The lack of adequate transport infrastructure and services in the Mier area, also restricts ꞤKhomani individuals from accessing employment opportunities further afield and social assistance grants to alleviate poverty. Consequently, while domestic farming and tourism based livelihood strategies support a limited number of ꞤKhomani, without improved transport services to enable individuals to commute to work, the ꞤKhomani farms may only be able to support a limited number of people in the long term.

## 4.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has detailed income, income strategies and subsistence activities, exploited by members of the †Khomani Community living in Mier. It is not possible, however, to determine if †Khomani livelihood opportunities have increased following the land claim due to a lack of pre land claim data. Nevertheless, the chapter has identified that while some †Khomani have been able to secure reliable work, most survive on unreliable minimal income earned through irregular work, with a few individuals partaking in alternative subsistence activities. Livelihood diversification has also proved difficult, with few individuals being able to diversify into new industries. Consequently, land ownership has not enabled †Khomani individuals to access, or diversify into, additional income generating or subsistence activities to allow the Community to meet basic need and alleviate poverty.

A number of constraints have been identified in this chapter that contribute to, and interact with each other, to limit livelihood strategies and to maintain the †Khomani in poverty. I have identified that individuals' status, as either western or traditional, and the resulting knowledge and experience that accompanies such status, limits who is able to pursue, or diversify into, specific livelihood strategies. Additionally, I argue that the †Khomani farms are located in a remote marginal environment, with insufficient transport infrastructure and services that interact to limit the potential of subsistence and livelihood activities, including access to social assistance. Furthermore, the high food and product costs in local shops, due to the expense of transporting goods, interacts with the low income of the †Khomani, who struggle to adequately meet their basic needs and therefore remain part of the rural poor population. Such constraints are only an indication of the number of elements that converge to reinforce the poverty cycle in this rural area. Further constraints are addressed in the forthcoming chapter of the thesis all of which demonstrate that there is need for a holistic approach to development.

In these remote, resource-poor, historically marginalised environments, there are limits to the extent the Government and development agencies can facilitate economic development to alleviate poverty. The Government, however, can address issues of

poor infrastructure and basic service provision to facilitate economic development and improve the abilities of the rural poor to access employment and social assistance. Access to basic infrastructure in Mier Municipality and whether infrastructure itself can be a building block of sustainable rural development, are explored in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER FIVE: ǀKHO MANI ACCESS TO BASIC SERVICES

The South African Government has recognised the need for development to address poverty in the rural areas and has demonstrated its commitment to such development through various economic development policies and the Land Reform Policy. Despite such efforts, chapter four has demonstrated that the ǀKhomani continue to struggle to meet basic needs due to minimal subsistence and income generating opportunities, which contributes to the existing poverty of the Community. The ability of individuals to access adequate income generating and subsistence activities can be enhanced through the provision of a number of basic services, such as housing, clean energy and water, sanitation provision, waste disposal, in addition to access to health care, education facilities and transport services, as is discussed in this chapter. According to Satterthwaite and Tacoli (2002), it is easier to effect poverty alleviation through the supply of such services, as they are more readily realised, rather than to attempt to increase livelihood opportunities. Merely supplying such services does not ensure poverty alleviation, however, as services must be appropriate and provide a quality service while beneficiaries must want to, and be able to access the services for them to be effective.

Recognising the importance of basic services provision, the South African Government has instituted a number of policies to enable the provision of such services. Specifically the Government has acknowledged that the provision of basic services must be ensured for land reform beneficiaries to enable positive outcomes. However, Satterthwaite and Tacoli (2002), have suggested that the supply of such services to remote rural areas is particularly problematic (see section 2.1.3). Overall, the supply of basic services to households in the rural and urban areas has proved challenging for the South African Government with land reform beneficiaries having fared no differently (see section 3.2.2). Accordingly, the purpose of this chapter is to determine the extent to which ǀKhomani individuals have access to appropriate and quality basic services, while briefly recognising issues that limit individuals ability to access such services. This information, coupled with that of chapter four, is necessary in order to determine if, and the manner in which the ǀKhomani are living in poverty. Without this, the constraining factors to



‡Khomani poverty alleviation cannot be addressed. Based on the information given in this chapter and chapter four I argue that the ‡Khomani continue to live in poverty despite land ownership. Given this determination, the remainder of the thesis explores the reasons why rural development eludes the ‡Khomani.

## **5.1 BASIC SERVICES FOR DEVELOPMENT AND EXISTING ‡KHOMANI DATA**

Lack of basic services results in poor people living in unhealthy surroundings, which are both a cause and an effect of poverty. Inadequate shelter is often accompanied by insufficient basic services, such as energy, water supply and sanitation, with occupants being subject to increased health risks and low life expectancy. The benefit of basic services is long term, allowing individuals a healthy existence, which enables people to earn or increase their earnings to remove themselves from the poverty cycle (Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute 2007; Adarkwa 2010; United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) 1995; United Nations Development Programme 1997; Dasgupta 2004). Accordingly, an individual's poverty status can be partially attributed to their access to basic services. Consequently, the ‡Khomani's access to basic services is indicative of the development in the area and directly impacts the ability of the land claim process to alleviate poverty. As the ‡Khomani Community did not exist as such prior to the land claim, there is no indication of the ‡Khomani Community's access to basic services prior to land ownership. Furthermore, apart from minimal information regarding the basic living conditions of ‡Khomani individuals, namely the Kruiper extended family, working and living at Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve, there is no written or oral documentation available concerning ‡Khomani individuals' access to basic services prior to the resettlement on the farms. As noted in section 3.4.3 ‡Khomani individuals at Kagga Kamma resided in overcrowded informal housing, cooked on open fires, had an intermittent water supply and access to a pit latrine (see White 1995). Due to this scarcity of data it is not possible to determine if access to basic services has improved for the ‡Khomani. Data is available in regard to basic services available in Mier Local Municipality and South Africa, therefore this chapter will compare fieldwork data relating to the ‡Khomani Community's access to services with the wider Mier Local Municipality and the South African populations. This

comparison will determine whether the living situation of the †Khomani Community is comparable to the rest of the Mier Municipal population or the Country generally. The chapter also details the extent to which individual members of the †Khomani Community desire these services. As documentation relating to Mier Local Municipality and the †Khomani Community's access to basic services is extremely limited, as with the preceding chapter, the material below is reliant on a few publications. Again, the majority of information concerning the Mier Local Municipality has been taken from the most recent population census of South Africa conducted in 2001 due to the already cited problems related to the more recent community survey. Data relating to the †Khomani is based on work funded by FARM-Africa, along with research commissioned by UNESCO and AFSA details of which are provided in section 4.1.

## **5.2 HOUSING**

Inadequate shelter is often accompanied by insufficient access to basic services, such as clean water and energy, which can prevent people from meeting basic needs and results in poverty (Adarkwa 2010; United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) 1995). Without formal shelter people cannot access modern energy supply, meaning that individuals use unclean fuels, exposing themselves to pollution (Dasgupta 2004). A lack of water supply, sanitation and refuse collection also means that individuals are exposed to increased infection rates and health risks and consequently are unable to attend school or work. Accordingly, access to adequate housing facilitates improves peoples health and influences their ability to rise out of poverty. Adequate housing is therefore a basic human necessity resulting in improved physical and psychological health and as such, an effective means of poverty alleviation. Appropriate shelter can also enable increased income generation strategies through the use of household premises for home based businesses (Bucaro 2004; United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) 1995; Adarkwa 2010). As housing is usually the most expensive item of household expenditure, however, it is unaffordable to many, who consequently live in sub standard conditions (Adarkwa 2010).

### **5.2.1 Housing in Mier Local Municipality**

The South African Constitution, through the Bill of Rights, states that “everyone has the right to access adequate housing” (Republic of South Africa 1996:1255), with the

country's census, measuring the different dwelling types of the population to indicate the living conditions of the population. In 2001, it was reported that the majority of South African and Mier inhabitants live in formal housing, 68.5 per cent and 75.7 per cent respectively (see Table 5.1).

**Table 5.1:** Mier Local Municipality and South Africa by Dwelling Type (at household level)

Dwelling Type	Mier Municipality	Mier Municipality	South Africa	South Africa
<b>*House/Brick Structure on Separate Stand or Yard</b>	1177	75%	6 238 464	55.7%
<b>Traditional Dwelling</b> (hut/structure made of traditional materials)	170	10.8%	1 654 788	14.8%
<b>*Flat in Block of Flats</b>	0	-	589 107	5.2%
<b>*Town/Cluster/Semi-Detached House</b> (simplex, duplex, triplex)	3	0.2%	319 868	2.8%
<b>*House/Flat/Room in Back Yard</b>	5	0.3%	412 375	3.7%
<b>Informal Dwelling/Shack in Backyard</b>	9	0.6%	459 529	4.1%
<b>Informal Dwelling/Shack Not in Backyard eg. in an Informal/ Squatter Camp</b>	193	12.3%	1 376 707	12.3%
<b>*Room/Flat NOT in Backyard but on a Shared Property</b>	4	0.2%	120 610	1.1%
<b>Caravan/Tent</b>	9	0.6%	30 610	0.3%
<b>Private Ship/Boat</b>	0	-	3 653	0.0%
<b>Total Households</b>	1570	100%	11 205 711	100%

**Source:** calculated from census data 2001, Statistics South Africa

\*Indicates formal housing type.

### 5.2.2 †Khomani Housing

Since the †Khomani Community was awarded their six farms, the South African Government has planned to construct houses for the Community on this land. To date however, these plans have not been realised. Consequently, although some formal housing exists on the farms, this is not adequate to house all the †Khomani. Official figures do not exist to indicate the number of †Khomani households living in formal

dwellings, however, it is estimated that approximately 50 per cent of the 400 strong ǀKhomani Community live in formal structures. While this information shows that a substantial number of ǀKhomani individuals live in formal housing, the figures are not comparable to the data above relating to the Mier and South African populations, as the Mier and South African figures have been measured at the household level while the ǀKhomani information refers to individuals.

The formal dwellings of the ǀKhomani comprise twenty-one structures (Fonnie Brou, pers. correspondence, August 2010), most of which were present prior to the purchase of the farms for the Community. The majority of these dwellings were either the houses of the former farm owners, houses allocated to the former farm workers or farm use buildings (see Plate 5.1).



**Plate 5.1:** Farmhouse on Erin Farm (Grant 2010)



**Plate 5.2:** Former Tourist Information Centre now Formal Dwelling Place on Erin Farm (Grant 2007)

Post land claim, an additional structure was built, a tourist information centre, which is now used as dwelling place (see Plate 5.2). Given that approximately 200 individuals reside in the twenty one dwellings, this indicates that the available formal housing is overcrowded. The Andriesvale farmhouse consists of two sitting rooms, five bedrooms, two bathrooms and a kitchen. Additionally, there are outbuildings amounting to four rooms, a garage and another bathroom. These structures are shared by five households comprising twenty two adults and twenty four children (Fonnie Brou, pers. correspondence, August 2010), meaning that forty six individuals share three bathrooms. The remaining  $\ddot{\text{z}}$ Khomani who do not have access to formal housing reside in shelters constructed from either grasses (see Plate 3.3) or corrugated iron (see Plate 3.4). Some of these individuals aspire to live in formal housing and sometimes choose to spend relatively substantial amounts of money in the construction of their informal houses.

Although a traditionalist, Anna Swarts, an elderly woman living in a grass house said, “If they built new houses I would go and live in one”, (interview, May 2007). While another elderly woman Oma Seekoei, also living in a grass house indicated that, “...I don’t have a proper house and can’t bring my furniture, it’s sill in Upington and I’m too scared to bring it here because of the sun and the rain because of the house....” (interview, April 2007). Ousie Swarts stated, “they should build houses. And I would want one because, well I have [rain] water coming right into the house” (interview, January 2008). The fact that some  $\ddot{\text{z}}$ Khomani have bought informal shelters at a relative considerable cost, indicates that individuals do desire houses that are more substantial

than grass shelters. One †Khomani individual bought an informal corrugated iron house in Askham, at the cost of R2000, with the intention of reconstructing the dwelling for residence on one of the Bushman farms (Piet Retief, pers. comm., June 2010). Other †Khomani individuals are content to live in grass shelters, however, they desire improvements to the structures. Nana Witbooi says that:

They can build houses but I won't stay in them. I want to live like this [in a grass house] but if the house can be, if they can help me to get it better, in a better state, then I'd be happy (interview, April 2007) .

Gert Swarts, a traditionalist, also has concerns regarding formal housing:

If the Government build new houses, I don't know if I'll ever manage to live in a built house. I grew up in a grass house and slept outside whether it was summer or winter. In a stone built house, you only have the door and windows and it's too closed for me. Now I sleep outside...I'm used to sleeping outside (interview, June 2007).

Overall it can be seen that there are mixed feeling regarding formal housing, with a number of individuals relating the problems of grass shelters and rainwater. Anna Swarts says, "If we have heavy rain then we have to rebuild these grass houses", while she also recognises the safety issues relating to these houses, "they [people] burn down the houses as it's easy to do" (interview, May 2007). As a result, some individuals, including traditionalist Anna Swarts, aspire to inhabit formal housing. Although most traditionalists desire to remain in informal housing, this is not true of all traditionalists, as demonstrated by the fact Anna Swarts would like to live in a formal house. Apart from the above concerns of the †Khomani regarding informal housing, local social worker Bienta Ghooste has additional concerns, regarding the effect which informal housing has on the education of †Khomani children. She states that "if you go to their [†Khomani] homes, you will see there is no table where they [the children] can sit and do homework" (interview, August 2007), meaning that they fall behind with schoolwork. Bienta also highlights serious behavioural problems that are apparent among the children from both the †Khomani and Coloured communities, which she argues are a result of overcrowding in formal and informal housing:

At this stage we have really very serious problems with children who are sexually molesting the other smaller children...Some of the children have been involved in sexual activities from a very early age and it has to do with the Community... you see people are living in such a small rooms and they are living four or five adults, men and wife with all the children and we said to them that these children are exposed at a very early age to these sexual activities. I said to them that most of the times you think the children are sleeping and they are not, they are looking and listening to what the adults are doing. Then they come to the school they are doing all these things and practicing these things... Some of them are seven or eight, thirteen or fourteen, eleven (interview, August 2007).

The above demonstrates that the South African Government has not yet enabled the †Khomani on the farms, that desire formal housing, to realise this basic necessity. This lack of development is a consequence of both community dynamics, and community and government capacity, which is discussed in chapter six. Overall, apart from †Khomani individuals' desire to reside in formal housing, safety issues and concerns relating to the behaviour and education of children have been identified which supports the need for the building of formal housing for the †Khomani.

### **5.3 ENERGY**

In rural areas, where access to modern energy sources is lacking, people often utilise traditional biomass fuels, such as wood and dung. Individuals therefore spend time collecting these resources, time that could be used for other activities. Access to modern energy, such as electricity, also increases the length of the working day through improved light source, which allows adults and children to study following daytime activities, therefore improving education levels. Modern fuels are also less damaging to individuals' health with electricity enabling health improvement (Utria 2004; Cecelski 2000; Saghir 2005; Winkler 2005), through the powering of equipment such as water purification systems, while allowing the use of telecommunications to increase income generating opportunities (Saghir 2005; Cecelski 2000). Accordingly, modern fuels can enable improved education and health, in addition to the diversification of subsistence and income generation strategies. Furthermore as modern fuels are less damaging to the environment than biomass fuels, environmental degradation and air pollution decrease (Saghir 2005; Utria 2004; Cecelski 2000).

### 5.3.1 Access to Energy in Mier Local Municipality

The South African Government recognises that energy is essential at the household level, with the White Paper on the Energy Policy of the Republic of South Africa stating:

[The] range of basic needs requiring energy inputs shows that normal life would be impossible without energy...Without energy to cook food a household would starve... at the household level, energy services are essential for improving quality of life through access to services such as entertainment, lighting, home-based industries and small scale agriculture....Everyday domestic life and activity in the home is inconceivable without energy (Department of Minerals and Energy 1998:30).

Despite this, the Constitution of South Africa, does not advocate that all people should have access to modern energy, however, the Bill of Rights, states that individuals should have “the right an environment that is not harmful to their health or well being...to have the environment protected for the benefit of present and future generations” (Republic of South Africa 1996:1251-1252), both of which can be impacted by the use of biomass fuels. Accordingly, the White Paper on Energy Policy acknowledges the health and environmental implications of the energy sources used by the rural poor:

The environmental effects of household energy use are particularly severe on the rural poor, where three million households use fuel wood as their primary energy source. Studies have shown that fuel wood users are exposed to extremely high levels of particulate emissions from wood smoke, which result in adverse health effects... In addition to air pollution from wood smoke, many areas experience an over-harvesting of natural woodland resources, resulting in environmental degradation, soil erosion, and desertification (Department of Minerals and Energy 1998:31).

Furthermore, the White Paper suggests that energy security can be a means of poverty alleviation:

Energy security for low-income households can help reduce poverty, increase livelihoods and improve living standards... People must have access to fuels that do not endanger their health (Department of Minerals and Energy 1998:10).



In respect to modern energy access in the Mier area, the Local Municipality states that electrical supply is available to all settlements except Noenieput, with the majority of formal housing having been electrified since 1996 (Mier Local Municipality 2007). Although this means electricity is available to approximately 75.7 per cent of households in Mier (see Table 5.1), only 53.7 per cent use electricity as a light source, compared to 69.7 per cent of South Africa households. Candles are used by 28.3 per cent of Mier households for lighting, despite safety concerns (see Table 5.2). Additionally, only 23.7 per cent of households in Mier use electricity as a heat source compared to 49 per cent of South African households, with the most popular heat fuel in Mier being wood, used by 61.2 per cent of households (see Table 5.2).

**Table 5.2:** Mier Local Municipality and South Africa by Power Source (at household level)

<b>Power Source</b>	<b>Mier Municipality Light</b>	<b>Mier Municipality Light</b>	<b>South Africa Light</b>	<b>South Africa Light</b>	<b>Mier Municipality Heat</b>	<b>Mier Municipality Heat</b>	<b>South Africa Heat</b>	<b>South Africa Heat</b>
<b>Electricity</b>	844	53.7%	7 815 272	69.7%	373	23.7%	5 493 022	49.0%
<b>Gas</b>	8	0.5%	27 065	0.2%	24	1.5%	124 985	1.1%
<b>Paraffin</b>	169	10.8%	759 823	6.8%	15	0.9%	1 641 457	14.6%
<b>Wood</b>	-	-	-	-	961	61.2%	2 758 863	24.6%
<b>Coal</b>	-	-	-	-	3	0.2%	734 454	6.5%
<b>Animal Dung</b>	-	-	-	-	0	0%	83 054	0.7%
<b>Solar</b>	62	3.9%	24 169	0.2%	3	0.2%	23 507	0.2%
<b>Candles</b>	444	28.3%	2 545 538	22.7%	-	-	-	-
<b>Other</b>	44	2.8%	33 844	0.3%	190	12.1%	346 365	3.1%
<b>Misrepresented</b>	+1	0.0%	0	0.0%	-1	0.0%	-4	0.0%
<b>Total Households</b>	1570	100%	11 205 711	100%	1 570	100%	11 205 711	100%

**Source:** calculated from census data 2001, Statistics South Africa.

### 5.3.2 †Khomani Energy Sources

In accordance with the rest of the Mier Municipality, only the formal houses on the †Khomani farms have the infrastructure and apparatus needed to receive an electrical supply. After the award of the farms to the †Khomani, electricity was supplied and used by the occupants of the formal houses. However, at present, due to no-payment of electricity bills, no †Khomani households have access to electricity. Although diesel run generators are an alternative source of electricity for both formal and informal housing, given their purchase and running costs few households are in possession of these. The majority of †Khomani living in both formal and informal housing rely on candlelight as a light source, resulting in poor light quality. Accordingly, the †Khomani have a shorter working day than the majority of households in Mier and South Africa which have electrical supply. This affects the education and income generating opportunities of the †Khomani. Social worker, Bienta Ghooste has specific concerns about children's education, "Most of them don't have electricity, especially those living in shacks. So there is no way that the child can do their homework at home, they will not have it at school tomorrow, then they have problems at school" (interview, August 2007).

In relation to heat and cooking fuel, the †Khomani collect and burn wood. This dictates that time must be spent gathering the resource as opposed to other activities. Wood burning, however, pollutes the immediate environment potentially increasing ill health incidences among the †Khomani, while over harvesting of the resource causes environmental degradation. Given that the †Khomani burn both candles and wood there are safety concerns, especially in regard to informal grass housing. Nana Witbooi recalls:

We moved here in 1999 when we lived between the dunes, but then our house burnt down. Then we moved a little bit closer to here but then the house burnt down again. Then we decided to move here as there aren't many trees, so less it's likely for a bad fire, less to burn (interview, April 2007).

Despite the dangers of wood and candle burning, which can result in fires as cited above, some †Khomani are reluctant to have electricity, regarding it as dangerous. Nana Witbooi states, "I wouldn't want electricity because I'm scared of electricity. It can be

very dangerous” (interview, April 2007). Traditionalist Gert Swarts also has reservations, “I don’t think that I want to be near electricity...I don’t think I’d manage with electricity” (interview, June 2007). Other individuals, such as Anna Swarts, who is also a traditionalist says, “I wouldn’t like electricity because it’s dangerous in these grass houses. I would like electricity because I can’t afford to buy candles every day. I’d want electricity if I had a new house” (interview, May 2007), while others including, Ousie Swarts, would definitely welcome electricity “my daughter, she lives in Cape Town. She bought me a fridge. But now I can’t use it. It’s standing in somebody else’s house. And my washing machine is also standing near somebody else’s house. So if I could have the electricity I could have my own things” (interview, January 2008). It can therefore be seen, that the land reform process has failed to allow the †Khomani access to clean and safe energy. While approximately half the †Khomani Community, who live in formal housing, have the infrastructure to receive electricity, they are at present unable to access the resource. The remaining †Khomani do not have electricity due to informal housing structures. Although, diesel run electricity generators are an option, at present few community members can afford the apparatus or the running costs. Overall a lower percentage of †Khomani households on the farms have access to electricity compared to Mier and South African households. To date, it can be seen that community has mixed feeling regarding access to electricity and once again this is not dictated by an individual’s allegiance to traditionalist or westerner principals. Given that the fuels being employed by community members at present can have negative impacts on individuals’ health, safety and education, while the environment is also subject to environmental degradation, this supports the supply of clean energy sources to †Khomani individuals that desire it.

#### **5.4 WATER SUPPLY**

Sufficient supply of clean water is essential to combat poverty. In order to survive clean water is a necessity at the household level for human consumption and health purposes (Sullivan et al. 2003; UNDP 2004; Kulindwa and Lein 2008; Development Assistance Committee 2003). Water related diseases are the most common cause of illness and death among the poor in developing countries. Access to clean water enables individuals to keep themselves and their environments clean which deters infection and disease. The use of unclean water can also cause ill health, meaning that individuals

cannot maintain subsistence activities, while incurring medical costs, causing further impoverishment. When households are forced to spend time collecting clean water, this results in a loss of time, which could be used in other subsistence activities or education (UNDP 2004; Kulindwa and Lein 2008; Howard and Bartram 2003; Development Assistance Committee 2003). Furthermore, water is also a necessity for subsistence activities such as agriculture and economic industries. In rural areas where farming is an important industry lack of clean water translates into lack of food for subsistence and income (UNDP 2004; Kulindwa and Lein 2008)

#### 5.4.1 Water Supply in Mier Local Municipality

The South African Constitution states that everyone has the right to access sufficient water (Republic of South Africa 1996), while the White Paper on Water Supply and Sanitation Policy acknowledges that adequate water is “needed for direct consumption, for the preparation of food and for personal hygiene”. Additionally water quality should be in accordance with the accepted minimum standards with respect to health requirements and be acceptable to consumers in terms of “taste, odour and appearance” (Department of Water Affairs and Forestry 1994:15). According to the census of 2001, 87.3 per cent of Mier households have access to piped water, which is slightly better than South Africa as a whole where only 84.4 per cent of households are afforded this. Additionally, 16.1 per cent of households in Mier, compared to 28 per cent nationwide (see Table 5.3), have to carry water 200 meters or less to their dwelling, the maximum acceptable distance according to the White Paper on Water Supply and Sanitation (Republic of South Africa 1994:15). Although this indicates that water access in Mier is superior to that of the nation, it is notable that fewer households in Mier have access to water piped inside the dwelling compared to country as a whole.

**Table 5.3:** Mier Local Municipality and South Africa by Water Supply Method (at household level)

Water Supply Method	Mier Municipality	Mier Municipality	South Africa	South Africa
Piped Water inside Dwelling	390	24.8%	3 617 603	32.3%
Piped Water inside Yard	802	51.1%	3 253 862	29.0%
Piped Water on Community Stand (less	134	8.5%	1 202 277	10.7%

than 200m from dwelling)				
<b>Piped Water on Community Stand</b> (more than 200m from dwelling)	45	2.9%	1 392 625	12.4%
<b>Borehole</b>	164	10.4%	270 883	2.4%
<b>Spring</b>	0	0.0%	210 439	1.9%
<b>Rainwater Tank</b>	6	0.4%	67 677	0.6%
<b>Stagnant water</b> (including pool or dam)	3	0.2%	113 892	1.0%
<b>River/Stream</b>	3	0.2%	725 720	6.5%
<b>Water vendor</b>	0	0.0%	83 633	0.7%
<b>Other</b>	24	1.5%	267 083	2.4%
<b>Misrepresentation</b>	+1	0.0%	-6	0.0%
<b>Total Households</b>	1570	100%	11 205 711	100%

**Source:** calculated from census data 2001, Statistics South Africa.

Table 5.3 indicates that 10.4 per cent of Mier households rely on water directly from boreholes, which originates as ground water. Given the lack of surface water in the Mier area, all piped water originates as ground water which is drawn through boreholes into water tanks before being distributed to residents (Mier Local Municipality 2007). It has been demonstrated that much of this ground water is of poor quality with high levels of electrical conductivity, nitrates and fluoride, which exceed World Health Organisations (WHO) maximum recommended limit for humans. Critically, in the Mier area, 70 boreholes produce water which is deemed damaging to human health by WHO (Kramer 1985 cited in Koster 2000). Accordingly, although a higher percentage of households in Mier have access to piped water compared to South Africa, the quality of this water is questionable.

#### 5.4.2 †Khomani Water Supply

Five of the six †Khomani owned farms have access to ground water through boreholes. This water is pumped from underground to water tanks and then piped to either household or communal taps on the farms. This is problematic, however, as not every farm has its own water pump, meaning that the “the water pumps keep on being shifted” (Nannette Flemming, interview, June 2007). Furthermore diesel is needed to

operate the pumps, with Oma !Una pointing out that although many community members use the water supply, “only some of the people buy diesel and others not” (interview, April 2007). Subsequently, if the pump is moved to another farm, or if there is no diesel, water cannot be pumped from underground, therefore residents must travel to the other †Khomani farms or nearby settlements to collect water. Given the distances and weight of water, a vehicle is required for this. During my time in the field, I met †Khomani individuals at Welkom that had travelled approximately 30 km from Miersouppan farm to collect water. The water available at Welkom, however, is not palatable due to its salty taste, with some †Khomani suggesting that drinking this water has health implications. At present, although five of the †Khomani farms have access to ground water the quality of this water is unknown. Overall, only the formal houses on the five farms have the apparatus to receive piped water, therefore, individuals residing in informal housing must fetch water from the communal water taps located on the farms. Accordingly less than 50 per cent of †Khomani individuals have water piped in their dwellings. Nana Witbooi complains about this “Water is a problem because I have to carry it from the police station. I’d like running water” (interview, April 2007). Gert Swarts also commented that “running water would be fine” (interview, June 2007), with Ousie Swarts stating “I’d like my own water” (interview, January 2008). For the most part, the majority of †Khomani have access to water, although some individuals have to spend time collecting the resource. While the quality of this water is comparable to that available throughout Mier Local Municipality, given the existing data regarding water quality in Mier, it is unlikely that the water being consumed by the †Khomani is acceptable in relation to the long term health of individuals. In this respect government policies have failed to enable the †Khomani to reside in a healthy environment as pledged in the South African Constitution and detailed in section 5.3.1. Additionally, despite the assurance of support for land beneficiaries to ensure such service provision, such support has been ineffectual for the †Khomani.

## 5.5 SANITATION FACILITIES

While access to clean water, as detailed above, is important in relation to poverty alleviation, the need of sanitation facilities is equally essential. Without sanitation facilities, the likelihood of ingesting faecal contaminated food or water increases, resulting in health concerns and increased morbidity through parasite infestation,

infection and disease. Consequently, income poverty is compounded as monetary health costs are often incurred, while ill health impedes the individuals' ability to work. Such poverty through ill health can be combated by breaking of the oral-faecal cycle through practices such as hand washing in clean water , along with the instillation of adequate sanitation facilities, specifically toilets, which directly contribute toward an environment free of faecal contamination (UNDP 2004; Bosch et al. 2002; Choffnes and Mack 2009; WHO 2005).

### **5.5.1 Sanitation Facilities in Mier Local Municipality**

Given these concerns regarding poor sanitation, the South African White Paper on Water Supply and Sanitation argues that the provision of adequate sanitation facilities to all South African households is an immediate priority for the Government, in order to meet basic health needs and protect the environment, namely natural water supplies. However, the White Paper states that while bucket systems and pit latrines without ventilation are not deemed adequate sanitation facilities, conventional water based sanitation facilities are not always realistic, viable or achievable. Accordingly, the White Paper argues that adequate sanitation be defined as at least one Ventilated Improved Pit (VIP) latrine per household (Republic of South Africa 1994). From this it can be seen that the White Paper is in accordance with the environmental and health concerns of the Constitution of South Africa which, as already stated, argues that everyone is entitled to “an environment that is not harmful to their health or well being” (Republic of South Africa 1994:1251-1252). Using the White Paper on Water Supply and Sanitation's definition of adequate sanitation, 43.1 per cent of Mier households live without adequate sanitation, which is comparable to the nationwide figure of 40.6 per cent. However, of those using inadequate facilities, almost one quarter, 23.4 per cent, of households in Mier, are without any toilet facilities whatsoever, compared with 13.6 per cent nationwide. Additionally, 18.8 per cent of households in Mier make use of bucket latrines as opposed to only 4.2 per cent of households in South Africa. More recently in 2007 Mier Local Municipality acknowledged that the majority of Mier's population still lacked acceptable sanitation facilities (Mier Local Municipality 2007).



**Table 5.4:** Mier Local Municipality and South Africa by Sanitation (at household level)

Toilet Facility	Mier Municipality	Mier Municipality	South Africa	South Africa
Flush Toilet Connected to Sewerage System	373	23.7%	5 500 012	49.1%
Flush Toilet with Septic Tank	307	19.5%	312 986	2.8%
Chemical Toilet	143	9.1%	218 377	1.9%
Pit Latrine with Ventilation	69	4.4%	635 957	5.7%
*Pit Latrine without Ventilation	14	0.9%	2 557 472	22.8%
*Bucket Latrine	296	18.8%	475 373	4.2%
*None	367	23.4%	1 523 511	13.6%
Misrepresented	-1	0.0%	-23	0.0%
<b>Total Households</b>	1570	100%	11 205 711	100%

**Source:** calculated from census data 2001, Statistics South Africa.

\*According to the White Paper on Water Supply and Sanitation these are inadequate sanitation facilities (Republic of South Africa 1994).

### 5.5.2 ꞤKhomani Sanitation Facilities

Only the ꞤKhomani individuals residing in the formal housing of the farms have access to sanitation facilities. This is approximately 200 individuals, an estimated half the population of the ꞤKhomani farms. As these toilet facilities are water based they only function if groundwater has been pumped into the water tanks that supply the systems. As many of the formal houses are shared by a number of different households, the toilets facilities are also shared. The farmhouse and outbuildings on Andriesvale are occupied by 22 adults and 24 children, all sharing three bathrooms (Fonnie Brou, pers. correspondence, August 2010). At present the ꞤKhomani living in informal houses are without sanitation facilities, with some individuals using pit latrines, while the majority these individuals use the open bushland for their toiletry needs (Letsoalo Forthcoming). There is a public toilet attached to the shop at Askham, 15km from Andriesvale, which the ꞤKhomani can use when the shop is open, if they can get there. It can be seen that in regard to sanitation facilities, the situation of the ꞤKhomani is inferior to the rest of the Mier population. In Mier 23.4 per cent of households have no toilet facilities (see Table 5.4), compared to approximately 50 per cent of ꞤKhomani households. To date the Government has failed to institute minimal sanitation facilities of one VIP latrine per household. Accordingly, this lack of adequate sanitation facilities raises concerns in

regard to poverty alleviation, due to the potential for ill health and the resulting inability to partake in education, income generation and subsistence activities. Once again government policies, and the supply of basic services to land reform beneficiaries, which are deemed essential for positive rural development outcomes, have proved difficult to implement. This means that the majority of †Khomani have inadequate sanitation facilities that contributes to their poverty.

## **5.6 WASTE DISPOSAL SERVICES**

From the above it can be seen that access to formal housing, safe energy, clean water and sanitation can improve the health of individuals, contributing to poverty alleviation. Access to waste disposal services is also important in this respect. Without waste removal services, waste remains uncollected, providing refuge for disease spreading parasites and insects, constituting a human health hazard (McGranahan 1993; UNDP 2003; Satterthwaite 2003). Health issues are of particular concern to individuals who scavenge these sites or who live nearby the dumping areas (Cointreau 2006; Hayami, Dikshit, and Mishra 2006). Furthermore, waste removal services contribute to a cleaner environment. Without these services, waste is left to wash away polluting water resources, while household waste is burnt at low temperatures contributing to air pollution (McGranahan 1993; Zurbrugg 2002; Satterthwaite 2003). Accordingly, access to waste disposal services is essential for a clean environment and the good health of individuals, which ensures that individuals are able to pursue education and subsistence activities, therefore contributing to poverty alleviation.

### **5.6.1 Waste Disposal Services in Mier Local Municipality**

In accordance with above, South Africa's White Paper on Integrated Pollution and Waste Management recognises that waste is a form of pollution and therefore potentially damaging to health. Despite this the White Paper also acknowledges that in South Africa, particularly in the rural areas, waste disposal services are ineffective, sub standard or non existent, resulting in environmentally damaging practices such as illegal dumping . Consequently, the White Paper seeks to ensure that all South Africans have adequate and sufficient waste disposal services (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism 2000). In respect to waste disposal services in the Mier area, in 2001 the

Local Municipal Council administered this service to 25.3 per cent of households, while throughout South Africa this service was administered to more than double this percentage of households at 56.9 per cent (see Table 5.5). Six years later in 2007 the Mier Local Municipality acknowledged that they were still having difficulty providing this service, stating that “the removal of refuse is a service which the Municipality is not yet capable of rendering fully” (Mier Local Municipality 2007:11). Overall 74.8 per cent of households in Mier Local Municipality are responsible for the disposal of their own waste, compared to 43 per cent nationwide.

