THE SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

OF

CUANHAMA SAN COMMUNITIES

IN

ANGOLA

BY

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SUPERVISOR: MS AISLING DE KLERK
This Master research report is dedicated to my lovely daughter
Erti D. Ernesto Hamuse

For the eleven years of bravery and perseverance following the tragic attack of meningitis bacterial infection
DECLARATION

I, Tiberia Ndanyakukwa Iilonga Hamuse 212428667, hereby declare that the thesis for Masters in Development Studies for Students is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for assessment or completion of any postgraduate qualification to another University or for another qualification.

Tiberia Ndanyakukwa Iilonga Hamuse
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I am most grateful to my dear colleagues and friends at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Post Graduate Village, Sister Anne Achieng Oyier and Doreen Karungi for your unfailing support and encouragement during my studies, for mentoring and reading the drafts.
This study investigated the survival strategies adopted by the San in Cunene Province in Southern Angola. The study intended first to gain understanding of the economic activities that the San in Cuanhama municipality districts of Kafima Centre and Etale La Mulovi employ to sustain their livelihoods. Secondly, the study explored how accessible the basic social services of education and health were to the San in these communities.

Utilising qualitative research methods, face-to-face interviews and focus group research were conducted. From the data collected on education the study findings show that none of the children from both communities were enrolled at any school. To this end, at Kafima Centre the main hindering factors that contributed inter alia included hunger at school, stigmatization by the neighbouring community and poverty among San communities. At Etale La Mulavi San community there was lack of educational facilities near the San habitations, constituting a key hindering factor to accessing education. On health, the closer the public health centre was to the San community the more the San utilised the health services for treatment and management of common diseases like Malaria and cough as well as other diseases. On survival strategies both San communities “okunhanga” ‘go.. and look for..’ (fending for food) was the primary survival strategy the San were involved in for the sustenance of their livelihoods. The findings informed the recommendations in chapter five of this study.
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<tr>
<td>ACHPR</td>
<td>Africa Commission on Human and Peoples Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</td>
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<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>MGD</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<tr>
<td>MEC</td>
<td>Member of Executive Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>MPI</td>
<td>Malaria Presidential Initiative</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RADP</td>
<td>Remote Area Development Programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund</td>
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<td>WGIP</td>
<td>Working Group on Indigenous Population</td>
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1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The San, or the “Bushmen” people of Southern Africa, are part of the indigenous population, distributed across the globe. The San people just like any other indigenous people elsewhere in the world, have a unique world view and experience, characterised by their social, economic, and cultural way of living. Current statistics on the status of the San across Southern Africa show global marginalisation deep-rooted from historical injustice, and most of them live below the poverty line. Although the San populace were the first to reside in Southern Africa, they continue surviving in the margins of society; they are the poorest and least educated, have a high death rate, and are altogether in worse health conditions than non-indigenous people (Sylvain, 2002:1974; Ohenjo, Wills, Jackson, Nettleton, and Mugarura 2006:1941, and Cook and Sarkin, 2009:103). In addition, San are likely to suffer higher rates of landlessness, and internal eviction, than other members of the population (Cook and Sarkin, 2009:103).

The San people currently living in arid and remote areas of Southern Angola are not static in this hardship along the lines of the above description (Suzman, 2001). The San in South Africa, Botswana and Namibia, through participations in meetings, workshops, organisations and informal encounters have partly managed to overcome their painful experiences of exclusion in the course of which they have demanded the four Rs of indigenous movements: namely, representation, recognition, rights and resources (Levi and Mayburg-Lewis, 2010:23). However, the San in Southern Angola are not yet from attaining such status. Mikkelsen (2010:540) argues that the majority of the San in Southern Angola are still surviving as hunter-gatherers, living in rudimentary shelters and in extreme poverty, mainly in isolated, inaccessible remote areas. For most of the San, where they live, government is not yet investing in basic social services, and some locations are still not cleared of landmines left from prolonged civil war in the country.

Although Angola has ratified the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention 107, in 1976 in favour of Protection and Integration of Indigenous and other Tribal and Semi-tribal There is therefore no provision that recognises the disadvantage of the San people in Angola in relation to other non-indigenous populations, in terms of their spatial remoteness, economic difficulties, and their unique way of living (Mikkelsen, 2010: 541).
According to Suzman (2001), because of the turmoil and instability caused by the prolonged civil war in Angola, no official visit by the government and/or official from the International Working Group for Indigenous Affair could have been made to the remote areas to support the San. However, twelve years later, after the end of the war, the San of Southern Angola are believed to have been surviving in difficult conditions, lacking almost every basic necessity (including access to medical services, formal education, land ownership, and food security).

This study intends to document survival mechanisms undertaken by the San people to sustain their living, taking into account present social and economic hardships which are not only inherited from colonial time, but, made worse by the long-lasting civil war the country has gone through. It is hoped that the information in this study will serve as a potential foundation for programmes and projects formulations at provincial and local level, aimed at sustaining the livelihood of the San in Southern Angola.

1.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE SAN COMMUNITIES AND SAMPLE GROUP

Kafima Centre and Etale La Mulavi are both located in Oshimolo local municipality district, in Cuanhama municipality district in Cunene province in Angola. Angola has a population of approximately 19 million people (PMI 2014). Cunene province has a total population of 762,949 people. Cuanhama municipality district is divided into five local municipalities, which are Ondjiva, Mongua, Evale, Nehone and Oshimolo. Cuanhama has an area of 20.255km, and a population of approximately 258,683, which makes up about 33 per cent of the total population in the Province, of which 1000 are San, who make up 0.39 per cent of the total population, (PMI 2014. In this sense, the San people are not only indigenous but also the minority group in Cunene province Cuanhama municipality in Angola. Cuanhama municipality is the second municipality district in the province with a high number of San people after Onamakunde municipality district.

On the one hand, as seen in figure 1 showing the geographic target area of the research, Kafima Centre San community is located at the Centre of Oshimolo local municipality at Kafima wards about 80 kilometers from Ondjiva, the capital of Cunene province. The Kafima Centre San community is accessible as it is located on an interprovincial cross road from Ondjiva to Kuando-Kubango province. The area is highly rural, with its inhabitants
predominantly Bantu Ovawambo, Oshikuanhama-speaking people who practice subsistence agriculture.

On the other hand, Etale La Mulavi San community is located at the same Oshimolo local municipality district about 150 kilometers from Ondjiva and 45 kilometers from Kafima (the nearest municipality administrative Centre) as shown in figure 1. Unlike Kafima Centre San community, the Etale La Mulavi is situated in an inaccessible remote area in deep forest, where the government has not yet invested in basic social services such as roads, school facilities, a health care system and public administrative offices. The area is densely forested, and has been for many years reserved for transhumance for dry seasonal movement of Bantu (the non-San people) livestock for higher pastures. However, in the recent years the area has also been used for commercial and communal farms by the Bantu people. The San people reside in small huts scattered across the forest. They roam from one place to another across the forest in search of wild food, fruits and animals.

The San people residing in both locations face high level of poverty. Their living conditions are characterised by inadequate housing—their small huts are built up of poor wooden and grass material with unstable roofing, and for some live permanently under the trees with no roofing at all. At both places there are no employment opportunities for the San except while working for neighboring commercial or communal farms or at Bantu homesteads as cheap labourers.
1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM

Suzman (2001:1), reveals that majority of the San in Southern Angola are living below the poverty line, and have little access to land and basic necessities. Many of them roam the vastness of the “bush” surviving primarily on hunting and gathering in an environment which has insufficient natural resources to offer, following lasting civil war in Angola that caused environmental and ecological degradation in terms of fauna and flora. The situation is aggravated by a lack of infrastructure, including the roads and bridges that normally link urban areas to remote areas.

In spite of the seemingly insuperable hardships experienced by the San, after twelve years of peace in Angola, sustainable assistance in terms of specific social and economic projects and programmes has not come their way to improve their quality of life or relieve the poverty among the neediest San people.

From the context described above, it is certainly difficult to be clear about possible survival methods that are being adopted by the San to sustain their living. Therefore, there is a need to
conduct a research study to identify and understand strategies the San utilise to survive in the absence of economic activities and external or more specifically government assistance.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTION

1.4.1 Primary research question

Taking into consideration the research problem, the projected study was guided by the following primary question: How were the San at Cuanhama municipality district at Oshimolo local municipality, (Kafima Centre and Etale La Mulavi San Communities) surviving in the absence of economic opportunities and external assistance?

1.4.2 Secondary research questions

For the purpose of exploring the primary research question, the following secondary questions were addressed:

- What access to education do the San people have?
- How accessible is health care to the San people?
- What economic survival strategies are there allowing the San to survive?
  How can the Government bring economic empowerment to the San populace so as to transform extreme poverty?

1.5 RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of the research was to investigate and obtain a better understanding of how the San in Cuanhama municipality district (Kafima Centre and Etale La Mulavi) San Communities were economically surviving and how accessible were they to basic social services.

The objectives of the study were the following:

- To investigate San access to education
- To investigate San access to a health care system;
- To investigate multiple economic activities undertaken by the San for sustenance of the livelihood of their household.
To make practical recommendations towards addressing extreme poverty among the San community.

1.6 SCOPE AND SCALE OR THE RESEARCH

The study focuses on only the San people who live permanently in San congregated settlements, and who still speak Khoe or San language. The study has been limited to two different San communities—Kafima Centre and Etale La Mulavi San communities—both at Oshimolo local municipality district in Cuanhama municipality district within the same provincial geographical boundaries. The San at these two communities are similar in most respects relevant to the research; they speak the same language and share the same cultural customs and traditions. However, the two communities are 45 kilometers away from each other.

On the one hand, the Kafima Centre San community is in close proximity with government basic social services, such as roads, school, health care facilities and public and judicial system. On the other hand, Etale La Mulavi San community is located in isolated, inaccessible remote areas with no basic social and infrastructure services. Hence, the study was meant to establish possible economic survival strategies based on geographic and social and economic diversity between the two communities. The research period was limited to one year period.

1.7 OVERALL RESEARCH APPROACH

The study employed qualitative, descriptive case study. The researcher visited two San communities (Okafima Centre San community and Etale La Mulavi San community) that have larger San population. Data collection methods that were used include semi-structured face-to-face individual and focus group interviews, observation and documentary review. The participants were approached by using the purposive non-probability sampling method as the researcher believed to be the most appropriate method to gather information based on participants expertise on the study.
In this study, 34 participants, 10 face-to-face individuals, and one focus group of eight participants at Kafima Centre San community, and again nine face-to-face individuals, and one focus group of seven participants at Etale La Mulavi San community were interviewed. In order to get more insight for the study the researcher interviewed the Member of Executive Council (MEC) of Heath, Assistance and Social Re-integration and official for local government as key informants. Interviews were semi-structured with open-ended questions, this permitted for a qualitative description and interpretation of the meaning of the subject at study.

1.8 CHAPTER ORGANIZATION

Chapter one: Introduction

The chapter provides a background to the research project, problem statement, research question, research aims and objectives, the scope and scale of the study and end with an outline of the structure for the research project.

Chapter two: Literature review

This chapter presents an evaluation of previous studies and the literature relate to the study.

Chapter three: Methodology, research design and research methods

The chapter covers the methods employed for the research. It explains the research design, techniques used for data collection, research sample, limitations of the study and ethical considerations.

Chapter four: Data analysis

This chapter discusses data analysis, interpretation and presentation and the findings.

Chapter five: Conclusions and recommendations

This chapter presents conclusions and recommendations from the study.
2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The first chapter of this study presented the context and outline of the research. This chapter now presents the literature review. The literature presented here is about the San of Southern Africa as indigenous people. It aims to delineate the various indigenous groups particularly the San of Southern Africa on their survival strategies, access to health and education.

2.2 INDIGENOUS POPULATION

Indigenous groups are those people who see themselves or are considered by other people as the aboriginals, the “First Nations” “native people” “original occupants” of a specific area on the planet (Tottoen and Hitchcock, 2011:1). But, since their encounter with dominant society, have faced tremendous difficulties ranging through genocide, cultural devastation, and dispossession of their ancestral territories, as well as socio-economic marginalisation (Tottoen and Hitchcock, 2011:1).