**Table 5.5:** Mier Local Municipality and South Africa by Refuse Disposal Method (at household level)

Refuse Disposal Method	Mier Municipality	Mier Municipality	South Africa	South Africa
Removed by Local Authority Once a Week	223	14.2%	6 210 214	55.4%
Removed by Local Authority Less than Once a Week	175	11.1%	172 028	1.5%
Communal Refuse Dump	38	2.4%	195 677	1.7%
Own Refuse Dump	1 026	65.3%	3 655 045	32.6%
No Rubbish Disposal	112	7.1%	972 741	8.7%
Misrepresented	+4	0.2%	-6	0.0%
<b>Total Households</b>	1570	100%	11 205 711	100%

Source: calculated from census data 2001, Statistics South Africa.

### 5.6.2 †Khomani Waste Disposal

Despite being located in Mier Local Municipality, the Municipality does not provide waste collection services for the †Khomani Community, due to the lack of an organised settlement. While †Khomani individuals do re-use certain “waste” products such as plastic bottles, they mostly dispose of the remaining waste through burning, which has implications for the environment and the health of individuals, given the resulting emissions. The †Khomani do endeavour to keep their environment clean, organising “clean up days”, when necessary, encouraging community members collect all stray refuse from the farms and surrounding area. The people of Mier have inferior waste disposal services than the rest of South Africa, with the †Khomani Community’s access to the service being non-existent. As a result, the †Khomani burn waste, polluting and

degrading the environment, while contributing to the ill health of individuals. Through this failure to supply waste disposal services, the Government is failing to uphold that South African Constitution which gives people the right to live in an environment which is not dangerous to their health, while protecting the environment for future generations (Republic of South Africa 1996). Additionally, it can be seen that, despite the Government citing that support services would ensure basic service provision for land reform beneficiary population, †Khomani's land ownership has not enabled the Community to access waste disposal services which can improve the health of individuals, and result in more efficient livelihood strategies and poverty alleviation.

## **5.7 HEALTH CARE SERVICES**

Ill-health and premature death are recognised as being both a cause of poverty and an outcome of poverty (Lawson 2004; Braveman and Gruskin 2003). Individuals must be healthy to partake in subsistence activities, including income generation. When individuals suffer ill health, they are unable to undertake these activities, meaning that they lose wages. Additionally, sick individuals may incur costs travelling to health care facilities and have to pay health care costs. If death results, households may be left minus a breadwinner and with health care debts. Furthermore, as other individuals often take time off work to care for sick individuals, this means that these individuals also lose wages (Castro-Leal et al. 2000; Development Assistance Committee 2003; Poku 2002). Ill health also affects the education of children and therefore their future prospects of securing employment. Children may be unable to attend school because either they are sick, they need to care for a sick individual, or because they must secure employment to support the household when an individual is unable to work due to illness (Development Assistance Committee 2003). Consequently, when ill health or death strikes a household, the household is in danger of losing income or food, incurring health care debts, while selling assets to survive in the short term. Children may also forgo education reducing their possibilities of future employment and maintaining them in poverty. Accordingly, improved health, through access to health care services is important to allow individuals to escape poverty (Braveman and Gruskin 2003; Lawson 2004).

### 5.7.1 Health Care Services in Mier Municipality

The South African Constitution, states that “Everyone has the right to have access to health care services” (Republic of South Africa 1994:1255), and indeed such services are available in Mier Local Municipality, free of cost. The South African Government supplies the only comprehensive health care services in the Mier area, while SASI and local churches run HIV/AIDS education and support projects. In Mier, the two government health clinics are located at Rietfontein and Askham, with Rietfontein having the larger clinic. These clinics are open daily Monday to Friday, with a mobile clinic operating out of Rietfontein clinic, to service the outlying community (Burden, interview, December 2007). Although a doctor is scheduled to hold clinics in the area bi-monthly (South African San Institute 2004), this post is vacant. Consequently, nurses based at clinics in Mier consult doctors telephonically if required, either treating patients accordingly or referring the patient to Gordonia government hospital, in Upington. Two ambulances service the Mier area, one based at each clinic. These ambulances transport individuals from the outlying areas to the clinics or the Government hospital in Upington, for either routine or emergency treatment. Given the large area serviced, ambulances can take up to two and a half hours to reach the patient. Additionally, as ambulance staff are not paramedics, only having first aid skills (Burden, interview, December 2007), this has significant impacts on patients when ambulances are required to attend emergencies or transport seriously ill patients up to 260km to hospital in Upington. Routinely, the clinics supply primary health care services, including general first aid, immunisations, STI treatment, counselling, Tuberculosis (TB) and HIV/AIDS testing and treatment, along with, family planning, ante and post natal services (Burden, interview, December 2007, South African San Institute 2004). Additionally, babies are delivered at the clinics (South African San Institute 2004), unless complications are expected, when the prospective mother is sent to hospital in Upington for delivery (Burden, interview, December 2007). Clinics also provide free educational leaflets, including HIV/AIDS information pamphlets, in addition to free condoms. As these items are generally only available in the public areas of the clinics, where others can observe individuals taking the items, people are reluctant to take HIV/AIDS leaflets or condoms, given the stigma that is associated with the virus in the area. HIV/AIDS blood tests are available at the clinics with analysis taking two weeks in Upington (South African San Institute 2004). With permission, pregnant women are routinely and

anonymously tested for HIV/AIDS (Burden, interview, December 2007). Although, people with AIDS can be admitted to the Gordonia Hospital in Upington, due to financial constraints, lack of beds and nursing staff, the hospital cannot accommodate long term stays (South African San Institute 2004).

At present, there are only limited official data available regarding the health status of the population of Mier Local Municipality. Accordingly, it is difficult to determine the extent to which the above services are targeting the appropriate health issues. Information relating to HIV/AIDS and TB in the Northern Cape Province and Siyanda District Municipality, of which Mier Local Municipality is located, is available and gives an indication of the incidence of these illnesses. In 2000, it was found that HIV/AIDS was the number one cause of premature death in South Africa, followed by homicide, with TB being third. In the Northern Cape Province that same year it was estimated that HIV/AIDS was the number one cause of premature death followed by TB (Bradshaw et al. 2006:9). In 2008, 29.3 per cent of antenatal women tested nationally for HIV/AIDS, tested positive (National Department of Health 2009:6), compared to only 13 per cent tested in Siyanda District Municipality (National Department of Health 2009:25). This suggests that HIV/AIDS is either less prevalent in Siyanda District Municipality, which includes Mier, or that it is less likely to be detected. Overall, this data suggests that as TB is proportionally more prevalent in the Northern Cape compared to the rest of South Africa, this may also be that case for Mier Municipality, however, appropriate figures in relation to Mier are not available to make comparisons. As HIV/AIDS is less prolific in Siyanda District than nationally, this might also be true of the Mier population, however, once again appropriate figures for comparison are lacking.

Figures obtained relating to HIV/AIDS or TB infections in the Mier Local Municipality are incomplete. Unofficially, in the area serviced by Askham clinic, in 2010 there were approximately 40 individuals registered as HIV positive, of which 25 had AIDS. All individuals with HIV are in receipt of medication. In May 2010, 8 cases of TB were reported in the Askham clinic for that month, all receiving treatment. Six of these individuals are HIV positive, while in 2009 and 2010, there was one death each year from AIDS (Anonymous, pers. comm., June 2010). No comparable figures relating to

Rietfontein clinic were available. Data from the Northern Cape Department of Health, states that 28 individuals were tested and registered with TB at Askham clinic in 2009, and 21 at Rietfontein Clinic. These figures are not culminate. Of these TB patients, two at each clinic tested positive for HIV. Additionally, between the years of 2007 and 2009, 12 individuals were tested positive for HIV at Askham clinic compared to four at Rietfontein clinic. During this time, 54 individuals were tested positive for AIDS at Askham clinic and 41 at Rietfontein. (Gilbert Makgopa, pers. correspondence, September 2009). Again, these figures are not culminate. Without knowing the numbers of people tested or the size of the population serviced by the Askham clinic these figures are limited in their usefulness, but may be of use in future comparisons. In relation to HIV/AIDS, local social worker Bienta Ghost indicates that, “We don’t really know how many in the Community are infected, but we have ten who have been open since last year” (interview, August 2007). Consequently, there may be a number of individuals in the area who have the virus but remain untested, while it can also be seen that only 10 of the 40 individuals infected with HIV in the area have chosen disclose their status.

The above indicates that extent to which the South African Government has instituted health care services in the Mier area in order to combat health issues and the apparent poverty. The lack of data regarding the health status of the population of Mier Local Municipality means that it is difficult to determine the extent to which the services are targeting the appropriate health issues. Despite this lack of information, it can be seen that certain aspects of the available health service require improvement. The fact that no doctor is employed in the area, in addition to the limited training of ambulance staff, which is of particular concern due to the long distances patients are transported, means that the Mier population is at a disadvantage compared to urban populations. Furthermore, given that HIV/AIDS is a major concern throughout the country, it would seem appropriate to determine a more discrete and comprehensive form of HIV/AIDS education and condom distribution.

### **5.7.2 †Khomani Health Care Services**

The †Khomani Community has access to the same free government health services as the wider Mier population, with Askham Clinic being the nearest formal health care

facility, located 15 km away from Andriesvale where the majority of the †Khomani live. Additionally, the †Khomani make use of traditional health treatments. While some †Khomani consult the Community's traditional healers, who have specialist knowledge, many individuals possess basic traditional knowledge to treat ailments such as colds and insect bites. Accordingly, individuals often self-medicate, consuming drinks and applying lotions made from plants and animal parts.

According to research commissioned by AFSA, which sampled 109 †Khomani<sup>30</sup> individuals, 28 per cent of those sampled always use traditional medicine, while 57.9 per cent sometimes use it, as opposed to 14 per cent who never use traditional medicine. The study showed that in the 12 month period prior to the research, 77.7 per cent of †Khomani individuals had attended a clinic or hospital compared to 2.9 per cent of individuals who had consulted a traditional healer (Letsoalo Forthcoming:16). Consequently, although traditional medicine is used in the †Khomani Community, a substantial number of individuals value and use the health care services supplied by the Government. Among the †Khomani, the use of western or traditional medicine is not determined by western or traditionalist beliefs. At present there is no documentation relating to the health needs of the †Khomani to determine if the available services are effectively targeting the specific needs of the Community. The recent AFSA commissioned study referred to above, however, can be used to determine if the HIV/AIDS education strategies employed in the area are successfully encouraging practices that prevent HIV/AIDS infection and protect individuals' health. The study reported that 57.1 per cent of †Khomani sampled reported that the Government Clinic was their main source of HIV/AIDS education, while street campaigns, run by government bodies and SASI, were the second most important source of information for individuals at 40.7 per cent. This is followed by 15.4 per cent of individuals who received HIV/AIDS education at school, with the media accounting for 6.6 per cent of respondents' knowledge (Letsoalo Forthcoming:18).

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<sup>30</sup> Of the 109 †Khomani individuals sampled, 20 individuals live in Upington, meaning that only 89 respondents were from the †Khomani farms, less than a quarter of the farms' population.



From these various sources of education, 40.6 per cent of individuals understood that the practice of “safe sex” was a way to avoid contracting HIV. Despite this figure only 34.9 per cent of the sample recognised that using a condom was a preventative measure, while 36.8 per cent suggested that being faithful was an effective preventative strategy, with 18.9 per cent stating that the avoidance of casual sex was a preventative measure. Blood contamination was also reported as a threat by 30.2 per cent of individuals. Herbal medicine was regarded as prevention by 7.5 per cent of the sample, while 15.1 per cent believed that avoiding dirty toilets would prevent HIV/AIDS (Letsoalo Forthcoming :19-20). These figures indicate that while the areas government health services and traditional authorities are imparting accurate information to some individuals in regard to HIV/AIDS prevention, they are failing to effectively communicate the message to a number of †Khomani. Accordingly, the majority of individuals continue to employ sexual practices that put them at risk of contracting HIV/AIDS. Only 34.9 per cent of individuals had ever used a condom which is in accordance with the figure above that recognised the use of condoms as prevention (Letsoalo Forthcoming: 19). Additionally, of the women sampled, 81.5 per cent had been pregnant, 52.8 per cent of these women indicated that the pregnancies had been accidental which indicates unsafe sex practices. Accordingly 13.2 per cent women of these women admitted they had not used condoms as they did not have any (Letsoalo Forthcoming: 21-22). It can be seen that government health services, SASI and traditional authorities are failing to educate the majority of †Khomani in relation good health practices in relation to HIV/AIDS, with individuals practicing behaviours which endanger their health. This is a concern given that ill health serves to compound poverty. In the twelve months prior to the study, 63.8 per cent of sampled individuals had undergone voluntary counselling and testing in relation to HIV/AIDS (Letsoalo Forthcoming: 17). This indicates that †Khomani individuals do take the threat of HIV/AIDS seriously. The fact individuals continue to practice risky behaviours indicates that people are unaware of, or unable to use effective prevention measures. Such behaviour may be due to cultural norms that deter the use of condoms, or because individuals are not able to get free condoms, which can only be obtained 15 km away at the Askham clinic.

The fact that the nearest health clinic is located at Askham has access implications for the †Khomani, the majority of which live on Andriesvale 15 km away, and is of concern to a number of community members. Poor infrastructure means that poor rural households are often unable to access health care facilities (Pauw and Mncube 2007:38). Transport difficulties mean that the †Khomani find accessing the health clinic a problem. Potat van Wyk said, “the Askham clinic is okay, but lots of people can’t get there every day” (interview, June 2010). Individuals must rely on lifts, to get to the clinic, usually from SASI or researchers. Alternatively, individuals wait at the roadside for passing vehicles to give them lifts to Askham. Given these difficulties many †Khomani neglect to visit the clinic in the early stages of illness, often waiting until symptoms become serious and difficult to treat. Furthermore as a number of †Khomani suffer from recurrent TB, with treatment requiring daily attendance at the Askham clinic, Monday to Friday for injections, access difficulties can have serious outcomes. A number of †Khomani regularly fail to successfully complete the course of treatment, resulting in death. One individual Tooks Witbooi, who lived and worked on a farm approximately 45 km from the clinic, was diagnosed with recurrent TB. Despite the fact that he lived such a distance from the clinic and required daily injections, the mobile clinic was unable to attend him. As Tooks cannot drive and there is no public or private transport between his workplace and Askham, despite it being on the main road to the KTP, Tooks was unable to make the daily journey to Askham for treatment. Consequently, Tooks had to give up weekday work and move to Askham to be near the clinic. If he was able to get a lift from Askham to his place of work at the weekend his employer gave him work. Eventually, Tooks did recover from TB, however, as his employer only paid wages for hours actually worked, Tooks’s ill health resulted in a loss of income.

Some †Khomani are not satisfied with the Government health services, given the time taken for ambulances to arrive and transport individuals to hospital in emergencies, often taking in excess of 2 hours. Koos Titus is also unhappy with the service, due to there being no Doctor in the area and his recognition that “the sisters [nurses] can’t do everything a doctor can” (interview, June 2010). Despite these concerns however, many †Khomani regard the Government health care services positively. Hendrick Vaalbooi

commented that the services are “excellent” (interview, June 2010), while Blade Witbooi said, “they are okay” (interview, June 2010).

This demonstrates that the South African Government has instituted health care services in the Mier area. Accordingly a number of services are available to the †Khomani, however, the †Khomani have problems accessing the nearest clinic in Askham, which is located at a distance from the †Khomani farms. Accordingly, †Khomani individuals struggle to complete treatments which require multiple clinic visits. The †Khomani also use traditional medicine to treat illness. Despite the services on offer, it seems that in regard to some illnesses, specifically HIV/AIDS, these services are failing to adequately impart sufficient knowledge and materials to enable individuals to live healthily, contributing to poverty alleviation.

## 5.8 EDUCATION

Education increases employment prospects, with higher education levels indicating enhanced abilities. The more educated an individual, the higher the wage (Tilak 2002; van der Berg 2008). Consequently, it has been argued that Education enhances people’s ability to rise out of poverty. Educated people better understand and apply guidelines in relation to health and safety, meaning that education is also a determinant of household health care practices, including improved nutrition (van der Berg 2008; Noor 1980). Consequently, healthy children attend school more regularly while improved nutrition improves children’s ability to learn (van der Berg 2008). Where society employs the written word, education also enables people to know and better defend their legal rights (Dreze and Sen 2003). Accordingly, education is important to secure employment and income, improve health, ensure rights and reduce poverty. Individuals living in poverty, however, often fail to, or are unable to access adequate education, resulting in low education levels. Poor people often do not access education given the costs involved. The financial costs of school attendance are frequently high, including school fees, transport costs, school uniforms, and textbooks, making it difficult for poor parents to send children to school (Tilak 2002; van der Berg 2008; Dieltiens and Meny-Gibert 2008). Additionally, where school attendance requires children to relinquish domestic duties, such as fetching wood and water, or agricultural work, parents are often reluctant to send children to school, particularly where the benefits are not immediately apparent.

In rural areas where employment is scarce and even educated individuals struggle to find employment, children are often reluctant to attend school, or poorly motivated to perform well, due to the perception that education does not bring benefits (van der Berg 2008; Dieltiens and Meny-Gibert 2008; Rolleston 2011). Even when poor individuals do attend school, the education available is frequently of inferior quality, given the absence of basic resources, such as textbooks, along with overcrowding, which makes it difficult for teachers to deliver quality education. Additionally, teaching standards are generally substandard as it is difficult to attract good teachers to schools with poor resources, even where financial incentives are offered. This is partly due to the difficulty of teaching poor children, given their deprived circumstances and the low educational status of the parents meaning that parents are unable to assist children with homework (van der Berg 2008; Tilak 2002).

### 5.8.1 Education in Mier Local Municipality

The South African Constitution states that “Everyone has the right to a basic education”, while the state must provide adult basic education, and make efforts to supply accessible further education opportunities (Republic of South Africa 1996:1257). In the Mier Local Municipality basic education is available, there are six state run primary schools and one combined school, all of which teach in Afrikaans, with English language being taught at secondary school. There are no independent schools in the area, nor are there any state run further education institutions. The percentage of individuals in Mier, between the age of 5 and 24, attending educational institutions does not deviate significantly from the rest of the country. Of particular concern to local government is the fact that only 0.3 per cent of the Mier population attend further or higher education institutions (college, technikon, university and adult education) (Mier Local Municipality 2007:7-8), as opposed to 2.7 per cent in South Africa overall (see Table 5.6).

**Table 5.6:** Mier Local Municipality and South Africa by Educational Institution Attendance (age 5-24)

Educational Institution	Mier Municipality	Mier Municipality	South Africa	South Africa
None	771	26.7%	5 463 876	28.5%
Pre-School	166	5.7%	575 938	3%

<b>School</b>	1913	66.3%	12 584 823	65.5%
<b>College</b>	9	0.3%	191 228	1%
<b>Technikon</b>	0	-	145 975	0.8%
<b>University</b>	0	-	169 605	0.8%
<b>Adult Education</b>	0	-	26 474	0.1%
<b>Other</b>	27	0.9%	33 790	0.2%
<b>Misrepresented</b>	+1	0%	+1	0%
<b>Total Population</b> (5-24 year old)	2885	100%	19 191 708	100%

**Source:** calculated from census data 2001, Statistics South Africa.

### 5.8.2 ꞤKhomani Education

The majority of ꞤKhomani children attend Askham Primary School, the nearest school to Andriesvale farm where the most ꞤKhomani live. Accordingly, children must travel 15 km every day to primary school by school bus or live in the school hostel. There have been issues regarding the younger children living in the hostel, however, and most ꞤKhomani parents prefer children to live at home, as do the children. Social Worker, Bienta Ghooste said:

In the past most of the smaller children in the hostel were ꞤKhomani, but because of problems...the children were coming here when they were 6 years old...then they [the parents] felt their children were neglected here, there were lots of problems, so now the children are going up and down in the bus or taxi. We said that they [parents] must keep the smaller children at home but the older ones must stay here... because there are too many for the transport (interview, August 2007).

Following primary school, ꞤKhomani children attend the combined school in Rietfontein for secondary school education. Given that the school is situated approximately 60 km from Andriesvale farm, ꞤKhomani students become boarders at the school hostel as there is no daily school transport for individuals whose family homes are such a distance away. Willie Julius, principal at Rietfontein School says “Rietfontein school has approximately 1064 learners....There are 170 learners staying at the hostel... They go home once a month, for long weekends, and the school holidays quarterly” (interview, August 2007). Consequently, ꞤKhomani children are limited in the amount of time they are able to spend at home with their families, with both the

children and parents finding this difficult. There is also concern regarding the quality of education provided, and the problem of teacher recruitment in Mier. Willie Julius comments:

We have computers in the school, but don't give classes, as we don't have a computing teacher. We advertise but no one applies- it's particularly difficult to get computing teachers. Many teachers are from the area and return here but others are from else where- Cape Town. There is no financial incentive to encourage teachers to the area yet. It's in the pipeline. All the teachers are qualified apart from two substitute teachers- they have just matric. They substitute for someone on maternity leave and another on sick leave but that is only for 2 months (interview, August 2007).

Given the issues regarding the quality of education available at Rietfontein School, some †Khomani parents, such as Annetta Bok, desire to send children to be educated in Upington, where schooling is of better quality. Willie Julius says, "people want to send children to school in Upington, as the former white schools have better equipment and resources" (interview, December 2007). This is costly, however, Willie Julius explains, "learners can go to whatever school they want but the Government only subsidises you to go to the nearest one...[so] Parents don't pay school fees at Rietfontein, only for the hostel. In Upington there are fees, it is expensive" (interview, August 2007). Accordingly, only households with the available financial resources can send their children to Upington for a superior education. This means that poorer children, such as the †Khomani, must accept an inferior education which affects employment opportunities and income levels in later life, making it difficult for individuals to escape poverty. Despite these concerns, a number of the †Khomani are satisfied with the available school education. Koos Titus stated that he was "happy" with the education system in the area (interview, June 2010), while Martha van der Westhuizen, who has two children, said, "it's okay" (pers. comm., June 2010). Hendrick Vaalbooi (interview, June 2010) and Potat van Wyk (interview June 2010) both indicated that the schools are "good", while Blades Witbooi, who has children attending Askham Primary School and Rietfontein Secondary School says that "the school is good, there is a new curriculum...the right things are being taught" (interview, June 2010). A number of †Khomani mothers, however, have indicated that they would welcome a more local school which would also teach †Khomani traditions to the children. Anna Red Witbooi

commented, “a primary school at Andriesvale would be good, teaching traditions too” (interview, May 2007). Martha van der Westhuizen agrees, saying, “that a traditional school would be good” (interview, May 2007).

Although primary and secondary education is available to all children in the Mier Area, many, particularly those of the ꞛKhomani, fail to complete school education. Consequently, many individuals have difficulty in later life in regard to securing employment. In regard to Askham school attendance social worker Bienta Ghooste (interview, August 2007), comments:

at the beginning of the year there were 400 and something students, but I’m not sure now. There are a lot of dropouts during the year, so I really don’t know...We have a big problem with drop out rates.

Despite the high rate of children that drop out of school in Askham, the school fails to adequately enforce attendance, of which Bienta (interview, August 2007) is critical:

We have an agreement with the school that they must report children’s absence at a very early stage, because sometimes we have a problem that a child is 3 months at home and then they [the school] come and tell us and... when we pick up, the child has been out of school for 3 or 6 months or even 2 years. The school thinks it is okay for children to go only till 15 years old, but I disagree, it should be 18, because at 15 years you can do nothing.

Many ꞛKhomani recognise the importance of education and the affect incomplete schooling has in regard to gaining employment and earning income. Abraham Kariseb stated “I’d like to work in the Park, but my lack of high school qualification means that I’m less likely to get work” (interview, May 2007). However, not all adults hold education in such high regard. Bienta Ghooste suggests school drop out rates are high “because most of the adults don’t have higher education so they’re not motivated to see their children finish school” (interview, August 2007). Consequently, Bienta (interview, August 2007) states:

Each and every year we have back to school campaigns. We go door to door of each and every house, I have volunteers that go with me... At that point we talk to the parents about how important going to school is.

Despite the above efforts, school absenteeism and school drop out rates continue to be high, among the ꞤKhomani. This is because poor school attendance is not only reliant on parents understanding that education is important. Even when parents understand the importance they often do not send children to school. For example a number of ꞤKhomani children do not attend school as their parents cannot afford school uniform, as this indicates the extent of the family's poverty and is embarrassing for parents. Additionally children without uniforms usually do not want to attend school as they are often teased and bullied. Bullying of ꞤKhomani children, by both children and teachers at Askham School has been a serious problem in the past, attracting investigations from the SAHRC. To address these issues, a programme has been implemented at Askham Primary School to allow poorer households to purchase uniforms. Bienta Ghoose (interview, August 2007) comments:

Most of the children here around are coming from farms and in January of most years there are so many children who don't have school uniforms when they come to school. They don't have shoes and those children want to collect. For example when my children's shoes or shirt is too small, I'll donate it to the programme, or when my daughter's going to the high school, I'll donate it. So they will have a school bank where you can buy a second hand school uniform for a very small amount.

Nevertheless given the extreme poverty of many ꞤKhomani, parents are unable to afford these second hand uniforms. Poverty is a recurring reason that ꞤKhomani children do not complete school. In 2004, the SAHRC reported that some ꞤKhomani parents withheld children from school, to allow the children to generate income through selling crafts at road side stalls (South African Human Rights Commission 2004:24). This practice continues today among a minority of ꞤKhomani. Family illness and death is another reason for incomplete education. Tina Kariseb recalls, "I enjoyed school at Rietfontein, but didn't finish school, because my parents died" (interview, May 2007)

Overall, despite the availability of free education in Mier, in addition to the efforts of social worker Bienta Ghooste to ensure school attendance, a number of ꞤKhomani children fail to complete school education. This is for a number of reasons. While some adults fail to recognise the importance of ensuring children complete school,



others recognise the importance of schooling but fail to send children to school due to financial constraints. Some parents are unable to afford school uniforms and keep children home as a result, while other parents argue that the children are needed to help generate income on the craft stalls. Additionally, deaths or ill health in families often results in the inability of children to complete school, as the child must care for other family members, or is needed to contribute to the household income, due to income loss. This indicates that poverty is often the reason that children fail to complete school. Consequently, these individuals have difficulty securing employment and continue to live in the cycle of poverty. Even †Khomani children who complete secondary school often fail to leave school with meaningful qualifications. Richard Jacobs (interview, June 2007) recalls:

I left at grade 9, when I was about 17 years old, because I didn't have any identity documents. This was due to financial problems, and as a result I couldn't take the school exams. Therefore I don't have my school qualification and I think this might make it more difficult for me to get work.

This again demonstrates that a lack of income impedes the ability of individuals to secure appropriate qualifications to enhance future employment opportunities to alleviate poverty.

In relation to adult education levels among the †Khomani, according to a household survey conducted by FARM-Africa, on average all †Khomani individuals over the age of 40 are functionally illiterate. Additionally, of economically active †Khomani individuals (aged between 15 and 60 years) only 5 per cent of males and 11 per cent of women had completed secondary school education (Bradstock 2004:7). Despite this, at present, there is no adult basic education provided for the †Khomani. This same study also indicated that none of the †Khomani individuals surveyed had any tertiary education (Bradstock 2004). At present, there are no further or higher education establishments in the Mier area. For †Khomani individuals who choose to attend such an establishment, following secondary school, they must leave the Mier area, incurring the associated costs. Upington has the closest further education institutions, while the University of the Free State is the nearest establishment of higher education, located in Bloemfontein.

In accordance with the South African Constitution and supporting policies, basic education is available to the †Khomani Community, albeit at an inferior quality to the education available in Upington, which is unaffordable to the †Khomani. Despite low levels of †Khomani adult education the Government does not offer any adult basic education for †Khomani adults, to improve their employment opportunities. Furthermore, the Government has not made any efforts to institute further education institutions in the Mier area, meaning that †Khomani individuals must incur the costs of locating to another city in this pursuit. Overall, the land reform process has allowed the †Khomani to inhabit land from which †Khomani children can access basic education. However, government policies have not improved the ability of †Khomani adults to access basic education, or allowed for easier access to further education. Consequently, it is unlikely that the land reform process will enable individuals to escape poverty through access to education and subsequent employment, now or even in the future given the poor quality of the education.

### **5.8.3 Consequences of Limited Education**

As indicated above, limited education curtails the ability of individuals to secure employment and manage businesses to generate income and alleviate poverty. Lack of education is significant among the †Khomani, with FARM-Africa estimating that only 5 per cent of †Khomani males and 11 per cent of women, aged 15 to 60 have complete secondary school education. Furthermore, FARM-Africa suggest that the majority of †Khomani individuals, over the age of 40 are functionally illiterate (Bradstock 2004:7). Consequently, individuals are limited in the particular jobs for which they are qualified and can apply.

A lack of basic education is a significant constraint to some †Khomani individuals' ability to secure particular types of work. In 2007, SASI's Home and Textiles Project had a shop on Miersouppan Farm, from which its products, comprising painted and embroidered clothes and home ware, were sold. This shop was staffed by the projects product makers. While basic education is not essential for product making, it was needed to enable SASI to maintain stock control and financial management records for the shop. When staff sold shop products, they were required to give a written receipt to

the customer. However, on occasion customers, including myself, had to write their own receipts due to the inability of staff to perform this task. Consequently, such individuals are limited by their educational abilities, as they are unable to successfully apply for employment that requires written skills. As the majority of the †Khomani Community only speak Afrikaans, they are also excluded from a number of employment opportunities that require English language skills. Although English is taught at Rietfontein Secondary School, given that many †Khomani fail to complete school, their English language skills are inadequate. Furthermore, individuals that do complete secondary school in Mier often have insufficient English language skills compared to those educated in Upington. Consequently, such individuals are limited in regard to employment opportunities, mainly being restricted to low income employment in private households or as farm hands or domestic workers. Although these individuals may secure employment in the areas tourism industry, working in the kitchens or as room attendants, a number of the areas tourism employers require certain staff to speak English. This means that employment opportunities are expanded for competent English speaking individuals. Molopo Lodge requires that managers, receptionists, waitrons and bar staff have sufficient English. In regard to the KTP, according to the acting hospitality manager, Willam Feris, “The requirement of English depends on the job” (interview, February 2008). In the KTP managers, receptionists, field guides, waitrons, shop staff, petrol pump attendants and gate guards are all required to speak English. This is similar to !Xaus Lodge, which is partially owned by the †Khomani. The Lodge’s cook, Ellen Bok, commented “The waitresses and people who deal with the tourists all have to speak English (interview, December 2007). Accordingly, †Khomani individuals without English language skills are limited in regard to work positions for which they are qualified to apply. Additionally, non-English speaking †Khomani individuals often fail to secure work in Upington or further afield, due to insufficient English.

It has been suggested that if individuals were able to gain sufficient work experience this would compensate for limited education or formal qualification. However, it is difficult to gain experience. The importance of work experience is highlighted by Willem Feris,

acting hospitality manager of the KTP, “If a job requires grade 12<sup>31</sup> we can overlook this if the person has adequate experience” (interview, February 2008). Many †Khomani however, do not possess the required employment experience for many jobs. In regard to !Xaus Lodge, the †Khomani and Mier Communities, the owners, decided that a management company, Transfrontier Parks Destinations, was needed to manage the Lodge. This company is responsible for the appointment of the Lodge staff, with company director, Glynn O’Leary (interview, July 2007) stating:

If we were able to fill one hundred percent of the jobs from the Mier and †Khomani Community we would do that...we have and will continue to give first priority to employing people from the immediate environment... we [the Lodge] looked for the best talent we could get.

To date, no individual from either the †Khomani or Mier Communities has held the position of Lodge manager, due to lack of experience and qualification. Additionally, the lack of hospitality experience coupled with insufficient English Language skills means that at present, all †Khomani employed at the Lodge work in the cultural village, making and selling traditional crafts. According to Ellen Bok, “Different people get different wages at the Lodge, it depends how much experience you have” (interview, December 2007). This means that the †Khomani earn less than staff who are experienced in the hospitality industry. Overall, given a lack of basic education, English language and work experience, †Khomani individuals are limited in their ability to secure employment. Furthermore, when employment is secured it is usually unskilled, given the insufficient education and experience of individuals, meaning that it offers low pay. As a result inadequate education levels and experience means that the †Khomani continue to live in poverty.

## **5.9 TRANSPORT INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES**

Transport infrastructure and services in developing countries are typically poor and inadequate in the rural areas. In these areas, where such services exist they are expensive meaning that the rural poor spend a higher proportion of income on transport, than their urban counterparts (Ellis and Hine 1998; Lebo and Schelling 2001;

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<sup>31</sup> Approximately, age 17 or 18.

Gannon and Liu 1997). Given the high costs, the rural poor are often unable to afford “for-payment” transport, meaning that individuals are forced to walk, using time and energy, which could be used for other productive activities (Gannon and Liu 1997). As walking limits mobility, employment opportunities are also limited to the immediate area for such individuals. Accordingly, better transport infrastructure and services allow individuals to access employment opportunities further afield (Ahmed and Donovan 1990; Escobal and Ponce 2002; Gannon and Liu 1997). Additionally, employment opportunities increase given the required construction and maintenance of transport infrastructure (Gannon and Liu 1997). In rural areas, improved infrastructure results in decreased shipping costs, allowing farmers to transport more produce further afield, increasing produce distribution and demand and therefore labour and employment opportunities. Transport services also allow individuals better access to basic services, including education and health care facilities and increase attendance at both (Gannon and Liu 1997; Ellis and Hine 1998; Guimaraes and Uhl 1997; Foster and Briceno-Garmendia 2101; Ahmed and Donovan 1990). From this, it can be seen that improved transport infrastructure and services reduce transport costs for people and goods and improve efficiency. This results in additional employment opportunities and better access to basic services, while product prices decrease. Such benefits of enhanced transport infrastructure and transportation services contribute to poverty alleviation.

### **5.9.1 Modes of Transport in Mier Local Municipality**

Despite the links between transport infrastructure and poverty, the South African Constitution fails to suggest that access to transport should be a right of the individual. The Government’s White Paper on National Transport Policy, however, recognises that the Government needs to give attention to rural passenger transport to provide appropriate and affordable transport to ensure accessibility of employment and social services (Department of Transport 1996). Since 2009, the two main roads in Mier Local Municipality have been upgraded, making them more accessible. This includes the roads from Andriesvale to the KTP, and from Andriesvale to Rietfontein (see Fig. 1.1), both of which have been sealed. Almost all the remaining roads in Mier are unsealed gravel roads, which are subject to flooding and closure, during the rainy season. At present, in the Mier area, school buses are the only form of public transport services.

Accordingly, 84.4 per cent of people in Mier Local Municipality walk to work or school, compared to 59.9 per cent nationwide, while 4.8 per cent of Mier people drive a car to work, compared to more than double that figure throughout South Africa, at 9.9 per cent.

**Table 5.7:** Mier Local Municipality and South Africa by Transportation Method (to work/school)

Transport Mode	Mier Municipality	Mier Municipality	South Africa	South Africa
On Foot	2844	84.8%	13 770 349	59.4%
By Bicycle	36	1.1%	197 454	0.9%
By Motorbike	17	0.5%	100 736	0.4%
By Car as Driver	161	4.8%	2 292 874	9.9%
By Car as Passenger	134	4.0%	2 005 946	8.6%
By Minibus/taxi	7	0.2%	2 670 217	11.5%
By Bus	132	3.9%	1 391 806	6.0%
By Train	3	0.1%	582 246	2.5%
Other (horses, donkey carts etc)	20	0.6%	163 025	0.7%
N/A	3498	-	21 645 133	-
<b>Total Applicable Population</b>	3354	100%	23 174 653	100%

Source: calculated from census data 2001, Statistics South Africa.

### 5.9.2 †Khomani Transport Methods

At present there is no public transport services available to the †Khomani, except buses for school transportation purposes. The majority of †Khomani travel locally by walking, a few have bicycles while those that own donkeys use donkey carts to travel (see Plate 5.3). When community members must travel further afield they rely on lifts from NGO workers and researchers, or hitch lifts from the side of the road. Alternatively, there are two private minibus-taxi services in the area. One runs from Andriesvale/Askham to Upington, three times a week at a cost of R220 return, while the other serves Askham/Andriesvale to Rietfontein two days a week costing R60 return (Martha van der Westhuizen, pers. correspondence, October 2010).



**Plate 5.3:** †Khomani Donkey Cart (Grant 2010)

Although a number of the Community can and do drive, few have drivers licences. Adam Bok comments, “not many people here have driver’s licences although they drive. On the farm here [Andriesvale] only Fannie and me have licences” (interview, June 2007). Even for individuals that drive, few †Khomani have access to a motor vehicle. Of the few cars that the †Khomani own, many are limited by their roadworthiness, meaning that the cars can only be used locally. Adam’s car is one such car (see Fig. 5.4). Additionally the cost of petrol limits the use of the existing cars.



**Plate 5.4:** Adam Bok and his Car (Grant 2007)

The roads on the ꞤKhomani farms comprise of compressed sand. Consequently, the majority of the 37 000 hectares of ꞤKhomani farmland is only accessible using 4 x 4 vehicles, meaning that cars such as Adams are not suitable for use on much of the farmland. Although, SASI and the CPA have 4 x 4 cars, these are only accessible to a few individuals who are permitted to use them for appropriate tasks. To date, although the main roads from Andriesvale to the KTP, and Rietfontein, have been upgraded in recent years, public transport services in the area remain extremely limited. Where private transport services do exist they are expensive. Few ꞤKhomani have driving licences or access to appropriate vehicles for their needs, while those who do have vehicles often cannot afford to safely maintain or run them. Consequently, transportation both on and around the ꞤKhomani farms is constrained. This impacts the Community's ability to access basic services, secure employment outside the immediate area, and to transport livestock to town, meaning that this lack of transport services is contributing to ꞤKhomani impoverishment.

## 5.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter has highlighted the importance of basic service provision in order to alleviate poverty and facilitate rural development. It has demonstrated the multi-dimensional and interactive nature of poverty. For example, poor housing, sanitation,



education and health facilities all interact to result in poor health, which in turn limits people's ability to gain and maintain employment to alleviate poverty. Consequently, holistic strategies that aim to improve these services will enable better outcomes than strategies that only address one such issue. For most part, basic services have not been provided to the †Khomani and where services are available, the quality is questionable and inferior to that available elsewhere in South Africa. Furthermore, where basic services are available to the †Khomani, such as health care facilities, access is restricted due to insufficient transport infrastructure and services. This lack of transport means that health care provision is undermined, while transport difficulties also affect the ability of individuals to access employment further afield. Consequently, a lack of appropriate quality basic services interacts with insufficient transport services to curtail †Khomani individuals' ability to gain a good education and maintain good health care practices to enable employment.

Drawing from this, it can be seen that living conditions for the extended Kruiper family, (detailed in section 5.1), who lived and worked at Kagga Kamma prior to the land claim have not improved. These individuals still live in overcrowded informal housing, cook on open fires, are without sanitation or regular safe water supply. It is not possible to determine if living conditions have improved or deteriorated for other community members as no data is available in respect to their living condition prior to the land claim. Although it has been indicated that not all †Khomani desire improvement in these basic services, many do. As such preferences are not dictated by individuals' traditionalist or westerner ideals, this indicates that these groups are not as dissimilar as is often projected.

Overall, despite the South African Government introducing policies to facilitate basic service provision, and the recognition that such services for land beneficiaries are essential to ensure land reform aims are achieved, the complexities of implementing basic service provision have proved difficult to overcome in relation to the †Khomani Community. To date, the land claim process has not been accompanied with basic service provision for the †Khomani, as pledged by government. This means that despite the multi-dimensional and interactive nature of poverty, a holistic approach to poverty alleviation has not been applied by government. This, coupled with the fact

that Chapter four has identified that the †Khomani struggle to meet their basic needs due to limited access to employment and subsistence opportunities, means that land reform as a form of rural development is failing in regard to the †Khomani Community, who continue to live in poverty. In light of this determination, the next two chapters consider the factors that have served to constrain development on the †Khomani farms. These constraints include †Khomani Community dynamics, along with the interactions between the Community and external agencies, such as government.

## **CHAPTER SIX: DYNAMICS OF “RESPONSIBILITY”: DEVELOPMENT ACTORS, MANAGEMENT BODIES, AND COMMUNITY**

Chapters four and five have given an indication of the multi-dimensional and interactive nature of poverty. These chapters also documented that the †Khomani land claim has not resulted in increased income generating opportunities or improved access to basic services for community members, while giving a brief account of the concrete constraints to poverty alleviation in regard. This chapter examines the broader underlying reasons that serve to constrain development on the †Khomani farms resulting in continued poverty. Consequently, I examine the roles, responsibilities, performance and abilities of the actors involved. Although such issues must be examined in order that the complexities of individual situations can be understood and attempts made to address development constraints, many researchers fail to adequately detail the ability and operations of such bodies and the challenges that they must overcome to apply development strategies. Regarding South African land claim beneficiaries, the Government is required to advise, assist and train the appropriate institutions and individuals to ensure the success of the land reform process (Department of Land Affairs 1997:14). A number of different government bodies are responsible for this post-settlement support and for the general supply of basic services. Additionally, NGOs contribute to establishment of income generating projects, while the †Khomani themselves, including their management body, has an important role to play in the development of the land to alleviate poverty.

This chapter demonstrates that the involvement of multiple development agents, including government departments, †Khomani management bodies, and †Khomani individuals themselves, combined with ineffective communication, insufficient cooperation and the remote location of the †Khomani farms serves to impede development on †Khomani land, as does the capacity of such bodies. Development agency support has been inadequate to date, while community diversity has been allowed to delay the development on the farms. Community management bodies have proved incapable of managing the land in a suitable manner. Importantly, the resulting

ineffectiveness of the said management body has meant that it has been unable to facilitate decision-making processes and negotiate with development bodies to organise development strategies. Community disempowerment and depoliticisation has also meant that the Community has been unable to hold the appropriate bodies to account when support and services are not forthcoming. While, it is not possible to detail all the actors involved in, or responsible for the development of the †Khomani and their farms, this chapter gives an indication of the complexities that make development on the farms, and in such areas, a challenge.

## **6.1 POST-SETTLEMENT SUPPORT: GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITIES AND PERFORMANCE**

The White Paper on South African Land Reform Policy states that government is required to supply support services, where necessary, to land beneficiaries, in order that positive land claim outcomes are forthcoming. Such services include assistance to land owners in securing farm credit, and advice regarding productive land use and product marketing. Furthermore, support services must improve basic services provision, including water and clean energy supply, transport infrastructure in rural areas if rural development is to achieve poverty alleviation (Department of Land Affairs 1997). While local government, supported by provincial government is charged with basic service provision, there is confusion, regarding which government departments or agencies are responsible for other aspects of post-settlement support. In 2006, the South African Minister for Agriculture and Land Affairs, Thoko Didza stated:

In liaison with relevant government departments, the Commission [CRLR] has to ensure sustainable settlement of land. Land transferred to land reform beneficiaries should be used in a productive manner that ensures a better life for all present and future generations (Didiza 2006:14).

While this clearly states that the Commission for Restitution of Land Rights (CRLR) (see section 3.2.1), is responsible for supporting land reform beneficiaries it gives no indication of the other relevant government departments to be involved, or the extent of such involvement. In 2007, in respect to post-settlement support, the Sustainable Development Consortium (SDC) found that since the beginning of the land reform process, disagreements regarding which government departments were responsible for

the various aspects of post-settlement support had ensued (Sustainable Development Consortium 2007). Additionally, poor communication and cooperation between and within government departments has been cited as a constraint to post-settlement support (Hall 2007; Hall, Jackson, and Lahiff 2003; Lahiff 2011), while the involvement of multiple government departments, and the reorganisation of these departments and their responsibilities complicates and delays the support process (Fay 2009; Murray 1996; Maphunye 2003). Further details have been given in section 2.5.1. Such has been true in relation to the †Khomani Land Claim. According to the SDC, in the Northern Cape the Provincial Department of the Agriculture, Land Reform, Conservation and Environment were charged with co-coordinating post-settlement support for land reform beneficiaries. This was done through the Land Reform Coordinating Committee (LRCC), which met infrequently, and included members from the Department for Agriculture, the Department of Local Government and Department of Housing (Sustainable Development Consortium N.D.). Mier Local Municipality, also cites that a number of Northern Cape Provincial Government Departments are involved with post-settlement support of the †Khomani, namely the Department of Land Affairs and the Department of Arts and Culture (Mier Local Municipality 2007). In 2004, however, it was reported by the SAHRC, the Regional Land Claims Commission (RLCC) situated within the DLA, was cited as being responsible for empowering the †Khomani Community to sustainably manage resources (South African Human Rights Commission 2004). Following the award of land, the RLCC established a project steering committee to assist the †Khomani in sustainable planning, co-ordination and facilitation of development, serving as overseer to appointed service providers. This project steering committee is based at Siyanda District Municipality in Upington and meets bimonthly. Personal from most provincial government departments are required to attend these meetings, along with Mier Local Municipality, SASI, the South African Police Services (SAPS) and the SAHRC. Following the planning process, projects are handed over to Mier Local Municipality for implementation (Sustainable Development Consortium N.D.).

The decision to hold steering committee meetings in Upington raises a number of concerns regarding the development process, and exhibits elements of what Chambers calls the urban trap, where development professionals rarely visit the rural areas, as

discussed in chapter two. As committee meetings are not held in the Mier area, SAHRC personnel, and district and provincial government officials that are based in urban areas such as Upington and Kimberley, are not taking the opportunity to make additional (or any) visits to the †Khomani farms to enable a better understanding of the complexities and difficulties of development in the area. Consequently, such personnel may not recommend or support the most appropriate form of development for the farms, given the remote and specialised rural location. Furthermore, these individuals may not fully appreciate the difficulties associated with implementing development on the †Khomani farms, something that Mier Local Municipality then struggle to manage. There are members of the committee that reside in the Mier area, including †Khomani representatives that understand the problems and issues associated with development on the †Khomani farms. Given that personnel from the SAHRC, and the district and provincial government, however, are perceived by these Mier inhabitants as possessing more development expertise, Mier and †Khomani committee members often defer to such expertise, and have become dependent on such experts to provide answers to development problems. Again, this has the potential to result in development planning and strategies that are inappropriate for the said area. These issues of disempowerment and dependency on professionals have been discussed in section 2.3, while Vincent (2004) and Toomey (2011) report similar outcomes in other communities.

Mier Local Municipality has been cited as a constraining factor to development on the †Khomani farms as the Municipal representatives often fail to make the round trip of approximately 450 km to attend the aforementioned steering committee meetings. Given that Mier Local Municipality is the intended local implementation officer for development projects of provincial government departments arising from these committee meetings, non-attendance of the meetings delays the development process (Sustainable Development Consortium N.D.:8). Mier Local Municipality have also been cited as failing to drive development processes for which they are responsible for on the †Khomani farms. In 2004, the CRLR approached a local company to draft development plans for the †Khomani farms, the process and implementation of which became the responsibility of Mier Local Municipality (South African Human Rights Commission 2004). By 2008, the plans were still not complete, suggesting that Mier Local Municipality had failed to ensure completion. Accordingly, the CRLC wrote to

Mier Local Municipality, requesting that the process be “driven to completion” (Kobus Pienaar and Phillipa Holden, pers. correspondence, January 2010). Mier Local Municipality, however, disagree that they are constraining development on the †Khomani farms. The Municipality argue that it is the involvement of multiple provincial government departments in regard to the †Khomani land claim, that delays the development process, further stating that provincial departments fail to involve the Municipality in the implementation of plans and projects. This means that the Municipality later struggles when it is expected to assume the responsibility, management and administration of these services and projects (Mier Local Municipality 2007). The above demonstrates that a number of different government departments and development bodies are involved in the development of the †Khomani farms, and for providing support for the †Khomani Community. Given the number of departments, bodies and agencies involved, however, this has complicated the development process, something that Fay (2009) has also encountered (see section 2.5.1). As more departments, agencies and bodies become involved in the development process, additional power struggles and agendas surface, which complicates the decision making and affects cooperation. Additionally, good communication is essential to ensure that departments and bodies know, understand and are capable of their responsibilities. At present, communication between government bodies, namely Mier Local Municipality and other government bodies, regarding development responsibilities is ineffective, while cooperation between these bodies has broken down, as is evident above.

The DLA is in agreement with Mier Local Municipality in that the multiple development actors involved with the †Khomani land claim has complicated the development process. Despite the DLA being required to maintain ongoing post-settlement support to land beneficiaries (Chennels 2006), a lack of support to successive †Khomani Communal Property Association Management Committees (CPAMC)<sup>32</sup> has resulted in farm mismanagement to the extent that the Director General (DG) of the DLA was appointed as administrator for the †Khomani farms in 2002 (see section 6.3.1). According to the SAHRC, however, since then the DG has failed to effectively manage or develop the farms (South African Human Rights Commission 2004:15).

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<sup>32</sup> CPAMCs are established to manage land on behalf of CPAs (see section 1.3.2).

From this it is apparent that post-settlement support from the DLA has been insufficient both prior to, and following its role as administrator. Peter Makomela of the RLCC defends this, stating that the DLA had taken a back seat in respect to post-settlement support due to the number of role players involved:

...so there are forever people coming to do research and asking me questions... most of them said they were building capacity... and doing development and whatever. Everyone seemed to have that euphoria to get involved in Khomani San. The San must be helped and whatever. So government in a sense took a back seat, as there were a lot of people already (interview, February 2008).

Peter Makomela continued to defend the role of the DLA, stating that the †Khomani had been supported by the department along with independent institutions and individuals. He was unable to detail the involvement of either DLA or others, however, commenting, “the Minister of Land Affairs then, knew who was on the ground and whatever they were doing”. Once again this reflects the confusion surrounding who was supporting the †Khomani, and how they were being supported, with Peter Makomela admitting, “things went wrong” (interview, February 2008).

By 2008 it seemed that post-settlement support from the DLA was to be forthcoming in the form of the appointment of an asset manager for the †Khomani Community, locally referred to as a “farm manager”. In 2002, provision was made in the final land claim agreement, for such an appointment. In the settlement the DLA agreed to fund an asset manager for the †Khomani farms for a minimum period of one year, or longer if needed (Chennels 2006). However, limited DLA budget meant that the appointment was delayed. Finally, following the offer of assistance by the Belgium Government (Chennels 2006), farm manager William Barns was appointed in 2008. Following William Barns’s appointment concerns over his contract and funding emerged (William Barns, pers. comm., Jan 2008). William Barns was only employed for six months with the majority of his wages being paid by the Belgium Government. The intention was that he would then be appointed on a full time permanent basis but this never happened as the funding was not forthcoming from the DLA (Phillipa Holden, pers.



Correspondence, October 2010). This means that to date the DLA has once again failed to fulfil its obligations of post-settlement support to the †Khomani Community.

Overall, it is acknowledged that the South African Government has responsibilities regarding post-settlement support to land reform beneficiaries. The information above gives an indication of the Government departments involved in the post-settlement support of the †Khomani. The specific responsibilities of departments remains unclear, however, with the number of departments and agencies involved complicating the process, making effective communication and cooperation difficult. This, coupled with budgetary constraints, has resulted in a lack of effective post-settlement support that has delayed the development process on the †Khomani farms, while lack of clarity regarding responsibilities and confusion due to multiple development actors has enabled departments and agencies to defer responsibility and avoid accountability. The collapse of the CPAMC and the lack of support from the DLA and its DG, who is presently the administrator of, and therefore responsible for †Khomani farm management, means that farm management is effectively non-existent. Consequently, †Khomani individuals continue to live without adequate and sustainable farm management to enable livelihood development and/or diversification and poverty reduction, as has been made evident in chapters four and five. In order to resolve this situation, by 2008, lawyers and socio-ecologists, working on behalf of the †Khomani, were busy drawing up a documents to specify the responsibilities of role players, including government departments involved in the †Khomani land claim. It is hoped that this will enable better support and make the appropriate bodies accountable.

## **6.2 LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

### **6.2.1 Local Government: Structures and Safeguards**

While the post-settlement support has failed to facilitate development of the †Khomani farms and community, local government in South Africa, with the support of provincial government, is charged with the supply of basic services to the general population, something which contributes to poverty alleviation. South African Government is divided into three spheres, the national, the provincial and the local. At the local level, there are three municipality categories. Metropolitan (category A) municipalities are

solely responsible for local government functions, while local (category B) municipalities share the responsibilities of local government functions with district (category C) municipalities in which they fall, however, district municipalities have the overall responsibility for the functions of the local municipalities in their designated areas (Department of Public Service and Administration 2003). Given the legacy of apartheid, many municipalities lack municipal experience and the resulting capacity (Mogale 2003; Maphunye 2003). This is particularly true of rural municipalities, such as Mier, and renders them incapable of functioning adequately, to deliver local government services. Such issues often remain unrecognised in development literature, as does that fact that rural area municipalities in South Africa have difficulty attracting and retaining skilled managers, professionals, and technicians due to their remote locations and lack of finances, which contributes to their struggle to fulfil their obligations (Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs 2009; Maphunye 2003). Consequently, flexibility regarding service provision responsibilities, between district and local municipalities is advocated to allow less able local municipalities to develop the required skills to function successfully. The Government's White Paper on Local Government states:

rural municipalities are allocated a minimum of executive and legislative powers, but are able to “draw down” powers from the district government as they demonstrate sufficient administrative and financial capacity to administer the power... The varied allocation of powers and functions between Category B [local] municipalities and district government will provide the flexibility necessary to cater for the diversity of rural contexts and needs. District government will play an important role in the provision of municipal services where rural municipalities lack administrative capacity (Republic of South Africa 1998:section D3.3).

District municipalities are responsible for basic service delivery throughout their district, in addition to building the capacity of local municipalities (Republic of South Africa 1998). Given the varying abilities of the category B municipalities, provisional governments are charged with allocating which local services are to be discharged by local or district municipalities. If a local (category B) municipality fails to deliver a satisfactory service, provincial government can, and should withdraw the responsibility, with the district municipality then becoming responsible (Mogale 2003; Municipal Demarcation Board 2003). Overall, in areas with low functioning local municipalities,

both the district and local municipalities are responsible for ensuring that constituents receive adequate services (Municipal Demarcation Board 2003). This means that in such circumstances, district municipalities serve as a safeguard for any shortcomings of local municipalities. Furthermore, all municipalities are subject to monitoring by provincial government (Department of Public Service and Administration 2003).

### **6.2.2 Mier Local Municipality: Responsibilities and Performance**

Mier Local Municipality, was formed in 2000, to administer the area formally known as Mier Rural Area, and includes the †Khomani farms. Prior to this, since 1994, there had been a District Management Area (DMA) (Mier Local Municipality 2007), managed by the Siyanda District Municipality and Northern Cape Provincial Government (Education and Training Unit (ETU) 2008). Consequently, the experience of municipal management and accountability is relatively new to area and its population. Mier Local Municipality was established to allow constituents to benefit from a more local representation (Mogale 2003), instead of being governed by the District Municipality 260 km to the south. Given its designation as a category B municipality, Mier Local Municipality, together with Siyanda District Municipality, is charged with ensuring that Mier inhabitants receive the full remit of municipal services (see Table 6.1), while Siyanda District Municipality is responsible for building the capacity of Mier Local Municipality if required. Overall, the Northern Cape Provincial Government is responsible for assigning which services Mier Local Municipality is responsible for administering to the municipal population, including the †Khomani. If the provisional government considers Mier Local Municipality incapable of administering any function, it is the provisional government's responsibility to reassign the delivery of the service to Siyanda District Municipality, to ensure that Mier Local Municipality residents receive all relevant services. The services and functions which provincial government can award to local municipalities are listed below in Table: 6.1. These services contribute to the provision of basic services and aim to promote the social and economic development of the municipality to alleviate poverty (Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs 2009). In 2008, Mier Local Municipality was given responsibility to perform 31 complete functions, and two partial, out of a possible 37 (see Table 6.1). Siyanda District Municipality had the responsibility to perform the remaining two partial functions in addition to another four. The fact that Mier Local Municipality was

granted the responsibility to perform this many functions by Northern Cape Provisional Government, suggests that Mier Municipality has the appropriate capacity.

**Table 6.1:** Mier Local Municipality Capacity based on Performance 2002-2008 (self reported)

<b>Functions</b>	<b>Authority Responsible for Function in 2008</b>	<b>Mier Local Municipality Successfully Performed Function 2002-2008</b>	<b>Capacity Demonstrated for Function (based on overall performance 2002-2008)</b>
<b>Air Pollution Control</b>	Mier Local Municipality	Never	No
<b>Beaches and Amusement Facilities</b>	Mier Local Municipality	2004	Inconsistent
<b>Billboard and Advertisements in Public Places</b>	Mier Local Municipality	2002 2004	Some
<b>Building Regulations</b>	Siyanda District Municipality	2002	N/A
<b>Cemeteries, Funeral Parlours and Crematoriums</b>	Mier Local Municipality (partial responsibility: repair and maintain cemetery grounds only)  Siyanda District Municipality (responsible for overall function)	2002 2004 2007 2008	Partially: Yes  Overall: N/A
<b>Child Care Facilities</b> (for a safe/ healthy environment for children)	Mier Local Municipality	2008	Limited and inconsistent
<b>Cleansing</b>	Mier Local Municipality	2002 2004 2005	Not consistent
<b>Control of Public Nuisance</b>	Mier Local Municipality	2002	No
<b>Control of Undertakings that Sell Liquor</b>	Mier Local Municipality	Never	No
<b>Electricity Delivery</b>	Siyanda District Municipality	Never	N/A

<b>Facilities for the Accommodation, Care and Burial of Animals</b>	Mier Local Municipality	Never	No
<b>Fencing and Fences</b>	Mier Local Municipality	2002 2004 2005 2007	Some
<b>Fire Fighting</b>	Mier Local Municipality (Partial responsibility: fire fighting awareness and training only)  Siyanda District Municipality (responsible for overall function)	Never	Partial: No  Overall: N/A
<b>Licensing and Control of Undertakings that Sell Food to the Public</b>	Siyanda District Municipality	Never	N/A
<b>Licensing of Dogs</b>	Mier Local Municipality	2002	No
<b>Local Amenities</b>	Mier Local Municipality	2005 2007	No
<b>Local Tourism</b> (serve on district committee)	Mier Local Municipality	2002 2004-2008	Consistent
<b>Local Sport Facilities</b> (local sports development, repairs and maintenance of sports grounds)	Mier Local Municipality	2002 2004-2008	Some
<b>Markets</b>	Mier Local Municipality	2004	No
<b>Municipal Abattoirs</b> (inspection of building standard)	Mier Local Municipality	2002 2004-2006 2008	Limited and inconsistent

<b>Municipal Airport</b>	Mier Local Municipality	2002 2003	No
<b>Municipal Health Services</b>	Siyanda District Municipality	Never	N/A
<b>Municipal Parks and Recreation</b>	Mier Local Municipality	2002	No
<b>Municipal Planning (town, dvlp planning, infrastructure &amp; economic dvlp)</b>	Mier Local Municipality	2002-2008	Fairly consistent
<b>Municipal Public Transport</b>		2004	Not consistent
<b>Noise Pollution</b>	Mier Local Municipality	Never	No
<b>Pontoons and Ferries</b>	Mier Local Municipality	N/A	N/A
<b>Portable Water (purification, reticulation and distribution)</b>	Mier Local Municipality	2002-2007	Consistent
<b>Pounds</b>	Mier Local Municipality	Never	No

<b>Public Places</b>	Mier Local Municipality	2002 2003	Some
<b>Refuse Removal, Refuse Dumps and Solid Waste Disposal</b>	Mier Local Municipality	2002-2008	Consistent
<b>Municipal Roads</b>	Mier Local Municipality	2002 2005 2006 2008	Inconsistent
<b>Sanitation</b>	Mier Local Municipality	2002-2007	Has capacity to perform but did not perform in 2008
<b>Street Trading</b>	Mier Local Municipality	Never	No
<b>Street Lighting</b>	Mier Local Municipality	2002 2004-2007	Some
<b>Storm Water Systems</b>	Mier Local Municipality	2002-2007	Some
<b>Traffic and Parking</b>	Mier Local Municipality	Never	Not demonstrated
<b>Trading Regulations</b>	Mier Local Municipality	Never	Inconsistent

**Source:** adapted from Municipal Demarcation Board, 2008.



Despite the Northern Cape Provisional Government's confidence to award the responsibility of these functions to Mier Local Municipality, in 2008, the Municipality reported that they only successfully performed six complete functions, and two partial functions. Overall, between 2002 and 2008, the Municipality demonstrated the capacity to consistently implement only three functions (see Table 6.1). Additionally, over time, Mier Local Municipality has failed to improve its ability to implement functions. In 2002 it successfully performed 16 functions, double the number of functions implemented in 2008 (see Table 6.2). This means that the capacity of the Municipality is diminishing rather than increasing.

**Table 6.2:** Number of Functions Delivered by Mier Local Municipality 2002-2008 (based on self-reporting)

Year	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Number of Functions Performed	16	5	14	11	10	11	8

**Source:** adapted from, Municipal Demarcation Board, 2008

The above gives an indication of the capacity of Mier Local Municipality, while suggesting that Siyanda District Municipality is neglecting its responsibility to support and build capacity of Mier Local Municipality. It is reported, however, that the Mier population is receiving many basic services that the South African Government aims to make universally available, namely housing, education, health care, social welfare, transport, electricity and energy, water, sanitation refuse and waste removal (Education and Training Unit (ETU) 2008). Of these, Mier Local Municipality is responsible for implementing only sanitation, refuse and waste removal, and transport services, of which it has almost consistently implemented (see Table 6.1). Notably, the †Khomani farms receive none of these services (see chapter five). Overall, Mier Local Municipality is failing to provide services and support to the †Khomani, in addition, it is also failing to discharge the majority of its municipal duties to both the †Khomani and the Mier population in general. Despite its performance in reference to municipal functions, in 2008, the Municipal Demarcation Board's report<sup>33</sup> made no recommendation for the

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<sup>33</sup> The purpose of the report, which is based on self reporting by municipalities, is to make adjustment recommendations to the provincial government regarding the allocation of functions to local and district municipalities (Municipal Demarcation Board 2008).

transfer of the responsibility of any of Mier Municipality's functions to Siyanda District Municipality. In 2009, the Municipality was classed as vulnerable, with its performance level being located in the bottom half of South African Municipalities (Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs 2009:76). More recently, a Northern Cape Provincial Government official stated that within government circles, the inabilities of Mier Local Municipality are acknowledged, and it is accepted that the Municipality is probably one of the worst, if not the worst performing local municipality in the Province. Regardless, there are no plans to address the issue as that would be tantamount to the ANC admitting that government structures are not working as envisioned (Anonymous Northern Cape Government Official, pers. comm., June 2010).

#### **6.2.4 Mier Local Municipality: Constraints to Performance**

Given its performance, Mier Local Municipality recognises that it is not performing adequately, highlighting lack of capacity and budget as constraints. In 2007, it stated that since its establishment in 2000, it had found difficulty in stabilising as a local municipality, acknowledging that where it has managed to render services, these are often not of the standard expected by the population, or in line with legislation. This is due to lack of staff and capacity within the Municipality (Mier Local Municipality 2007), such reasons are commonly given when Municipalities are unable to fulfil responsibilities (see Maphunye 2003). This lack of capacity is often cited by Mier Local Municipality as a limiting factor in their performance, both in Municipal reports and verbally, Colin Philander commented, "We're the smallest municipality in South Africa with the smallest capacity" (interview, August 2007). Although, Siyanda District Municipality is responsible for building Mier Municipality's capacity there is little information regarding efforts made by Siyanda District Municipality or other agencies to capacitate Mier Local Municipality. A government official in Siyanda commented that a capacity-building workshop had been arranged in Kimberley by Northern Cape Provisional Government, for representatives of the Province's municipalities to attend. Mier Local Municipality was charged with transporting its attendees the 220 km from Mier to Upington, which it was thought was a reasonable request. Northern Cape Provisional Government was then going to supply transport from Upington to Kimberley, accommodation and subsistence costs. The representatives from Mier Local Municipality never arrived in Upington. It was viewed that the Mier individuals had

“missed out” on a useful experience, because the Local Municipality had not made the effort to enable representatives to attend (Anonymous Siyanda Government Official, interview, February 2008). Consequently, despite Mier Local Municipality’s incapacity to meet its obligations being recognised by the Municipality itself and noted in monitoring and evaluation reports, little effort is being made by district and provincial government to capacitate Mier Local Municipality personnel. The Municipality, however, has not taken advantage of opportunities when they arise. Despite the Municipality not fulfilling its obligations, only limited discontent towards the Municipality, or the Government is evident among the Mier population with the population generally being depoliticised. Without supporting civil society organisations, the remote location of Mier means that it is easy for district and provincial authorities to ignore any complaints or calls for change. Furthermore, the low education levels apparent within the Mier population results in difficulty when individuals attempt to sufficiently articulate their concerns and to follow appropriate procedure. The low population density also means that discontent is not a significant threat to the Government given the minimal impact such population numbers have on election outcomes. Although such discontent can affect local election outcomes, the ANC maintain control of the area given that other political party representatives are few, and are less visible in the area. Overall, there is no pressure on either Mier Municipality to get capacitated, or for district and provincial government to address issues of incapacity to fulfil their responsibilities.

The Municipality argues that limited budgets are a constraint in relation to service delivery, with many individuals in Mier being unable to pay for municipal services, given the unemployment and low income levels of the population (Mier Local Municipality 2007). As noted in section 2.5.1 the same explanation has been given by other rural local municipalities for failure to deliver basic services (see Bannister 2004; Atkinson 2002). Despite this claims by Mier Local Municipality, in 2006, the Municipality gifted R10, 000 to the ANC, which was subsequently returned. Consequently, staff were found to have “committed acts of financial misconduct and breached the Code of Conduct for Municipal Staff Members”, while the Mayor had breached the Code of Conduct for Councillors and acted contrary to the Municipal Finance Management Act (Madonsela 2010:6). This incident demonstrates that although Mier Local Municipality is limited in

relation to service provision due to budget, the existing budget has not been appropriately and effectively used as intended to benefit the population.

Specifically, the Municipality admits that it has struggled with the development of the †Khomani farms (Mier Local Municipality 2007), which are infrastructurally deficient compared to the rest of the Municipality (see chapter five). Municipal Manager, Colin Philander commented:

The Municipality is supposed to be involved with what happens on the San farms, but they won't let us. I tried personally to get involved there ...the local council initiated talks with the CPA but ...I tried to meet with them [the CPAMC] last month, to discuss service delivery options with them, because they are not formally settled, the Municipality is looking for ways to offer some sort of service. We could only find the chairperson, Gert Bok, and the others were community members [not CPAMC members]. They [the †Khomani] also say that they don't know very much about their own issues. We really did try to get involved but.....not that we wanted to take over their corporations (interview, August 2007).

The above highlights the difficult situation of Mier Local Municipality regarding the development of the †Khomani farms. As the farms are under private ownership, the Municipality cannot make decisions regarding development and service delivery without consultation with farm owners. This is particularly difficult as the owners are the collective †Khomani Community. This means that such decisions must be made either by the collective owners or by elected representatives that make decisions on behalf of the registered owners, such as the CPAMC. The CPAMC, who is charged with managing and developing the †Khomani farms is non-functional at present, as detailed in section 6.3, and it is unclear how far the DG of the DLAs responsibilities as administrator of the †Khomani farms, as noted in section 6.1, extend in this regard. Consequently, it is difficult for Mier Local Municipality or any development body to consult the appropriate authority to discuss farm development. Furthermore, as the collective registered †Khomani owners reside throughout the Northern Cape, often living a significant distance from the †Khomani farms, it is be difficult and costly to arrange meetings with all the owners to discuss farm development. Additionally, although among other land beneficiaries in South Africa traditional authorities often assume control of decision making processes, as discussed in section 2.5.3, this is not

the case in reference to the †Khomani. Typical of traditional Bushmen leadership (Chemers 1997; Barnard 2007), the role of †Khomani traditional leader Dawid Kruiper, is not one of authoritarian rule. Dawid Kruiper, does not assume to speak for, or make decisions for, or on behalf of, the †Khomani without first consulting community members. Consequently, Mier Local Municipality cannot obtain decisions regarding farm development from the traditional leader, who given the aforementioned dispersal of †Khomani farm owners cannot easily consult other owners.

The above has highlighted that the responsibilities of local government are challenging for municipalities, especially those that lack capacity, have insufficient budgets and are located in the remote rural areas, such as Mier Local Municipality. While Mier Municipality is failing to fulfil its responsibilities and deliver designated services to the Municipal population, and in particular the †Khomani Community, the process regarding the †Khomani has been further complicated by the difficulties of locating appropriate †Khomani representatives for discussion regarding development implementation. Siyanda District Municipality have not ensured that Mier's population receive suitable services, as is their responsibility, while the inadequate performance of Mier Municipality is not being addressed by the provincial government who have failed to reassign responsibilities to appropriately. Furthermore, neither district nor provincial government has made adequate efforts to facilitate the capacity building of Mier Municipality, while the Municipality has not taken advantage of capacity building opportunities when they arise. Overall, despite government bodies not performing as required, given the depoliticised state of the Mier population, there is little pressure on such department to improve. Such issues significantly affect rural development in South Africa and need to be recognised by other development bodies, and in rural development and land reform literature, if constraints to development are to be addressed and appropriate strategies applied.