It is believed that the expansion of European colonisation to Asia, Africa, the Americas, Australia, New Zealand, the Pacific, and more recently the Arctic, added misery to the lives of the indigenous people (Tottoen and Hitchcock, 2011:1). Tottoen and Hitchcock, in the same article stated that Slavery, exploitation of natural and cultural resources, the spread of diseases, forced labour, and the transformation and modification of indigenous cultural practices and beliefs, were just another experience for the indigenous people to bear.

Accurate data on indigenous population is limited, partly because most live in scattered remote areas, but also because of prolonged political unrest. Particularly in African countries there is an inability or unwillingness of certain governments to collect data concerning indigenous and minority groups (Ohenjo, et al., 2006: 1937). Nonetheless, two global estimations relating to indigenous population differ widely, ranging from between from 300 to 370 million (Cook and Sarkin, 2009:101), or 350 to 600 million (Tottoen and Hitchcock, 2011:1), indigenous people in the world, involving roughly 5000 distinctive groups, inhabiting 70 countries and speaking approximately 4000 different languages. Before the year 2009, they constituted around 5% of the world’s population, with a high concentration in Asia (over 150 million) and with fewer in Europe (Cook and Sarkin, 2009:101). Although,
the indigenous populace account for a smaller percentage in global population, they constitute 15% of the world’s poor (Cook and Sarkin, 2009:101). According to Cook and Sarkin, (2009), out of the world’s 900 million most impoverished rural people, indigenous people account for approximately one-third of the population.

The above trend is reflected in the description provided by the United Nations (UN), 2009, as cited in Zips-Mairitsch (2009:30), that indigenous populations share similar forms of historical, social, cultural and political discrimination worldwide. The situation is made worse by various governments who deliberately fail to recognise indigenous groups living within their nation-states borders. For example, Tottoen and Hitchcock (2011:2) point out that, in Asia only one country, the Philippines, has officially adopted the term “Indigenous people” and stipulated law deliberately to protect indigenous people's rights, while in Africa, only two countries, Burundi and Cameroon, have so far made statements about the rights of Indigenous people in their constitutions.

As a result, indigenous people are likely to suffer hardships such as eviction from their own cultural territories, consequently ending up in dreadful living conditions and being turned into “voiceless people” with no or little rights of participation and representation, making it even harder for them to overcome their living conditions in the long run (Zips-Mairitsch, 2009:30). Related ideas have been presented by Cook and Sarkin (2009:101) who argue that, indigenous groups wherever they are found—in a developed nation or a non-industrialised country, regardless of urban or rural area—are frequently prone to scarcities, discrimination, and marginalisation in many different ways.


... “Since we were expelled from our lands, death is following us. We bury people nearly every day. The village is becoming empty. We are heading towards extinction. Now all the old people have died. Our culture is dying too”.
Outrage of this nature, is probably what made Saugestad, 2000; Lymburner, 2012; as cited in Kirstie and Thembela (2013:813) protest that “even though the San are marginalised educationally, politically, linguistically, economically and socially, it is the loss of their traditional land that is a the crux of all of these processes of marginalisation.”

Bearing the contextual problem in mind, Cook and Sarkin (2009:104) note that indigenous people endure countless hardships. They linger in the margins of society; they are impoverished, with little or no education; they die younger than non-indigenous and frequently commit suicide. They have no or very little access to health care, and particularly their youth suffer unique misfortunes. Children are unlikely to be registered at birth, and being deprived of identity documents, they habitually encounter landlessness and internal displacement more than any other population. The present status of indigenous people across the globe shows why this group of people needs unique protection.

Comprehensively, the causes for the misery of indigenous people are enormous. Some are believed to be inherited from the colonial era, with emphasis on previous injustice stretching from expropriations to ethnocide (Zips-Mairitsch, 2009:42). However, the current pressing problems seem to be associated with the modern states, as characterised by domination and legitimate use of force (Zips-Mairitsch (2009:42) as well as a lack of recognition, particularly by African governments, which is reflected in prejudicial national laws and government policies towards indigenous groups. The situation is aggravated by pejorative attitudes held in the general community (Ohenjo, et al., 2006:1938).

The intention of this study is to investigate survival strategies of the San of Southern Angola within their own geographic context, but it will be in the interest of the researcher to trace commonality within the big picture of Indigenous people across the globe as well.

2.3 THE QUANDARY OF DEFINITION OF “INDIGENOUS”

Because of the frequency and type of great hardships that seem unique to the indigenous people across the globe, the International Human Right has mandated that indigenous groups be able to enjoy benefits that are exclusive for protection of “indigenous rights” (Cook and Sarkin, 2009: 105). Before one is eligible to such rights it has been necessary to define the term “indigenous” in order to know who then legally falls into this category. While, on the one hand, the idea of definition seemed to have received a great positive welcome, on the
other hand it has caused global controversy as scholars, politicians, and other parties involved have failed to come to an agreed-upon universal definition. It is highly contested, not only by those who are supposed to defend the rights inherent in this definition, but also by those who are supposed to be defended (Cook and Sarkin, 2009: 105).

Etymologically, the concept “indigenous” comes from the Latin word “indigena;” by which indi, means “within” and gen or genere means “root”. Therefore the concept refers to “born in” something that comes from the country in which it is found”, “native of” or “aborigine” in, different from “foreign” or “brought in” (Barume, 2010: 21). The meaning of the term on its own merit seems to pose no difficulty in understanding or accepting. However, the concept “indigenous” has been said to involve terminological problems as it encourages inclusion and exclusion (Zips-Mairitsch, 2009:34). From that perspective and because of a multitude of cultural and socioeconomic differences within and across indigenous people, it has been difficult to come to a conclusive and universally accepted definition that is able to accommodate and provide justice to such multiplicity (Zips-Mairitsch, 2009:35).

The meaning of the concept “indigenous” has suffered redefinition and refinement over time, from the colonial era to the aftermath of the formation of the UN and decolonisation process to the ultimate adoption by ILO Convention Number 107 and Number 169 in 1989, and subsequent to the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) in 1982, the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights in 2003 and (Zips-Mairitsch, 2009:21-22). Nevertheless, for the purpose of this study, Martines Cabo’s definition and the same definition adopted by the ILO conversion No 169 as well as the most used definition, will be used.

“Indigenous communities, peoples and nations, are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the new societies prevailing in those territories, or part of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basics of their continued existence as people, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems” (Cabo (1986: 379) as cited by (Zips-Mairitsch, 2009:35).

According to Cook and Sarkin (2009:106-107) this definition has gained consensus as it recognises four main factors: pre-existence, non-dominance, cultural differences, and self-
determination. Self-definition is regarded as the most important element as it gives the power to define (oneself) (group consciousness) and it is the central criterion for belonging to and being accepted as a certain member of the group, and not subjected to any obligation (Zips-Mairitsch, 2009:36).

It goes without saying that although the definition seems to be accepted politically, legally and across UN Conventions, the term “indigenous” is still highly contested, mainly in the continent of Africa. As Cook and Sarkin (2009:108) explain, this definition irritates many in the African continent, as it gives rights to some and not to others, and many—if not most—of the non-indigenous people are struggling to be granted basic human rights. An additional argument preferred by mainly African governments is that all African people are indigenous to Africa, as compared to European colonialism which dislocated from Europe to Africa (Ohenjo, et al. 2006:1937). It is a regrettable fact to learn that a lack of enthusiasm of the African states in recognising indigenousness as a legal status has attracted further augment towards those who claim to be indigenous people.

According to Kenrick and Lewis (2004: 9) those who self-determine that they are indigenous, are not at all different from the rest of the population, so they are fabricating cultural stories to take advantage of the systems and to favour themselves over others. Despite many efforts by the UN and their supporters (like the National and International Non-governmental Organisations working for human rights) the problem associated with the identification and classification of indigenous people will not be resolve in the immediate future.

From this perspective, the government of Botswana, for instance, continues determinedly not to plan programmes or projects on the basis of ethnic group differentiation, as this is believed to follow the kinds of policy that the apartheid regime in South Africa pursued (Hitchcock, Sapignoli and Wayne, Babchuk, 2011:63).

Angola ratified the ILO Convention number 107, in 1976, in favour of protection and integration of the indigenous and tribal and semi-tribal populations, but this Convention has been revoked and replaced by the ILO Convention number 169, of which Angola is not yet a member state (Mikkelsen, 2010:540). The ILO Convention number 169 is the current international binding instrument that provides a detailed list of the rights of the indigenous (Gilbert, 2007:209). The Angolan Constitution amended in 2010, does not recognise indigenous people as a distinct category, neither is there specific policy or legislative aimed at protecting and promoting the rights of indigenous people, given their disadvantages in
relation to the non-indigenous population, by virtue of their spatial remoteness, economic difficulties, and unique way of living (Mikkelsen, 2010: 541). In the light of this situation, this study aims to create awareness of the lack of provision by means of recommendations of possible programmes and projects to be beneficial for the sustainable livelihood of the San.

2.4 THE SAN OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

The San are the indigenous people of the Southern Africa region, who have inhabited the region for about 27 000 years (Ohenjo, et al., 2006:1941), and the same as it applies to indigenous people in general; precise data on the San is scarce. Sylvain (2002:1074), estimates that there are about 90 000 San in Southern Africa. Sylvain's estimation does not differ much from those of (Ohenjo, et al. 2006:1942) when they estimated that there are between 85 000 and 90 000 dispersed widely across six Southern Africa countries, with minority numbers living in Angola (1 200), South Africa (4 350), Zambia (300), Zimbabwe (2 500), and the vast majority in Botswana (47 000), and Namibia (32 000).

While it is possible to perceive the current statistics of the San, it is shocking to learn that at the beginning of European colonisation mid-17th century, there were about 300 000 San across Southern Africa (Ohenjo, et al., 2006:1941; Burume 2010:56). Regrettably after years of conflicts, characterised by San genocide, assimilation, and exploitation, their numbers have been reduced to less than 100 000 people at present (Burume, 2010:56). In the same article Burume cited that motives behind the San reduction are well known, though some governments refute them:

“The San population of the Kalahari decreased as a result of their expulsion from their lands. Since the early 1900s, many were forced to leave their lands, most of which were transformed into large cattle farms and national parks, such as the Etosha Game Reserve in Namibia (1954), the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (1961) in Botswana and the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park (1931) in South Africa ”.

Those practices are similar to other incidents experienced by other indigenous people outside Southern Africa, such as the incident of Batwa indigenous people of the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo’s removal from their homelands in 1960, for it to be transformed into the Kahuzi-Biega National Park; the Ogiek indigenous group of Kenyans' removal from their
natural forest of Mau in 1910, and the Hadzabe indigenous group of Tanzanians' removal from their nomadic lifestyle in 1927 and 1939. Both incidents are believed to have led to human catastrophe and misery. Eruptions of unfamiliar diseases emerged in their new settlements, and nearly all the Hadzabe died and they almost became extinct (Burume, 2010:55-56). Such pieces of evidence have led many writers to argue that the right to land is so vital that it can be linked to the right to life, and if that is so, it is of a key importance as far as the survival of the indigenous people is concerned (Barume, 2010:55).

While the San are traditionally characterised in economic terms as hunters and gatherers, current writers have argued that there are few, if any, San still surviving on hunting and gathering (Suzman 2001, Sylvain 2002: 1075, Hitchcock, et al., 2011:71). If these are reliable confirmations, then the question arises, How else then are the San economically surviving if not through the connectivity to nature to which they have been historically and culturally deemed to belong? This question inevitably emerges taking into account the questionable capability of the San outside their traditional practices.