### **6.3 †KHOMANI CPAMC: RESPONSIBILITIES AND PERFORMANCE**

In order to collectively own land in South Africa, communities must form either a CPA or a legal trust. While it is recognised that these CPAs and trust management

committees must be able to effectively function to ensure efficient and productive land use practices (May et al. 2008), there has been a failure to provide the ongoing post-settlement support that these management institutions require (Lahiff 2007a). To date no specific official agency is responsible for capacitating these institutions or community members, meaning that many CPAs and trusts have failed to meet legal obligations and some have collapsed altogether (Lahiff 2008; Hall 2007). In 1999, prior to the settlement of the first phase of the ǀKhomani Land Claim, ǀKhomani land owners formed a CPA to which the land and assets are registered (South African Human Rights Commission 2004). That same year, as required in the Communal Property Act of 1996 (Republic of South Africa 1996), a constitution was adopted, a registered list of land owners was established, and the first ǀKhomani management committee (CPAMC) was elected. At that time 297 individuals were registered as members of the ǀKhomani CPA (South African Human Rights Commission 2004:13), some of which live on the ǀKhomani farms while others live throughout the Northern Cape. It is from these registered members that the CPAMCs are elected. By July 2000, the second CPAMC had been elected, and following a series of community workshops, a new constitution was adopted in May 2002. This constitution made provisions for the election of CPAMC and a traditional leader every four years. The traditional leader works within the CPAMC, which consists of the traditional leader, 14 community members and two non-voting government representatives. In 2003 the third CPAMC was elected (Chennels 2006), and although a fourth CPAMC was due to be elected in 2007, this has been delayed.

The ǀKhomani CPAMC, through the constitution, is responsible for the management of, and allocation of, the Community's property to individual community members. This includes rights regarding water access, residence, land use, including grazing, and hunting and gathering (Chennels 2006). Consequently, the CPAMC influences the way in which the land is used, which livelihood opportunities and basic services will be enabled, and which community members will benefit from these opportunities and services. Over the years, individuals elected to the ǀKhomani CPAMC have been a cross-section of the ǀKhomani Community. They have consisted of westerner and traditional Bushmen, men and women, residents of the ǀKhomani farms and elsewhere in the Northern Cape. While some of these individuals have a school education, many

have not. Although, in the past traditionalists have alleged that the westerners have dominated the CPAMC, (section 6.4), official land use practices do not reflect this. Overall, no particular group, traditionalist or westerner, has been able to dominate the development process, however, nor has it been possible to reach consensus regarding farm development. Similar problems relating to community divisions have been reported in other South African land reform communities (see James 2000b) and have been detailed in section 2.5.2. Although, CPAMC members become elites, in a sense, following election onto the CPAMC due to the powers and status that accompany such a position, the Committee is not dominated by community elites, such as males, educated individuals or peoples of 'royal blood', as has been evident in other South African land beneficiary groups (see James 2000a; van Leynseele and Hebinck 2009), as discussed in 2.5.4. Although, Bushmen groups are typically egalitarian in nature, elites, including the traditional leader and educated western farmers, do exist within the †Khomani, however, they are not as self-confident as elites in other land reform beneficiary communities as cited in section 2.5.4, consequently, their influence is limited. Given the power that CPAMC's hold and the manner in which this can be abused, the 1996 Communal Property Act, states that the CPAMC must ensure all members have equitable access to property and that the property is to be managed for the benefit of all members of the Community (Republic of South Africa 1996), such has proved problematic for the †Khomani CPAMC.

### **6.3.1 †Khomani CPAMC: Financial Management**

Since its institution in 1999, the †Khomani CPAMC has not been able to effectively manage the land for which they are responsible. Issues regarding financial management have been particularly challenging for the CPAMC. By early 2000, a formal audit of the †Khomani finances was called for by the DLA. This revealed improper financial dealings in excess of R150 000, for which the CPAMC could not account. The DG of the DLA declared that lack of capacity and skills was the main contributing factor given that the financial manager at the time only had schooling up to standard four (approximately age 9 or 10) (South African Human Rights Commission 2004:14). Andries Steenkamp, a CPAMC member at the time, claims that the money had been spent legitimately (interview, May 2007). Given this financial mismanagement a new CPAMC was elected in July 2000 (Chennels 2006), but within a short period of time this

CPAMC was also in financial difficulty, with debts being incurred against the former owner of the farm Erin who subsequently obtained a warrant of execution against the farm in respect of an unpaid debt. The RLCC, along with SASI, took legal action to prevent the sale of the farm. Following this, in November 2002 the High Court, unopposed by the †Khomani, appointed the DG of the DLA as the administrator of the CPAMC, due to mismanagement. This meant that the DG assumed the rights and duties of the CPAMC and continues to do so until the DG deems the CPAMC capable of fulfilling its duties. Consequently, the third CPAMC elected in July 2003, remains under administration to the DG as it is not deemed able to perform its functions (Chennels 2006). In 2007, given the failure of †Khomani CPAMC, lawyers and socio-ecologists working with the †Khomani investigated the possibility of an alternative management system for the †Khomani Farms. Due to current legislation, however, options are limited (Nannette Flemming, pers. comm., April 2007). Although a new CPAMC was due to be elected in 2007, the RLCC have placed these elections on hold. This is because the RLCC are concerned with the merits of electing a new CPAMC from the existing community members, as it is argued that without building community capacity, past problems will be repeated (Peter Makomela, interview, February 2008).

Despite the reoccurrence of financial mismanagement, no members of the CPAMC have ever been prosecuted, with such outcomes being attributed to lack of capacity rather than corruption. Given the numerous occurrences of financial mismanagement, however, it is evident these issues of incapacity and/or corruption have not been adequately addressed by the responsible government bodies. Furthermore, despite the CPAMC being effectively suspended in 2002, and the recognition that †Khomani management structures need attention, little has been done in this respect. Once again, this is evidence of a lack of post-settlement support from government departments charged with land reform beneficiary support, albeit ambiguous which departments are responsible for this role in relation to the CPAMC financial monitoring and support, and capacity building in general. Additionally, although the †Khomani Community living on the farms are discontented regarding post-settlement support from government, and the performance of the CPAMC and the DLA in †Khomani farm management, given their remote location, and lack of means, transport, education and



physical numbers, it is difficult for the †Khomani to pressure the Government in this respect, as discussed in 6.2.4.

### 6.3.2 †Khomani CPAMC: Land Management

The CPAMC has not only encountered financial difficulties in regard to †Khomani farm management but land management has also proving a challenge. In 1999, the first †Khomani constitution stated that a minimum of 50 per cent of the †Khomani farmland was to be used for traditional purposes, naming the farms of Erin, Witdraai and Miershopan. The manner in which the remaining farms of Andriesvale, Scotty's Fort and Uitkoms are put to use is not restricted (Chennels 2006:6). Since the farms were transferred to the †Khomani CPA that same year, attempts have been made to finalise a land use management plan to cover all the farms<sup>34</sup>, however, this has not been achieved and efforts to allocate formal communal and individual farming rights have been unsuccessful (Chennels 2006). The lack of a land use management plan has meant that the CPAMC has had no official guidelines regarding the manner in which the †Khomani owners desire the farmland to be used, resulting in the CPAMC not implementing any land use guidelines. The result has been an unauthorised use of land, with some community members occupying residences and land, using land for farming without paying rent to the CPAMC. Such land use is not restricted to elites, or the traditionalist or westerners groups. By early 2006, according to Chennels (2006), lawyer of the †Khomani, many community members had began to assume that they could indefinitely use the farms for their own good, without payment, or the permission of the CPAMC, notably the CPAMC were in administration by this time. Consequently, as some individuals were benefiting from the land at the expense of others, discontent among "the other" community members was apparent. As a result, individuals became dissatisfied with the lack of farm management. Given the inability of the various CPAMCs to resolve the situation, in 2006 the RLCC, together with SASI, instituted a system of provisional land use allocation, lease and rent system for both private and communal farming, to control the situation on the farms. Farmers were made aware

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<sup>34</sup> There is a management plan for the land in park.

that failure to pay rent to the CPAMC<sup>35</sup> would result in a discontinuance of yearly leases (Chennels 2006:13-14). In 2006, the CPAMC also accepted a proposal from the RLCC and SASI for residences to be valued with occupants being asked to sign leases and pay modest rent to the CPAMC. Although it was suggested a CPAMC would enforce these new processes (Chennels 2006), Nannette Flemming, SASI project manager at the time was concerned, commenting, “How are you going to implement these things? You say this is supposed to happen but how are you going to implement it?” (interview, June 2007). To date, no rent is being paid by community members for the occupation of residences or for grazing domestic livestock on the farms (Martha van der Westhuizen, pers. Correspondence B, October 2010).

Despite the adoption of the provisional land use allocation, lease and rent system relating to grazing, Nannette Flemming’s concerns held true, with individual community members continuing to graze domestic livestock on the farms without permission. Although, livestock grazing is constitutionally forbidden on the traditional farms of Erin and Witdraai, in May 2007, Andries Steenkamp indicated “There is livestock on the farm [Erin], sheep, goats and cows” (interview, May 2007). Additionally, domestic livestock was being grazed on Witdraai. Members of the CPAMC were unwilling to take the responsibility of overseeing the removal of the illegal livestock due to “fear of bullying and retribution”. Finally Roger Channels, †Khomani lawyer, visited the farms and spoke with the offending domestic livestock owners, which resulted in the livestock being removed. Shortly after, however, according to Nannette Flemming, another †Khomani individual allowed a non-community member to graze domestic livestock on Witdraai, without the agreement of the CPAMC, for a minimal personal fee. His justification was that “everyone else makes money this way, I am poor so I might as well join in”. The individual did have the livestock removed following a request from SASI, however, other †Khomani individuals continue to “accept livestock of wealthy white farmers, on their [†Khomani] land, for minimal payment. This livestock is illegal as the CPA[MC] hasn’t given permission” (Nannette Flemming, pers. Comm., April 2007). From the above it is evident that due to the lack of farm management on the †Khomani

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<sup>35</sup> Although the CPAMC were in administration, at this point it seems that they still maintained some management responsibilities.

farms, some individuals benefit short term, from using the land and houses illegally to reduce poverty. Long term, however, land degradation results from this uncontrolled domestic livestock grazing that impacts sustainable development on the farms.

In 2006, Chennels stated that the †Khomani CPAMC did not have the capacity or will to carry out the unpopular yet crucial task of managing the farms (Chennels 2006). By 2007 when I arrived for fieldwork, given past performance of successive CPAMC, community members had become disillusioned with the CPAMC. Oma !Una commented, “none of the CPAMC had done their job” (interview, April 2007, while Oma Seekoei stated, “they just made empty promises” (interview, May 2007). Although the CPAMC were in administration at this time, they were still in existence, albeit without decision-making powers, while being overseen by the DG of the DLA. By 2007 the CPAMC were meeting less frequently, Gert Bok, CPAMC member, told me, “The constitution says that the CPA[MC] should have a meeting every month but now we only have a meeting every three months”(interview, June 2007). Given that CPAMC members live throughout the Northern Cape, it is a challenge for the CPAMC to congregate for meetings due to the distances that must be travelled and the associated costs. As the CPAMC had completed its official time in office by 2007, a number of members had ceased to be part of the Committee, Andries Steenkamp stated that “The CPA[MC] was 17 people but now its only eight people” (interview, May 2007). This, in addition to the CPAMC failing to give feedback to community members, a common criticism of the CPAMC, meant that a number of community members were unsure if the CPAMC was still in operation. Petrus Vaalbooi and Annetta Bok said, “we just spoke about the CPA[MC] elections, but as they [CPAMC] didn’t have meetings with the Community, we are still confused” (Petrus Vaalbooi, interview, April 2007). Due to the capacity issues of the CPAMC, the dispersal of Committee members, the diminished number of members and the fact that there is confusion regarding their continued role of the CPAMC in relation to farm management, it is no surprise that there has been a failure of the Committee to collect rents and enforce land use regulations introduced in 2006. Unless the CPAMC and the Community are clear regarding the continued role, responsibilities and powers of the CPAMC, it will be difficult for Committee members to enforce their responsibilities, while community members will be unsure if the CPAMC have the relevant authority to enforce regulations. This outcome in respect to

farm management is an example of effects of poor communication and coordination between the CPAMC, DLA, ǀKhomani lawyers, and the Community. The remote location of the farms has played a role in the poor communication and coordination. It is costly for the CPAMC to travel around the Northern Cape to give feedback to the dispersed community, including those living on the farms and further afield. Additionally, as many community members lack telecommunication, internet and reading skills (see chapter four and five), it is difficult to effect low cost communication to facilitate meetings, cooperation and disperse information. A lack of post-settlement support to the CPAMC has also negatively affected their performance as detailed above. Without an appropriately functioning management authority, be it a CPAMC, the DG of the DLA or an alternative institution, the ǀKhomani Community will continue to experience difficulty in conceptualising, applying and regulating land use practices to allow community members access to land on which to generate income, while development will continue to be delayed.

#### **6.4 SASI CULTURAL TOURISM PROJECTS: SUPPORT AND OUTCOMES**

Post-settlement support from government bodies is important to ensure positive land reform outcomes and rural development. Development agencies, in the form of NGOs have also been involved with the ǀKhomani in relation to livelihood development and diversification, however, inadequate support from such agencies has also resulted projects failing to reach potential. Since the award of land to the ǀKhomani, SASI has established a number of projects to allow community members to generate income. These projects aim to allow individuals to enter the cultural tourism market and include projects such as Sisen Crafts and Witdraai Bushcamp, as discussed in section 4.4.3. SASI employ two full time ǀKhomani office staff based at Andriesvale that manage these projects, while senior SASI staff based at the area office in Upington and the head office in Kimberley offer support and advice to SASI Andriesvale. At present, these cultural tourism projects are failing to attract adequate tourist numbers, meaning that have created few livelihood opportunities for ǀKhomani individuals (see section 4.4.3). At present, these projects rely on SASI funding, meaning that they are unsustainable, in their own right. Although I have previously suggested that tourism potential in the

‡Kalahari is limited and should not be overestimated (see section 4.6.2), this is not to suggest there is no scope to try to increase the industry. In order for SASI at Andriesvale’s cultural tourism projects to attract additional tourists thereby enabling project sustainability and increased ‡Khomani employment, SASI personnel must receive more support to from SASI Kimberley, to improve customer services, while SASI Kimberley must improve marketing strategies for the said projects.

Currently, the marketing of the SASI cultural tourism projects is almost non-existent as is roadside signage to advertise and direct tourists to the projects. Despite photos of the ‡Khomani appearing in the brochures and websites of the Northern Cape Tourism Authority<sup>36</sup>, and Upington based government run Green Kalahari Tourism<sup>37</sup>, ‡Khomani projects are not advertised in any of these media. Furthermore, the SASI website does not mention the ‡Khomani cultural tourism projects. These tourism projects are only marketed through a Non-Profit Organisation (NPO), Open Africa as part of the “Footprints of the San” tourist route<sup>38</sup>. SASI Tourist Information Centre on Witdraai does promote the ‡Khomani tourist ventures, however, lack of marketing means that the Centre only attracts tourists already in the area. However, passing tourists often fail to visit the Centre because they are unaware of its existence, given inadequate roadside signage. Accordingly, four or five days often pass without any visitors. While passing tourists visiting the Information Centre can be encouraged to visit the Sisen Craft Shop, it is unlikely these visitors will require the use of the Bushcamp, as they are already holidaying in the area and therefore already have accommodation. Additionally such individuals usually have a planned itinerary, meaning that they may not have time to partake in ‡Khomani tourist activities. Consequently, in order to attract tourists to stay at the Bushcamp, marketing must be improved to inform people of such accommodation before they arrive in the area. ‡Khomani cultural tourism marketing has the potential to attracts additional tourists to the area, inform the area’s existing visitors of the activities and facilities on offer, while encouraging tourists to stay longer and experience ‡Khomani activities. At present, the lack of advertising, namely marketing and road signage, means that additional visitors are not being attracted to the

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<sup>36</sup> See <http://www.northerncape.org.za/accommodation/>

<sup>37</sup> See <http://www.greenkalahari.co.za/index.htm>

<sup>38</sup>See <http://www.openafrica.org/route/Footprints-of-the-San>

area to visit †Khomani projects, while existing tourists to the area are unaware of existing activities and opportunities.

This lack of marketing means that at present visitors to SASI's †Khomani tourism projects are few, mainly consisting of researchers or media, who are already aware of the †Khomani and their ventures. Booking †Khomani tourist services ahead of arrival, however, has also proved challenging for these visitors, and has the potential to deter tourists from utilising the opportunities on offer. Additionally, the †Khomani are failing to deliver adequate customer services relating to tourist products, meaning that visitors may fail to return. For example, for visitors that choose to stay at the †Khomani Bushcamp the booking process is difficult. A group of staff and students from the Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS) at the University of KwaZulu Natal (UKZN), stayed at the Bushcamp in June 2010. CCMS attempted to book the accommodation through multiple emails and telephone calls to the SASI office in Upington, without response. Finally, when on fieldwork near Kimberley, a CCMS student Shanade Barnabas arranged a telephone call from the SASI field office at Platfontien to the SASI field office in Andriesvale, to make the booking (Shanade Barnabas, pers. comm., June 2010). When I joined this CCMS group, as I was to accompany them to the Bushcamp, I called Fannie who works for SASI Andriesvale. on his personal cell phone, to confirm our arrival date at the Bushcamp. At this point, I discovered that there had been a booking mix up and that we were expected to arrive the day after we were actually going to arrive. It can be seen that this CCMS group had to make a concerted and persistent effort to book the required accommodation at the †Khomani Bushcamp, and use personal contacts to enable the visit, something which is not available to all aspiring visitors to the camp. During our stay at the Bushcamp, on a number of occasions I had to call SASI staff on their personal cell phones to obtain information regarding Bushcamp operation, and even had to visit staff at home when we needed the water pipe fixed. I was able to do this as I had personal cell phone numbers and knew where the relevant individuals stay, however, generally customer services at the camp are lacking. Drawing from this, it is apparent that not only do marketing and road signage need to be improved to ensure the economic success of these facilities, but booking facilities and customer services also need attention. Unless such issues are addressed, †Khomani cultural tourism projects will not become self

sustainable in the long term, something to which these SASI projects aspire (Fonnie Brou, interview, June 2010).

SASI in Andriesvale is responsible for managing †Khomani tourism projects. Drawing from the above, it is apparent that SASI individuals based in the area require further support from SASI in Kimberley. While Fonnie and Martha have received training in various fields from SASI, specific customer services and hospitality management is necessary if the †Khomani tourism projects are to meet their potential. The marketing aspect of these tourist ventures is the responsibility of SASI head office in Kimberley (Fonnie Brou, interview, June 2010). Given the scarce marketing of the †Khomani tourism ventures to date, this suggests that SASI in Kimberley lack the expertise or budget for such an operation. Accordingly, a marketing student interned with SASI at their head office in Kimberley in June and July 2009, however, it is currently unclear what, if any, marketing strategy has been implemented. Furthermore, given the wide use of the internet, basic marketing need not be expensive, consisting of advertising on the SASI website and similar NGO websites linked with the indigenous people's movement. Overall, it is evident that it is not only government bodies that fail to give adequate support to the †Khomani and the development operations on the farms, but also SASI in Kimberley. While SASI's budget constrains the training of staff and marketing of products, without the relevant training and support, †Khomani tourism projects will not reach their potential and become self sustaining, meaning that in the long run they will require continued funding if they are to continue to operate. Unless projects are marketed and managed in an appropriate manner, important opportunities to increase and diversify livelihoods for community members will continue to be lost.

## **6.5 †KHOMANI COMMUNITY DYNAMICS: CONSTRAINING DEVELOPMENT?**

Development agencies, including government bodies and NGOs such as SASI all have an important role to play in supporting the †Khomani Community and their management bodies, to facilitate development, including basic service delivery and livelihood strategies. Such support is often curtailed through the lack of capacity and budgetary constraints of these agencies, while ineffective communication and

cooperation between agencies has contributed to the continued poverty of the †Khomani and underdevelopment of their farms. To date, divisions within the †Khomani Community have been cited as a constraint to the development of the farms (see Holden 2007; South African Human Rights Commission 2004), however, with appropriate support, I argue that such divisions can be overcome and need not disable the development process.

In 1999, following phase one of the land claim, the claimant group, consisting of the extended Kruiper family that had instigated the land claim, allowed other Bushmen that could prove their Bushman ancestry to join the group as communal land owners (Grossman and Holden 2007; Holden 2007). Unlike the Doornkop and the Dwesa-Cwebe communities (see James 2000a, 2000b; Fay 2009), that are discussed in section 2.5, the †Khomani Community was not reconstructed to win the land claim, as the farms had already been awarded to the Bushmen when the decision was made to invite additional Bushmen to join group and form the †Khomani Community. In common with the Doornkop and the Dwesa-Cwebe communities, however, is the fact that although the †Khomani Community is often cited as one distinct community, prior to the land claim it was not one community. Like the Doornkop Community (see James 2000a, 2000b), prior to the land claim, †Khomani individuals lived disparate from each other and were no longer a cohesive community sharing the same values and aspirations, if ever they had been. Since the †Khomani land claim two groups have become apparent within in the Community and are commonly referred to as traditionalists and westerners by academics, development agencies, journalists, authors and the Community itself. The origins of these groups is detailed in 3.4.4. At their most extreme, traditionalists aspire to live in traditional grass houses, while using the land for traditional and cultural purposes and practices, such as hunting and gathering. The extreme westerners are better educated livestock farmers, many of whom do not live on the farms, but desire access to the land for livestock farming purposes. Ellis (2004), terms these westerners as elites, given their education, political connections and wealth compared to the traditionalists. While this fits with Chambers (1983) definition of elite, a note of caution is offered as not all westerner †Khomani are richer or better educated than the traditionalists. Unlike, some other South African land reform beneficiary communities, the traditional leader, Dawid Kruiper, is not an elite in the



sense that he is better educated, has previous administrative experience from the former homelands, or has the authority to dictate natural resource use (see Fraser 2007a; van Leynseele and Hebinck 2009; Oomen 2005; King 2005), see section 2.4.2 and 2.5.3. Consequently he has been unable to control the †Khomani land reform process on this basis. Overall, in the context of education and riches, some †Khomani westerners can be termed as elites, however, in other contexts the traditionalists are the elites of the †Khomani Community as they have maintained their Bushman traditions and can directly trace their ancestry back to expulsion from the KTP, which is the basis of the land claim (see section 3.4.3). This means that the traditionalist have a more authentic claim to the land and are politically well connected. Consequently, elitism is context specific in reference to the †Khomani and their land claim, and is also a relative term as I have discussed in section 2.4.2. For the purposes of this discussion, †Khomani westerners are designated as the elites, given that they possess the education to better influence the development process.

Returning to the traditionalist/western divide, in my experience, the majority of the †Khomani share some of the desires of the extreme traditionalists and some of the desires of the extreme westerners, as is apparent in chapter four and five. For example many traditionalist desire to live in formal houses and own domestic livestock, while some western farmers maintain their Bushman culture through making Bushman jewellery. Despite few †Khomani adhering to the extreme ideals of traditional and western Bushmen, some individuals do hold such principals, with some such individuals being vocal in their desires. This is particularly true of the elite educated westerners that can better articulate their position regarding farm development. Over the years, community individuals have aligned themselves to either the traditionalist or westerner groups depending on which best suits their needs, with Ellis (2004), suggesting that NGOs reinforce and encourage the values of the traditionalists. As these westerner or traditionalist principals directly inform the manner in which †Khomani individuals desire †Khomani land to be used and developed, and as †Khomani land is communally owned, this means that owners' agreement or that the agreement of owners' representatives is needed in order to allow farm development to be undertaken. Consequently, westerner and traditionalist community divisions have been allowed to contribute to the delay in decision making regarding the manner in which the †Khomani

farmland is to be used, and therefore the development of the farms. Although, delays have been evident, westerner elites, despite their superior education and self-confidence, have only been able to formally influence land use practices on the †Khomani farms, to a limited extent.

Following the †Khomani land settlement in 1999, the first †Khomani constitution stated that a minimum of 50 per cent of the †Khomani farmland was to be used to encourage †Khomani traditions. The farms of Erin, Witdraai and Miershopan were named for these purposes (Chennels 2006:6), however, some westerner elites such as Andries Steenkamp argue that this was too much land for such purposes:

I do not think that is a good story... that I should give 50 per cent of farms for traditional use... it is too much for traditional use because there is only tracking and looking for plants. Why you give 18,000 hectares for that? That is too much...I see now that it is not good that 50 per cent of the land must be used for traditional things (interview, May 2007).

By 2002, the †Khomani constitution had been changed, apparently through community consensus, to reflect such attitudes as that above, with only two farms Erin and Witdraai, being reserved for traditional purposes (Chennels 2006). This constitutional change resulted in animosity between westerners and traditionalists, as traditionalist perceived that they were being unfairly outmanoeuvred of the land in which they had been instrumental in gaining. Despite this reduction in traditional farmland, however, some westerners were not, and are not, satisfied continuing to argue that too much land has been reserved for traditional purposes. Andries Steenkamp comments:

Witdraai and Erin...but that is too big... it's still too much. Only Erin or Witdraai. But not two farms for that that is not right. They can do the traditional things in the Park because we have land in the park...you can do it because you have rights there (interview, May 2007).

By 2004 the relationship between †Khomani Community members had deteriorated, with the SAHRC reporting that the traditionalists had presented the Welkom Declaration to government earlier that year. The traditionalists argued that land use for traditional purposes was being restricted by the westerner influenced CPAMC. Consequently, the Declaration requested that the management of the original traditional

farms of Erin, Witdraai and Miershooppan be taken away from the CPAMC and awarded to the traditionalists to manage accordingly (South African Human Rights Commission 2004). Although the request of the Declaration has never been granted, elite westerners have not been able to dictate any other constitutional changes in their own favour, or to influence development agendas to any significant extent. This is partly attributable to development agents that continue to work with the traditionalists to ensure that elite westerners do not outmanoeuvre or outwit the traditionalists of the land rights, from the land claim that they instigated. It is therefore apparent, that in this instance, development agents are not working with, or further empowering the educated elites, in this context the westerners, as is often the case in development practice (see Crewe and Harrison 1998; Kelsall and Mercer 2003), and land reform specifically (see James 2000a). Such instances have been detailed in section 2.4.2 and 2.5.3 respectively. The extent to which development agents have facilitated the empowerment of the traditionalists to take control of the development process is discussed in chapter seven.

The above demonstrates that a lack of a collective †Khomani Community vision has complicated decisions relating to land use practices on the farms and therefore delayed livelihood development. Furthermore, while the reservation of the two farms for traditional purposes was already a contentious issue within the Community, it has become more controversial due to problems related to the building of formal housing and the delivery of basic services on the farms, which many westerner and traditionalist †Khomani desire. Initially the †Khomani chose Andriesvale as the site for formal housing for the Community. In 2005 however, it was discovered that the housing development was not be feasible on this farm. The most suitable area for the planned housing was the traditional farm of Erin (Chennels 2006). Mier Local Municipality manager, Colin Philander reiterates this, stating that the delay is due to unresolved issues within the †Khomani Community:

The plan was to build houses at Andriesvale, but this process has been delayed for a good number of years because of various issues between themselves [the †Khomani]. For instance, the CPAMC of the San [†Khomani] with the Community cannot decide where to settle, planning was done at Andriesvale, but the town planners people from the department realised that there would be technical problems with the specified area so at a later stage they decided to settle at Erin... Planning

was underway but then it was stopped suddenly because it was traditional land, so houses cannot be built there. So that is the delaying factor...The position now is that the San have yet to decide where they would like the houses to be built (interview, August 2007).

Andries Steenkamp acknowledges that there is conflict regarding the location of the houses, "Some people want them at one place and some don't want them there". However he continues, from his westerner point of view:

The Community has decided, but Dawid [traditional leader]... and David Grossman and Phillipa [socio-ecologists working with the ꞤKhomani]...say we can't build houses on Erin because that's traditional land, but that is not the story, the story is that the traditional land is the land of the Community so the Community can decide where they want their houses. But that is the story and Peter Makomela [Regional Land Claims Commissioner] come and say...that the people [traditionalists] will go to the high court to stop it. The arguments over the houses have been going on for four years. It's Erin that we want to build on (interview, May 2007).

Comments such as Andries's highlight the way in which the traditionalists' desires are often disregarded by the westerners. In regard to the housing issue the traditional authorities argue that their rights are being ignored (Chennels 2006). This is of concern to many of the ꞤKhomani Community, and to individuals and organisations working alongside the ꞤKhomani. In 2007, SASI employee, Nannette Flemming commented:

SASI is concerned at present as the new CPA[MC], could change the constitution, and release the traditional land for houses, they could actually do away with the traditional land altogether. This would lead to serious problems within the Community, which at present are trying to come to joint compromises and agreements (pers. comm., April 2007).

If the Community decides to pursue the building of houses on Erin, specific procedures and negotiations, detailed in the ꞤKhomani CPA constitution, must be followed. At present the appropriate traditional authorities responsible for the traditional farms have not been contacted, consequently, negotiations have not taken place to resolve the issue. If land is to be released an agreement must be reached with regard to the portion of Erin that will be released for the township, and the method or form of compensation or exchange for the land (Chennels 2006:17). It is apparent that conflicting ideals within the ꞤKhomani Community have complicated the decision making processes in relation

to land use practices and the provision of basic services. Although western elites have been able to influence the manner in which land is to be used, this influence has been constrained by development agents aiming to ensure traditionalists do not become marginalised. The needs of the westerners and traditionalists, however, are not as polarised as each group, or development agents perceive. For example, many individuals desire the same basic needs, such as formal housing and basic service provision. Essentially, it is not the differing desires of the Community that is delaying the development process but the lack of formal negotiations to enable compromises and decisions to be made. The longer negotiations and the subsequent development is delayed, the more community members become resentful of the other group, perceiving them to be the delaying factor. At present, it is difficult for discussions or negotiations to be undertaken, as the Community representative body responsible for such actions, the CPAMC, has few remaining members, and has an unclear role in the Community given that it is in administration and its official term of office has ended. Until an appropriate management body is enabled, such discussions will remain elusive and decisions regarding land use practices and development cannot be made, as discussed in section 6.3. Furthermore, without such an authority, government and development agencies struggle to move the development process forward, given that there is no community body to consult in this regard. Despite the performance of previous CPAMCs, which suggests †Khomani individuals lack the skills to sufficiently manage the farms in an appropriate manner, adequate skills support from government bodies has been lacking and to date no particular government body is responsible for capacity building of CPAMCs or of communities (see section 6.3).

## 6.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has identified a number of underlying factors that serve to constrain and delay basic service provision and livelihood development on the †Khomani farms, the interactions of which further complicate the process and debilitate development. Overall, this chapter has demonstrated that government post-settlement support to the †Khomani, which involves multiple departments with a lack of a clear mandate of government department responsibilities, has resulted in insufficient support to the Community. Additionally, where a clear remit is available, for example, regarding the appointment of a farm manager and basic service provision, budgetary constraints and

incapacity have been cited, respectively, as reasons why support and services have not been forthcoming. Although safeguards are in place to ensure support for local municipalities that lack capacity, such safeguards have been ineffective. Despite the lack of development, †Khomani individuals have not been able to hold agencies to account, a result of their aforementioned depoliticised state. As the majority of development personnel involved are urban based they may be failing to appreciate the complexities of development in remote rural areas and therefore recommend inappropriate strategies. Where, SASI at Andriesvale are responsible for the management of cultural tourism projects, management is struggling to attract custom and provide adequate services, suggesting further training and support is needed from SASI Kimberley. Given the multiple development actors involved in the †Khomani land claim, effective communication and cooperation within and between agents, including government departments, the Community and the CPAMC is essential to achieve positive outcomes, however, to date such communication and cooperation has been insufficient and ineffectual and continues to slow the development process. The lack of a common vision among the †Khomani Community has contributed to a delay in farm development, which coupled with a dysfunctional, or non-existent management body has meant that community meetings have not been facilitated to allow negotiation and decision making. Without the appointment of an appropriate management body, it is difficult for development agencies to offer appropriate support. In order for such a body to be effective, based on the performance of previous CPAMCs, capacity building and empowerment are essential. Such findings demonstrate the manner in which development constraints interact to further complicate and delay the development process and support the need for a comprehensive approach to development. Although development literature often fails to sufficiently detail such underlying constraints, this chapter has demonstrated that development dynamics, specifically those related to traditional leadership and elite dominance differs between beneficiary populations, highlighting the need for context specific development strategies, which cannot be identified without such detailed information.

This chapter has considered some of the multiple factors that constrain development on the †Khomani farms, with decision making regarding land use and development processes on †Khomani land proving a challenge for the Community. To facilitate this,

capacity must be built within the Community, while individuals must become empowered. Without this, many Community members will continue to be unable to contribute to the development process while community management bodies will be unable to function effectively to manage the farms and facilitate negotiation to allow agreement regarding land use strategies. Furthermore, unless †Khomani individuals become empowered to achieve individual agency, which Sen argues is essential for sustainable development, the †Khomani will be unable to hold development agencies, specifically government, to account for failing to provide the required services and support. Apart from awarding the †Khomani their land, the South African Government has done little to facilitate the empowerment of the †Khomani. Such support has been left to alternative development agencies, as indicated by Peter Makumela of the DLA, in this chapter. The extent to which empowerment has been enabled and capacity building has been applied effectively, by these development agencies is discussed in chapter seven.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: ꞤKHOMANI EMPOWERMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT?**

The introduction noted that Sen has argued that sustainable development must include the removal of sources of unfreedom that include, poverty, poor economic opportunities, and the neglect of public service provision, all of which strengthen one another. The post apartheid government in South Africa has introduced policies to address issues of rural underdevelopment, however it is apparent that while these policies demonstrate commitment to the issue on paper they often fail in reality. Although Bushmen are no longer systematically persecuted, preceding chapters have demonstrated that since the land claim none of the above unfreedoms have been removed from the ꞤKhomani Community. Sen (1999), further argues that development must be “agent” led, with individuals helping each other to shape their own destiny, which is reminiscent of Freire’s argument recounted in this chapter. Accordingly, the facilitation of what Sen terms, “free and sustainable agency”, in other words, empowerment, is essential for the realisation of sustainable development. Consequently, within development circles, many agencies advocate people centred development, to facilitate beneficiary empowerment, however, as noted in chapter two, such empowerment is difficult achieve.

In accord with the theories of Sen and Freire, chapter six identified the importance of empowerment in order to ensure that the ꞤKhomani Community are able to facilitate and control the development of their community and farms. This chapter assess the extent to which the ꞤKhomani have been disempowered, or have had the freedom to determine their own lives, identity and livelihoods limited. This purpose of this is to allow an understanding of how the history of a community impacts the ability of community members to effectively “lead” development initiatives, or shape their own future, rather than simply be led by the initiatives of others. Consideration is also given to the development agencies working with the ꞤKhomani to determine the extent to which they adhere to Sen’s vision, and strive to, or have facilitated the empowerment of individuals to enable agent led, or people centred development. The lack of community cohesion and post-settlement support are further discussed to determine the impact



these issues have had on †Khomani empowerment and development, thereby highlighting the complexities of putting empowerment and development theories and strategies into practice.

## **7.1 STRATEGIES FOR PEOPLE CENTRED DEVELOPMENT**

In the 1980s the concept of development came under criticism as discussed in section 2.3. By the 1990s it was recognised that because development practices were “top down”, lacking beneficiary participation in the conception, planning and implementation of projects, they were perceived as irrelevant by beneficiary communities, who therefore failed to invest time or energy in the said strategies (Gardner and Lewis 1996; Crewe and Harrison 1998). It was argued that new development practices must be people centred in order that they reflect beneficiaries’ aspirations and are therefore meaningful to the said populations. Without such processes beneficiaries may not be committed to their success (Gardner and Lewis 1996; Eade 1997; Edwards 1989).

These new development practices drew inspiration from social movements and Brazilian educationalist Paulo Freire (Eade 1997; Clark 1991; Blackburn 2000), which rely on change instigated from below. Social movements emanate from shared visions and ideals that mobilise individuals and organisations, resulting in social change. For example, there was the Mass Education Movement in China between the 1920s and 1930s, when 100,000 volunteers were inspired through social momentum to teach an estimated five million illiterate workers basic literacy (see Korten 1990:124-125). In addition to grassroots activism, Freire recognised that there was a role for external agencies to empower people, by stimulating and supporting people’s ability to understand, encouraging them to question and resist the structural reasons for poverty, through learning, organisation and action. Consequently, local problem-solving is used to affect development change therefore empowering individuals (Gardner and Lewis 1996; White 1996). Given such rationalisation, “bottom up”, people centred development, became popular with development agencies. Furthermore, aspects of Freire’s teachings emerged within development agencies who recognised that local participation facilitated grassroots development, while capacity building enabled the empowerment of individuals to ensure meaningful and sustainable development

(Blackburn 2000; see White 1996; Rowlands 1995). To date, participation, capacity building and empowerment continue to be central components of people centred development.

### **7.1.1 Participation**

Participatory approaches to development, such as advocated by Robert Chambers (see chapter two), enable beneficiaries to directly influence the development process to reflect their own needs and desires. Consequently, participation renders projects more meaningful for beneficiaries, who are then more committed, making development more sustainable in the long term. Accordingly, without participation, projects are often ineffective (Eade and Williams 1995; Gardner and Lewis 1996; Ostrom 1990; Dill 2009). Consequently, the term participation is present in the rhetoric of most development agencies, including NGOs (Gardner and Lewis 1996; Blackburn 2000), however, there are discrepancies as to what the various agencies interpret participation to mean. In relation to development, according to Freire's theory, in its ideal form participation exists when projects are a direct outcome of participants' initiatives, with decisions being made, and projects managed by the said population. Projects are not imposed on communities by the development agencies (Adnan et al. cited in Gardner and Lewis 1996; Rahnema 1992; Malan 1999). Under this form of participation, the role of the development agency is, where necessary, to build beneficiary capacity, enabling individuals to participate in decision-making. This facilitates beneficiary empowerment, allowing beneficiaries to challenge inequality and attain agency, to take complete effective control of their lives to affect their destiny (Eade and Williams 1995; Sinwell 2008; Malan 1999), and achieve what Sen terms as their freedoms (see Sen 1999).

Some agencies cite participatory methods as being in use when project information is made available to beneficiaries. Although, such agencies may consult community leaders regarding project planning, projects are shaped to suit development professionals or agencies, with final decision-making resting with such bodies, meaning that the project is out with the control of beneficiaries. It has been argued that this is not truly participation, given that decisions are made by the agency prior to discussion with beneficiaries. In these situations, at best local representatives are only able to influence minor modifications to projects (Gardner and Lewis 1996; Malan 1999; see

Blackburn 2000; Sinwell 2008). Such practices allow ideas to be imported into communities, with decisions being attributed to the Community to legitimise the already made decisions of the development agencies. Under these circumstances, participation is tokenistic, as people at the grassroots level are unable to significantly influence development projects. Furthermore, participation processes are given to domination by the more powerful and dominant members of beneficiary groups as opposed to disempowered individuals who regularly lack the self-confidence to voice opinions. This means that many local people are restricted in their ability to influence development projects (Gardner and Lewis 1996; Eade and Williams 1995; Dill 2009; Kelsall and Mercer 2003). From this, it is evident that participatory development often struggles to overcome complex issues of power and politics, as discussed in relation to elites and power in chapter two, and demonstrated in this chapter. This is an assessment supported by Cooke and Kothari (2001).

### **7.1.2 Capacity Building**

As with the term participation, capacity building is popular among development agencies, with both terms being closely linked, and contributing towards empowerment. Capacity building contributes towards what Freire (1972), terms critical awareness, with development agencies playing the role of the 'sympathetic intellectuals' (see section 7.3.). Capacity building is difficult to define because the manner in which capacity is built is dependent on the needs and desires of beneficiaries. Consequently, the role of development agencies is dependant on the needs and abilities of beneficiaries, meaning that development agencies are charged with offering a wide remit of services, including the supply of physical resources, organisational support, and/or skills of transference, ensuring that individuals are enabled to use the skills effectively (Eade 1997; Mulatu 2003; Fukuda-Parr, Lopes, and Malik 2002). Furthermore, agencies must recognise that all beneficiaries have existing capacities which can be utilised, while identifying the capacities that require strengthening and facilitate accordingly to achieve beneficiaries' desired outcomes (Eade 1997; Nikkhah and Redzuan 2010; Mulatu 2003; Stiglitz 2002). Capacity building can be used for institutional and/or personal growth. At the personal level it can improve individuals education, enable them to recognise and prioritise their values, build confidence and contribute towards individual empowerment, therefore

improving community and institutional functioning (Nikkhah and Redzuan 2010; Eade and Williams 1995). Capacity building can also have negative affects, however. Where development professionals, recruited to build capacity, are not from the local area there is a danger that inappropriate initiatives and techniques will be applied, as already detailed in section 2.3.

### **7.1.3 Empowerment**

Empowerment is a continuous process that aims to improve the ability of individuals to design and participate in the political, social and economic processes and events that shape and improve their lives. While access to information, economic resources and decision-making processes all enable empowerment, individuals must possess self-confidence and self worth to enable them capable of influencing decision making processes and making decisions to bring about desired change. This highlights the complexity of empowerment, as self-confidence, a product of empowerment, is in itself an important enabler of empowerment. Given that development underpinned by empowerment facilitates people centred sustainable development, and vice versa, empowerment remains an important concept within development circles (Rahnema 1992; Eade and Williams 1995; Gardner and Lewis 1996; Rappaport 1987; Girvan 1997; Meighoo, Crooks, and Girvan 1997). Although individuals and communities do not necessarily require the aid of development agencies to enable empowerment, given their lack of power to access the appropriate resources, it is often beneficial. The role of development agencies in the empowerment process is to enable access to material and financial resources, training, education and knowledge as appropriate, in other words to build capacity, whilst fostering self-worth and confidence in disempowered individuals to realise that they have a valid role to play in the decision making which affects their lives. The strategies employed by development agencies to enable empowerment vary, as they are dependent of the characteristics of the said individual or population (Gardner and Lewis 1996; Meighoo, Crooks, and Girvan 1997; Parpart, Rai, and Staudt 2002; Nikkhah and Redzuan 2010). This means that agencies must analyse the causes of disempowerment of a given population, in particular the manner in which the disempowered internalise their low social status. This requires facilitators to encourage participation from disempowered individuals to establish what beneficiaries' perceive as

obstacles to their goals and identify appropriate strategies (see Eade and Williams 1995; Kelsall and Mercer 2003; Botes and van Rensburg 2000; Alsop, Bertelsen, and Holland 2006). Overall, although individuals and Communities can be self-empowered, the services of development agencies to build capacity and facilitate the empowerment process can be beneficial, especially where disempowerment is at its worst, however, beneficiary participation is essential.

There has been criticism of the empowerment process, however. It has been argued that as development agencies tend to employ development professionals from outside the local area, these professionals often fail to recognise, value or build on the existing strengths of the said community and may even compound unequal power structures (Rahnema 1992; see Mosse 1995; Lewis 2003b; Botes and van Rensburg 2000), as already noted in section 2.3. It has also been suggested that agencies often exceed their role as facilitators becoming paternalistic and over-riding beneficiaries' desires, citing that beneficiaries' lack understanding. As a result, development agencies instil and reinforce external power and values, with communities never achieving control due to their inability to influence decision making (Rahnema 1992; Eade and Williams 1995; Eade 1997; Kelsall and Mercer 2003; Elliot 1987; Botes and van Rensburg 2000). These issues have been further discussed in section 2.4. While these criticisms highlight problems in the application of participatory methods, rather than the theory of empowerment as such, it has been suggested that there are limitations to empowerment. While empowerment processes build awareness of unjust situations this does not necessarily translate into individuals changing their given situation or circumstance. In other words, the theory of empowerment does not always translate into practice. When empowerment does occur, it does not necessarily empower people in all aspects of their lives (Eade and Williams 1995; see Kantor 2003; Schuler and Rottach 2010). Furthermore, where development agencies are involved in facilitating empowerment, the assumption that these agencies are able to harness the embedded power of disempowered communities, is unfounded and that there is no evidence to suggest that these agencies are more effective in this capacity than the community and/or peoples movements (Rahnema 1992; see Natarajan 2005; Moffatt et al. 2011). The above demonstrates that empowerment is not without issue, both in reference to its implementation and outcomes. As with participation, and capacity building the

outcomes of empowerment strategies are dependent on community dynamics and the implementing skills of development agencies, where such agencies are involved. The depth of disempowerment and the extent to which disempowerment is material, meaning a lack of resources, or is psychological in nature, referring to a lack of self worth and confidence, determines which strategies are applied and impact overall outcomes. I have already indicated in chapters four and five that the ǀKhomani are materially and financially disempowered. This chapter will now expand on the process of psychological disempowerment before demonstrating that South Africa's Bushmen, including the ǀKhomani have been historically psychologically disempowered, a condition that is evident today among many ǀKhomani and continues to contribute to the ǀKhomani's state of poverty.

## 7.2 THE PROCESS OF DISEMPOWERMENT

Disempowerment is apparent when individuals are systematically denied power and influence to participate in society, this can be through both material and psychological means. For Freire (1996), disempowerment was essentially a psychological matter. He argues that disempowerment is initiated through the implementation of specific policies and the creation of supporting conditions that serve to disempower people over time, as the oppressed<sup>39</sup> internalise the opinion of their oppressors:

So often do they hear that they are good for nothing, know nothing and are incapable of learning anything-that they are sick, lazy and unproductive-that in the end they become convinced of their own unfitness (Freire 1996:45).

Through the acceptance of the oppressor's values, the oppressed's ability to be critically aware and recognise their oppression becomes dormant as they accept their inferior position in society to be true and justified. The oppressed fail to recognise their own value, or to value the knowledge they possess, meaning they have low self worth, and lack of confidence. Specifically, Fanon argues that in relation to colonised peoples, inferiority complexes are apparent due to the inferiorisation of the oppressed's culture and language by colonisers (Fanon 1986). South Africa's Bushmen have been perceived

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<sup>39</sup> Freire uses the term oppressed and oppressor and I have chosen to retain their use to allow for a more accurate representation of the author.

as, and treated as inferior, by succeeding peoples and governments, and have been excluded from meaningful participation in society, initially informally, then by formal policies. Such treatment, long term, has resulted in the disempowerment of the ‡Khomani, and continues to have a direct impact on the Community today.

### **7.2.1 The Disempowerment of South Africa's Bushmen**

Approximately 2,500 years ago, South Africa's Bushmen were first dispossessed of land by the Khoekhoe (see section 3.1.1). Bushmen that attempted to enter Khoekhoe society were denied access to livestock, meaning that Bushmen only managed to gain access to Khoekhoe society as inferior, low status individuals, living on the periphery of Khoekhoe society (Boonzaier et al. 1996). Following this, the migration of Bantu-speaking immigrants into the region of today's South Africa, 800 years ago, resulted in the Bushmen losing more land (see section 3.1.1). Although, some Bantu-speaking people tolerated Bushmen living in their societies, this was dependent on Bushmen remaining subordinate members of society. Some Bantu-speaking peoples did not accommodate Bushmen males whatsoever, killing the males when captured, as Bushmen were perceived as troublesome slaves, due to their persistent escape attempts (Schutte cited in Penn 1996:88). Consequently, Bushmen were excluded from equitable and meaningful participation in both Khoekhoe and Bantu-speaking people's society. This discrimination was to continue and intensify under succeeding South African Governments.

Prior to South Africa's colonisation by the Dutch, European sailors encountering South Africa's indigenous peoples had demonstrated pejorative attitudes, suggesting that Bushmen were "savage", "beastly and "ugly" (Boonzaier et al. 1996:59). Such attitudes continued into, and had serious implications in colonial times, when further dispersions were cast. Bushmen were said to be "deficient of all the attributes which belong to human beauty" and compared to "monkeys" (Skotnes 2002:255). Additionally, the Bushmen were perceived as having no religion or real language. These attitudes contributed to, and were used to justify, the ill treatment of the Bushmen by colonists, during the frontier wars of the 1770s, as detailed in section 3.3. At the frontier, colonists regarded the Bushmen as having few useful skills and as being inferior to the

Khoekhoe who had herding skills. Such skills made the Khoekhoe useful to the colonists as they could be employed as farm workers. This, coupled with the Bushman resistance at the frontier, was viewed as justification for the killing of Bushmen males on site, by colonists, with Bushmen females and children being enslaved. During the time of South Africa colonisation, colonisers, viewed it their duty to collect and record the natural history of this “new” land, which included the Bushmen. Colonists regarded themselves as “civilised” and therefore above nature, while Bushmen were “primitive” meaning they were regarded as part of the animal kingdom, to be collected and documented (Morris 1996). By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, “scientific” collections containing photographic studies of naked Bushmen, for the study of racial differentiation, were in existence. Notably, both Bushman males and females were uncomfortable and embarrassed by such processes (Skotnes 2002).

Bushman individuals and families were also collected to be exhibited in South Africa and Europe, to enable the public to view the perceived peculiarities of the Bushmen body. While ꞤKhomani individuals were incorporated into such exhibitions, it has been argued that these individuals were not disempowered. In fact it has been suggested that ꞤKhomani individuals welcomed the opportunity to be part of Donald Bain’s Bushman group who were exhibited in the Empire Exhibition in 1936 to 1937 (Schenck 2008; Gordon 2002). It is reported that individuals competed with each other to be chosen for the event (van Burskirk cited in Schenck 2008:36). Given the limited livelihood opportunities of the ꞤKhomani at this time, I argue that the ꞤKhomani effectively had no choice. The KGNP, the precursor or the KTP, had been established in 1931, which curtailed ꞤKhomani land access on which to hunt and gather. Consequently, the ꞤKhomani were forced into the labour market to survive, within which there were few opportunities. As a result it is likely that ꞤKhomani individuals joined Bain’s Bushmen out of desperation rather than choice. This is supported by an in interview with ꞤKhomani individual Anna Swarts, who was a member of Bain’s Bushmen group, she revealed, “I didn’t like being there [Johannesburg and Cape Town], we were away for a long time” (interview, May 2007). During the course of this exhibitions there is evidence that the ꞤKhomani were disempowered by Donald Bain., with the ꞤKhomani being unable to control the manner in which they were represented while being exhibited. For example, despite ꞤKhomani preference for western clothing due to the



cold weather, Bain forced them to wear skins. The ǀKhomani were also fully dependent on Donald Bain for their care, shelter (Schenck 2008), and finances which he controlled. Eventually, Bain became bankrupt and was unable to pay the ǀKhomani the money he owed them or repatriate them back to the Kalahari (Gordon 2002). Consequently, it seems that the ǀKhomani were disempowered at this time, even if they did make the “choice” to be exhibited, once part of the exhibition they had little choice or power to affect their conditions, representation, to ensure payment or their return home.

Some Bushmen individuals died while touring with these exhibitions. In 1851, two unnamed Bushmen children from the Garip (Orange) River area in the Northern Cape were taken for exhibition to England. While the boy died within two years of arrival, the girl survived for 12 years, dying at the age of 22 in England (Morris 1996). The bodies of such individuals were often dissected, with body parts and skeletons being preserved for scientific inquiry (Skotnes 1996; Morris 1996). Additionally, bodies of Bushmen that died in prison were often used in this manner, while private individuals commissioned the exhumation of Bushmen bodies, to obtain body parts for private collection, or to sell. Exhuming the bodies of non-Europeans was legal, and as permits sometimes had to be obtained from government officials (Morris 1996), it is apparent that the Government was aware of the practice. A number of museums and universities possess preserved Bushmen heads or skulls, which are said to belong to Bushmen that were killed by colonists during the frontier wars. Although some of these Bushmen were allegedly guilty of crimes, they were never charged or tried with these crimes. Such specimens were initially obtained as personal souvenirs or to sell, with Morris (1996) suggesting that they were a symbol of the superiority of colonists over Bushmen.

The above demonstrates the extent to which Bushmen were held in low regard by colonists and the general public of the European Empires. These prejudice perceptions, enabled colonists to justify the systematic exclusion of Bushmen from meaningful participation in society and consequent disempowerment. It was regarded as acceptable for colonists to kill Bushmen in the pursuit of land, as was the use, objectification and killing of Bushmen agreeable for the purposes of science, public display and trophies. Given that some Bushmen were required to partake in degrading activities that did not comply with the values or wishes of the Bushmen, demonstrates further, that Bushmen

opinions were unimportant to colonists. The fact that Bushmen did partake in these unpleasant activities, such as the naked photographs, suggests that the Bushmen had become disempowered. Either individuals had internalised the oppressors' opinion of them and perceived the treatment as just, or the Bushmen perceived that they were powerless to withdraw from these situations. When Britain came to rule the Cape Colony in 1795, although authorities sought to discourage the violence of the frontier, charging missionaries with the task of "civilising" and evangelising the remaining Bushmen, the Government continued to perceive Bushmen as inferior, dispossessing them of land and rights. During this time the violent resistance of the Bushman waned, with Bushmen becoming accepting of their fate (see section 3.3). This is further evidence that Bushmen had lost confidence and self worth, internalising the colonists/oppressors' perceptions that they were inferior, while assuming that they were unable to challenge the superior power of the colonists. In other words, they were disempowered.

### **7.2.2 The Disintegration of ꞛKhomani Identity**

The founding of the Union of South Africa in 1910 did not improve the situation of South African Bushmen. Succeeding governments introduced formal policies that continued to, and further disempowered Bushmen to partake in society. Since 1911, successive South African governments' ceased to officially recognise Bushmen, first in the census then in the Population Registration Act of 1950. Consequently, during registration procedures, given the lack of indigenous categories, individuals that identified themselves as Bushmen were registered as Coloured or native (see section 3.3). This meant that the ꞛKhomani were further disempowered. Essentially, the Governments were aware of the existence of Bushmen at this time, however, the fact that there was no relevant category indicated that the Government no longer thought them worthy of specific recognition, unlike other population groups. Consequently, Bushmen found themselves aligned to the Coloured identity, which contributed towards a disassociation with Bushman culture and language, to the extent that South Africa's Bushmen culture was considered dead and Bushmen extinct. Academics contributed to, and compounded the idea that Bushmen generally, and the ꞛKhomani specifically, were no longer in existence. In 1936, anthropologists, Doke, Dart and Maingard reported

studying “the last Bushmen at Gemsbok Park”, despite evidence of other Bushmen in the area (Crawhall 2004:241). Furthermore, in 1973, Professor Anthony Traill, a leading linguist, reported interviewing an individual claiming to be the last speaker of a Bushmen language in South Africa (Traill cited in Crawhall 2001:8), implying that there were few, if any other Bushmen remaining in South Africa. These academic revelations emerged while the ꞛKhomani were protesting the founding of the KGNP and their expulsion from the Park. The fact that Bushmen were not recognised officially, and as academic inferences suggested that few Bushmen remained in South Africa, meant that the credibility of the Bushmen protesting their expulsion from the KGNP, claiming to have rights to remain in the Park, was questioned. At this time, the ꞛKhomani lacked the self-confidence, ability and the political support needed to regain their recognition as Bushmen, meaning that they were disempowered. This is evident by the fact that the ꞛKhomani were evicted from the Park despite wanting to remain there.

The derogatory perceptions of Bushmen, with individuals being likened to animals, perceived as inferior, ‘backward’ and of low class, coupled with the treatment that such attitudes entailed, meant that for a number of years, many of the ꞛKhomani distanced themselves from their Bushman culture and identity, hiding their Bushman ancestry and adopting a Coloured identity. In support of this Crawhall reports:

the San [ꞛKhomani] elders would point out to me how women with straighter hair would make a point of wearing curlers in public or show their braided hair outside their headscarves to demonstrate that it was not curly Bushman hair (2004:242)

According to Crawhall, ꞛKhomani individuals were ridiculed for possessing features or speaking languages perceived to be Bushman. He details that the ꞛKhomani explained that possessing Bushman features such as a ‘flat nose’ were viewed as a sign of ugliness and a cause for ridicule, with nearly all Bushmen, neglected their traditional languages, adopting either Afrikaans or Nama as their daily language (Crawhall 2001) to avoid such ridicule. A number of ꞛKhomani parents also deliberately choose not to tell their children of their Bushmen heritage, raising their children as Coloureds. For example, Adrian Thys commented, “I was brought up as a Coloured and went to school thinking I was a Coloured” (interview, May 2007). Accordingly, such individuals were not taught

ǀKhomani languages or cultural practices. Consequently, the maintenance of Bushmen culture became a challenge. Following land dispossession, such as the expulsions from the Park, the ǀKhomani became dispersed, mainly throughout the Northern Cape, which made it difficult to meet with fellow Bushmen to reinforce their culture. Consequently, the N|u language previously spoken by many ǀKhomani almost became extinct, while much cultural knowledge, including medicinal knowledge has been lost. Although, a number of ǀKhomani parents intentionally concealed their ǀKhomani identity, consciously declining to teach their traditional languages or cultural practices to their children, others suggest that the need to maintain the culture just became less important. Crawhall states:

[t]he world just changed under their feet and there was no obvious reason to teach the language to their children. None of the elders ever confided to me that it was a strategy of theirs to hide their culture and language from the children (Crawhall 2004:248).

Given the consequent decline in ǀKhomani culture, when it was suggested during the land claim process that the original claimants, identify and locate additional Bushmen to be included as beneficiaries (see section 3.4.3), it was realised that many of the Bushmen had lost touch with each other. Consequently, SASI were charged with tracing and contacting ǀKhomani individuals, many of whom had no idea that they or their families were Bushmen. Crawhall, who worked with SASI at that time stated:

[m]ost of the young people in the households where we were working in the late 1990s were shocked to find out they were not Coloured and moreover that a parent could speak this exotic language (Crawhall 2004:248).

While some individuals welcomed the news that they were ǀKhomani, due to the implications associated with being a Bushmen, others did not. Crawhall comments:

One young woman became irate with me for suggesting her mother was a 'Boesman', she had avoided dealing with the evidence that her mother's language was linked to an aboriginal identity. They had always used Afrikaans in the household. The mother understood N|u but...would not use it in public. The association was shameful at first for the daughter (Crawhall 2004:248).

To date, due to the past perceptions associated with being a Bushman, a number of individuals of ꞤKhomani descent choose not to recognise their Bushman identity. For example, an individual that had a Bushman mother, and acknowledges that he has a ꞤKhomani cousin, whose Bushman mother was his aunt, denies that he is ꞤKhomani. Consequently, he does not live on the ꞤKhomani land but at Askham with the Coloured community, identifying himself as Coloured (Anonymous Askham resident interview, June 2007).

The above demonstrates that over time the ꞤKhomani internalised the values of the oppressors', as Freire termed them. The Bushman came to believe that their culture was inferior, resulting in ꞤKhomani individuals hiding their Bushman identity, as parents stopped informing children of their Bushmen heritage and ceased practicing cultural rituals. Crawhall disagrees with Freire's argument, however, suggesting that there was no value shift. Instead, he proposes that the ꞤKhomani suffered a loss of confidence in their culture as land dispossession resulted in an inability of the ꞤKhomani to maintain and reinforce cultural practices. This in turn, meant that ꞤKhomani power and value systems failed to be reinforced and maintained. This, coupled with constant reinforcement of the superiority of colonial power systems led to a diminished, almost non-existent ꞤKhomani culture (Crawhall 2004). The process Crawhall recounts is convincing, however, he argues that a loss of confidence was the end result. Although some individuals may have merely lost the confidence to teach their cultural values, others may have lost their confidence and also shifted their values. A loss of cultural confidence is a pre-requisite to a shift in values, while a lack of confidence is a result of disempowerment, be it at the individual or cultural level. A loss in cultural confidence may cause parents to intentionally choose not to teach their children about their Bushman heritage. Where parents, however, have unintentionally failed to transmit the ꞤKhomani identity to their children, it seems that these parents have unintentionally internalised and accepted the value systems of the dominant culture. Furthermore, the fact that some individuals were embarrassed to discover their ꞤKhomani identity, supports that argument that these individuals had internalised the oppressors' values. Whether individuals had lost cultural confidence or experienced a value change, internalising the values of the dominant culture, it is clear that both processes result in disempowered individuals, who lack the power to change their situation.

Following disempowerment, Freire argues that given sympathetic conditions, the inferiorisation that causes despondency will be overcome when disempowered individuals become critically aware. This critical awareness is evident when the disempowered are able to recognise their oppressed state through mutual awareness raising among the 'masses'. Following this, the essential mutual facilitation of awareness between the 'masses' and society's sympathetic intellectuals, enables the disempowered to address the causes of their oppression (Freire 1972). Aspects of this process of empowerment are theoretically advocated, and have been applied by a number of development agencies, including those working with the ǀKhomani. Mutual awareness raising is evident in respect to the ǀKhomani and occurred when the Kruiper family instigated the land claim before any development agencies became involved. Following this, sympathetic intellectuals, including development agencies, as detailed below, became involved with the Community to realise the land claim, build capacity and facilitate empowerment and development.

### **7.3 NGOS, COMMUNITY PROJECTS AND EMPOWERMENT STRATEGIES**

NGOs have become increasingly important in the development processes of many countries in the South (Atack 1999; Bratton 1989). At present there are few NGOs working with the ǀKhomani Community. Although some of these NGOs state that they directly aim to empower the Community, not all do. As the act of participating in NGO projects, however, is in itself a vehicle to empowerment (Eade and Williams 1995; Brohman 1996), these NGOs and community projects do empower individuals. NGOs working with the ǀKhomani include SASI, and the Indigenous Peoples of Africa's Coordinating Committee (IPACC) which both directly aim to facilitate the empowerment of ǀKhomani individuals. Another NGO FARM-Africa worked with the Community to develop sustainable farming practices and although !Xaus Lodge is not a development agency, it has been included, as it is a community owned lodge (the co-operation lodge see section 3.4.3), and has a remit to offer employment and develop the skills of ǀKhomani individuals. While FARM-Africa and !Xaus Lodge do not directly

aim to facilitate empowerment, the capacity building and skills development practices which they employ are contributors towards empowerment.

### 7.3.1 South African San Institute

Of the NGOs above, SASI has had the longest involvement with the ǀKhomani Community. SASI were formed in 1996, to support the ǀKhomani in their land claim and today is the main NGO working with the Community (Chennels 2006). SASI are the only NGO to have a permanent full time presence in the area, with two full time staff and an office situated near the ǀKhomani farm, Andriesvale. SASI's vision includes the empowerment of South Africa's Bushmen to enable them to "take permanent control over their lives, resources and destiny" (KFO 2004:72). To facilitate this, given the historical inferiorisation of the Bushmen, SASI advocates projects which aim to revive and promote the cultural identity and heritage of the Bushmen to build cultural confidence and facilitate empowerment (KFO 2004). It is envisioned that by building cultural confidence among the ǀKhomani, the issues of low self worth and confidence evident within the Community will be addressed. Furthermore, it is envisioned that this strong cultural identity will emerge and facilitate a strong cohesive community. Crawhall, former SASI employee, explains:

although the work must lead towards new skills and economic opportunities for people in the Community, it was important in the initial phase to concentrate on restoring people's self-respect and dignity...these are the prerequisites for any meaningful process of economic empowerment (2001:13-14).

In addition to recognising the importance of culture identity development in regard to empowerment SASI also promotes the sustained economic and social development of the ǀKhomani to improve their quality of life. This cannot be at the expense of cultural identity and heritage, however (KFO 2004). Section 4.4.3 details these SASI's projects, which include Sisen Crafts and Home and Textiles, Tourist Information Centre, Witdraai Bushcamp, //Uruke Tracking, and a tour-guiding programme. Many of these projects draw on cultural knowledge, with traditional plant and animal tracking knowledge being incorporated into the tracking training project //Uruke, while Sisen Crafts and the Home and Textiles projects take inspiration from traditional Bushmen

crafts. Consequently, SASI's income generating projects, aim to promote cultural confidence and pride, while allowing individuals to generate income, in addition to building capacity and skills development to facilitate empowerment. SASI has been criticised, however, for the emphasis it places on 'traditional' Bushman culture in its projects (see Francis Forthcoming), and has been accused of "lock[ing] the San people in a mystical past"(South African San Institute 2002:8). Despite such criticism, SASI continue to advocate the raising of self-esteem through building cultural confidence and capacity to ensure empowerment and sustainable development.

### **7.3.2 Indigenous Peoples of Africa Co-ordinating Committee**

The Indigenous Peoples of Africa Co-ordinating Committee (IPACC), is a network of African indigenous peoples' organisations founded in 1997. Although this NGO has never had a permanent presence on the †Khomani farms, it has continually supported the Community. IPACC argues that given the 'backward' perception of African indigenous peoples since colonial times, the cultures and economies of such peoples are endangered by unsympathetic government policies. Consequently, IPACC aims to enable indigenous peoples to challenge these policies and perceptions through strengthening the leadership and organisational capacity of indigenous peoples. This seeks to allow the effective petitioning for the recognition and respect of indigenous peoples and their knowledge, while promoting the appropriate use of such knowledge (IPACC 2006). Accordingly, through IPACC membership, individuals from the †Khomani Community attend workshops, forums and conferences. For example, in August 2007 I attended a workshop organised and facilitated by IPACC, to discuss the relevance of conservation biodiversity for indigenous peoples living near protected areas. This was attended by representatives from South Africa's indigenous communities including Bushmen, Khoekhoe, Nama and Griqua. In terms of empowerment this workshop was important. This workshop served to educate participants in legislation, proclamations and policy regarding conservation biodiversity, while enabling the formation of a working group in this regard. More generally, the workshop allowed indigenous peoples to congregate and validate their knowledge systems, therefore gaining in individual self-confidence while building cultural confidence. Overall, IPACC seeks to challenge and monitor polices through capacity



building to improve indigenous peoples' organisational and leadership skills. Such processes have transferable outcomes as they encourage individuals' self worth and confidence, contributing to the empowerment of indigenous peoples such as the †Khomani Community.

### 7.3.3 FARM-Africa

The NGO FARM (Food and Agricultural Research Management)-Africa works with marginal African farmers to increase household income and access to nutritional food through improved sustainable management of natural resources (FARM-Africa 2009a). As the South African branch of the NGO, FARM-Africa specialises in working with “small-scale farmers, farm dwellers and land reform beneficiaries” (Festus and Joseph 2007:4), the NGO worked with the †Khomani Community from 1999 until 2004. Specifically the project aimed “to strengthen community management of natural resources, which, in turn, was expected to lead to a reduction in poverty” (Festus and Joseph 2007:5). Although the NGO never established a permanent presence on the †Khomani farms during this time, they did have an office in Upington until 2007, when FARM-Africa ceased operating in South Africa. FARM-Africa enabled the †Khomani to establish a livestock bank aimed at increasing livestock ownership among the poorest community members to enable long term secure income generation and alleviate poverty (Festus and Joseph 2007). FARM-Africa are a people centred NGO, stating “[b]efore embarking on a new project, we spend a great deal of time listening to local people. Together, we work to overcome problems and develop new ways to help communities produce more food” (FARM-Africa 2009b). Consequently, prior to establishing the †Khomani livestock bank, FARM-Africa worked with the †Khomani to develop a participatory land use plan. This enabled that NGO to determine the needs of the Community while establishing the appropriate methods to meet these needs. Furthermore, a programme for capacity building, which focused on financial and resource management, and constitution interpretation, was agreed with the Community (Festus and Joseph 2007). From this it is apparent that, although FARM-Africa did not directly state that they aimed to empower the †Khomani, by applying participatory methods and capacity building, this allows individuals to learn skills and build confidence in particular areas, increasing self worth and confidence. Overall, such qualities contribute to empowerment.

### 7.3.4 !Xaus Lodge

Following the award of land to the ǀKhomani in 1999, the AelHai Kalahari Heritage Park Bundle detailed a number of projects to be implemented by the ǀKhomani (see section 3.4.3). At present, only one such project has been realised, the !Xaus Co-operation Lodge, which opened in June 2007. The luxury Lodge is situated on the border of the ǀKhomani and Mier Communities' land in the KTP. Although the Lodge is owned jointly by the ǀKhomani and Mier communities, the communities recognised that they lack the expertise to manage the Lodge. Consequently, Transfrontier Parks Destination (TPD) have been appointed management company for the Lodge. Glynn O'Leary of TPD states that as !Xaus Lodge is luxury establishment it will require more skilled staff, ideally from the immediate communities, than other tourist ventures in the area:

if tourism is going to benefit those communities [ǀKhomani and Mier] then it's got to be done at the kind of level we're doing it at... Where you are providing self-catering options for people, the level of expertise that is required to service those self-catering options is not huge. Basically you need room cleansers. But you are not really developing skills like chefs. Yes they require some receptionists but it's a limited number of jobs.....for the twenty-four bed [!Xaus] lodge we are employing close on twenty people directly, and indirectly we are employing ...at the moment I can't even begin to imagine how many (interview, July 2007).