According to Suzman (2001:18), San have the capacity to adapt to problems that are closely connected to their socio-cultural factors. They do not have institutional leadership; they demonstrate unfamiliarity and inexperience with a cash economy, aggravated by a lack of formal education. Barume's (2010:57) findings show that, it is very difficult for the San to survive outside their natural environment because they are naturally attached to the land on which they depend for its resources and the substances of survival. This study questions repeatedly: “How do the San of Southern Angola survive in the absence of economic activities and non-existence of social grants and socioeconomic empowerment from the Angolan government?"

In the absence of a convincing answer, what is known is that, as much as it is agreed that the San are the first people inhabiting the Southern Africa region, it is also true that they are the most impoverished, disempowered, and stigmatised ethnic group in Southern Africa (Kirstie and Thembela, 2013:813).
2.5  THE SAN AND LAND RIGHTS

It has been said and repeatedly written in the newspapers and publications by scholars and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) that the San are struggling for land and resource rights in Southern Africa, particularly in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa, a topic which has attracted the focus of international discourse, but which seems not separated from the general struggle of the indigenous people across the world.

While some hundred years ago, indigenous peoples had in their own possession vast areas of the world’s surface, at present they own the legal right to use only 6% of the planet’s land, and the land they own is subject to climate change and deforestation (Cook and Sarkin, 2009:103). Owing to their nomadic way of living, perceptions from dominant populations are thus the San people have no right to either own the land or the natural resources because they do not use it profitably (Kirstie and Thembela, 2013:814; Suzman, 2001:2; Sarkin and Cook, 2010: 9). Consequently, towards the end of 1970s, most of the San were dispossessed of their traditional land that constituted their source of survival (Suzman, 2001:2).

Land dispossession is a regrettable situation, because the dominant population seem not to understand that for the indigenous people, land is not only for use, but more importantly, sustains their livelihood and culture. In other words, the San's collective identity and well-being are strongly attached to the land and its natural resources (Barume, 2010:55). The phenomenon of San land dispossession is believed by many scholars to have rendered the life of the San a misery. In some instances, traditional lands of the San have been taken away for the sake of wildlife conservation or other activities which are deemed to be more important for the society (Kirstie and Thembela, 2013:814). A long history of discrimination and other hardships has forced the San to occupy marginal lands and/or continue to live on what is left, a non-economic land (Campbell, 2004:8).

In the light of the above, much of the San survival across countries has become a gradually growing dependency on other people, upon private and government-sponsored aid programmes (where applicable) (Campbell, 2004). Kirstie and Thembela (2013:813), argue that although the San are marginalised politically, educationally, linguistically and socially, “it is the loss of their 'traditional land' that is at the core of this marginalisation.”
2.6 HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT OF MARGINALISATION AND DISCRIMINATION OF THE SAN

San marginalisation is the consequence of historical structural subordination, which has existed since the conquest of the San ancestral land and resources by the Bantu-speaking group and European immigrants in the eighteenth century, turning them into a landless and impoverished vulnerable group among other ethnic groups (Nthomang, 2002:103). Since then, the dominant society, comprising an elite class driven by globalisation, has planted the system which has undermined the identity of the San as an indigenous minority group and consequently has led to continuous San marginalisation and discrimination (Kenrick and Lewis, 2004:9). Therefore, in Africa, particularly in Southern Africa, people who claimed to be indigenous have been reduced to “primitivism”, as an expression of mankind by the non-indigenous people and therefore constitute a “lower” class in society (Kenrick and Lewis, 2004:7; Suzman, 2001:2).

According to Cook and Sarkin (2009:128), unlike any other ethnic group in Southern Africa, the San have encountered marginalisation and discrimination from all segments of society and yet the state does little to oppose it. A good example of San marginalisation is reflected in their labelling as “an ethnic group”. All the names used by academic writers, the government and politicians concerning the Khoisan, such as the “Khoe”, the “San” the “Masarwa”, the “Bushmen”, “Ovakwankala”, “Ovakuruha”, are etymological pejorative names (Nthomang, 2002:104; Suzman, 2001:3). Zips-Mairitsch (2009:156), maintains that regrettably this negative connotation is the fate of the San as a marginal group. The name “Bushmen” is given to the people who hide in the bush like animals, so this means “primitive”, a simple and uncivilised way of living (Zips-Mairitsch, 2009:156).

According to Suzman (2001:1), because of the limited success of government interventions in dealing with issues concerning the San, many San “feel alienated from and by their national governments”. Marginalisation and discrimination has made some San ashamed to speak their own languages and try to escape or hide from prejudice (Barume, 2010:62). A good example of this is a case of Khomani San of South Africa who were ashamed to be San people and also to speak San language. As a result, till 2010, it is estimated that there were less than a thousand San people who could still speak N/u (name of the traditional ‡khomani San language) in the Khomani community (Barume, 2010:62).
2.7 THE SAN AND EDUCATION

“Education gives people choices regarding the lives they wish to lead. It enables the people to express themselves with confidence in their personal relationships, in the community” UN, Millenium Development Goals (MDG) Report 2005 as cited in (Crawhall, 2006:10). Similarly Crawhall (2006:10); Mafela (2009: 239), also recognise that formal education contributes significantly to socio-economic progress as it gives awareness and necessary skills to perform crucial services and develop national wealth. However, despite universal agreement on how important education is to the well-being of the people, literature has demonstrated that the San children across Southern Africa face serious difficulties in getting a formal education (Mafela, 2009:239).

The common problem is the fact that San children are compelled to learn in non-San languages, such as other national local languages including official languages like English and Portuguese. These languages are believed by the policy makers to be the languages that matter in formal education as stated by a number of authors, including those cited in (Ketsitlile, 2011:198). In that view, many governments have failed to recognise indigenous education methods, standards and competences (Crawhall, 2006: 5). The surprising fact is that many constitutions of different countries in Africa give the citizens the right to receive education in an official language of their choice, but the San language is not included in any of the official languages of those countries (Hitchcock and Vinding, 2004:7).

Mafela (2009:239), points out that the reluctance of governments to acknowledge the San diversity and their unique culture and language has further impacted on San confidence, self-esteem, self-concept and overall identity. Such a situation has negatively contributed to their retention and performance as well as progress in schools (UNICEF, 2000). A study carried out in Botswana revealed that San students found English very difficult and, this has turned formal education into a painful and insincere journey (Ketsitlile, 2011:198).

Moreover, the curriculum policies, teaching and learning materials mirror the dominant non-San culture, language and histories (Mafela, 2009:239) in this way, leading to the reflection of domination and subordination. Such a tendency contributes to San children’s demoralisation, and consequently they drop out from school at an early stage hence, not surprisingly, very few San have successfully reached tertiary institutions (UNICEF, 2000; Ketsilile, Bulawa and Kgathi, 2013: 48).
It is equally recounted that the San children are discriminated against, marginalised and poorly treated at schools (Sammy and Christopher, 2005: 75; Mafela, 2009:239). Until recently the governments of Southern Africa did very little to guarantee San access to formal education. For instance, the colonial government in Namibia treated San as “primitive” people, and the government saw no priority for them to attend formal education (Suzman, 2001:18). Equally in Botswana, very few San enrolled at school before the implementation of the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP) towards the end of 1980. In addition, with the emergency of cash economy, children who wear poor quality clothes are regarded as poor, and in many instances San children fall into that category (Sammy and Christopher, 2005: 75; Crawhall, 2006:5). In the same article Crawhal states consequently San children are normally laughed at, and as a result they are alienated into their own world, become frightened, confused and bored at school.

Given the above scenario, there is an urgent appeal from concerned writers such as Ketsilile, et al. (2013: 48) that there is a necessity for an Africa-centred pedagogy to embark on issues that need to bring changes in schools’ orientations, in order to improve the lives of African people, regardless of who they are. The idea is not how the government should force the San children to go to school, but rather it is in which way formal education could add value to their lives (Crawhall, 2006:5).

2.8 THE SAN AND HEALTH

Although data on the current health status of indigenous people, including the San, is not up-to-date, there is a general consensus that indigenous people, including the San, experience serious health challenges (Ohenjo, at al., 2006:1938). A study conducted on indigenous people's health in Africa in 2006, with focus on Pygmies of Central Africa and the San of Southern Africa, revealed that indigenous people in Africa have little access to health care (Ohenjo, at al., 2006:1937). The African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR) in 2005, has characterised them as the most vulnerable groups on the continent as far as health issues are concerned.

In a separate investigation carried out by the medical journal in 2009, “The Lancet” on the health of indigenous people worldwide, findings show that health conditions of the indigenous groups range as the worst compared to other poorest communities in the countries
where indigenous people reside (Cook and Sarkin, 2009:105). The San people are not an exception to these conditions. According to Sylvain (2007: 20), the San health condition is strongly linked to their marginalisation and poverty. In the same article, Sylvain notes that the common diseases found in the San community are tuberculosis, Malaria, and malnutrition. With tuberculosis being such a severe problem, it is easily transmitted in situations characterised by over-crowdedness and lack of sanitation, where the San tend to live. Moreover, those who reside in remote areas have difficulties in reaching the clinics and hospitals. Long distances prevent them from getting access to treatment, or prevent them from completing a course of treatment, in this way contributing to greater danger of multi-drug resistance for some dangerous diseases such as Tuberculosis and Human Immunodeficiency Virus / Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome HIV/AIDS.

As it is well explained by Cook and Sarkin (2009:105), the reasons behind precarious health conditions among the San include either reduced access to health care or because the San can only get access to inferior health care. Taking a broader view, the ACHPR in Ohenjo, et al., (2006:1944), describes indigenous people’s health conditions as follows:

...the infrastructure in most areas occupied by Indigenous people is either lacking or is inadequate. Social services such as schools and health facilities are few and far in between, while the roads and other physical infrastructure is equal poor. This has had a negative impact on the staffing levels and quality of services offered. As a result illiteracy levels and mortality rates in such areas are higher than national averages”.

Other evidence shows that socio-economic difficulties experienced by the San in general, such as land dispossession, automatically weaken their health status, mainly because by losing the land and other resources, they find it difficult to uphold their traditional livelihood, culture, knowledge, and institutions that are all-important for their well-being and survival (Cook and Sarkin, 2009).

According to Ohenjo et al. (2006: 1937) many African rural communities' primary health care is limited or it operates in a rudimentary way, and some have been devastated by armed conflict. In a similar view, Indigenous people mainly reside in isolated distant areas where the government is yet to invest in basic social services (Cook and Sarkin, 2009:104). Consequently Indigenous people, especially children and youth, have no access to health care. Against this background, evidences illustrates that the life expectancy at birth for the Indigenous groups is “basically between ten and twenty years lower than that of the rest of
the world population.” Moreover child mortality is 1.5 to 3 times higher than the national average (Cook and Sarkin, 2009:104).

According to an assessment on the Status of the San in Southern Africa, health care in the southern part of Angola until 2001 was generally poor (Suzman, 2001:65). During the assessment, a San person from Omulunga (Southern Angola) complained of not having health infrastructure in the area, and of not having seen the mobile health team from central provincial hospital for the past 25 years, as supported by Suzman in the same article. Such evidence does not necessarily indicate discrimination against San, but does indicate the lack of health care services capacity in general.

The contributions to this point of Sylvain (2007:19), are that in remote areas of Southern Angola, health care service is not only prevented by war-torn-infrastructure but also by widespread landmines that are yet to be removed. It is also a verified truth that San access to medical services is restricted by racial/ethnic discrimination. San have voiced it that health officials ignore and sometimes insult them, and only offer poor health care to them (Sylvain, 2007:19).

Alcohol abuse and domestic violence are common among the San community. Ohenjo et al. (2006: 1937) note that because of cultural disruption, loss of land, resources and communities networks, alcohol consumption among the San, especially among those in forced resettlements, is an increasing problem which indeed is contributing to a rise in domestic and gender violence to excessive abuse.

Although the exact data on HIV/AIDS prevalence among the San is scarce, HIV prevalence among the San in Southern Africa is alleged to be lower than in the dominant population (Sylvain, 2007:20). However major concerns are that the rise of alcohol abuse among the San community can greatly increase HIV infection among the San. Other similar concerns are that San women are promiscuous and generally sexually available, makes them vulnerable for HIV infections (Ohenjo, et al., 2006: 1943). Just like Ohenjo et al. Sylvain (2007:20), argues that because of social and economic hardship, San are forced to go to urban and rural slums, where there is a high risk of sex work and rape that increases their vulnerability to HIV infection, mainly in San women.

As one may expect, San people are very vulnerable to epidemic diseases; they tend to be poorly equipped to manage or to prevent a disease such as HIV/AIDS and TB. (Ohenjo et al.
(2006:1941; Suzman, 2001:40). In the same article Ohenjo et al. points out that vulnerability is a problem of poverty, stemming from San marginalisation, discrimination and not enough support from the government. Unless the San are fully recognised and empowered on equal level with the dominant group, they will be far from secure in an equitable livelihood in their communities (Suzman, 2001).

2.9 THE SAN: POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

It is commonly stated in many literature comments that poverty is the clearest index of the status of the San (Suzman, 2001:9). This is not a unique phenomenon of the San only, but is a tendency across Indigenous people regardless of whether they live in a less developed or developed country (Cook and Sarkin, 2009:105). In Canada, for instance, 40% of the indigenous populations live in poverty, which is double the national average, with an unemployment rate of over 30%, compared to the national rate of 8% (Cook and Sarkin, 2009:105).

Suzman (2001:9), also stresses that the Southern African San population are characterised by high unemployment, leading to begging and permanent dependence on welfare services (where available). The majority of San live as squatters close to major villages and townships, as labourer and herd boys on the farms of landowners, turning into subordinates or master/servant relations’ dependency. Otherwise they live in designated settlements, forced into a sedentary lifestyle in a society that is not ready for this drastic change, owing to little or no group organisation and limited access to education that does not acknowledge their own language – a situation that renders them extremely vulnerable (Nthomang, 2002:508).

According to Suzman (2001: 9), until recently, maintaining the San lifestyle has been due to their ability to remain partly independent on the formal subsistence economy as autonomous hunters-gatherers. In the same article, Suzman, argues that, loss of autonomy, aggravated by no access to land, and an increased sedentary lifestyle over a period of time, have deprived the San of an improved life, and have led to high dependency.

The global marginalisation, lack of access to quality health care and education, their exclusion from political, social and economic spheres has inevitably contributed to extreme poverty in the San community. This gives a clear indication of the need for unique protection (Cook and Sarkin, 2009:105).
2.10 THE SAN AND CAPABILITY

It seems that non-indigenous people in the African countries have adapted to changing realities and environments, at the same time preserving their traditions and customs. However, indigenous communities, including the San people, have suffered and are still suffering from changes which have disrupted their traditional lifestyles and means of substance. Kenyan pastoralists, the Masai people, “feel especially attached to the land because they depend on its resources for the survival of the herds and people, and without it, they cannot survive outside the pastoral sector” (Barume, 2010: 57).

Suzman (2001:1), agrees that the majority of the San populace have been struggling and still struggle to adjust to the rapid transformation of the world in which they lack de jure rights to land, compelling them to depend totally on welfare in the form of food aid or badly paid jobs, because they lack the skills needed to contest in the global political economy.

2.11 THE SAN OF SOUTHERN ANGOLA

The San of Southern Angola survived the prolonged civil war that lasted for nearly three decades, The civil war that took 27 years to end, is estimated to have caused approximately 500 000 lives, and more than 4 million displaced people (Pedro, 2010:63). In the same article Pedro stated that many people, mainly—rural population including the San, were forced to seek refugee status in the neighbouring countries such as Namibia, Botswana and Zambia.

It has been stated that, even after some number of years after the end of the war 2002, challenges faced by rural people as a result of civil conflicts are far from over (Clover, 2005:348). Until 2005, more than three quarters of the Angolan population survived on less than one dollar a day, and most of this number were rural people. According to Clover in the same article, 85 percent of the rural populace survive on subsistence agriculture, with no other sustainable income base outside this. Despite the fact that the war ended, the San of Southern Angola continue to suffer the effects of political violation, marginalisation and internal displacement (Sylvain, 2007:6).

Clover (2005:348), adds that, despite some efforts being made by the government to overcome poverty in rural areas, the situation in those areas continues be harsh, for various causes hampering rural recovery and development. Clove further argues that these include the
problematic limited and uneven construction and rehabilitation of social and economic infrastructures, such as roads, bridges, health care facilities, and education, due to inadequate funding by the government, and the inaccessibility of remote areas because of landmines.

A study done on an assessment of the status of the San in Southern Africa found that the San in Southern Angola, unlike in other parts of Southern Africa, the San are confronted by serious social and economic problems including food insecurity, extreme discrimination, and poor health conditions because they have no access to medical services (Pakleppa and Kwononoka 2003). According to Suzman (2001:65), until 2000, Southern Angola as whole region lacked immunisation coverage against disease that was threatening the health of the general population, including the San.

Because of the civil war which caused the displacement of millions of people and the encroachment of Bantu-speaking people to the San territories, the San have lost their land rights and are prevented from getting access to their means of survival (Sylvain, 2007:18). Moreover, it is projected that the resettlement of more than 4 million displaced people and close to 400 000 repatriated refugees from neighbouring countries, as well as the demobilisation of the approximately 80 000 soldiers, is increasing the competition for land and resources, which can further worsen the socio-economic conditions of the San, a population which is already vulnerable.

According to Sylvain (2007:19), the traumatic experience of conflict war, unemployment, and loss of land rights, has caused frustration, misery, and widespread alcohol abuse among the San in Southern Angola. Given the context above, attention is brought to investigating the measures in place that are allowing the San of Southern Angola to survive socio-economically. Many writers on the topic have offered contradictions and have failed to come to a conclusion about the socio-economic health and education status of the Southern Angolan San.

According to Suzman (2001) and Kirstie and Thembela (2013: 813), there are few, if any, San still depending on hunting and gathering. Such conclusive statements have resulted from evidence that many governments have passed environmental and ecological laws that make hunting illegal, and strengthen the stigma associated with hunting practices, the San have refrained from the activities which have characterised their economic survival since the beginning of human history (Suzman, 2001; Kirstie and Thembela, 2013: 813).
However, Mikkelsen (2010: 540) maintains that the majority of the San in Southern Angola are surviving as hunter-gatherers because they have no other economic opportunities, and as yet the Government of Angola has not passed welfare programmes or policies aimed at improving the lives of these special category groups. The San are in a difficult situation, as are other vulnerable groups such as the elderly, the vulnerable, and children, who do not share the normal practices of casual distribution of food and/or clothes given to those category groups.

Mikkelsen has failed to consider other probable factors, such as the fact that the same ecological and environmental setting that the San depend on for survival has been over-used and degraded. Suzman (2001:66), because of the 27 years of civil war in Angola, wild animals have been killed, and collecting sites for the veld products have been destroyed; natural resources such as manketti nuts, mopane worms and naxani have been exterminated.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) estimated in 2000 that 78% of the Angolan rural population lives in absolute poverty (Rocha, 2002). Included in this figure is the San population, as they are all rural-based. Such conditions dominating the literature are worrying, and an investigation into the situation is worthwhile.

2.12 THE SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF THE SAN IN SOUTHERN ANGOLA

2.12.1 Hunting and gathering

The San were often defined in economic terms as hunter-gatherers, and often considered to be a picture of “authenticity” or as people living a “primitive” life, that of humanity’s ancestors (Hitchcock et al., 2006:1). During the era of hunting and gathering, the San were believed to have survived well, but not long ago, their unique characteristic of nomadism lifestyle was said to constitute a status of vulnerability among them, following the decrease of resources in the forest, either due to climatic change or degradation of the forest caused by armed conflicts, or because of the restrictions resulting from government policy regulations in countries where the San live, including Angola (Nahinda, 2011:508).

Whether the San in Southern Angola are still mainly surviving in hunting and gathering, this study hopes to find out. Certainly, the San find it difficult to sustain the lives of their communities, given that infringements of their natural lands and territories by dominant
groups, and the inability to compete with the rest of general population, leave them no choice other than “mendacity and exploitation by the members of the other communities for whom they are obliged to work with little, if any, remuneration” (Nahinda, 2011:508; Sylvain 2002:1076).

2.12.2 Subsistence agriculture

The San loss of control and freedom over their ancestral territories, including access to natural resources such as wildlife and veld products, which used to be primary sources of their livelihood, has caused a dramatic change in their lifestyle for the past two millennia (Mafela, 2009: 235). In other words, whereas the San used to survive merely on hunting and gathering since the history of human kind, in the present, because of government policies on land use and management, climate change, and socio-economic transformation across the world, they have succumbed to a sedentary or semi-sedentary lifestyle in order to achieve their livelihood goals (Mafela, 2009: 236). Few San have not only incorporated themselves into the majority society, but they have gradually embraced activities which belonged dominantly to non-San people, such as farming production.

In many regions of Africa, subsistence agriculture is the core source of food production and constitutes the main survival strategy among rural people. The 2008 World Development Report (World Bank, 2007) as cited in Baiphethi and Jacobs (2009: 469), states that agricultural production is vital for food security because it constitutes the major source of income for the rural poor people. The same report indicates that agriculture is still the main source of livelihood for about 86% of the rural population in sub-Saharan Africa.

Baiphethi and Jacobs (2009: 474), observe that, in the absence of diversified activities mainly in rural areas and due to the tendency of price increases of market foods, subsistence agriculture is important to improve household food security and fight poverty. Because of this, Baiphethi and Jacobs in the same article state that the South African government, for example, “places particular importance on subsistence agriculture.”

It then makes sense to mention that subsistence agriculture has become a core source of survival strategies for the San, as it offers a means of subsistence at family level. A study conducted in Namibia, in Western Caprivi, shows that for much of the San’s recent history, they depend partially on subsistence farming for their economic survival (Suzman, 2001).
The same study indicates that few San cultivate crops, and own a few large and small livestock, such as cattle, goats and sheep. In Angola, some San cultivate Mahangu (millet), watermelon, pumpkin and groundnuts (Suzman, 2001: 66).

Nevertheless, Suzman in the article emphasised that, although the San are practising subsistence farming in place of hunting and gathering, their yearly recurring total harvest has been estimated as not exceeding 13-20 kg per person per year, a quantity totally insufficient to provide for family needs. Moreover, their livestock are likely to die whenever there is an outbreak of contagious bovine pleuro-pneumonia and diseases that attack crops (Suzman, 2001: 66). Suzman is not sure to what degree the San social skills and knowledge are useful and relevant to undertake changing lifestyle, but he suggests that they may need to expand their range of skills in order to succeed in certain activities which were not part of their traditional and cultural lifestyle (Suzman, 2001:30).

2.12.3 Diversified livelihood activities as a survival strategy

Although agricultural production continues to be important for rural livelihoods, people mainly in rural areas have embarked on diverse activities in order to increase and stabilise their incomes. In other words, rural livelihoods are presently not relying only on agricultural opportunities but rather on a varied range of activities and enterprises (Baiphethi and Jacobs, 2009: 460). The degree to which rural households depend on non-farming activities varies from country to country. For instance, a study of rural villages in Tanzania has shown that, on average, half of the household income comes from crops and livestock and the other half comes from non-farm activities such as wages, employment, self-employment, and remittances (Baiphethi and Jacobs, 2009: 460). Another study of eleven Latin American countries (Reardon et al. 2001 as quoted by Baiphethi and Jacobs 2009: 460) shows that non-farm income accounted for as much as 40% of rural household incomes.

Combining of cash-based employment and income-generation, including craft production, is among the most important diversified livelihood activities employed by the San (Hitchcock, et al., 2011: 80). Mafela (2009: 237) and Sylvain (2008:16), take a similar view, maintaining that for the San to sustain their livelihood, they are compelled to work as labourers and cattle herders for the dominant ethnic groups, where in many instances they work under harsh and
exploitative conditions, with low wage or is paid but only payment in kind (Suzman, 2001:47; Morapedi 2007:354).