In addition to providing employment opportunities to the ǀKhomani, Glynn O'Leary also notes that in order to be a successful luxury lodge the lodge must:

provide training opportunities for staff...we will provide on site training...our mission is to see our staff get trained...and that what we offer is the best. That anybody who leaves there [!Xaus Lodge] should be able to work in the Cape Grace or Table Bay Hotel (interview, July 2007).

From this, it is apparent that although !Xaus Lodge is not a development agency, as such, it does aim to train staff to benefit individuals long term, enabling them to secure future employment. As !Xaus Lodge is a business, appropriate skills training is decided by management, not through participatory methods, however, such skills development contribute to individual empowerment.

## 7.4 †KHO MANI PARTICIPATION FOR EMPOWERMENT

### 7.4.1 Development Agents, Participation and Community Cohesion

Development agencies often target certain population groups for development. Within these groups, development agencies influence the development process through targeting the participation of specific community members and by implementing specific projects (Crewe and Harrison 1998; Kelsall and Mercer 2003). Often such agencies work with community elites, serving to further empower these individuals rather than the move disempowered community members (see James 2000a), as discussed in section 2.4.2 and 2.5.3. Consequently, certain members of these communities benefit, while communities as a whole are affected detrimentally (Eade and Williams 1995; Gardner and Lewis 1996). Given, that NGOs working with the †Khomani advocate the use of participatory methods of development, they must attract †Khomani participants. Essentially all NGOs working with the Community welcome the participation of all †Khomani, however, while SASI, IPACC and !Xaus Lodge are not guilty of favouring the participation of community elites, this is not true of FARM-Africa, as discussed in section 7.6.1. As these NGOs advocate certain development principals and strategies, as detailed above, †Khomani individuals tend to be attracted to specific NGOs based on these strategies.

IPACC works with indigenous peoples, while SASI have a narrower remit, only working with Bushmen living in South Africa. FARM-Africa target marginal farmers and !Xaus Lodge aims to attract people from the †Khomani and Mier Communities. While †Khomani individuals do identify themselves as indigenous, South African Bushmen, and †Khomani, with some being farmers, there are additional divisions within the Community. Many †Khomani individuals value the more traditional Bushmen attributes while others align themselves with western values (see section 3.4.4). Consequently, most individuals are not involved with all agencies that target them, but are aligned to particular agencies based on agencies' development strategies. SASI and IPACC attract the participation of the traditional †Khomani, given that they promote the traditional aspects of Bushmen (or indigenous) culture for development. !Xaus Lodge has the capacity to appeal to both traditional and western elements of the

Community, however, it predominately attracts the traditional peoples, as to date, all employment secured by the ǀKhomani at the Lodge, involves working in the cultural village. The capacity building and opportunities of FARM-Africa mainly appeal to the farmers that are westerner ǀKhomani. As a result, despite NGOs and !Xaus Lodge, being open to participation from all members of the ǀKhomani Community, due to the adopted development strategies, agencies only attract participation from certain groups within the Community. Consequently, although development agencies offer all community members the opportunity to become involved in capacity building and empowerment strategies, development agencies do little to encourage community members from different groups to work or socialise together to foster community cohesion. In fact, they serve to compound and highlight differences among the Community rather than unite them, further polarising the Community. This is an example of another way in which development agencies can benefit certain members of communities, while affecting the Community as a whole, and the development process, detrimentally. To date no development agency is actively attempting to reconcile ǀKhomani Community differences.

#### **7.4.2 ǀKhomani Participation, Project Conceptualisation and Development Professionals**

According to people centred development theories, in order that development is sustainable, development projects must be conceptualised and instigated from below. This means that beneficiaries must participate in the conceptualisation of projects to ensure that these projects are meaningful, and that beneficiaries continue to participate (Crewe and Harrison 1998; Edwards 1989). Until 2008, the SASI office near Andriesvale was managed by non-locals, who were responsible for establishing projects, with external consultants or professionals being hired to impart expertise and train community members on individual projects. Despite this external presence, SASI reports that projects were initiated and managed by community members (South African San Institute 2002). Accordingly, in regard to the ǀKhomani guiding project, Nanette Flemming, former SASI manager, reports that while she compiled information and trained individuals for the project, this was at the request of the Community (interview, June 2007). Furthermore, Sisen Craft Project, which was established in 2000

but closed due to financial mismanagement in 2007, was re-established in 2009 by SASI, due to †Khomani demand. During my time with the Community, while the craft project was closed, †Khomani individuals often shared with me the desire that Sisen Craft Project should reopen. In regard to Witdraai Bushcamp, researcher Stasja Koot, has suggested that the project has the characteristics of a “top down” project (Stasja Koot, pers. comm., June 2010), meaning that the inspiration for the projects did not come from the Community. He concluded this due to the Community’s lack of effort to ensure the economic success of the Bushcamp. The Witdraai Bushcamp opened during the period of my fieldwork and prior to its opening, there was much interest among the †Khomani and support for the project. Overall, according to SASI, SASI projects are conceptualised by the Community. At the least I would suggest that community members involved with SASI certainly influence which SASI projects are implemented. The economic shortfalls of the Bushcamp I argue are accountable to a lack of marketing by SASI in Kimberley (see section 6.4), the tourism potential of the area (see section 4.6.2), and a local management inexperience, rather than disinterest from the Community. In general, SASI project shortcomings are due to SASI at Andriesvale now being managed by community members with limited expertise, experience and support, and do not reflect of community disinterest.

IPACC do not run projects on the †Khomani farms, however, they do organise workshops that welcome members of the Community. IPACC dictate the topic of the workshop and determine the information that should be imparted. The IPACC workshop I observed in August 2007, was facilitated by IPACC director, with additional development professionals from the South and North in attendance, some observing and some participating. Development professionals encouraged participation from the locals in attendance and local participants were expected to make decisions regarding how the information was to be used to benefit their own communities. In regard to the development strategies of FARM-Africa, FARM-Africa report consultation with †Khomani individuals, to determine an appropriate land use plan and capacity building programme for the Community. This resulted in the formation of a livestock bank, in addition to capacity building focusing on financial, resource and group management skills (Festus and Joseph 2007), with external consultants employed to impart their expertise and develop the skills of the Community. Drawing from this it is evident that

NGOs report participation from community members to determine development interventions. It is also apparent that NGOs working with the †Khomani employ external development professionals to build capacity. Although SASI staff at Andriesvale have been able to deliver a some capacity building, they are constrained due to their limited expertise. In the past, white commercial farmers from Askham supplied support to †Khomani farmers on behalf of FARM-Africa (FARM-Africa (Noordkaap) N.D.). In 2008 for the six months he was employed, the farm manager William Barnes, was to supply regular support when he was intermittently in the area (William Barnes, interview, January 2008). Apart from these exceptions, NGOs recruit development professionals, typically from South African, that visit the area for a short time to deliver the required service.

Where †Khomani individuals participate in capacity building, development professionals do not always deliver programmes in the most appropriate or effective manner. Willem Vaalbooi who received training from FARM-Africa's external development professionals explains:

The training that Farm Africa gave was about computer literacy..... and financial management.... there's more but I can't remember everything. Our problem ... all the training I got, I never did it practically. It was only the, you know, theoretical training that I got...I feel that the thing is, I had nature conservation training. But I can't really do it practically. And this is what happened to most of the Community members. They've got the training but they can't practically do the training on the ground...you know the training that people are getting, they should really practically do it on the ground, but that never happens (interview, January 2008).

Willem's comments are not uncommon in relation to capacity building efforts by development professionals working with the †Khomani. These outcomes are a reflection of external development professionals being employed to deliver short-term training without adequate follow up long-term support. Inappropriate training techniques, and the unrealistic expectation that short-term training is adequate, are a result of development professionals not spending enough time in the area. In other words, development practitioners are guilty of rural development tourism. Given that these professionals only have time to visit certain areas and projects, and meet with specific peoples, they exhibit a number of Chamber's biases including special, project

and person bias, see section 2.3. This means that development professionals do not fully appreciate the needs of the Community. They fail to gain a full insight into the Community, its culture and the depth of its issues, to determine the extent of training needed, and the form this training should take, they therefore fail to deliver appropriate capacity building in a suitable manner. As a result, despite FARM-Africa and SASI both providing computer and financial management training, given that individuals have little opportunity to reinforce or consolidate this learning, few †Khomani can operate a computer or maintain finances to any meaningful or useful degree.

Although there is a lack of development professionals with the necessary expertise resident in the area local to the †Khomani farms, development agencies could employ other individuals in the area with the appropriate skills to build the capacity of the †Khomani. For example, there are a number of successful guest house and game farm operators in the Mier area that could contribute to †Khomani capacity building in reference to their tourism projects. SANParks could also help in this respect. Local farmers could once again give farming advice as required while secondary school teachers may also be in a position to contribute depending on the needed capacity building. Where such individuals are unable or unwilling to be employed as development professionals, despite the concerns that have already been raised regarding the usage of external development professionals, (see section 2.3), I argue that the †Khomani would benefit from such support, as long as support is long term and appropriate. Without this, †Khomani individuals will not achieve their potential to enable sustainable development, remaining dependent on development agencies, such as NGOs, their projects and their funding.

As SASI are an NGO, they are dependent on donor funding to build capacity, and implement and sustain projects. Currently, SASI employ two full time staff members and an assistant for the Sisen Craft Shop, based on the †Khomani farms. SASI also subsidises craft materials for Sisen Crafts, while Molopo Lodge<sup>40</sup> subsidise the Sisen Craft Shop, supplying the building and paying electricity costs, all of which enables †Khomani individuals to earn income. SASI also pay the overheads for the Tourist Information

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<sup>40</sup> Molopo Lodge is hotel and restaurant in the vicinity of the †Khomani farms.

Centre and the running costs of the Witdraai Bushcamp. At present SASI projects are all financially dependant of SASI, no projects are economically self-sustaining. Although, SASI manager Fonnie Brou realises the need for projects to become self-supporting, this is yet to happen. Without increased training and support from either local individuals or external development professionals, I argue that such projects will continue in this manner. Given that donor funding has been available to SASI since establishment, however, many ǀKhomani individuals view funding as permanent, assuming that money is always be available to support these projects and individuals' development. As a result, dependency has resulted from donor funding, with disempowered individuals demonstrating little urgency or motivation to learn and apply skills, to enable the self-sustainability of projects and the empowerment of individuals.

## **7.5 OUTCOMES OF ǀKHOMANI EMPOWERMENT STRATEGIES**

It has been argued that due to oppression, and the internalisation of oppressors' perceptions of inferiority, the ǀKhomani have experienced a break down in cultural and societal norms resulting in, low self-esteem and a lack of confident, in other words, psychological disempowerment. To date, despite empowerment facilitation by development agencies, ǀKhomani individuals living on the farms and at Welkom, continue to be psychologically disempowered, exhibiting behaviours consistent with low confidence and self-esteem. For example, while many ǀKhomani converse and share knowledge with individuals known and unknown to them, they are easily intimidated by authority figures or when challenged. In the documentary film *Bushman's Secret*, when Elia le Riche, former KTP manager, tells ǀKhomani traditional leader Dawid Kruiper, and Jan van der Westhuizen that they are not Bushmen. Initially, Dawid and Jan dispute this claim, but are quickly silenced. In such circumstances, ǀKhomani individuals often exhibit behaviours characteristic of low self-esteem, including, slumped posture, quiet and faltering speech, covering of eyes and mouth along with a lack of eye contact (Ribbens and Thompson 2001:46). Individuals' low self-esteem is also evident through the social ills that are present within ǀKhomani Community. Low self-esteem is manifested through aggressive behaviours along with drug and alcohol consumption (Donnellan et al. 2005). Instances of violent spousal abuse, rape and murder, all



occurred in the Community during the research period, as did regular alcohol and drug consumption.

A lack of self-confidence is also evident among the ǀKhomani. The IPACC conservation biodiversity workshop that I observed in August 2007, was attended by a number of ǀKhomani including the traditional leader Dawid Kruiper, Jan van der Westhuizen and Gert Swarts. Representatives from the !Xun and Khwe Busmen Communities, Nama and Griqua peoples were also in attendance in addition to external development professionals, researchers and observers. Throughout the proceedings, despite encouragement, the ǀKhomani were noticeably less vocal than other representatives, only expressing views when directly asked. When I commented on this to the IPACC facilitator, Nigel Crawhall, I was assured that this was typical of the ǀKhomani, who in fact were being more forthcoming than usual (personal conversation, August 2007). The ǀKhomani were also reluctant to make decisions on behalf of their community and when representatives were charged with producing a plan of action, a Bushmen representative suggested that the development professionals, researchers and observers were in a better position to do this, given their experience. This met with agreement among the other participants, however, facilitator, Nigel Crawhall, pointed out that the purpose of the workshop was to empower Communities to take charge of their own future. Based on such outcomes, there is a continued need for strategies to facilitate the psychological empowerment of the ǀKhomani, without which individuals will be unable to take control of their lives, and the development of the farms.

## **7.6 OBSTACLES TO ǀKHOMANI PARTICIPATION AND EMPOWERMENT**

This chapter has argued that empowerment is an essential component of poverty alleviation, while chapter six identified that the empowerment of the ǀKhomani is essential in order that the Community is able to realise its desires and rise out of poverty. Although empowerment, in the psychological sense, is essentially an internal process, development agencies can facilitate this through development interventions. For these interventions to be effective, they must be beneficiary driven. Consequently, beneficiary participation is a necessary component to ensue that these development

initiatives, which include capacity building and the implementation of development projects for empowerment, are meaningful to beneficiaries.

### 7.6.1 Accessing Appropriate Development Initiatives

Despite NGOs working with the †Khomani reporting community participation in project conceptualisation, some community members comment that capacity building and development projects are not necessarily appropriate to their needs. Andrew Vaalbooi who has lived on the †Khomani farms since 2001, stated that he is interested in the cultivation of fruit and vegetables, but NGO projects do not address this need. He stated, “I tried to grow vegetables, but I didn’t get any kind of support, I was just given seeds to plant” (interview, March 2008). Furthermore, while Andrew owns a small number of domestic livestock, he recognises that he has a limited knowledge of farming and land management practices, commenting, “I could do with more training” (interview, March 2008). The †Khomani employed at †Xaus Lodge also report that their desired training is unavailable, despite Glynn O’Leary stating that the aim of the Lodge is to offer appropriate training to their staff, as noted in section 7.3.4. To date all †Khomani employees at the Lodge work at the cultural village, or as guides, and have received no training. Lys Swarts would like transfer from working in the cultural village to the kitchen, something for which Lys would require training. This training would also improve Lys’s future opportunities. Although she has made her desire known to management (interview, March 2008), her request has been denied. Lodge management contacted head office in Cape Town regarding the matter, however, it was suggested that despite Lys six months service, Lys might leave the Lodge’s employment following training, therefore the training would be wasted. In June 2010, Lys was still working at the cultural village.

Where desired skills training and livelihood opportunities are available individuals do not always access them. For example, although Andrew Vaalbooi was living on the †Khomani farms when FARM-Africa were active in the area, offering skills training related to farming, which he desires, Andrew failed to access this. Additionally, while the majority of †Khomani individuals aspire to own domestic livestock (see section 4.4.1), few took advantage of the opportunities made available through the FARM-Africa livestock bank, which allows individuals to borrow livestock that can then be

bread, with †Khomani individuals retaining the majority of the offspring. †Khomani farmer, Willem Vaalbooi said, “they [community members] did not all apply to the livestock bank. And they were the ones who were supposed to apply” (interview, January 2008). The fact that †Khomani individuals state that appropriate skills training is not available, while at times failing to access the desired training, suggests that they are either being excluded from, or unable to participate in project conceptualisation and/or the projects themselves, due to issues related to disempowerment, communication difficulties, physical access or an inability to adhere to related conditions.

As already detailed in the thesis, poor literacy levels and lack of telecommunications, including internet and telephone access, means that NGOs have difficulty informing community members of upcoming development interventions. Many †Khomani cannot be contacted by telephone, or internet, while newspapers and posters advertising development initiatives are incomprehensible to the majority of older †Khomani who are illiterate (see section 5.8.2). This, coupled with the inadequate transport services and infrastructure of the area (see section 5.9), results in †Khomani individuals being unaware of, and having difficulty accessing development interventions. This is particularly pertinent in regard to the †Khomani living further from the Community’s centre of Andriesvale, and for those living in Welkom specifically. Although the †Khomani have their own land, a number of the †Khomani continue to live at Welkom, 50 km from Andriesvale. Given the distance, lack of transport and communication options, despite individuals being interested in capacity building and projects at Andriesvale, the †Khomani at Welkom often lack information regarding such opportunities and projects and experience difficulty accessing these opportunities, while SASI do not deliver courses in Welkom. Anna Thys commented, “I haven’t worked or done any courses with SASI, I would like to but SASI don’t come to Welkom often” (interview, May 2007).

Some †Khomani individuals do not access development initiatives due to attached conditions. For example, according to Willem Vaalbooi, a †Khomani individual who worked with FARM-Africa to establish the livestock bank, the livestock bank was instigated to benefit the poorest community members (interview, January 2008). Given that individuals are required to pay an initial livestock bank joining fee of R100,

however, borrowing from the bank is beyond the means of most †Khomani, meaning that they have been unable to participate in, and benefit from the project. Consequently, although this initiative aims to enable the poorer members of the †Khomani Community to own livestock, to increase assets and alleviate poverty, it in fact has allowed wealthy elites, many of whom are westerner †Khomani, to increase their wealth. As these livestock owners require the use of farmland for grazing, this increases the need for land on which to graze livestock. Given that no agreement has been reached regarding land use management and that there is no operating farm manager, or management committee, farmers use land without permission. This project has therefore served to increase, the wealth of westerner elites, the westerner/traditionalist division and land use inequality and tension within the †Khomani Community. Overall, FARM-Africa have worked with elite members of the †Khomani Community, further empowering these individuals at the detriment of the poorer individuals and the Community as a whole, something that has been recorded within the development field generally (see Mosse 1995; Crewe and Harrison 1998), as detailed in section 2.4.2, and in relation to other land beneficiary Communities in South Africa (see James 2000a), as discussed in 2.5.3. I would suggest that this outcome, which has the potential to further polarise the Community, is the result of FARM-Africa having an insufficient and limited understanding of the dynamics of the †Khomani Community and the issues surrounding land use and land management. This is another example of the need for NGOs to interact with diverse and sufficient community members before implementing development practices, meaning that long-term community involvement by NGOs and development professionals is required, rather than rural development tourism.

Individuals are often unable to participate in either the conceptualisation of, and development interventions themselves, due to psychological disempowerment. Individuals may be physically present during discussions but be unable to effectively partake in decision making processes, due to a lack the confidence and skills to express opinions (Eade and Williams 1995; Chambers 1983). This means that the more empowered and often elite members of beneficiary groups are able to dominate the development process to their own benefit. Section 7.5 cites an example of †Khomani interactions at an IPACC conservation biodiversity workshop during which †Khomani

representatives had to be coerced into participating due to a lack of self-confidence. Consequently, it is conceivable that !Khomani individuals do not make their desires in relation to development intervention known to NGOs, meaning that it is difficult for NGOs to address beneficiary needs as perceived by disempowered individuals. While such disempowerment opens the door for educated elites to dominate the development process, SASI, IPACC and a number of development professionals are aware of such dangers and work to ensure that less empowered traditionalist !Khomani desires are represented (see section 6.5). FARM-Africa, and !Xaus Lodge have not followed this precedent, however, with the less empowered being unable to gain the desired skill training at !Xaus Lodge, or negotiate project participation with FARM-Africa.

Overall, NGOs working with the !Khomani cite the use of participatory methods to ensure that development initiatives are community driven. The various NGOs target different groups within the !Khomani Community, attempting to address the specific needs of each group. Despite this, some !Khomani argue that their needs are not being met, and that development initiatives are not appropriate. This suggests that some community members have not been able to effectively participate in decision making related to capacity building and the conceptualisation of development projects. Furthermore, individuals also report difficulties in participating in skills development and the project themselves. These constraints of participation result from insufficient infrastructure and psychological disempowerment. Furthermore, as certain disempowered !Khomani individuals cannot adhere to conditions related to participating in some development projects, other individuals have been able to benefit from these development interventions, while others are excluded. Nevertheless, as some development actors have been involved long-term with the !Khomani, community dynamics are understood sufficiently to allow these actors to safeguard the interests of the disempowered traditionalist !Khomani. This means that to date, no community grouping has been able to dominate the development process.

### **7.6.2 Motivation, Vision and Dependency**

Although development agencies can support and facilitate community members towards empowerment, beneficiaries must be motivated to participate in interventions aimed at empowerment. As beneficiaries are motivated to participate in development initiatives

that they perceive as significant and meaningful, it is essential that beneficiaries are involved at the conceptualisation stage of such initiatives. Consequently, individuals must not only be motivated to participate in development initiatives, but also in the conceptualisation of these initiatives, something that requires vision and confidence, or psychological empowerment. Although, it has been reported that NGOs working with the †Khomani do consult individuals, some individuals argue that the interventions are not relevant to them, hence they are not motivated to participate. In January and March of 2008, however, when socio-ecologists and lawyers came to Andriesvale to hold a community meetings, at which I was in attendance, to discuss the development of the †Khomani farms and possible projects, the majority of the Community did not attend. This is despite the meetings being within walking distance to approximately half the Community, meaning transport was not an issue. As the majority of the Community did not participate in these meetings, which served to conceptualise future community projects and development plans, it is conceivable that these individuals would perceive projects to be meaningless and fail to be motivated to participate at a later date. Community members may have chosen not to attend for a number of reasons. Given that the farms were awarded to the Community in 1999 and a number of similar meetings having already taken place with few positive development outcomes, many community members regard such meetings as worthless. Beneficiaries are often demotivated to participate in development interventions if the value of participation is questionable given negative experiences of the past (Eade and Williams 1995; Cornwall 2008; Hayward, Simpson, and Wood 2004). This is supported by the fact that many community members no longer expect plans to materialise citing “broken promises” of the past. Alternatively, although these meetings have long-term benefits in regard to community members being able to influence future development strategies, individuals may decline to attend given that lack of immediate benefit. Additionally, these meetings may not be perceived as worthwhile, given that many community members lack self-confidence are unable to voice their opinions, or challenge decisions at such meetings. Overall, †Khomani development plans are dominated by those that attend meetings. Unless individuals meaningfully partake in these meetings to determine development strategies, they will not be motivated to participate in initiatives that contribute to their empowerment. Of the meetings I attended, no westerner †Khomani were in attendance at the January 2008 meeting, while a small number were in attendance at the March

2008 meeting, some having travelled from Upington to take part. These westerner individuals were well educated, but despite their outspokenness, they were unable to dominate meeting outcomes, mainly because traditionalists outnumbered them, and lawyers, socio-ecologists and SASI ensured that decisions were based on the wishes of the majority, who were traditionalists.

Even when beneficiaries attend development planning meetings, unless they have a vision of how they want to live and what they need to achieve this they will not have ideas to contribute to such meeting and unable to achieve their desires. Furthermore, without vision people have nothing to aspire to, therefore they are unlikely to be motivated to act. While working at Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve (see section 3.4.3) Regopstaan Kruiper, father of traditional leader, Dawid Kruiper, had a vision that the family would return to their ancestral land in the Kalahari. Since this has been realised, however, a lack of vision is evident among community members. Some individuals do have a basic vision regarding the development of the farms, Margaritta Seekoei suggested, “they should build houses on a certain farm, and use another as a game farm” (interview, April 2007), while Anna Witbooi commented, “they should develop the farms. They should build shops and people should work on the farms... I’m not sure where they should build the houses, but I think they should be built (interview, May 2007). Overall, no individuals deviated from these suggestions, however, given the lack of leisure and sports facilities on the farms, Martha van der Westhuizen, full time SASI staff member added, “I’d like a play park, where children can play. Somewhere for young people to play soccer... a sports field and more shops” (interview, May 2007). Consequently, although some vision exists it is limited and vague. Following this, in 2010, I asked a number of community members, “what are the top five things that people need for a good life?”. Although this question relates to needs rather than vision, without a vision of the manner in which people should live, individuals will be unable to determine their needs. Martha van der Westhuizen, answered the question quickly saying, “people need skills, a house, electricity, education and work” (pers. comm., June 2010), however, most !Khomani found this question difficult to answer. Following much deliberation Buks Kruiper was only able to make three suggestions, he said, “people need to respect each other, listen to god and respect god” (pers.comm., June 2010). After approximately thirty minutes consideration, Koos Tities answered

that he needed, “a stone house with four or five rooms, that I’d be happy in, a car or something to come to work in [he is a volunteer worker], a wife, a little bit of paid work and a good marriage” (interview, June 2010). The difficulty that the †Khomani exhibit in answering such questions, is another example of disempowerment. As †Khomani individuals have been powerless to affect development decisions or achieve their desires in the past, this means that they have failed to consider their needs and desires to any degree. Additionally, as †Khomani individuals lack confidence, believing themselves unable to make important decisions regarding welfare and development, they perceive that others, such as development professionals and government bodies, will make better decisions on their behalf.

Accordingly, in section 7.5, I recounted an instance at the IPACC conservation biodiversity workshop in August 2007, where †Khomani representatives agreed that external development professionals and researchers were better equipped to make the decisions on behalf of the †Khomani. Such dependency is due to historical disempowerment, where the non-white peoples in South Africa were unable to participate in society to influence their lives to any degree, resulting in disempowerment, and in the case of the †Khomani, dependency on benefactors. Donald Bain was one such individual (see section 3.4.2 and 7.2.1) followed by Lokkie Henning between 1987 and 1989, with both of these individuals demonstrating paternalistic tendencies towards the †Khomani. The Kruiper and Swarts families worked for Henning, a tour operator from Kuruman, touring and exhibiting themselves. Although, Henning was responsible for the finances of the †Khomani, reminiscent of †Khomani experiences with Donald Bain, Henning failed to pay or invest †Khomani wages as promised, eventually leaving them in Kuruman with barely enough money to survive (White 1995). In the 1930’s Bain exhibited similar paternalistic attitudes towards the †Khomani, attitudes that continue to be apparent among Kalahari employers. While paternalism aims to benefit subjects’ welfare, it removes freedom of choice and therefore the power of individuals to control their own lives, meaning that it maintain individuals in a disempowered state (Burrows 1993; Carter 1977). Paternalistic attitudes allow decisions to be made on behalf of the †Khomani, due to the perception that the †Khomani are incapable of making appropriate decisions. Although, such attitudes are not evident among development agencies working with the †Khomani, they are apparent among †Khomani



employers and potential business partners, which therefore impedes the empowerment process. In 2008, Lokkie Henning once again approached the †Khomani with a business proposition, still maintaining his paternalistic attitudes towards them, suggesting to me that the †Khomani should be regarded as children and treated as such (pers. comm., March 2008). †Khomani individuals employed as live in staff are also subject to paternalistic attitudes. These employers regularly retain employee's wages, allowing wages to accumulate over time, only paying cash to employees when requested. Employers argue that this prevents employees from "squandering" wages and purchasing goods such as alcohol. When employers shop in Upington, the employer does not allow the employee to accompany them, but shops for the employee, spending the employee's wages as instructed. Although, this allows a certain amount of choice and control, when shopping costs exceed wages owed, the decision of what not to buy is the employers. Additionally, when articles of clothing are to be purchased these are chosen by the employer. Such paternalism means that employers remove the power of †Khomani individuals to control their purchases and finances, meaning that †Khomani individuals fail to gain experience in financial management. These attitudes promote the idea that the †Khomani are unable to appropriately manage their own affairs, serving to maintain and reinforce †Khomani individuals' dependency on employers and development agencies, while impeding empowerment.

This paternalism compounds disempowerment, with †Khomani individuals perceiving that others are better placed to plan †Khomani development, thereby discouraging †Khomani individuals from contributing to the conceptualisation of development initiatives. As already stated, the †Khomani Community's are also constrained from contributing the development process due to their lack of vision. As the †Khomani reside in a remote and isolated location, with associated difficulties that include insufficient and costly transport services making travelling elsewhere problematic, many community members are unaware of the possible alternative or additional developments that could be implemented. This constrains the ability of such individuals to contribute to the conceptualisation of development initiatives. These same constraints also result in †Khomani youth lacking vision and aspirations in regard to life opportunities outside the local area, as they are unaware of the educational and employment opportunities further afield. Many †Khomani youth do not give consideration to further education

opportunities, or to their most desirable occupations. Consequently, they are not motivated to complete school. Eighteen-year-old Tina Kariseb has lived at Welkom since leaving school and states, “I’ve never had a job. I don’t know what kind of job I’d like”. It was suggested that she could go to college in Upington, to which she replied, “I might like to go to college but I’m not sure” (interview, May 2007). Social worker Bienta Ghooste agrees that this lack of vision, such as Tina’s is common among the youth and that such individuals struggle as they are unaware of the alternatives on offer:

Sometimes we take them [schoolchildren] to Upington so they can visit the fire brigade and the museum...We took them to the court and the legislator showed them around. We try and expose them to what they don’t see here so that they know that there is another life beyond this one. Many of the children and elderly never come even as far as Askham. Most of the time it is only the adults or people with money who go to Upington (interview, August 2007).

In accordance with Bienta’s view, the †Khomani individuals that do have vision, aspirations and drive, are often those that have been exposed to the various opportunities available. Blade Witbooi was selected and funded to be part of a learning expedition to India. Since his return, he has established a pottery on the farm of Erin. Despite minimal training and insufficient funds, Blade works in the pottery three days a week. He is motivated by the hope that he can secure further training and funding to allow him to achieve his vision of becoming a successful potter. Accordingly, people that are exposed to different environments increase their knowledge of possibilities and opportunities, helping to create vision. Once again, it is apparent that residing in a remote rural location, with inadequate affordable transport service and infrastructure coupled lack of finance, has an impact on the development of the †Khomani farms and people.

Overall, in order that the †Khomani are motivated to participate in development initiatives, such initiatives must be meaningful to the said population, meaning that they must participate in the conceptualisation of these initiatives. A number of issues serve to constrain members of the †Khomani in this regard, including participation fatigue as individuals become disenchanted with the participation process following lack of progress, and a lack of confidence and/or vision to partake in the development process.

Individuals need confidence to participate at development meetings, while vision is required to enable the conceptualisation of development interventions, to allow individuals to define their needs, and identify appropriate development strategies. Such vision is encouraged through exposure to differing environments to increase opportunity awareness, something which is absent in the lives of many ꞤKhomani.

## 7.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has argued that, following years of consistent, and at times violent persecution of South Africa's Bushmen, which included the ancestors of the ꞤKhomani, and some of the ꞤKhomani themselves, this has resulted in a deep-rooted disempowerment which continues to be evident among present day ꞤKhomani and impedes the development process. As empowerment is an important component of poverty alleviation and development the aim of many NGOs working with the ꞤKhomani is to directly or indirectly facilitate the empowerment of the ꞤKhomani Community, through various capacity building and development projects and initiatives. To date, however, development agencies have struggled to successfully facilitate the empowerment of ꞤKhomani individuals.

Theories and strategies of development and empowerment are difficult to implement in practice. Unless development agencies' development initiatives are conceptualised by, and therefore meaningful to beneficiaries, beneficiaries will fail to access these interventions. I have argued that where initiatives have been conceptualised by the ꞤKhomani, these have not resulted in sufficient capacity building and empowerment due to a lack of appropriate support and commitment from either local or external development professionals. Such support must be long term and appropriate to local needs. Some ꞤKhomani individuals have reported that appropriate initiatives are lacking, suggesting that these individuals have not been motivated to participate at the conceptualisation stage of these development projects, a process that results in interventions being relevant and meaningful to the said participants. Without this, beneficiaries are not motivated to engage. Disempowerment, however, deters individuals from participating in such meetings because these individuals do not perceive their opinions as worthwhile, believing that others are better qualified to make decisions on their behalf. Additionally participating in such meeting is difficult for some

individuals due to a lack of vision. Where individuals do have vision they must have the confidence to voice this opinion or the vision will remain dormant. Given these issues, there is a danger that more empowered elites will dominate such processes, however, given the more egalitarian culture of the †Khomani, coupled with development agents efforts, this has ensured that this has not happened in reference to the †Khomani land claim, something that is in contrast to other literature regarding land reform beneficiary communities in South Africa. This highlights the individuality of land claim beneficiaries and the need for context specific strategies based on community histories and dynamics. Many †Khomani do not access development initiatives or meetings to discuss and plan such initiatives due to insufficient affordable transport services, or due to a lack of knowledge about such initiatives or meetings, given the difficulties associated with communications. Participation fatigue also deters individuals from accessing such processes and initiatives, given that few initiatives of the past have resulted in the desired outcomes.

This chapter, therefore, has highlighted some of the complexities associated with participation and the facilitation of empowerment, some of which are a result of community histories, dynamic and location. Although, participation is an essential component of the empowerment process, the act of being disempowered deters individuals from participating. Furthermore, while development agencies can facilitate individuals to undertake certain capacity building tasks, it is more difficult to empower another person, and possibly even more difficult to empower and help build a fractured community. Although empowerment – enabling people to exercise agency and shape their future - is an important factor in achieving sustainable development, the complex issue of sustained, inter-generational disempowerment, especially in the context of extreme rural poverty, lack of opportunity, and inadequate access to transport and communication services, has not as yet been addressed by the South African Government in relation to the †Khomani land beneficiaries. This has led to a fragmented approach, led by various NGOs and other organisations, which has not enabled a comprehensive and holistic approach to empowerment or development, meaning that as yet the †Khomani are unable to exercise their freedoms in the sense that Sen advocates.

## CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

### 8.1 OVERVIEW

*This thesis has argued that rural development process in South Africa have been unable to achieve suitable outcomes due to the application of, and at times non-application of ineffective development strategies. Such strategies exist as development agents, specifically government, have failed to appreciate the multi-dimensionality and complexity of rural poverty. Unless development agents recognise the constraints placed on the rural poor due to physical location and environment, in addition to understanding the unique history and dynamics of rural communities, and how these factors interact to maintain people in poverty, development aims will not be met. The remote location of the †Khomani land and inadequate infrastructure, coupled with the semi-arid environment serves to limit the ability of the population to increase livelihood strategies. Additionally, contrasting values within the †Khomani Community, along with the incapacity of Mier Local Municipality, and difficulties surrounding communication, cooperation and organisation of government departments all work together to delay development. A lack of clear mandate regarding which government bodies are responsible for development tasks also constrains development, while community disempowerment means that the Community have been unable to challenge the Government and hold them to account for the non-delivery of services and post-settlement support. Consequently the †Khomani continue to live in poverty.*

*I argue that development agencies, including government must apply a more context specific, people centred holistic approach, to rural development to achieve appropriate and meaningful outcomes, specific to the communities in question. Only when communities are empowered and able to demonstrate free agency to make decisions regarding their future, will poverty alleviation and development in rural areas be sustainable. Development agencies, including government, and communities, must also recognise that there is a limit to what government and development actors can achieve in certain rural environments which must also be factored into the development process to allow effective and realistic planning, enabling appropriate and realistic outcomes.*

This chapter will draw together the main strands of the thesis. It will then proceed to suggest the manner in which this research contributes to broader academic literature and debate, and will conclude by reflecting on how lessons learned may be applied to benefit the †Khomani, land reform beneficiaries, and rural development more generally.