Other activities undertaken by the San involve moving into the outskirts of towns to seek for menial jobs (Hitchcock, et al., 2011:76). Accordingly, social grants constitute one of the main sources of livelihood for the San (where it is applicable; this is not the case in Angola) (Thondhlana, Vedeld and Shackleton, 2012:468). It is, however, argued that high dependence on social grants gives a clear indication that most of the San are poor as a consequence of limited job opportunities (Thondhlana, et al., 2012:468). According to Suzman (2001: 47), the San in Southern Angola are dependent on unreliable sources of income and the Ovakwanhama (local non-San ethnic group) often offer them food when they are hungry and a little cash when they are carrying water to the Ovakwanhama households.

2.12.4 Engaging in business

At the present day, some San of Southern African countries are also active in engaging in different business activities as a survival strategy. The adoption of other national languages including official languages by the San, has facilitated communication, interaction, and employment, and it has increased socio-cultural mobility among them (Mafela, 2009:237). The communication and interaction resulting from learning a language has smoothed trading between the San and the rest of the society.

However, although many San in different countries face no language barrier with the rest of ethnic majorities, which is good for business, unfortunately the types of business the San mainly do are on a low scale, which is inadequate to sustain family livelihood (Hitchcock, et al., 2011: 76). To this end San normally sell handicraft objects, wild animal meat, thatching grass, and firewood. It is critical to learn from this study the extent to which majority of the San in Angola are able to engage in business with the rest of society, in the light of the conclusion that the majority of them live in isolated, inaccessible remote areas (Mikkelsen, 2010:540)
2.13 CONCLUSION

Drawing from the literature reviewed, clear evidence shows pain and anguish in the indigenous people across the world. Most indigenous people are faced with problems of survival. Issues such as land dispossession, discrimination, and marginalisation in most society, are too much for an individual to bear. As a result, the indigenous peoples, among them the San people of Southern Africa including the San of Southern Angola, have not escaped poverty. The San of Southern Africa, who, at one point in the history of humankind were characterised as hunter-gatherers, have been forced to adopt a sedentary way of life in order to survive.

The San of Southern Angola are no exception. They continue to face social and economic challenges, in part caused by the aftermath of prolonged civil war. Up to today, many of them still roam the wilderness of the forest, while waiting for the government to look their way for (Mikkelsen, 2010: 541). For some the San to sustain their households, subsistence agriculture as well as the diversified livelihood activities like farming and cash-based employment including engagement in small business has become a norm for the San survival strategies in recent years.

The literature reviewed has shed light on a number of issues pertaining to the San as Indigenous people. It has also portrayed social, economic and cultural challenges that are uniquely faced by the San. However, the literature has not been able to generate substantial information on the specific survival strategies engaged in by the San of Southern Angola. Some literature has been contradictory, and some has failed to come to a clear conclusion about the socio-economic, health and education status of the Southern Angolan San. This study seeks to bridge the gap and present findings centered on empirical research into how this group has survived, taking into account the specifications of a country that has faced social unrest for more than two decades.
3 METHODOLOGY, RESEARCH DESIGN AND RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the research methodology employed in this study with the aim of collecting data essential to understand the survival strategies of the San at Kafima Centre and Etale La Mulavi San communities in Oshimolo Local District in Cuanhama Municipality District, in Angola. The study used a qualitative method as the most suitable type of research for this kind of study. It also describes the sampling methods, data collection and data analysis employed in the study. Finally, it includes ethical considerations that were taken into account during interviews; subsequent use of the data and dissemination of data.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Babbie and Mouton (2009:75), research design is a plan or an outline that indicates how the researcher intends to conduct a study. From this perspective, research design is a plan of action that leads logically from point of departure to execution phase to end result.

3.3 RESEARCH METHODS

This research used qualitative, descriptive method, as it is thought to be the most appropriate to provide instruments, techniques and tools required to achieve the aims and objectives of the study. Somekh and Lewin (2011:53), define a qualitative case study as an intensive tool for an in-depth enquiry, comprehending the case rather than generalising about an entire population. In addition, Henning (2004:41) suggests that the interest is in discovery rather than confirmation.

Case studies are differentiated from other forms of qualitative research in the sense that they are intensive studies, that investigate a single unit or bounded system (Henning, 2004:41; Babbie and Mouton, 2009:280), with the purpose of shedding light on a larger class of cases (a population) (Gerring, 2007:20). Based on Henning (2004:41), and Babbie and Mouton’s (2009:280) definitions, the case study was suitable because it focuses on the experience of the San livelihood as they differ from the general population. Thus, this specificity makes it a
good design for practical problems or situations as it enabled the researcher to obtain rich information on what constituted unidentified survival strategies of the San in Southern Angola given their social, economic and political marginalisation and widespread poverty.

Somekh and Lewin (2011:54), call a qualitative case study “particularly descriptive, inductive, and eventually heuristic.” The authors further explain that qualitative study illuminates researcher viewpoints over an issue, as it examines the complexity of the phenomenon. Qualitative case study normally imply question such as “what is going on here?” before attempting to account for the phenomenon (Somehk and Lewin 2011). Moreover, qualitative method is applicable in the description of small groups or communities and organisations (Welman and Kruger, 1999; and Henning, 2004). This statement corresponds with the fact that the San are an indigenous minorities group in Angola, who live in isolated small settlements or communities.

The qualitative method of inquiry was chosen as it was meant to catch the complexity of the phenomenon embedded in this study. (Erickson 2011:23) indicates that qualitative questioning strategies have the potential to illuminate the invisible world of everyday life, making the stranger familiar. This design emphasises the importance of looking at variables in their natural setting, and seeking to understand people’s interpretations.

Case studies have several merits including Kaplan and Maxwell’s (1994:102), views that the goal of understanding a phenomenon from the point of view of participants and its particular social and institutional context is largely lost when textual data is quantified rather than qualified case studies. Morse (2001:1), claims that qualitative case study methods “smooth out” contradictions and are a strategy for collecting images of reality.

Some researchers (Creswell, 1994; Du Plooy 2001), on the other hand, hold an opposite view of case study research. They argue that this type of research is biased, pseudo-scientific, and contains too much unnecessary information. They further argue that while traditional methods allow making assumptions and drawing universal solutions, case studies cannot be generalised and held valid, because of difficulty with testing the results that are context-specific.

Other weaknesses of case study methodology lie in high costs for the information to be gathered. The thick description implies that an in-depth research is made on each subject of the study, which is considered expensive and unnecessary by many specialists. This makes
case studies unreasonably expensive, time-consuming and difficult when it comes to large-scale projects where a significant number of subjects are intended to participate. Therefore, the large amount of investment required in a project often makes it unreasonable to conduct a case study research (Morse, 2001:11). One can observe that case studies as a method of qualitative research have both strengths and weaknesses. The advocates of this methodology emphasise that case studies, unlike statistical data, case studies allow the fostering of creativity and innovation, and leave space for new ideas, models, theories, approaches, and conclusions.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

3.4.1 Interviews

In this study, semi-structured face-to-face individual and focus group interviews were used for collection of primary data from two San communities as well as from government officials. Semi-structured interviews were chosen because they invite interviewees to express themselves openly and freely (Neville, 2007:21).

The interview as a tool for data collection allows the researcher to interact with the individuals with whom the interview is conducted, and is an attempt to understand how they experience their life world and how they make sense of what is happening to them (Welman and Kruger, 1999:196). Semi-structured interviews “are particularly well-suited for case study research’ (Njageh, 2009:41). Qualitative study interviews have an advantage as they allow the researcher a unique opportunity to engage with participants in fairly intimate ways (Bike, Ojeda, Johnson, Rosales and Flores (2013: 15), and this allows the interviewers to see the world through the “eye” of the interviewees (Maree, 2007:87) as the interviewer is able to capture both verbal and nonverbal communication, and at the same time is able to observe the surrounding environment (Neuman, 2011:339). Another advantage of this technique is that it allows the participants to be interviewed on a number of separate occasions (Struwig and Stead, 2001:100). Interviews, according to Silverman (1993) in Leedy and Ormrod (2005: 146), yield a great deal of useful information.
3.4.2 **Focus group**

Two focus groups, one at each San community were collectively interview to obtain maximum information. Maree (2007: 90), sees a focus group as an important source of sharing information as the group tends to be fruitful in widening the responses brought forward by different group members, by referring to forgotten details of live experience and encouraging members’ disclosures that may not be achieved with other research methods. Struwing and Stead (2013;103), stress that the advantages of focus group include providing a secure environment that enables participants to participate freely. This allows the topic to be thoroughly explored and discussed exhaustively. In addition, a focus group provides the researcher with unanticipated information which may be important for the study.

The advantages of focus group are favorable, but it goes without saying that a focus group as a method of data collection also presents disadvantages. According to Maree (2007:91), group samples are ordinarily small, so they may not be representative enough. Moreover, Maree in the same article states that data collected in the group may hold bias because of outspoken members’ domination over other less confident members. The semi-structured open-ended interview guide was developed by the researcher with a list of themes and areas to be covered according to the objectives of this study.

3.4.3 **Observation**

Participant observations were conducted using a camera and tape recorder to capture discussion as well as non-verbal clues that would have been difficult to remember during interviews.

3.4.4 **Documentary Review**

A literature review has been used for collection of secondary data. It is important to restate that the San of Southern Angola are part of a bigger community of San in Southern Africa and also of indigenous people across the globe. Thus, a literature review was an important resource to trace commonalities and differences among the San of Southern Africa and indigenous people in general.
Documents are data from the archives which are in the public domain, such as different governmental and local municipal departments. As deemed necessary, these documents were examined by the researcher and included material extracted from internet and unrestricted records that had information relating to the survival strategies of indigenous people in general, and specifically of the San in Angola.

This method was chosen to get meaningful answers to the research questions and enhance validity and reliability (Du Plooy, 2001). With combined information from interviews, and from documents, the study is expected to provide important information gathered from multiple data sources that enhance trustworthiness. The information was then “summarised and interpreted” in order to address the research questions under investigation (Hancock and Algozzine, 2006). With the inclusion of document analysis, triangulation was ensured, and by using it, the strength of one procedure compensated for the weakness of another approach (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche, and Delcourt 2005:314). Triangulation is a technique of enhancing research reliability through the use of multiple research methods. Denzin, as quoted by (De Vos et al., 2005) claims that by combining methods and investigators in the same study, researchers can partially overcome the deficiencies that flow from one investigator or method. According to Babbie (2002:107), in ideal circumstances, a research project should always bring more than a single research method to bear on a topic.

A significant aspect of the study relied on a data-collection approach based on secondary data. An extensive and critical analysis was made of a literature review of scholarly texts on Indigenous people, the San people, an international instrument governing the rights of the Indigenous people, and survival strategies employed elsewhere by the San.

3.5 RESEARCH SAMPLE

The study used the purposive non-probability sampling method. According to Johnnie (2011:73), purposive sampling is an essential subjective selection of certain members of the population that a researcher is interested in, usually determined by the expertise or the knowledge the researcher has in the subject matter under study. The researcher stipulates information which needs to be gathered and enquires to find out people who are able and willing to provide the information by virtue of knowledge or experience relevant to the research questions (Maree, 2007:80). However, the limitation of purposive sampling is that it
can give the possibility for the researcher to wrongly choose participants who may not be suitable for the study (Gillham, 2000). With that in mind, the researcher contacted the local Municipality of Oshimolo, to assign an official who was responsible for the social and economic sector and who then assisted in providing a sample of suitable participants in two communities. Non-probability sampling is regarded as the only sampling method that makes a possible representative sampling design (Jakuja, 2009: 72).

This study had as its main target the population of the San people at Cuanhama Municipality District, at Oshimolo local Municipality at Kafima Centre and Etale La Mulavi San communities in Cunene Province in Angola. A semi-structured interview was conducted by means of the purposive sampling method. Participants from both San communities, who possessed knowledge and experience of activities that render means of survival to the households, were selected to provide meaningful information.

The Member of Executive Council (MEC) of Heath, of Assistance and Social Re-integration and official for local government at Oshimolo local Municipality District responsible for social and economic sector, were all interviewed as key informants. The researcher judged that they would provide the best information to address the research purpose not only because they possess the knowledge relevant to the study at hand but, also because they were all officially responsible for programmes and projects aimed at improving rural remote areas and marginalised people in general.

Focus groups based on gender were formed, using criterion sampling. Criterion sampling was chosen to allow the selection of participants most likely to have experience or know-how, or who had an understanding of the research at hand (Maree, 2007:80). One focused group based on gender categorisation was formed and interviewed at each San community to gather information on the life experiences among the San. At Kafima Centre San community the focus group was formed of male participants, while at Etale La Mulavi San community was of female participants. The reason for using purposive sampling was to allow participants of the same gender groups to freely interact, discuss, and share their experiences as members of a similar community characterised by poverty.

The San have distinctly different gender roles based on division of labour. Traditionally, women are gatherers while men are hunters. According to Suzman (2001:2), women San are likely to suffer considerable discrimination from their broader national societies and from
within their communities. They are discriminated against as San, as women, and as San women.

Thus, focus groups contained both genders. This was to observe how both men and women regarded an experience, idea or event. The integration among members provided more in-depth and richer information than a single interview, as they could build on each other’s ideas and interpretations.

The study interviewed a total population consisting of 18 participants, 10 face-to-face individuals and 8 in a focus group of males at Kafima Centre San community and 16 participants, 9 face-to-face individuals and 7 in a focus group at Etale La Mulavi San community as well as three key informants as earlier, namely: The Member of Executive Council of Heath, Social Assistance and Social Re-integration and official for local government at Oshimolo local Municipality District responsible for social and economic sector.

3.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

As stipulated in the research proposal, this study was initially supposed to take place in two different municipalities Districts, Cunhama and Onamakunde Municipalities, but the reality in the field indicated that the San community in Onamakunde District was inaccessible due to the absence of roads and the landmines left by the warring parties during the civil war, which could be dangerous. The Provincial government then suggested replacing the Onamakunde San community with Etale La Mulavi San community in the same Cuanhama District area, which was appropriate.

During the visit to the San communities, some of the San people demanded rewards for the information given, either in cash for those at Kafima or food for those at Etale La Mulavi San communities. The researcher politely informed the participants that the study did not make provision for rewards. However, for those who demanded food, the researcher took up the point with the local government as well as with the Directorate of Social Assistance and Social Reintegration as a matter of emergency, to find a way to send food assistance to the San at Etale La Mulavi as the situation in terms of food shortages evidently looked critical, especially among children and breastfeeding mothers.
It was challenging and very risky to get to Etale La Mulavi location, because there were no roads and the risk of stepping on a landmine was very high. Current statistics on population including the San were not available, as Angola had just conducted its general population and housing censuses early this year, after the country’s independence in 1975. The researcher relied on the statistics provided by the Municipality official although some of the data may have been inaccurate.

The interview with the San was conducted in Oshiwambo and with the key informants in Portuguese as none of them could communicate in English, and the translation from both languages into English was time-consuming for the researcher.

3.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical considerations are specifications on a set of basic ethical principles (Burnham, Karin, Wyn, and Zig, 2004:253) that are set to guide research. The research was not meant to cause harm to participants and was not violating community or professional standards of conduct in line with (Kervin 1992:38). Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill (2003:131), summarise the main issues to consider as the rights of privacy of individuals. These include, firstly, the voluntary nature of participation and the rights of participants to withdraw partially or completely from the process. Secondly, the maintenance of the confidentiality of participants who provide data and security of their anonymity is paramount. Third there are reactions of participants to the ways in which researchers seek to collect data, the effects on participants of the way in which data is analysed and reported, and the behaviour and objectivity of the researcher (Neville, 2007:35). The approaches by Saunders et al. (2003) were adhered to in order “to reconcile the conflict that may arise between the approaches on moral duties and on utilitarianism” (Burnham, et al., 2004:253).
This chapter discussed methods and instruments employed in carrying out the study. Four data collection methods, namely semi-structured, face-to-face interview, focus group interview, field observation and documentary study methods were used to collect both primary and secondary information about the survival strategies of the San in two different communities. It also described the sampling methods used to select subsets from the generic population. The chapter highlighted the ethical standards followed in the study. The findings resulting from using these methods are presented in the succeeding chapter.
4 DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents data analysis and interpretations of the findings on the study about survival strategies of the San people in Angola. The analysis and discussion are presented in sections, starting with demographic information of the San people, and next, a discussion of themes and sub-themes that were extracted from research interviews. The data presented was collected using interviews from two San communities with a total number of 34 participants, 10 face-to-face individuals, and one focus group of eight participants at Kafima Centre San community, and in addition nine face-to-face individuals, and one focus group of seven participants at Etale La Mulavi San community. In addition, three “key informants” were interviewed, representing different sectors at provincial and local government level.

4.2 DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

4.2.1 Respondents age

When participants at Kafima Centre community were asked about their ages, 17 of 18 interviewees did not know their ages; only one participant, who was 29 years old, knew his age. The main reason for this tremendous exception is that he was born in a mixed ethnic group. He had a Bantu father and a San mother, and was brought up under the care of his father. Being a half-Bantu, he was enrolled at a school where he managed to study up to Grade seven. In the Etale La Mulavi San community, none of the participants knew their ages. Not only did they not know their ages, but also the ages of their dependants in the household. These findings, although surprising, simply portray the extent to which the illiteracy rate has affected the San people.

The findings support the studies by Sylvain (2002: 1974), Ohenjo et al., (2006: 1941), and Cook (Sarkin, 2009) indicating that the majority of the San people, being an Indigenous group, are illiterate. This has denied the San people the merits and information that education gives.
4.2.2 Gender

The study at both San communities engaged both male and female participants. At Kafima Centre 67% of the respondents were male whereas 33% were female (see Figure 2). At Etale La Mulavi 77% of the respondents were female while 23% were male (see Figure 3).

Figure 2: Gender profile of the participants at Kafima Centre

Figure 3: Gender profile of the participants at Etale La Mulavi San communities
At Kafima, a special visit was paid to the San who had relocated to commercial farms in pursuit of work. Eventually there were more males who counted able-bodied than females, meaning that the physically stronger majority, both young and middle-aged men, were advantaged. On the contrary, at Etale La Mulavi, there were more females, because many men had gone to hunt.

4.3 ACCESS TO EDUCATION

The study revealed that at both communities children were not enrolled at school, with the exception of one single child who was at the time of the study enrolled at school at Kafima Centre San community. The child was under the care and guardianship of a Bantu school teacher. The key informant, the local government official responsible for social and economic sector, referred to the San children’s non-attendance at school in the following words:

.....Shortly after the end of the prolonged, nearly three decades, civil war that had significantly delayed the progress of human capital, the provincial and local government had tried to implement education for “all”—not only for the San, but also for other citizens, mainly from the rural areas. However, until today there is no adherence to education from the San community. In the beginning of each year, three or four San children may turn up for registration but will only attend lessons for two or four weeks, then drop out.

The findings appear shocking with regard to San children’s access to education, These findings are analogous with the view that despite universal agreement on the importance of formal education, children of the San across southern Africa still face many impediments in enrolling into formal education (Mafela, 2009:239).

4.3.1 Reasons hindering the San children access to formal education

The participants from both communities were asked for possible reasons preventing the children from schooling, and several factors were given as indicated in Table 1 below.
Table: 1 Reasons hindering the San children from going to school at Kafima Centre and Etale la Mulavi San communities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme 1 : Reasons hindering San children from going to school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kafima Centre</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Hunger at school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Stigmatization</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Poverty</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

4.3.1.1 Hunger at school

Hunger at school was the common reason cited by the participants as a hindering factor contributing to school non-attendance in Kafima Centre San community. Most participants indicated that the children do not attend school because they go hungry at school; they go without breakfast to school for those in the morning session or/and without lunch for those schooling in the afternoon session as the families have no food in their homes.

The official, reported that San allege, each time they are asked to send their children to school, that Bantu children go to school with “oshikundu” (homemade nutritive soft drink made out of grain crops) while their children are unable to afford, because there is no food in their home. Suzman (2001:17) says that there are many barriers for the San to get access to formal education. Poverty, and its associate hunger, is one predominant factor that prevents their children from getting an education. This is even worse for the children at Kafima Centre, because hunger to them is a dichotomous experience – hunger at school as well as hunger back home.

Findings on the assessment of the status of the San in Southern Africa reveal that unlike elsewhere in Southern Africa, the San in Southern Angola are confronted by food insecurity among other socioeconomic problems (Pakleppa and Kwononoka 2003). This could be partly because of the civil war that took 27 years of armed conflict and caused many internal displacements, destroyed agricultural land, and instead left landmines yet to be cleared.

Many efforts have been made by the Directorate of Assistance and Social Re-integration to periodically distribute food to the most impoverished people, most of whom are the San people, but it appear that the distribution of food is not a sustainable rationale, because it creates a dependency syndrome.
4.3.1.2 Stigmatisation and discrimination

A participant in a focus group pointed out that another motive impeding enrolment in school was stigmatisation, which led to discrimination and further isolation. The participant emphasised that their children were never at peace in closer interaction with the Bantu children; this gets worse when they are sharing classrooms and desks. Other participants stressed that their children are being bullied, labelled, stereotyped and addressed in abusive language. The Bantu children call the San children the Ovakuankala (a pejorative word, meaning ungrateful, useless and devalued person). They are also laughed at, and told that they are dirty and smelling “omanghete” (a wild nut used in cooking commonly eaten by the San but also by the Bantu dominant group). Therefore they are not fit for modern schooling but for hunting and collecting “omanghete” and “eshelele” (another wild fruit).

The local government official also said that the Bantu children, especially those from the “Ovakuhanhama” people, (dominant ethnic group in the surrounding) and their parents, have a traditional characteristic of assuming superiority over the other ethnic groups, and stereotyping them. Not only are the San community the victims of this practice, but also all other non- Ovakuhanhama people including the other Bantus. For example the Ovakuhanhama people call the entire non-Ovakuhanhama ethnic group, regardless of origin, the “Ovambwela” (pejorative name).

Participants mentioned during interviews that another impediment San children face at school is the feeling of shyness and intimidation. This is because the younger children are only able to speak San language, not even Oshikuanhama (language for dominant group) like the adult San. At school the medium of communication is Portuguese, of which they have no basics. The Bantu children, unlike the San, may also struggle to understand Portuguese because they are also rural children, but because they speak Oshikuanhama, the dominant group language and the language spoken by the teachers as well, they are advantaged, as the teachers use Oshikuanhama to give extra explanations. Unfortunately, this is never possible to the San children as the teacher themselves are unable to speak San language.

The local government official, lamented persistent stigmatising behaviour from the Bantu children, especially during social gatherings, and the extent this has reached manifested by San children totally abstaining from formal education. He confessed that at one point the government authority and the school management were confused as to the dynamics of exclusion, being unsure of who was being excluded by whom and why. He added that in the
first instance it seemed that the San children excluded themselves from school and from contact with Bantu children.

Many scholars are of the opinion that San children not only face social marginalisation and discrimination from other ethnic groups, but from the educational system itself as well. According to Crawhall (2006: 5), many governments in countries where the San reside have ignored indigenous education methods, standards, and competences. Although many constitutions of various countries in Africa give citizens a right to receive education in the official language of their choice, San language is not incorporated in any of the official languages of those countries where the San live (Hitchcock and Vinding, 2004:7). Many national local languages, including official languages such as English and Portuguese, remain the chosen language in the education system in Africa to date. In Angola, the situation is worse; until today, there is no national local language except Portuguese used in schools. It is the only official language. Such a situation can easily demoralise children and keep them away from schools (UNICEF 2000).