## 8.2 CHAPTER SUMMARIES

Chapter one gave a brief overview of post apartheid South African Governments strategies for rural development. In 1994, the ANC led Government sought to address the inequality apparent throughout the Country through the RDP, which was followed by GEAR in 1996. Both of these economic development policies suggested that land reform was an important means of rural development. In 1997, a Land Reform Policy was introduced which aimed to enable a more equitable distribution of land and to stimulate economic development in the rural areas, where the majority of the people live in poverty. Through this Policy, in 1999, South Africa's †Khomani Bushmen, were able to reclaim land in the remote Northern Cape, from which they had previously been removed and dispossessed. Although more than ten years have passed since this land settlement, despite the promise of post-settlement support from the Government, the †Khomani continue to live on undeveloped land and in poverty. Through a case study of the †Khomani Community, this thesis aims to develop an understanding of the processes and complexities of rural development initiatives, to allow a fuller appreciation of the challenges involved. The chapter also outlined the methodological approach adopted, that of an extended, ethnographic case study which resulted in data being collected over the course of more than a year. It also reflected on some of the limitations of language, lack of secondary data, and distance that circumscribed the data collection.

The second chapter presented evidence for the need for rural development, noting the difference between rural and urban development. The role of agricultural growth and land reform in relation to rural development is briefly detailed, highlighting the need for people centered development strategies, to enable sustainable rural development. It is acknowledged, however, that a number of issues identified as constraints to development prior to the popularisation of people centred development strategies, have

proved difficult to overcome and continue problematise the development process. These include issues related to the location of the development areas, urban-based development professionals, the dominance of community elites in the development process. The chapter then introduces the South African Land Reform Policy, which is further detailed in chapter three, considering the influence and impact of development agencies, community dynamics and elites in limiting rural development in South Africa following land reform. Overall, the chapter demonstrates that the process of implementing people centred development techniques are more difficult in practice than in theory.

Chapter three charted the historical processes that resulted in the inequality apparent throughout South Africa today. Following the end of apartheid, the first democratically elected government introduced a number of policies to address these issues. Specifically, the Land Reform Policy was introduced to enable development, particularly in the rural areas. Despite the inclusion of post-settlement support into the policy to ensure appropriate outcomes for land beneficiaries, development in these rural areas has proved difficult to implement. Consequently, many land reform beneficiaries continue to live in poverty. This chapter also introduces the †Khomani Bushmen. Initially, it historically tracks the negative perceptions and ill treatment of South Africa's Bushmen, which continues to impact upon the †Khomani. Such attitudes, driven by racial politics, resulted in the †Khomani being dispossessed of their ancestral land in the Northern Cape, which they have since been able to reclaim, the processes of which are detailed in the chapter. The origins of the †Khomani, is also covered, highlighting that the †Khomani Community are remnants of many Bushmen populations that inhabited the land situated in the arid southern Kalahari, who came together for the purposes of the land claim. Following the land claim settlement it was envisioned that livelihood opportunities would be increased, in order to alleviate individuals poverty. After the Community moved onto this land divisions began to emerge, perhaps unsurprisingly given the diverse origins of the individuals and households who composed it. These would later contribute to the delay in †Khomani land development.

Chapter four considered the extent to which that †Khomani have been able to access income generation and subsistence strategies following the land claim, in order to meet

basic needs for survival. The †Khomani living on the farms have been limited in their ability to access, increase or diversify livelihood strategies, despite many individuals verbalising a desire to do so. When they do secure employment, it is usually unreliable in nature and attracts low wages, which coupled with a high cost of living makes daily survival a challenge. Although the South African Government has made social assistance available, most †Khomani either fail to qualify, or are unable to access these services. Additionally, the marginal environment of the Kalahari and the location of the †Khomani land serves to limit livelihood opportunities, as does the possession of cultural knowledge and past work experience. Overall, the land claim has made little material difference for community members, meaning that individuals continue to constitute part of the rural poor population. This chapter highlighted that while the State can attempt to alleviate poverty through land reform and rural development, long-term sustainable poverty alleviation is difficult.

Basic service provision, including access to formal housing, education and health services, plays an important role in rural development, given that such services facilitate individuals' abilities to access employment and complete subsistence activities. Chapter five has demonstrated, however, that although government policies to enable such development exist, and despite the fact that many †Khomani Community members both westerner and traditionalist desire such services, the provision of basic services to the †Khomani has been harder to implement in practice than on paper. Consequently, despite the land settlement the †Khomani continue to lack access to such services and facilities, such as housing and sanitation, while the quality of other services, including education and water is questionable. Inadequate transport infrastructure also serves to constrain access to existing services.

Given the lack of development on the †Khomani farms, chapter six explored a number of complex interactions that have served to delay and complicate the development process. Government support and development on the farms has been fragmented and inadequate, both where clear government mandates of responsibility have, and have not been apparent. A number of reasons are implicated as constraining factors in this regard, including incapacity, budgetary constraints, ineffective coordination and communication within and between departments, and a lack of government



commitment to the process. The Community itself also plays a significant role given its disempowerment and lack of capacity to manage the farms, while development agencies have yet to make available effective long-term post-settlement support to this effect. This lack of effective management means that ꞤKhomani individuals have commandeered formal housing and land for their own benefit, further slowing the development process. Given the previously detailed community origins, the ꞤKhomani Community does not share a common vision meaning the consensus cannot be reached in regard to farm development. This significantly complicates the development process, with power struggles being apparent within the Community. To date, neither westerners nor the more disempowered traditionalists have been able to dominate the development process, mainly as a result of NGOs ensuring such outcomes. The remote location of the ꞤKhomani farms and poor infrastructure means that development agencies continue to exhibit practices characteristic of rural development tourism (see section 2.3), while the disempowered state of the ꞤKhomani, coupled with remote location, means that the Community have been unable to make agencies, including government, accountable for lack of post-settlement support and service delivery. Consequently, no single one agency or body is responsible for the delay of development on the ꞤKhomani farms. The present situation on the ꞤKhomani farms is due to a number of contingent factors combining to prohibit and impede development on numerous levels.

Chapter seven argued that the ꞤKhomani are not just materially disempowered, but due to their history of persecution and maltreatment they are also psychologically and culturally disempowered, and that empowerment that takes this into account is essential to enable more effective development processes, while allowing for more sustainable outcomes. Unless the inter-generational and entrenched disempowerment apparent within the Community is addressed and overcome, through appropriate empowerment strategies, individuals will remain unable to demonstrate free agency to enable them to drive development processes and determine their own futures. A lack of community cohesion and vision also delays the development process, meaning that communities cannot reach agreement regarding development. To date, however, although a number of NGOs have attempted to directly and indirectly empower the ꞤKhomani, such agencies have failed to successfully facilitate empowerment or encourage community

cohesion, both of which would enable the development process. Both disempowerment and community cohesion are essential and complex processes however. Disempowerment serves to maintain people in such a manner and inhibits individuals from participating in empowerment process, while community disparity means that communities cannot reach agreement regarding development. Although development agencies can theoretically facilitate empowerment and foster community cohesion, this is difficult in practise.

Overall, the thesis has demonstrated that although the South African Government has instituted policies to address rural poverty and encourage development, it has failed to achieve its aim in regard to the †Khomani Community. Despite the Community being enabled to reclaim land, basic service provision has not been forthcoming and livelihood opportunities have not increased or diversified. This is because government policies in practice fail to identify or address the complexities of rural development, which serve to constrain development in particular communities. Specifically with regard to the †Khomani Community, the Government has not addressed issues related to the Community's history, such as inter-generational disempowerment, or community dynamics, with government bodies and development agencies having failed to encourage community cohesion to any extent. Additionally, consideration has not been given to the manner in which the remote, marginalised environment in which the †Khomani Community is located affects potential livelihood strategies, limiting both land-based activities and economic activities related to other population centres. The Government's unclear mandate in relation to post-settlement support responsibilities of government agencies and departments has also meant that such actors have not been held to account for failure to deliver, something that has also been constrained by the disempowered state of the †Khomani. To date, the South African Government has not applied a multi-dimensional people centred approach to development to address the interactive, dynamic and complex nature of rural poverty. Until this happens, and the unique characteristics and dynamics of individual rural communities, government bodies and remote environments are factored into the development processes, rural development will continue to be elusive.

The conclusion will now explore the implications of the research, including the manner in which it contributes and differs from previous studies of the †Khomani, and other development and land reform research. This is followed by some recommendations based on the finding of the research.

### **8.3 RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

For the most part this thesis supports existing documentation regarding rural development, as cited in chapter two, which demonstrates that despite the popularisation of people centred development strategies, such strategies have been more difficult to implement in reality than on paper. Consequently, a number of issues apparent pre people centred development continue to be evident in this †Khomani case study, including development professionals that fall into the urban trap. The thesis has also demonstrated that constraints, which have already been documented as limiting people centred development, exist within the †Khomani Community, including the inability of individuals to participate in the development process due to disempowerment. Unlike other cited case studies, however, I have noted that in the †Khomani Community, the more empowered educated elites and traditional authorities have not been able to dominate the development process, which highlights the individuality of rural communities and the need for context specific development strategies. Despite this, there is still a need for community empowerment, and consequently, I advocate for empowerment strategies to allow agent led development, and enable †Khomani individuals to hold authorities to account who fail to fulfil obligations.

While this thesis supports existing literature, it differs from much of this literature in that it recognises the multi-dimensional and interactive nature of poverty. For example the semi-arid environment and remote location of the †Khomani farms each independently inhibit the ability of individuals to survive from farming, while the interaction of these elements result in even less profit from the industry. Additionally, I argue for an approach to rural development, that acknowledges the multiple direct limitations to poverty alleviation, along with the underlying constraints to development. For example, a lack of basic services limits poverty alleviation among the †Khomani, while the incapacity of local government to supply such services acts as an underlying

constraint. Unless such underlying constraints are recognised and addressed poverty alleviation cannot be achieved. Additionally, appropriate capacity must be built within communities along with empowerment to enable people led development. Consequently, I argue for a holistic approach to development, which takes into account community histories, dynamics and location along with the direct and underlying constraints to development, recognising the interactive nature of constraining elements, without which poverty will not be alleviated.

Despite this need for a more holistic approach to development, as advocated by Sen, at present development research and literature generally defers from addressing the multiple aspects of poverty, resulting in fragmented poverty alleviation strategies that do not fully appreciate the issues constraining development and therefore fail to achieve sustainable poverty alleviation. In addition to this general contribution to development literature, this thesis also makes a more specific contribution pertaining to the ǀKhomani, and non-Bantu speaking peoples and Northern Cape land reform beneficiaries.

### **8.3.1 The ǀKhomani as Rural Poor**

Much research has been conducted with the ǀKhomani Community since the land settlement. Given that the ǀKhomani are indigenous peoples, interest almost always focuses on ǀKhomani culture and identity. Nigel Crawhall (2004), has written a detailed account of the demise of the traditional N/u language, now only spoken by less than ten individuals, all ǀKhomani. Schenk (2008), has focused on traditional ǀKhomani identity, and the manner in which it has been exploited as a livelihood strategy while Francis (Forthcoming), has written on the potential problems associated with the commodification of the ǀKhomani traditional culture. The manner in which the ǀKhomani are represented by !Xaus Lodge marketing has been addressed (Finley 2009), while the partnership between !Xaus Lodge and the ǀKhomani is being explored by Dyll (Forthcoming). Dyll (2004) has also written on ǀKhomani development interactions and communication between the Community, SASI and the CPAMC. Such research is only indicative of the work involving the ǀKhomani, however, this thesis differs from other research insofar as my main focus is on ǀKhomani development and poverty alleviation rather than culture, identity or communication, which is the focus of the research above.

While this thesis seeks to expand on the work of Dyll, it aims to situate the †Khomani within a focus of the rural poor and the context of rural development, which has so far not been done by researchers. To date this is the first research to focus in detail, on the lives and livelihoods of the †Khomani, including basic service provision and income strategies, and thus provides a comprehensive insight into the limitations and underlying constraints surrounding development on †Khomani farms. Such documentation is important as it serves as a benchmark from which to assess the extent of future development and changes within the Community, something that has not been possible within this study, given the lack of appropriate data.

### **8.3.2 The †Khomani as Land Reform Beneficiaries**

Despite the South African Land Reform Policy facilitating many land ownership transfers in the Northern Cape, few comprehensive case studies exist relating to post-settlement livelihoods following these transfers. Although PLAAS publications discuss Northern Cape land beneficiary outcomes, these publications typically focus on a particular aspect of such claims and do not comprehensively examine the multiple direct and underlying reasons why land claims fail to meet their objectives. Some detailed literature has been produced in relation to land reform in Namaqualand (see Rohde and Hoffman 2008; Wisborg and Rohde 2003), while FARM-Africa has produced a few reports, based on limited fieldwork, pertaining to land reform in the Northern Cape, including data specific to the †Khomani (see Bradstock 2005, 2007; Festus and Joseph 2007). Walker (2008), has speculated that land in the Northern Cape is the least valuable in South Africa in respect to agricultural use. This may have limited funding for research into rural land reform beneficiaries', as research output does not have the potential to increase commercial agriculture and therefore improve the economy. Furthermore, the fact that no university or research institute exists in the Northern Cape also constrains research, given the distance and cost to be covered if research is to be conducted in the rural areas. Nevertheless, it is important to focus attention in hidden or overlooked areas and population groups if one is to capture the realities of resource-poor rural life, and understand what interventions might be appropriate.

To date, most research outputs available in regard to the South African Land Reform has been focused on the more populous, less marginal and less poor provinces of South

Africa, such as Mpumalanga, Eastern Cape, KZN and Limpopo, rather than the Northern Cape (see section 2.5). Given that such outputs typically focus on Bantu-speaking populations, often previously or still located in the former homelands, strong hierarchical relationships are in evidence, while traditional authorities, typically male dominated, heavily influence the land reform process and its outcomes as detailed in section 2.5. Such facts serve to differentiate the dynamics constraining these land reform outcomes from those of the Northern Cape, where many land reform beneficiary communities consist of Bushmen, Khoekhoe and Coloured populations that are less male dominated or hierarchical. Unlike the Bantu-speaking peoples, these populations do not have the experience of being confined to homelands, during apartheid, nor do their traditional leaders have the political experience of managing such lands, albeit tokenistic. The Bushmen, Khoekhoe and Coloured populations, however, did experience land access restrictions prior to and during apartheid, with many individuals living in Coloured reserves in the Northern Cape (see section 3.1.3). Given such dynamics, and drawing from this thesis, I argue that land reform outcomes and development processes in such areas are less influenced by male traditional authorities and politically experienced elites. Development can still fail to benefit these individuals, however, due to constraints resulting from disempowerment, and community divisions specifically where communities have been reconstituted for the purposes of, or following land reform. Psychological and cultural disempowerment is of particular concern among Bushmen and Khoekhoe populations, whose identity and culture was undermined by their classification as Coloured under apartheid (see section 3.3), while the Coloured identity has been denigrated with such individuals being viewed as culturally deficient, being neither Black or White (White 1995). Given this cultural disempowerment, and resulting lack of self-esteem, such individuals struggle to participate in development process believing themselves and their contribution to be unimportant, as is evident in this thesis. Consequently, development processes in such communities are open to development agency dominance, agency disinterest and/or underperformance. Where development agencies, traditional authorities and elites do not, or are not able to dominate, and where communities are not empowered, as is the case with the †Khomani, development reaches stalemate.

Overall, given the lack of in depth comprehensive data in relation to Northern Cape land reform beneficiaries and outcomes, this thesis is an important contribution to the literature. Additionally, this thesis is the first, qualitative in depth study into the outcomes of the ǀKhomani land reform process.

### 8.3.3 Recommendations

Through the dissemination of this thesis to relevant development agencies, this research is intended to benefit the ǀKhomani Community in a practical sense, to enable relevant development actors, including government bodies, to identify and apply more holistic and effective development initiatives. Overall, I recommend that development agents, including government, remove themselves from the urban trap and spend more time with the ǀKhomani Community to ensure appropriate context specific development strategies are implemented, based on the participation of a broad spectrum of the Community. These strategies must address the interactive nature of poverty, incorporate issues related to the histories and dynamics of the Community and ideally draw on the joint desires of both traditionalists and westerners to foster cohesion and long term positive outcomes. Development strategies must be holistic in nature to address the multi-dimensional direct, and underlying, constraints to poverty alleviation and given the incapacity apparent within the ǀKhomani Community, long-term support in the form of development experts will be necessary. The following recommendations are more specific in nature and will allow development agencies to target specific issues constraining poverty alleviation within the ǀKhomani Community to facilitate realistic and appropriate development.

The thesis has argued that government's post-settlement support to the ǀKhomani has been inconsistent at best, with government departments failing to deliver. This due to a lack of government capacity, funds and political will. Additionally, the CPAMC has also failed to perform in accordance with the ǀKhomani CPA constitution due to the incapacity of Committee members and/or because members put self-interest before community rights. To date however, the ǀKhomani have been unable to hold the appropriate bodies to account and demand change due to a lack of self-confidence and reluctance to challenge authority figures among ǀKhomani individuals. Consequently, improved long-term empowerment strategies that are determined by the needs of

beneficiaries are required to instil self-confidence to enable beneficiaries to hold appropriate bodies, including CPAMC, to account when they fail to fulfil obligations. Such strategies will also allow individuals to demand support for local government to enable adequate post settlement support and basic service provision, including transport services. Additionally, the †Khomani will be able to more effectively influence the development process resulting in development strategies more appropriate to Community needs.

The perceived difference between westerner and traditionalist †Khomani Community members has delayed development on the †Khomani farms, with Community members being unable to reach agreement regarding development planning. At present, although NGOs work to deter any sub-group from dominating the development process, community cohesion is not being encouraged by development agencies or government bodies. Minimal if any consultation takes place between factions to enable compromise, consequently, community fragmentation is undermining the development process. The similarities that exist between community sub-groups need to be mobilised to encourage community cohesion which will facilitate farmland development planning and allow the Community to collectively, and hence more powerfully, demand that responsible parties, including government bodies and CPAMC, deliver suitable services and support. Without this, the Community will continue to fail to reach agreement on community issues, meaning that development will continue to be delayed and the Community will continue to live in poverty.

Although it is important that land beneficiaries can spiritually and culturally reconnect with their ancestral land, the manner in which the land or surrounding economic industries will be able to support the population must be considered by government and land beneficiaries. While the potential for realistic economic development must be considered, before income generation projects receive funding and are implemented by government, NGOs and other agencies, rigorous research must be conducted to determine if there is a market demand for any such proposed industries, being mindful that in marginal remote environments income generating opportunities may be limited, or simply not sustainable. Since the †Khomani land settlement additional individuals have been attracted to reside on the farms, and it is expected that this population will



increase once the proposed township is built. It is unclear how these additional people will support themselves, given that the existing population cannot generate enough income. To date there has been no assessment or recommendations of how the †Khomani land can or should be managed to support the present or enlarged population. Consequently, there is a need for such research and a management plan to detail the condition of the †Khomani farmland and the livestock carrying capacity. Additionally, market research is needed to determine the potential of †Khomani tourism industries to attract visitors. It would seem inappropriate to continue long term funding to unsustainable projects, unless they are shown to empower the Community in alternative ways. Such research allows government and agencies to decide how best to allocate funds, while government will be able to determine if they are in danger of building a township and encouraging people to an area that has little opportunity for individuals to generate income or partake in subsistence activities, meaning that the communities will live in poverty while the Government has to support them long term, supplying basic services and social assistance for those that are able to access it.

When land beneficiary communities, such as the †Khomani, inhabit remote specialist environments, the Government must consider the costs and benefits of support and development in such areas. Remote rural areas often require significant improvements to basic services and infrastructure, which coupled with the transport costs of development materials, and the housing costs of the experienced imported work force that is usually needed, means that the costs of rural development is financially high. Accordingly, the Government must determine the appropriateness of allocating funds to such areas, given that equal amounts of money may benefit more people in other areas. It is unclear what funding the South African Government have spent on post-settlement support and services in regard to the †Khomani Community. While investment can be costly, it can have significant outcomes, however. For example, the installation of a †Khomani farm manager may initially be costly but it could significantly improve farm management and increase outputs, to improve community livelihoods and alleviate poverty.

Given that the recommendations above have emerged from an extended, comprehensive detailed case study with the †Khomani Community, there are limitations

to the generalisation of findings and recommendations, given that the data is specific to the ꞛKhomani and their particular historical experience. However, although, the ꞛKhomani are unique, as are all communities, the ꞛKhomani do share similar experiences of rural poverty and development interventions, with other rural communities. Consequently, I argue that parallels can be drawn between the ꞛKhomani and other appropriate communities, with research outcomes being applied to support and/or refute rural development and poverty alleviation strategies accordingly.

Currently the future of rural development in South Africa is unclear. Following, the ANC conference in Polokwane in 2007 and the election of Jacob Zuma as ANC leader and South Africa's President, a new rural development strategy is in the process of being developed. This has resulted in the CRDP being established in 2009. This programme aims to address inadequacies in rural infrastructure, basic service provision, and employment and advocates the use of participatory methods to determine the needs of rural communities. It remains to be seen if this programme will be able to address and implement such issues and implement methods effectively, given the already cited budgetary constraints, incapacity of government officials and the lack of extension officers with appropriate skills.

In some respects this thesis concludes as it began, reflecting on the vagaries of rural life on the margins in South Africa. There are clearly issues of marginality, distance and division which beset rural communities such as the ꞛKhomani and this thesis has sought to document and reflect on the complexity of deep rural poverty and the inability of interventions to suitably acknowledge this complexity or organise in such a way as to deal with it. This thesis has attempted to capture the livelihoods of contemporary South African Bushmen, which has not been done before given the dominant focus on culture, identity and language, not only to point to difficulty and unsustainability, but also to highlight ways in which the past might be addressed and community cohesion supported. If rural development is to be meaningful, for the ꞛKhomani specifically or for rural communities generally, interventions have to bridge the divide between culture/identity and opportunity/development, as this thesis has aimed to do.

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## **APPENDIX: DETAILS OF INTERVIEWS, INTERVIEWEES, PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE AND COMMUNICATION**

### **Schedule of Interviews and details of Interviewees: †Khomani Bushmen:**

**Name:** Bok, Adam

**Interview Date:** 10th June 2007

**Place:** Outside Adam's home on Andriesvale Farm

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Adam was born in 1949, on a farm approximately 40 km from Andriesvale, where he subsequently lived with his coloured parents, and attended primary school on the farm. He married a †Khomani woman with whom he moved to the Transvaal and had three children, before returning to the Northern Cape. Adam is a Christian. Due to the †Khomani land claim, Adam returned to Mier in 1999, followed by his three children, Johnny and Sussie in 2000, and Annetta in 2002, his wife being deceased. Adam owns some chickens and lives in an informal house on the farm of Andriesvale. Although Adam owns an old car, he is rarely able to run it due to a lack of cash. Adam has worked at Molopo Lodge and on the construction of the Rietfontein road in addition to working for SASI as a driver. He has also made and sold traditional Bushman crafts through the Sisen craft project. By 2010, Adam was unemployed. Adam's daughter Sussie, who worked for SASI, sadly died of Meningitis in September 2010 at the age of 28.

**Name:** Bok, Annetta

**Interview Date:** 13th January 2007

**Place:** Molopo Lodge, near Andriesvale Farm

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Annetta is the daughter of Adam Bok. She was born in 1977 in the Transvaal, then moved to, and attended school in Kuruman and Kimberley in the Northern Cape. She left school without matriculating. In 1999, Annetta was informed that she was a Bushman by researchers and moved to Andriesvale in 2002, where she lived with her three children in a small caravan. During that time, Annetta made traditional crafts and trained as a tour guide with SASI. Given Annetta's fluency in English, she is able to secure paid casual work as a translator from visiting researchers, while volunteering with the Department of Social Welfare. Annetta served as the treasurer on the San Council, and has been women's representative for southern Africa on IPACC. In 2008, Annetta married a man from Upington and relocated there, having a fourth child in 2009. Although Annetta's husband is employed full time, while she works part time for SASI in Upington, Annetta struggles to make ends meet.

**Name:** Bok, Gert

**Interview Date:** 2nd June 2007

**Place:** Outside his home in the settlement of Askham

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Gert was born on a farm less than 150 km west of Askham to non-Bushman parents from Botswana. He has no schooling and has been employed on various farms in the Mier area, as well as working on fruit farms around Upington for approximately five years. Gert is married to a ǀKhomani woman. Since the premature death of their daughter, Gert and his wife have been caring for their grandchildren. In 2004, the family moved from Andriesvale to a formal house in Askham to enable the grandchildren easier access to primary school. This means that the children do not have to reside in the school hostel. Gert keeps a small number of livestock on Andriesvale and is the chairperson, and Andriesvale representative, on the third ǀKhomani CPAMC.

**Name:** Brou, Frederick (Fonnie)

**Interview Date:** 28th June 2010

**Place:** In his home on Andriesvale

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Since 2008, Fonnies has been SASI's project manager in the Kalahari, based at the field office near Andriesvale. He lives in a formal farmhouse on Andriesvale and serves on the third ǀKhomani CPAMC. Prior to his move to the ǀKhomani farms Fonnies worked in SASI's Upington office and has also worked with FARM-Africa. He was born in 1980, educated at Askham Primary School, attending secondary school in Upington. Fonnies is the grandson of !Una Rooi (see below) and keeps approximately 150 livestock which reside on Andriesvale Farm.

**Name:** Festus, Elia

**Interview Date:** 9th March 2008

**Place:** His roadside craft stall, near Andriesvale Farm

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Elia was born in 1960 in the KTP and is a traditionalist. His mother, who was also born in the KTP, was a Bushman and cousin of traditional leader Dawid Kruiper. Elia's father was from Namibia. Both parents worked in the Park and had 13 children. Elia attended Welkom Primary School and high school in Namibia but did not complete his secondary education. He then worked in the KTP as a ranger before leaving in 1992/93. Following this, he was a farmhand on Miersouppan Farm and in Namibia. Elia now has a roadside stall and makes and sells Bushmen crafts to tourists, while wearing traditional attire. Prior to the land claim Elia made crafts but did not sell them.

**Name:** Jacobs, Marie

**Interview Date:** 9th February 2008

**Place:** Outside her home on Andriesvale Farm

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Marie was born in 1924 in the Kuruman area and grew up around Kuruman and Van Zylsrus in the Northern Cape. Her parents were Bushmen and her mother spoke the traditional N/u language. Marie's father worked as a farmhand, while her mother was a domestic worker. Marie also worked as a domestic worker and her husband was a farmhand. Prior to the land claim, Marie lived and worked on farms in the local Mier area before moving to Philandersbron where she lived in a formal house. She gave this house up when she relocated to Andriesvale in 1999 and now lives in an informal house, keeping a few chickens. In the past, Marie made and sold crafts through Sisen crafts project. Marie is a Christian.

**Name:** Jacobs, Richard

**Interview Date:** 19th June 2007

**Place:** In his home on Andriesvale Farm

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Richard was born on Uitkoms Farm in 1985, and has grown up and attended school in the Mier area. He was not able to matriculate from secondary school as he could not afford the required identity documents to enable him to take exams. Prior to the †Khomani land claim, Richard did not know he was a Bushman. Following the claim, in 2001, he moved to Andriesvale with his parents, where they now live in an informal house. Both his parents are Bushmen and he is the grandson of Marie Jabobs (see above). Since leaving school Richard has made and sold crafts through Sisen crafts and been employed as Sisen craft shop assistant. Additionally, he has worked on the †Khomani farms repairing water tanks and fences. In 2007, Richard was employed one day per week as an educator, teaching Askham Primary School students about drugs and alcohol, while he was also employed part time by SASI to educate community members about HIV/AIDS and TB, a project that no longer runs. He has trained as a guide and tracker through SASI and has basic English skills. Richard's family are Christian.

**Name:** Kariseb, Abraham

**Interview Date:** 19th May 2007

**Place:** In his home in Welkom

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Louis Kariseb

**Details:** Abraham was born in 1985 and has spent most of his time in the Mier area. His mother Antas, was the sister of Buks Kruiper (see below) and traditional leader David Kruiper. Abraham's father Phillimon was from Namibia. Both parents died of TB, his mother first in 2002. Abraham has one sister, three brothers and a half brother. He attended Welkom Primary School but did not continue to secondary school. He works with his uncle Buks, tracking for scientist Gus Mills in the Park, as part of a cheetah study and he has completed the tracker course with SASI. Abraham lives in a formal house in Welkom but pays no rent given his lack of a regular income. He does pay water charges. Abraham is an ANC party member and he and his family are all Christians. Abraham was murdered in Andriesvale following an alcohol-fuelled argument in June 2007.

**Name:** Kariseb, David. (Dawid !Noi)

**Interview Date:** 19th May 2007

**Place:** Outside his home on Welkom

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Louis Kariseb

**Details:** Dawid !Noi's parents were living and working in the KTP, when he was born there in 1966. Dawid has the same mother, Antas, as younger brother Abraham (see above), however, his father is a coloured man from Welkom, Karel Majied. Dawid left the Park in approximately 1972, when his mother stopped working there. They then lived around the Mier area, with Dawid attending primary school at Welkom until he was about 10 years old. He was then withdrawn from school as the family were regularly travelling back and forth from Welkom to Kuruman for work. As a young man, Dawid worked as a farmhand in Kuruman, near Cape Town, and throughout Mier. He has also worked as a ranger in the KTP. At the time of research, Dawid was unemployed, earning occasional income through dancing with the ꞤKhomani traditional dance troupe, for tourists. Dawid lives in an informal grass house at Welkom with his

second wife, Maria and six children. He is a traditionalist and served on the first ‡Khomani CPAMC.

**Name:** Kariseb, Tina

**Interview Date:** 15th May 2007

**Place:** In her home in the settlement of Welkom

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Louis Kariseb

**Details:** Tina was 18 years old at the time of interview. She is the younger sister of Abraham Kariseb and half sister of Dawid !Noi (see above). Tina was born in Kuruman but her parents returned to Welkom when she was very young, She attended primary school in Welkom and secondary school at Rietfontein, which she did not complete. Tina lives in a formal house in Welkom, which she shared with her brother Abraham before his death. Tina has never been employed. She makes traditional crafts that she sometimes sells on a craft stall between Welkom and the KTP. Her mother taught her how to make these crafts before her death.

**Name:** Kleinman, Karel, J. (Diedie)

**Interview Date:** 14th February 2008

**Place:** At Twee Riveren Petrol Station in the KTP

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Diedie was born at Askham in 1982 and attended Welkom Primary School and Rietfontein Secondary School. He left school before matriculating. Diedie was raised by his Grandparents and as his Grandfather was employed by the KTP, Diedie lived in the Park for much of his life. His Grandfather, Vatriet Kleinman, was a master tracker, one of only three such trackers in South Africa. In 2003 Diedie entered the employment of the KTP. Prior to this, he had worked in the Park but was employed by the shop owner or private contractors hired to build/refurbish structures in the KTP. By June 2009, Diedie had left the Parks employment. He is now on a training scheme at

!Khwa ttu, the Bushman education and culture centre in the Western Cape, South Africa.

**Name:** Kruiper, Fredrick (Andrew)

**Interview Date:** 14th May 2007

**Place:** Outside his home on Welkom

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Louis Kariseb

**Details:** Andrew was born in the KTP in 1947. His mother is Sanna Kruiper, cousin of traditional leader Dawid Kruiper. The family left the Park shortly after Andrew's birth, living in various places in the Mier area, including Loubos and Philandersbron. In 1974 Andrew's mother secured work in the Park and he returned there to live with her, gaining work as a Park ranger in 1983. In 1996, Andrew left the Park's employment and worked on farms in the local Mier area. In 2000, Andrew once again took up employment in the Park as a ranger, his wife also being employed there at this time. After four years of employment, Andrew was disciplined by Park management following an incident with another member of staff in the Park. He and his wife then resigned and moved to Welkom where they live in informal housing, both being unemployed at the time of this study. Andrew is a traditionalist and makes traditional crafts that are sold on roadside craft stalls. He has also served on the first and second CPAMC.

**Name:** Kruiper, Fytjie

**Interview Date:** 15th May 2007

**Place:** Outside her home in Welkom

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Louis Kariseb

**Details:** Fytjie is a traditionalist and the wife of Oom Buks (see below). Her father was from Botswana and her mother from South Africa. Fytjie was born near Welkom and grew up living on various farms in the local area and in Welkom. Prior to the land claim, Fytjie and her family stayed and worked at Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve in the



Western Cape for approximately six years. Fytjie and her husband have five daughters and a son. Two of her daughters live in the Western Cape, having married coloured men that work at Kagga Kamma. Her son was killed in a car accident travelling from Kagga Kamma to the Northern Cape. Due to the land claim Fytjie, moved back to the Mier area, living on Andriesvale Farm, before returning to Welkom, where she now lives in an informal house with her husband. She has never been in official employment, although she does make and sell traditional crafts at roadside stalls.

**Name:** Kruiper, Hendrik (Oom Buks)

**Interview Dates:** 10th May 2007

**Place:** Outside his home on Welkom

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Louis Kariseb

**Second Interview:** 25<sup>th</sup> February 2008

**Place:** Outside his home on Welkom

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Diedie Kleinman

**Details:** Buks is the younger brother of traditional leader David Kruiper, and uncle to the Kariseb family (see above). He is a traditionalist. Buks was born in the KTP in 1942 and grew up there. He is married and has a family with Fytjie (see above). Buks has worked in the KTP as a ranger, and in Kuruman and Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve on cultural tourism ventures. As Buks is knowledgeable regarding wild plant foods and medicines, he has trained soldiers in survival skills. Given his tracking skills, he has also taught on SASI's tracking programme. Buks lives at Welkom with his wife in an informal house. At the time of interview, Buks was employed by researcher Gus Mills tracking cheetah in the KTP, while also making traditional Bushman crafts to sell on roadside stalls and to the shop in the KTP. Oom Buks is a Christian.

**Name:** Kruiper, Isak and Lys (Swarts)

**Interview Date:** 2nd March 2008

**Place:** Outside their home on Witdraai Farm

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Isak was born in 1965, son of Anna Swarts (see below), but changed his surname to Kruiper during the land claim as he believed that it would strengthen the claim if Kruiper and Swarts family ties were emphasised. Both Isak and Lys are traditionalists and Isak has served on third CPAMC. In the past Isak worked at Kagga Kamma in the Western Cape. Currently, both Isak and Lys work at !Xaus Lodge, making traditional crafts and practising traditional medicine. Isak is also a skilled tracker. Isak and Lys also make and sell crafts at the roadside stalls and as they are involved in cultural tourism, they dress in traditional costume when required.

**Name:** Kruiper, Samuel (Abijoul)

**Interview Date:** 12th March 2008

**Place:** Molopo Lodge

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Abijoul is a traditionalist and was born in the Mier area, near Philandersbron. He was 51 at the time of the interview and is a cousin of traditional leader Dawid Kruiper and Oom Buks. As his father gained employment as a ranger in the KTP, Abijol grew up in the Park, leaving when he was 16 years old to work on farms in the Mier area. He had no formal schooling. He lived and worked at Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve, before going to Upington where he made a living selling traditional medicines. Following the land claim, in 2001 Abijol returned to Mier, where he lived in informal houses on Andriesvale and Witdraai Farms. Abijol died in 2008.

**Name:** Kruiper, Andries (Toppies)

**Interview Date:** 11th June 2007

**Place:** Outside Ouma Anna and Sanna Swarts's home on Andriesvale

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Toppies is the oldest son of traditional leader Dawid Kruiper and nephew of Oom Buks. He is a traditionalist. Toppies was born in 1971 in the KTP, while his father was in the Park's employment. He has had no school education. After the family left the KTP, they lived in Namibia where his father was a farmhand. In 1982, the family went to work in cultural tourism projects at Kuruman and then Kagga Kamma in the Western Cape. Around 1999, Toppies and his family moved to Welkom while they waited for the land claim to be processed, relocating to the †Khomani farms in 2000. He now lives between Andriesvale and Witdraai in informal grass housing. Toppies lives with his partner, Steenie Swarts, daughter of Ouma Anna Swarts (see below) and sister of Isak Swarts (see above). Toppies is a registered tracker and during the research period, he was employed part-time by SASI to teach traditional tracking techniques to adults and children. He is also knowledgeable about traditional medicinal plants. By 2009, Toppies was no longer working for SASI. He is the lead dancer with the †Khomani traditional dance troupe and consequently wears traditional dress if the occasion merits it. He is a Christian.

**Name:** Malgas, Abraham and Margaritte. (Oupa Apie and Ouma Griet)

**Interview Date:** 28th May 2007

**Place:** In their home in Welkom

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Louis Kariseb

**Details:** Oupa Apie was born in 1943 and Ouma Griet in 1933 in the KTP. Oupa Apie's family are South African while Ouma Griet's family are from Botswana. They each grew up and worked in the Park, where he was a field ranger and she worked in the laundry. Prior to their marriage, they had two children each from previous marriages, they have no children together. After their wedding, which was a Christian ceremony, Oupa Apie and Ouma Griet continued to work in the Park for a further 20 years, approximately. When they retired and left the Park, they came to live at Welkom where they continue to stay in a formal house, with electricity and water. Ouma Griet's two daughter's live at Welkom. They are Anna Thys (see below) and Andrew Kruiper's wife (see above). Oupa Apie's daughter lives at Welkom, however, his son Jakob Malgas, is now dead. Jakob was married to Lena Malgas (see below) who lives in Welkom. Both

Ouma Griet and Oupa Apie, speak Afrikaans and Khoekhoebab. In recent years, Oupa Apie has found life difficult, due to his blindness, which also means that he can no longer make traditional crafts.

**Name:** Malgas, Lena Kruiper

**Interview Date:** 24 April 2007

**Place:** In the yard of Belinda Kruiper's house on Welkom

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Second Interview Date:** 8th May 2007

**Place:** Outside her home on Welkom

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Louis Kariseb

**Details:** Lena is the half sister of Oom Buks and traditional leader Dawid Kruiper, sharing the same father. She is also the sister of artist Vetkat Kruiper, married to Belinda, however Vetkat died in 2007 due to asthma. Lena was born near Witdraai Farm, and raised in the Park as her father Regopstaan was employed there. After leaving the Park, her father worked on various farms in Mier as a farm hand, with Lena later securing employment as a domestic on these farms. Lena briefly worked at Kagga Kamma with her husband Jakob and children before moving and working near Upington. They then moved to Welkom. Following the land claim they lived on †Khomani farm Erin, but after Jakob's death through TB, Lena moved to Andriesvale with her children, then back to Welkom where she now lives in an informal grass house, working at !Xaus Lodge. Lena is a traditionalist and makes traditional crafts to sell at roadside stalls. She speaks Afrikaans and Khoekhoebab.

**Name:** Rooi, Katrina (!Una Rooi)

**Interviewed Date:** 11th April 2007

**Second Interview Date:** 12<sup>th</sup> March 2008

**Place:** Outside her house on Andriesvale Farm

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Ouma !Una was born in 1933 in the KTP. As a child, she was taken from the Park and exhibited as part of the Empire Exhibition. When she returned to the Kalahari, her family had been evicted from the Park so they then went to live in caves on Witdraai. Before the land claim Ouma !Una was living near Upington. When the farms were awarded to the ꞆKhomani she relocated back to Witdraai, before moving into the formal farmhouse on Andriesvale Farm. Ouma !Una's experiences and knowledge in relation to traditional Bushman rituals and place names have been documented by SASI. As she is one of the few people that speaks the N/u language she was paid by SASI to teach the children the language. Ouma !Una is a traditionalist and at the time of interview she made and sold traditional crafts through Sisen craft project. In 2007, however, she suffered a suspected stroke. Although she has made a good recovery, she is somewhat frail and no longer teaches N/u. She is the grandmother of Fonnie Brou (see above).

**Name:** Seekoei, Margaritte (Ouma Seekoei)

**Interview Date:** 25th April 2007

**Place:** Outside Annetta Bok's caravan home on Andriesvale Farm

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Ouma Seekoei was born in 1933 on a farm north of Upington, one of nine children. Her family moved around a lot within the Upington area, settling in Upington for a while. Her father was a farmhand. Ouma Seekoei never attended school and as a young woman worked as a domestic, marrying a Bushman from near Rietfontein. Before the land claim, she was living in a formal house in Upington, with her daughter. When the farms were awarded to the ꞆKhomani, Ouma Seekoei moved to the farms, however, her daughter remains in Upington. Of her siblings, only two of her brothers are still arrive, one lives on Andriesvale and one in Cape Town. Like her cousin Ouma !Una (see above), Ouma Seekoei can speak N/u and teaches the ꞆKhomani children the language. Although her father taught her brothers how to hunt, Ouma Seekoei does not have as much traditional knowledge as Ouma !Una and has never learned to make traditional Bushman crafts. She lives in informal housing on Andriesvale Farm.

**Name:** Steenkamp, Andries

**Interview Date:** 31st May 2007

**Place:** Outside his home on (Klien) Erin Farm

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Andries was born in 1960 to Bushman parents living near Noenieput in the Mier area, approximately 100km from Andriesvale. His father was a farmhand and his mother a domestic worker. Andries spent the majority of his life in the Noenieput area, attending primary school there. He has had no secondary education. Andries speaks Afrikaans and English and can understand N/u as his parents used this language with him when he was young. He left the Noenieput area in 1999 moving to Witdraai Farm, before moving into the formal farmhouse on (Klein) Erin Farm in 2002, with his wife and their child. Andries served on the first CPAMC and at the time of research, he was Chairman of the San Council, which does not attract a wage. He has no paid employment. Andries is a westerner Bushman.

**Name:** Swarts, Anna (Ouma Anna)

**Interview Date:** 10th May 2007

**Place:** Outside her home on Andriesvale Farm

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Louis Kariseb

**Details:** Ouma Anna was born in approximately 1920, near Welkom, and is a traditionalist. She has never attended school and when she was young her parents hunted and gathered food for the family. Around 1935 the family moved to the KTP, where her, her father, and siblings all worked. At that time her nephew, traditional leader Dawid Kruiper's family were also working and living in the Park. She was Part of the Empire Exhibition and on her return from the exhibition to the Kalahari, the family were expelled from the Park. They then moved and worked on farms near Loubos, where she met and married Koos Swarts, a coloured man from Namaqualand. She remained in Loubos, with her husband, where she had her first daughter Sanna Swarts

(see below). Her family then moved to Namibia where her son Willem was born before the family returned to the Mier area. She was staying in Welkom in a formal house when the land claim began, then moved to Andriesvale, where she stayed with her daughter Sanna in a grass house. Later in 2007, Ouma Anna moved to Witdraai, living with her son Willem and his wife, Ousie, Swarts (see below) in an informal grass house. Ouma is the mother of Willem, Gert, Isak, Sanna, Steenie, Tolla, Griet and Pielie Swarts. Pielie was unfortunately murdered. Ouma Anna spoke Afrikaans, Khoekhoebab and N/u and sang in N/u. Since 2002, Ouma Anna had difficulty walking and in late 2007 she died. Although she wished to be buried in the Park, this was not possible as the money allocated for her funeral was misspent.

**Name:** Swarts, Gert

**Interview Date:** 11th June 2007

**Place:** Outside his sister, Nana Sanna's house, on Andriesvale Farm.

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Gert's mother is ǀKhomani woman Anna Swarts (see above). His father, Koos was not a Bushmen. Although his father worked in the KTP before Gert's birth, by 1961 when Gert was born, the family were living in various places around the Mier area where his father was a farmhand. Gert has had some primary schooling but due to eye problems, his father withdrew him from school. He is a traditionalist, speaking Afrikaans, Khoekhoebab and a little N/u. He has worked at Kagga Kamma in the past and lived with his mother in Welkom before moving to the ǀKhomani farms in 2001. Gert now lives on Andriesvale Farm, near his sister Sanna, in an informal grass house. He has never been married and has no children. Gert makes and sells traditional crafts at his roadside stall, also practising traditional medicine. He is also knowledgeable regarding tracking and hunting and when the occasion merits it, Gert wears traditional Bushman dress.

**Name:** Swarts, Katrina (Ousie Swarts)

**Interview Date:** 15th January 2008

**Place:** Outside her home on Witdraai Farm

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Ousie Swarts is married to Wilem Swarts and therefore the daughter in law of Ouma Anna (see above). Ousie was born in 1934 on a farm near Noenieput, growing up on various farms in that area. Her father was a farmhand and both her parents were Nama. Ousie attended a local farm school alongside Petrus Vaalbooi (see below), leaving when she was 15 years old to work in the Upington area. Following the death of her first husband, in 1987, while living in Rietfontein, Ousie married Willem. Willem and Ousie moved to the ǀKhomani farms in 1999 and after living on Witdraai and Andriesvale, in 2007 they settled in their present informal grass house on Witdraai, where they keep donkeys and sheep. Ousie collects the old age pension and is a Christian.

**Name:** Swarts, Sanna (Nana Sanna)

**Interview Date:** 9th February 2008

**Place:** Outside her home on Andriesvale Farm

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Sanna was born in the KTP in 1958, when her father was working there. Her family left the Park in 1967 and lived around the Mier area where her father was a farm hand. She attended primary school at this time. Nana Sanna is a traditionalist. She speaks Afrikaans and Khoekhoebab and is a member of the ǀKhomani traditional dance troupe, wearing traditional costume for performance. Prior to the land claim, Nana Sanna lived in Upington for 21 years, working in a nursing home for the most part. Her children all went to school in Upington and remained there when she moved to (Klein) Erin Farm after the land claim. At the time of the research, Nana Sanna was living on Andriesvale Farm with her partner in an informal grass house, her first husband and father of her children being dead. She worked for the SASI medicine project while also making traditional crafts to sell on a roadside stall. In June 2009, Nana Sanna went to !Xaus Lodge to 'rest'. She died there a few days later.



**Name:** Thys, Adrian

**Interview Date:** 19th May 2007

**Place:** In his home in Welkom

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Louis Kariseb

**Details:** Adrian was born in 1986 and lived in the KTP where his parents were employed. He attended Welkom Primary School and Rietfontein Secondary School. He left school at the age of 15, before matriculating. Adrian was brought up believing that he was coloured, despite his mother being a Bushman. His mother Anna Thys (see below) is the daughter of Ouma Griet (see above). Adrian's family left the Park in 1994. Following this, they set up home at Welkom, where Adrian and his mother continue to live in a formal dwelling house. To date Adrian has worked in a variety of manual jobs in the Mier area, never living outside the area. Adrian is a Christian.

**Name:** Thys, Anna

**Interview Date:** 15th May 2007

**Place:** In her home in Welkom

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Louis Kariseb

**Details:** Anna was born in 1954 or 1955. She is the daughter of Ouma Griet Malgas (see above). Both her parents were Bushmen. Anna was raised near Andriesvale Farm and moved to the KTP at about the age of 15 when she lived with her mother, who was living and working in the Park. At this time, Anna attended school at Welkom. She then gained employment in the Park and married a fellow worker. She left the Park with her husband in 1991 and moved to Welkom. Her husband died of asthma in 2006. Anna volunteers at Welkom clinic one day a week, having no paid employment or social assistance. Sometimes she makes traditional Bushmen crafts and others sell them for her at the roadside stalls. She had six children with her husband, three of which live near Cape Town and three that continue to live and work in the Mier area, including

Adrian (see above). Anna lives in a formal house at Welkom, with her son Adrian, and is a Christian.

**Name:** Titus, Koos

**Interview Date:** 27th June 2010

**Place:** In the Sisen Craft Shop

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Shanade Barnabas

**Details:** Koos volunteers in Sisen craft shop as a shop assistant. He lives in Askham with his mother, brother and his sister's three children. He is unmarried. He has no paid employment, meaning that the family survive from his mother's pension and income from his brother's craft stall.

**Name:** Vaalbooi, Andrew

**Interview Date:** 9th March 2008

**Place:** In the Home and Textiles Shop on Miersouppan Farm (This shop has now merged with Sisen craft shop)

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Andrew was born near Noenieput in Mier, to Bushmen parents. In the past, he has worked and lived in Upington. Andrew only discovered that he was a Bushman during the land claim and moved onto the †Khomani land in 2001. He lives in the formal farmhouse on Miersouppan Farm and keeps 136 sheep and 15 goats on Uitkoms Farm. Andrew also makes traditional crafts and sells them through Sisen craft project. He is the cousin of Petrus Vaalbooi and the nephew of Willem Vaalbooi (see below).

**Name:** Vaalbooi, Hendrick

**Interview Date:** 29th June 2010

**Place:** At his farmhouse home on Miersouppan Farm.

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Shanade Barnabas

**Details:** Hendrick has lived in the farmhouse on Miersouppan since 2001, which he shares with his family. In 2010 he was in the employment of !Xaus Lodge as a guide. He speaks Afrikaans and English.

**Name:** Vaalbooi, Jan

**Interview Date:** 29th June 2010

**Place:** At his farmhouse home on Miersouppan Farm

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Shanade Barnabas

**Details:** Before the land claim Jan lived near Noenieput, in the Mier area, where he was a farmhand. He is a westerner Bushman. Currently, Jan lives in the formal farmhouse at Miersouppan with his family including Hendrick (see above). He has 30 goats and a bull, which he grazes on Uitkoms Farm.

**Name:** Vaalbooi, Petrus

**Interview Date:** 11th April 2007

**Place:** On sand dunes near his home on Scottys Fort Farm

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Petrus was born in approximately 1943 on a farm near Upington and is a westerner Bushman. He was raised around the Upington and Mier area, where his parents worked on farms. Although his mother was Bushmen and spoke the N/u/ language, Petrus only understands a little of the language. †Khomani traditional leader, Dawid Kruijer, and Petrus are related through their grandparents who were siblings. When the land claim process started, Petrus was living at Rietfontein. He was instrumental in the settlement negotiations and moved to Scottys Fort Farm in 1999. He then served as chairperson on the first †Khomani CPAMC, and then on the San Council until 2007. Currently he lives in the formal farmhouse on Scotty's Fort and keeps 100 sheep and 30 goats there. His wife makes and sells traditional crafts through Sisen craft project.

**Name:** Vaalbooi, Willem

**Interview Date:** 31st January 2008

**Place:** Miersouppan Farmhouse

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Willem moved to the †Khomani farms in 2001 from Keimos near Upington where he had worked as a farmhand. He is a westerner Bushmen and served on the first and second CPAMC. He also worked on the FARM-Africa project. Willem lives on Uitkoms Farm and has his own livestock.

**Name:** van der Westhuizen, Jan (Oom Jan)

**Interview Date:** 10th May 2007

**Place:** Near his home on Andriesvale Farm

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Louis Kariseb

**Second Interview Date:** 2nd June 2007

**Place:** Outside SASI traditional medicine project tent on Witdraai Farm

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Oom Jan is the son of a Bushman mother. He was born and raised in the Mier area and has had some primary schooling. Prior to the land claim, Oom Jan lived in a formal house in Philandersbron with his extended family, and was part of the negotiation team during the land claim process. He moved to the †Khomani farms with his family in 2000, and lives in an informal house on Andriesvale Farm. He has four daughters and three sons. Jan is a traditionalist, practicing traditional medicine and serves on the third CPAMC. He is officially unemployed.

**Name:** van der Westhuizen, Martha (Vinkie)

**Interview Date:** 30th May 2007

**Place:** In the SASI office near Andriesvale Farm.

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Martha was born in 1984 in Danielskuil in the Northern Cape, approximately 385 km from Andriesvale. She has had primary and secondary schooling, in which she learned English. In 2002, Martha left Danielskuil with her parents and moved to Philanderbron. She is the eldest child of Jan van der Westhúezen (see above) and lives in an informal house on Andriesvale. Since 2005 Martha has worked full time for SASI at their Andriesvale office. She is a qualified tour guide, and in the past, made and sold crafts through the Sisen craft shop. Martha had twin boys in 2007, unfortunately one child has since died. She had another son in 2010. Martha is a Christian.

**Name:** van Wyk, Potat

**Interview Date:** 29th June 2010

**Place:** At his roadside stall near Andriesvale Farm

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Shanade Barnabas

**Details:** Potat is a Bushman and lives in an informal house on Witdraai Farm with his partner and child. He is a traditionalist. Since 2005, Potat has made and sold traditional crafts at his roadside stall. In 2007 he helped decorate furniture for the !Xaus Lodge. Such work is Potat's only source of income. Before 2005, Potat lived at Loubos, near Rietfontein, where his other family members continue to live. His brother was traditionalist Silikat van Wyk who died in 2010 due to TB related complications. Silikat was a renowned crafter also selling his crafts on a roadside stall, while being a popular research participant. Silikat regularly wore traditional clothes while attending his stall as Potat continues to do.

**Name:** Witbooi, Adonas (Tooks)

**Interview Date:** 18th June 2007

**Place:** In the home of his nephew who is a Policeman living in a formal Police House near Witdraai Farm

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Tooks was born and raised at Noenieput in 1968. His parents were coloured farm workers in that area. He has had no schooling. Like his parents, Tooks is a farmhand. He left Noenieput in 1998, when the Noenieput police captain, Captain. De Wee was transferred to Witdraai. Police station. The Captain asked Tooks to come and work for him in the Witdraai area as his handyman/farmhand. By 2008, Tooks was unemployed and living with his partner, Anna Redt Witbooi (see below), whose father he knew in Noenieput. They live in an informal house on Witdraai Farm. Tooks has no children and is a Christian.

**Name:** Witbooi, Anna Redt

**Interview Date:** 20th May 2007

**Place:** In my car outside Anna's mother's home on Witdraai Farm. It was a cold rainy day and the house had no roof.

**Second Interview Date:** 2nd February 2008

**Place:** Anna's mother's home on Witdraai Farm.

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Anna was born in 1977. She was raised and went to primary and secondary school at Rietfontein. Her mother, a Bushman, Nana Witbooi (see below), was a domestic worker when Anna was growing up. Anna left Rietfontein at 16 years old, and following a brief period in Namibia, she moved to Upington before returning to Rietfontein. She then relocated to the ǀKhomani farms around 2005. At that time, Anna worked for SASI and has since been a domestic worker. Although Anna does traditional Bushman dancing, winning an award in 2002, she is not part of the ǀKhomani dance troupe. By 2008, Anna was unemployed, living with her partner, Tooks (see above) and her three children, in an informal house on Witdraai Farm. Anna's children all attend Askham Primary School.

**Name:** Witbooi, Blade

**Interview Date:** June 2010

**Place:** His workshop on Erin Farm

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Shanade Barnabas

**Details:** Blade is the son of Ousie Swarts (see above) by her first husband. Consequently, he is Nama. Blade lives on Witdraai Farm with his wife, baby and 15 year old child who is at secondary school in Rietfontein. They live in an informal grass house. Between 2000 and 2008, Blade made and sold traditional Bushman crafts at his roadside stall, often dressed in traditional clothes, and in 2007 he was paid to decorate furniture for !Xaus Lodge. By 2010 Blade was making pottery in his workshop, however, although he aims to sell his works to tourists, he can rarely afford to have his pottery fired. This means that he seldom sells any pottery. Although this is his only form of income, his wife is employed by the department of health, making home visits to people that are ill.

**Name:** Witbooi, Margaritta Williamina (Nana Witbooi)

**Interview Date:** 25th April 2007

**Place:** Outside her home on Witdraai Farm

**Second Interview Date:** 20th May 2007

**Place:** Inside my car near her home as it was raining and Nana's house has no roof.

**Third Interview:** 24th June 2007

**Place:** Outside her home on Witdraai Farm

**Fourth Interview:** 14th January 2008

**Place:** Outside her home on Witdraai Farm.

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Details:** Nana was born in 1954 near Noenieput and grew up in that area where her father was a farm hand. Nana went to school in Rietfontein and had her daughter Anna (see above) there. Nana has also lived in Upington and elsewhere in the Mier area before moving to Witdraai Farm in 1999. Her father and the traditional leader, Dawid Kruiper's, father were cousins. In the past, she has been employed as a domestic worker, however, during the study period Nana was unemployed. Nana lives with her

partner and son in an informal grass house on Witdraai, along with her granddaughter Millie, by her daughter Linkie. In the past when Anna was working as a live in domestic, Nana cared for Anna's three children. Anna's partner and son are unemployed.

**Schedule of Interviews and details of Interviewees !Xaus Lodge Employees:**

**Name:** Bok, Ellen

**Interview Date:** 8th December 2007

**Place:** In her home in Rietfontein.

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Ellen lives in Rietfontein and is part of Mier Coloured Community. She was born in Rietfontein and is a descendent of Captain Vilanders through her father. She attended Primary School at Rietfontein continuing on to secondary school in Namibia, where she then worked. Ellen is currently the chef at the !Xaus Lodge and has worked there since it opened in 2007.

**Name:** O'Leary, Glynn

**Interview Date:** 27th July 2007

**Place:** Transfrontier Parks Destination Offices, near Cape Town.

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Glynn O'Leary, lives near Cape Town and is the managing director of Transfrontier Parks Destination, the management company of !Xaus Lodge.

**Name:** Philander, Patricia

**Interview Date:** 15th February 2008

**Place:** Reception of KTP.

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None



**Details:** Patricia was born and raised on a farm near Welkom and is part of Mier Coloured Community. She attended Welkom Primary School and Rietfontein Secondary School before gaining qualifications from the South Africa College for Tourism (SACT) in Graaff-Reinet in the Eastern Cape. Patricia was employed as receptionist at !Xaus Lodge from its opening in July 2007 till October 2007, when she left due to lack of reception duties. Patricia then worked as a casual receptionist at the KTP before securing a permanent position at Mokala National Park near Kimberley, in the Northern Cape.

**Schedule of Interviews and details of Interviewees Government Employees:**

**Name:** Anonymous Siyanda Government Official

**Interview Date:** 7<sup>th</sup> February 2008

**Place:** Omitted to ensure anonymity

**Details:** Omitted to ensure anonymity

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Name:** Basson, Jan

**Interview Date:** 10th December 2007

**Place:** His home in Rietfontein.

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Jan has lived in Rietfontein for 25 years and is procurement officer for Mier Local Municipality. He is a Roman Catholic Church elder and preaches to the congregation on occasion, as there is no permanent priest in the area. He is informative regarding the catholic church's involvement and stance in relation to the social issues of the area, such as HIV/AIDS, TB, alcohol and drug use, and teenage pregnancy. He is part of Mier Coloured Community.

**Name:** Bock, Captain

**Interview Date:** 6th December 2007

**Place:** His office in Rietfontein Police Station

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Captain Bok is from Pofadder in the Northern Cape. He is Rietfontein station commissioner and has been stationed at Rietfontein for two and a half years.

**Name:** Burden, Sister

**Interview Date:** 10th December 2007

**Place:** Rietfontein Clinic

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Sister Burden was born in Rietfontein and part of Mier Coloured Community. She has worked as a nurse at Rietfontein clinic since 1996.

**Name:** de Wee, Captain

**Interview Date:** 1st February 2008

**Place:** His office on Witdraai Police Station

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Captain de Wee is from Keimos near Upington but has been working in the Mier area for about 20 years. He lives in one of the Police houses on Witdraai.

**Name:** Ghooste, Bienta

**Interview Date:** 13th August 2007

**Place:** Her office in Askham Primary School

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Mrs Ghooste has worked in the Mier area since approximately 2002 and lives with her daughter in a house in the grounds of Askham Primary School. She is originally from the Eastern Cape. Officially, there should be two social workers in the Mier area, however, the Government has experienced difficulty attracting such individuals. Consequently, Mrs Ghooste is the only social worker for the whole Mier area.

**Name:** Julius, William (Willie)

**Interview Date:** 15th August 2007

**Second Interview Date:** 7<sup>th</sup> December 2007

**Place:** Both interviews in his office at Rietfontein High School

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Willie is from Rietfontein, a descendent of Captain Vilander and is part of Mier Coloured Community. Previously, between 2000 and 2003 Willie was a councillor for Mier Local Municipality and was involved in the Mier Community and †Khomani Land Claim. Currently he is Rietfontein High School Principal.

**Name:** Lotterning, Gerrit

**Interview Date:** 1st October 2009

**Place:** By telephone

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Mr Lotterning works for Siyanda District Municipality Roads Department.

**Name:** Makumela, Peter

**Interview Date:** 28th February 2008

**Place:** Department of Land Affairs offices in Kimberley.

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Mr Makumela works for the DLA. During the research period Mr Makumela was the main DLA official dealing with the †Khomani land settlement and farmland development.

**Name:** Mathys, Freddie

**Interview Date:** 6th December 2007

**Place:** Mier Local Municipality offices in Rietfontein

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Mr Mathys is from, and lives in Rietfontein and is part of Mier Coloured Community. He attended primary school in Rietfontein and secondary school in Uppington. Previously, he was a primary school teacher at Rietfontein School, however, he is now Local Development Officer for Mier Local Municipality.

**Name:** Mouton, Mrs

**Interview Date:** 25th January 2008

**Place:** Mier Local Municipality Offices in Rietfontein

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Mrs Mouton lives in the Mier area and has worked at the municipal offices since approximately 2003. During the study period, she was tourist information officer for Mier Local Municipality.

**Name:** Philander, Colin and Mouton, Jackie

**Interview Date:** 15th August 2007

**Place:** Mier Local Municipal Offices in Rietfontein

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** During the research period, Colin Philander was the manager of the Mier Municipal Council while Jackie Mouton was a local councillor. Colin Philander is a

descendent of Captain Vilander who settled in the area in 1865 and is the historical expert of the area. Both are part of Mier Coloured Community.

**Schedule of Interviews and details of Interviewees SANParks Employees:**

**Name:** du Plessie, Christine

**Interview Date:** 21st February 2008

**Place:** Her office at Twee Riveren, KTP.

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Christine holds a diploma in Nature Conservation and is the People and Parks Conservation Officer for KTP. Christine's job entails promoting favourable relations between the KTP and the local communities, ensuring that communities benefit from the existence of the Park. Consequently, Christine organises educational events for local schools and community groups to promote environmental sustainability and good health. Following more than 10 years in the KTP, Christine and her husband were transferred from the KTP to Augrabies National Park in 2009.

**Name:** Esterhuizen, Michael

**Interview Date:** 20th February 2008

**Place:** His office at Twee Riveren, KTP

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Michael has been Human Resource Officer at KTP since January 2008. Prior to this he worked as an administrator for the Expanded Public Works Programme, and has in the past been employed as an administrator/Human Resource worker for a private road contractor. Michael is from Welkom, attending Welkom Primary School before matriculating from Rietfontein Secondary School. He lives at Welkom, driving daily to work at Twee Riveren. He is part of Welkom Coloured Community.

**Name:** Feris, Willem

**Interview Date:** 19th February 2008

**Place:** His office at Twee Riveren, KTP

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Willem is Acting Hospitality Manager at Twee Riveren. He was born in the Mier area and attended Welkom Primary School, matriculating from Rietfontein Secondary School. Since then he has been employed in a variety of jobs in the KTP including wine waiter and receptionist before becoming duty manager at Twee Riveren, which is his current position when he is not “acting manager”. Between 2003 and 2008, at the recommendation of KTP management, Willem undertook a part time tourism management course, paid for by SANParks. He is part of Welkom Coloured Community.

**Name:** Venter, Carli

**Interview Date:** 7th March 2008

**Place:** Her office at Twee Riveren, KTP

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Ms Venter is originally from Pretoria. At the time of research, she was Administrative Manager for KTP. Since then Ms Venter has been promoted to Park Manager of Bontebok National Park in the Western Cape, South Africa.

**Schedule of Interviews and details of Interviewees Miscellaneous:**

**Name:** Anonymous Askham Resident

**Interview Date:** 18<sup>th</sup> June 2007

**Place:** Omitted to ensure anonymity

**Details:** Omitted to ensure anonymity

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Annetta Bok

**Name:** Bruwer, Riaan

**Interview Date:** 25 April 2007

**Place:** Molopo Lodge

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Riaan was one of three managers employed at the Lodge during the study period. He managed reception, bar and petrol station. He is from Kakamas, which is approximately 300 km south of Andriesvale. He left the employment of the Molopo Lodge in 2007.

**Name:** Flemming Nannette

**Interview Date:** 19<sup>th</sup> June 2007

**Place:** SASI offices near Andriesvale Farm.

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Nannette worked at SASI's Andriesvale office between 2000 and 2008. Initially she was project manager, later becoming overall office manager. She is from the Northern Cape and speaks Afrikaans and English.

#### **Schedule of Cited Personal Correspondence (in English) and Details of Respondents:**

**Name:** Brou, Frederick (Fonnie)

**Email received** 5th August 2010

**Details:** As above

**Name:** Holden, Phillipa

**Email received** 19th October 2010

**Details:** Phillipa is a socio-ecologist based in Pretoria and has been working with the ‡Khomani since the land claim.

**Name:** Holden, Phillipa (details as above) and Pienaar, Kobus

**Email received** 9th January 2010

**Details:** Phillipa (as above). Kobus is a lawyer employed by the Legal Resource Centre (LRC), a human rights organisation. He was based in Cape Town and worked long term with the ꞤKhomani. Kobus died in an accident in February 2011.

**Name:** Makgopa, Gilbert

**Email received** 16th September 2010

**Details:** Employee, Northern Cape Provincial Department of Health, Kimberley

**Name:** Mokoe, Portia

**Email received** 16th September 2010

**Details:** Employee, South African Social Security Agency, Kimberley, Northern Cape

**Name:** van der Westhuizen, Martha

**Email A received** 9th October 2009

**Email B received** 19th October 2009

**Details:** As above.

#### **Schedule of Cited Personal Communication and Details of Respondents:**

**Name:** Anonymous

**Personal Conversation:** 29<sup>th</sup> June 2010.

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Omitted to ensure anonymity

**Name:** Anonymous

**Personal Conversation** 21<sup>st</sup> June 2010

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Northern Cape Government Official



**Name:** Barnabas, Shanade

**Personal Conversation** 21st June 2010

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** PhD candidate, Centre for Communication, Media and Society, University of KwaZulu-Natal. Shanade completed her MA within CCMS, working with the Bushmen of Platfontein near Kimberley. The Platfontein Bushmen are also the subject of Shanade's PhD, however, she has also visited the †Khomani on a number of occasions. She lives in Durban.

**Name:** Barns, William

**Personal Conversation** 24th Jan 2008

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Mr Barns was appointed †Khomani Farm Manager for a six month period in 2008. Mr Barns lives near Bloemfontein in the Free State where he has his own farm. He is also a freelance consultant having worked for the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR).

**Name:** Bok, Annetta

**Personal Conversation** 20th May 2007

**Personal Conversation** 2nd March 2008

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** As above

**Name:** Chennels, Roger

**Personal Telephone Conversation,** 11th August 2006.

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Roger is a human rights lawyer based in Stellenbosch. He worked with the Kruipers pre land claim, and enabled and oversaw the legal land claim process. He continues to represent the ꞛKhomani Community.

**Name:** Crawhall, Nigel

**Personal Conversation:** 17<sup>th</sup> August 2007.

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Nigel has been involved with the ꞛKhomani Community for more than ten years. Initially he was employed by SASI, however in 1997, he helped found the NGO IPACC and is currently the Director of Secretariat for this organisation, making intermittent visits to the ꞛKhomani farms. Nigel completed a PhD related to the ꞛKhomani language in 2004 entitled, “!Ui-Taa Language Shift in Gordonia and Postmasburg Districts, South Africa”.

**Name:** Flemming, Nannette

**Personal Conversation:** 10th April 2007

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** As above

**Name:** Kootz, Stasja

**Personal Conversation:** 30th June 2010

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Stasja is a PhD Candidate at the University of Tilburg, in cooperation with the African Studies Centre, Leiden, The Netherlands. Stasja has considerable experience working with Bushmen groups in Namibia and was a member of the 2010 CCMS fieldtrip to visit the ꞛKhomani. He remained working with the Community for approximately six weeks for the purpose of research.

**Name:** Kruiper, Hendrik (Buks)

**Personal Conversation:** 30th June 2010

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Shanade Barnabas

**Details:** As above

**Name:** Kruiper, Oulet

**Personal Conversation** 5th February 2008

**Interview Language:** Afrikaans

**Translator:** Sussie Bok

**Details:** Oulet is the daughter of traditional leader Dawid Kruiper. She lives in an informal grass house on Witdraai with her partner Oupa Jan and their children. She is the organiser of the ꞤKhomani traditional dance troupe, also dancing with the troupe, and wearing traditional dress where appropriate.

**Name:** Henning, Lokkie

**Personal Conversation:** 12th March 2008

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Lokkie is an independent businessman from Kuruman. He worked with the extended Kruiper family pre land claim and sought to rekindle a similar relationship with the ꞤKhomani when he arrived in the area in 2008.

**Name:** Rietief, Piet

**Personal Conversation** 26th June 2010

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** Piet was the manager of !Xaus Lodge from 2007 until 2010

**Name:** van der Westhuizen, Martha

**Personal Conversation** 27th June 2010

**Interview Language:** English

**Translator:** None

**Details:** As above