The literature stresses that the San children are discriminated against, marginalised and poorly treated at school (Sammy and Christopher, 2005: 75; Mafela, 2009:239). Ketsillile et al., (2013: 48) count on the Africa education to embark on matters that need to bring changes in school orientations, in order to improve the lives of African peoples regardless of their ethnic group. Suzman (2001:17) warns that if change is to be effective in education, changes have to be effective elsewhere as well. Persistent low enrolment and high school dropout will mean that illiteracy for the San people will remain for some time into the future, regardless of the efforts and interventions in the short term.
4.3.1.3 Poverty among San children

Both participants from individual interviews, focus groups in Kafima Centre community, the official for local government and the MEC of Social Assistance and Social Re-integration, agree that poverty is a contributing factor for San children not going to school. Many participants from the same community said that their children lacked all the materials required for schooling. School materials such uniforms, writing exercise books, textbooks, pens, pencils, and school bags were among the absent items cited by the participants. One participant added that lacking school materials also included good clothing and shoes, for the children to be reasonably presentable at school, like most of the Bantu children. Figure 4, portrays San children dressed with torn and dirty clothes. The participants indicated that this happened because the San parents or guardians have no money to provide for their children.

These various claims are supported by observations made during field visits. It was observed that San children were wearing clothes that were both dirty or/and torn, and direct observation inside the homes revealed that there were no other clothes available.

The MEC of Assistance and Social Re-integration informed during interview that poverty among San community is also a consequence of the San inability to value formal education, as it is not one of San priorities. The local government official added that many campaigns
aimed at increasing awareness among the San community on the importance of formal education, had all been in vain. This was demonstrated in the following sentiment:

You can easily agree with the San people on number of issues, but never on the issues regarding formal education.

Such difficulties encountered by the government authority in dealing with the San on the issue of education have led the MEC of Assistance and Social Re-integration to say that what is really lacking among the San people is “consciousness” and nothing else; in other words, there is a need to change the San way of thinking and doing things. Some of participants during individual and group interviews found it very difficult to answer the question why children were not going to school. Some of the responses were as follows:

Participant 1: Even myself I have no idea why the children never go to school.

Participant 2: The children have never told us why they do not go school, and neither have we asked them why they are not interested in schooling. Thus, I do not know also, maybe you can ask them by yourself, they are there outside, ask them yourself.

Participant 3: It also seems that we the San people do not like schooling as much as the Bantu people do.

This result supports the literature of Sammy and Christopher (2005: 75) and Crawhall (2006: 5) which indicate that in today cash economy world, children who unable to have presentable dressing “quality clothes” are viewed as “poor” children. According to the present study’s findings, all the children in Kafima Centre San community fall into that category. Both the findings of this study and the literature confirm that when children are laughed at, they get alienated into their own world, become frightened and confused, and refrain from schooling.

With no intention to generalise from the case of a single child under the care of a Bantu school teacher enrolled at school, it is tempting to deduce that the San people who have accepted socialisation and managed to mingle with the dominant ethnic group have to some extent progressed in their lives.
4.3.1.3 Lack of school infrastructure

Unlike Kafima Centre community, participants from Etale la Mulavi indicated that their children have no access to formal education because there are simply no educational facilities near their habitats. The official for local government, indicated that Etale La Mulavi is located in a range of 45 kilometres away from basic social services, including school and health facilities.

The absence of such crucial facilities has denied the San children an important human right to education. It has also denied them the right to knowledge that it could have later change their lifestyle and provide possible pride in their future. Consequently San children may remain ignorant for a very long time.

4.3.2 Efforts by the government to help San children access education

4.3.2.1 Action taken

At Kafima Centre community, most of the participants recognised that the government had initially made an effort by building a general primary school at the centre of the Oshimolo local district, about (1,5 kilometres away from the San community). The official for local government indicated that the school was constructed as an effort to accommodate all children in the neighbouring community, both San and non-San.

According to the findings, not only had the provincial government constructed a school closer to the San community to facilitate San children’s access to education, but also the government had run complementary campaigns for mobilisation and sensitisation to create awareness in the community, including the Bantu community, to make sure children were kept at school to the end of each academic year. In addition, the government had periodically distributed food and non-food items with the objective to meet the needs of the most impoverished people regardless of their ethnicity, thus in part to facilitate children’s access to school.

The attempt to include San children in school has been declared problematic and a big challenge, not only for the local government under whose administration jurisdiction the San are, but also to the provincial and central government, to whom these concerns are reported. The official explained that because of the difficulties the local government is experiencing over the inclusion of the San children at school, the provincial government had included in
their biennial plan the construction of a town exclusively for the San (only at Kafima Centre). The project included the provision of modern housing and necessary basic social services such as school, health services, and water and sanitation facilities. For the initial plan, the school infrastructure will be expected to cater for Bantu children as well those who habit closer to the area (future town).

However, what seems contradictory in the entire process is zero achievement from this effort. The San children at Kafima Centre community at the time of the research have been out of school for many years. Even from 2003, following end of civil war in 2002, after the government mass campaigns “education for all” this campaign did not yield any positive results; the San children remained dismally lacking in knowledge in comparison with the Bantu children.

Examples from other countries reflect similar resistance. According to Suzman (2001:18) because of multidimensional problems experienced by the San in accessing formal education, such problems will not be solved by providing school infrastructure or providing enough places for the San in school, because this goes deeper than that. Suzman (2001:18) stresses that San adherence to formal education is a question of culture, language, diversity in socialisation, dependency, inter-ethnic relations, and power.

4.3.2.2 Action not taken

All the participants at Kafima Centre community indicated that the government has failed to prevent stigmatisation and pejorative language towards San children by the “Ovayamba” (wealthy) Bantu children (as the San usually address the Bantu people). The point was supported by the official for the local government that the strident objections from the San community against verbal torture and disrespect of them, still needs to be dealt with. In addition the official added that the local government still needed to work hard for the Bantu community to abolish the use of pejorative words such as ‘Ovakuankala’, and other words that deeply offend San sensibility.

The focus group reported that the government has never done anything to solve the problem of hunger at school. The official for the local government also reported that the “merenda escolar” (feeding programme) has been suffering postponement and delays for many years.
Because of this interview, I have once again realized how important the “merenda scholar” is not only for the San children but also for all the children who walk long distances to reach the school (local government key informant).

Other participants indicated that they had requested the government several times to build an exclusive school for their children, but nothing had been done so far. The San at Etale La Mulavi community complained that they feel forgotten by the government, because the government does not even visit their community.

Evidence from many pieces of literature indicates that until recently, governments have not seen the need for “primitive” San to benefit from formal education (Suzman 2003:17). Several participants indicated that their children were being told by the Bantu children to rather go hunt and gather, because they are not destined to attend formal education like the Bantu children.

Until 2001, Southern African governments did very little to guarantee San access to education (Suzman, 2001: 18). In Angola for instance, attention to the caring for the San as an indigenous group, was postponed till the end of the civil war, and after the ceasefire in 2002, the government was forced to embark on more pressing issues such the rebuilding infrastructures first in central towns, clearance of landmines on selected areas, before they could reach the remote areas where most of the San live.

According to Suzman (2001:18) many governments have failed to implement programmes aimed at the San for the following reasons:

- high mobility of San individuals or families;
- language barriers in school;
- San minorities in most schools;
- abuse and discrimination against San learners at school;
- adaptive, acculturation and social adjustment problems among the San learners and their parents.

Most of Suzman’s views support the findings of this study. At Kafima Centre San community, although the Government constructed school facilities and health care closer to the San community, it was evident that the school facilities were underutilised by the San children, and according to the findings of this study, the government had both failed to
promote a conducive environment for the San to live in, and to prevent further abuse and discrimination against the San by Bantu people.

4.3.3 The importance of formal education: Perception of the San people

Both participants from Kafima Centre and Etale la Mulavi were asked to give their views on the importance of formal education. Their responses were as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: San perceptions of the importance of formal education at Kafima and Etale la Mulavi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Both communities</th>
<th>Kafima Centre</th>
<th>Etale la Mulavi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It teaches students how to read and count, thus, one can then know the ages of the children;</td>
<td>It guarantees good jobs;</td>
<td>It empowers a person not to be dominated and marginalized by others;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It helps to escape from or reduce poverty, and impacts skills in order to do professional jobs;</td>
<td>It empowers human beings, to know what is right and wrong;</td>
<td>It helps the person to make good decisions in life;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It teaches modern knowledge and skills and this helps reduce illiteracy and other primitivism associated with illiteracy.</td>
<td>It helps people to be successful in life;</td>
<td>It helps a person to build their own economy and sustain their own family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It increases intellectual capacity, to be able to reason and plan one’s’ life;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Educated people are easy to manage and can easy accept positive proposals;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It helps understand how to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
survive in the modern life, unlike our primitive life;

Learned children are able to help their parents in their old ages.

The viewpoints outlined on the table above sound remarkable. It is inspiring to learn how accurately the San understand the importance of formal education in today’s era. All the points designate formal education as an essential, indispensable and undeniable element for everyone, and it plays a rudimentary role in the life of a person and in society. However, what seems contradictory to the points above is the practicality of the San conduct towards commitment to formal education. In other words, the formal education that is deemed to be indispensable by the San is the same formal system that the San do not adhere to.

4.4 SAN ACCESS TO HEALTH SYSTEMS

4.4.1 Common health problems among the San

Participants from both Kafima Centre and Etale La Mulavi were asked to indicate common health problems experienced among the San community. The findings are graphically illustrated in Figures 5 and 6.

Figures 5: Common health problems among the San at Kafima community
Responses drawn from the data in Figure 5, for Kafima Centre, indicated that 48% of health problems encountered among the San community here were Malaria, while 34% were cough, 12% diarrhoea and 6% body pain.

Like at Kafima Centre at Etale La Mulavi San community (Figure 6), Malaria constitutes the highest percentage of common health problems at 42%, whereas, cough is 36%, diarrhoea 18% and back pain 4%.

Malaria at both San communities was cited to be the most recurrent disease the San experienced. Even though participants at Kafima Centre maintained that Malaria attacks everyone regardless of age, those at Etale La Mulavi, categorically pointed out that Malaria is mostly common among children and elderly people. The two key informants interviewed, the official for the local government and the MEC of health were both unable to state the most common health problems among the San, as both claimed that health records received from public health centres contained no ethnic group breakdown. For this reason, it is important to mention that responses indicating Malaria being the most common health problem among the San as shown in both Figure 5 and 6 above need to be treated with caution, as they lack the backing of official records. In other words, there was no evidence that Malaria as stated by
the San themselves was indeed Malaria, or it could have been any other disease with symptoms similar to Malaria, such as fever, headache, and vomiting.

Nevertheless, whether Malaria constituted the real scenario of the health status of the San or not, the literature consulted indicated that Malaria is one of the most common diseases found in San communities (Sylvain 2007:20). Angola’s total population of an estimated 19.1 million is said to be all at risk of Malaria. Malaria in Angola accounts for an estimated 35% of mortality in children under five, 25% of maternal mortality, and 60% of hospital admissions for children under five years President Malaria Initiative (PMI :2014).

Cough was the second common health problem cited by participants at both communities. Participants indicated that cough is frequent both in children and adults. Cough among the San people might be attributed to the smoking habit found among San communities. Heavy smoking was observed among the San, where the smoking pipe is shared across individuals, including very young people.

4.4.2 San medication practices

Participants at both San communities were asked to state alternatives available to them in the event of illness. The study findings revealed that the San at different San communities adopt diverse options, depending on the circumstances and proximity to health centre.

![Figure 7: Optional treatments undertaken by the San when sick at Kafima](image)
4.4.2.1 The use of both conventional and traditional medicines

The study revealed that both conventional and traditional use of treatment was the common practice of the San. The study notes that as much as 76% of the San participants interviewed at Kafima Centre used conventional and traditional medicines interchangeably or/and simultaneously (see figure 7). Out of 76%, participants who stated that they used both, 53% indicated that they will first go to the health centre whenever sick, but right after, they may still use traditional medicines simultaneously or after the completion of the conventional medicine. About 23% of participants indicated that they prefer starting with the traditional medicines, sometimes accompanied by traditional healing dances, and if this is not working immediately, they will go to a public health centre.

.....One has to be very careful before deciding where to go first, because sometime the illness is not meant for conventional medicines, so many people have died at the health centre because of wrong decisions (San woman Kafima).
According to the participants, diseases that required exclusive use of herbs included scabies, child teething and nose bleeding problems, and were seen as non-life-threatening. Diseases that were starvation-related, such as marasmus, kwashiakor, anaemia, persistent body pain, Malaria and pneumonia that were deemed life-threatening, were exclusively referred to the public health facility. The official for local government informed that, though records at the health centre have denoted high presence of the San, other evidence has shown that in some instances San patients have arrived at the health centre too late.

4.4.2.2 The use of conventional medicines.
Of the interviewees at Kafima Centre, 24% said that they use conventional medicines each time they feel sick. A participant from the focus group suggested that it is very important nowadays to visit the health centre at the very first stage of illness, otherwise the sickness can spread, and it can lead to unexpected death. From a developmental point of view, San adherence to health care shows a positive progress and an achievement.

4.4.2.3 The use of traditional medicines
Unlike at Kafima Centre San community, at Etale La Mulavi San community, 100% of the participants responded that they use exclusively traditional medicines whenever they feel sick (see figure 8). They added that the use of traditional medicine is not their first choice, but evidently because of the absence of health services close to their community, they use their herbal treatment. It was confirmed by the MEC of health the distance separating the San people at Etale La Mulavi community from the nearest public health centre is about 45 kilometres. Desperate participants revealed that each time they get sick they wish they could get to the health centre for treatment, as shown in this comment:

.....And..., when somebody is sick, the person gets weaker, to an extent that the person is no longer able to walk. Last week we buried our beautiful girl, she was very ill for many days, when we realized that she was not getting better with traditional medicines we really wanted to take her to the health centre, but she was too weak to walk. The wealthy (a term used to refer to Bantu people) people are never willing to assist an omukuankala, they have bicycles, they have oxcart, but they never assist us when we are in dire need of accessing the health centre Thus, when we are sick we take our traditional medicines, we lie down in our huts
and wait for the traditional medicines to work. (an elderly women at Etale La Mulavi San community).

The participants lamented the non-existence of health services, and demonstrated strong willingness or commitment to conventional treatment because they convincingly believed that it is better than traditional medicines. This was true especially in recent years, when the rain patterns had significantly changed, causing the near-extinction of many important medicinal plants and herbs used in the past by the San. Participants said that a few decades ago traditional plants were abundant, and easy to find, and could be used to treat different illnesses.

…….During the war (referring to the civil war) I was shoot on my chest, you can see the scar, but I managed to cure myself with traditional medicine, although I still feel pain whenever I do heavy jobs (a man at Etale La Mulavi San community).

Equally, the participants lamented the encroachment of Bantu people into their territories, those Bantu who are after transhumance. Participants also complained the establishment of permanent commercial and communal farms in the area, occupying part of their land without their consent, and practising activities that contribute to forest depletion and overuse. Clearing the land for “productive purposes” hampers the lifestyle of the San.

The study revealed that the San people adhere to diverse treatment practices whenever they feel sick. The study findings indicated that the closer the health centre is to the San community, the more often do the San use health services. The MEC of health indicated that for the past two to three years the San people unexpectedly have shown utilisation of health services. The MEC called this trend a phenomenal move in San life. The phenomenon referred to an era for the first time in history that the San people in Cuanhama Municipality have started to show up in high figures at the health centre, an event that was very uncommon in the past.

…….Nowadays you can constantly see San people in big quantity at the health centre, including San pregnant women coming to attend pre-natal consultation, or /and to deliver their babies (MEC of health).

However, the MEC of health also referred to another reality, that only San who are reasonably close to the health centre, such as those in Kafima Centre, use the health services, though. There are many more San found in different remote areas such as Etale La Mulavi
and many other places, who have no access to public health care. The MEC added that there are still many San who still give birth in the bush alone, and others who die from curable diseases.

The findings give an understanding that unlike in the past, the San have now come to value and trust conventional medicines. The use of health services demonstrated by the Kafima Centre San community has given evidence that the closer the San are to the health centre, the more they use the health services.

San response to access to health care has raised further interest, according to the MEC of health services, possible reasons that have made this change is either the San have developed trust and confidence in conventional medicines, or else traditional medicines are no longer working well. Answers to these questions are not only for curiosity, but are needed to inform the policy makers and public servants for their future planning.

When participants were asked to appraise both health workers’ conduct and the treatment (medication) at the public health centre at Kafima Centres, 100% of them indicated that the health staff were good, and displayed excellent conduct towards them. However, about the treatment itself, about 72% believed that the treatment or medication was good, but 28% believed that the treatment was only accurate if the sickness was really meant for conventional medicines if not, then the treatment will not work.
As portrayed in figure 9, above, the sick man sitting in his hut at Kafima Centre has been able to access treatment both at local public health facility as well as at the provincial level. However, he had found no cure for his illness at the time of the study. Information gathered from the same participant in figure 5, during interview gave an understanding that public health services at Kafima centre operate in rudimentary way, as it is only managed by the local nurses, with no permanent or visiting doctor to consult cases beyond nurses capacity. The participant informed that when they are referred at provincial hospital they again face other challenges concerning where to stay during treatment, what and where to eat.

The study revealed that all the participants from Etale La Mulavi San community indicated that they were exclusively using traditional medicines because of the long distance from their homes to the health facility. About 45 kilometres away from the nearest health centre, is a distance totally impossible for a sick person to reach on foot, as there are no means of transportation. The study found support in the literature by ACHPR in Ohenjo et al. (2006:1944), who pointed out that infrastructure in most areas occupied by Indigenous people is either lacking or inadequate. Basic social services such as health facilities are few and far
between, while the roads and other physical infrastructures are equally poor. As a result, the mortality rate in such areas is higher than national averages.

Angola has been characterised by civil war prolonged for nearly three decades, and the programmes and projects aimed at helping remote rural citizens have been delayed because of landmines. In this case the absence of health facilities in Etale la Mulavi, may not necessarily indicate discrimination against the San, but rather indicate the lack of health care services capacity by the Angolan government in general.

The findings clearly indicate that the San from Etale la Mulavi are deprived of one of the precious human and constitutional rights. As indicated in the Declaration of Human Rights, article 25, all human beings have the right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being of themselves and family, including medical care. The Angolan constitution, (chapter 3, article 77:31) gives its citizens the right to access medical assistance, through promoting and guaranteeing necessary measures to ensure functional health services and sanitation across all its territory, however, among the San of Etale La Mulavi, this is still to be realised.

4.5 ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN BY THE SAN FOR SUSTAINANCE OF THEIR LIVELIHOOD

Table 3: Socio-economic problems faced by the San in Kafima Centre and Etale La Mulavi communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme 2: Socio-economic problems</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub-themes:</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Stigmatization and Marginalisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of financial means</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.5.1 Socio-economic problems

4.5.1.1 Poverty

The study revealed that San people in both communities face poverty, however, there is extreme poverty at Etale La Mulavi San community. All participants from both communities indicated that they live in extremely poor conditions, and lack basic things such as agricultural implements and materials like hoes, axes, ploughs, and animals for cultivation. Participants also confirmed that they experienced a shortage of food, and had no access to any form of income either wage, remittance (with an exception of very few families who have relatives serving in the national army) or social welfare, with the exception of the Kafima Centre San community where food is occasionally distributed to them.

The various statements are supported by observations made during field visits. At both communities the San possess no properties and all live in inadequate huts and at Etale La Mulavi some San just live under a tree without a roof over their heads. However, to this, the MEC of Social Assistance and Social Re-integration agrees that the San are living in extreme poverty, but he sees this kind of poverty embedded deep into their cultural and traditional beliefs and practices.

In addition, some respondents from Etale La Mulavi, described famine and ill health aggravated by the non-existence of basic social services such as roads, health care services, school, and clean water. Participants from Etale La Mulavi revealed that during the dry seasons there are no petty jobs to do at the Bantu people’s houses and farms. They said that the Bantu will never give anything to a San without an exchange of labour, and will never take the grain crops back from “Okaanda” (a traditional storage container) to give to “Ovakuankala.”

..... We have absolutely nothing. Look at my hut, look inside there is nothing. As a community with all of us (eight family members) we have only one cooking pot, yet leaking. The pot has to be shared every day. The children cry either because there is no food to eat or because the pot is taking too long to arrive (they take turns using a single pot between families). (Old lady with the hut in Figure, 10 at Etale La Mulavi)
Although culturally the San people have managed to survive in diverse and critical environment conditions which never required modern assistance such as basic social services or/and humanitarian assistance, the study has revealed that because of changing life style, and change in ecological environment, San are no longer able to survive without supplementary social welfare assistance.

The official for local government advised that although the San people are still practising their cultural activities such as hunting and gathering, they have lost their cultural commitment and perseverance to pursue certain things. They no longer have hunting materials and skills as they once did. Not only have big animals become scarce, but also most of the San, especially those at Kafima Centre San community, are tactically unable to hunt such animals. However, small animals such as rabbits and small buck are still abundant, though far away in the forest, the San are not always willing to go and hunt, but even if they do so, in most cases the meat brought in is not always used for family or community consumption, but rather bartered with alcohol or sold for cash that will be spent on alcohol consumption as well. Such practices contribute heavily to poverty.

As cited by the official for local government, and supported by observations made during field visit, the Etale La Mulavi community is indeed disadvantaged. It is located in a distant remote area, where basic social infrastructure and services are not yet present (not even a
gravel or all-weather road), minimising the possibility of external assistance that could be rendered in an emergency or extreme calamity such as famine and sickness.

Unlike the San at Kafima Centre, participants at Etale La Mulavi indicated that they were not assisted in terms of food or non-food items by the government, which could be an additional survival strategy especially during the dry seasons. Observations done by the researcher, signs of starvation and malnutrition were evident, mainly affecting children and breastfeeding mothers as it can be observed in figure 11 below.

Source: Researcher own data

Figure11: A San child with sign of malnutrition and lack of personal hygiene at Etale La Mulavi San community

According to Sylvain (2007:19) the traumatic experience of the Angolan war, unemployment, and loss of land rights, have caused frustration, misery, and widespread alcohol abuse among the San in Southern Angola. In this manner, it has led to the wide spread of poverty.
Clover (2005:348) concludes that, despite the efforts made by the government to overcome poverty, in Angola, situations in rural areas continue to be extremely harsh, for various reasons hampering rural recovery and development. That includes on the one hand the problematic limited and uneven construction and rehabilitation of social and economic infrastructures such as roads, bridges, health care facilities, and education due to inadequate funding by the government. On the other hand, there is the inaccessibility of remote areas because of landmines. The irregularity of the welfare sector greatly contributes to the widespread vulnerability of the rural population.

Mikkelsen (2010: 540) maintains that most of the San in Southern Angola are surviving in hardship conditions because they lack economic opportunities. Yet the Government of Angola has not passed any welfare programmes or policies aimed at improving the lives of special category groups such as the San who are in a difficult situation, and other vulnerable groups such as elderly, disable people and orphans and vulnerable children under difficult living conditions, apart from the normal practices which are casual distribution of food or/and non-food items to those category groups.

4.5.1.1 Stigmatization and marginalisation
The study revealed that San people face stigma and social marginalisation from other ethnic groups. The MEC for Social Assistance and Social Re-integration supported by the official for the local government concluded that the San are stigmatised on the basis of their cultural practices that differ widely from non-San culture. The San culture seems to value least what other ethnic groups tend to value most. Elements such as owning property, living in refined housing, working for oneself, and engaging in agricultural subsistence, including the creation of livestock, are elements which most rural ethnic groups value and work for, as these practices are deemed important for the core survival strategies for livelihoods. However, the San people find no value of any of these. Instead, they guide their life through hunting, gathering and supplicating manual jobs from the Bantu people.

The official for the local government during the interview stated that because of these differences deep-rooted in culture and tradition, the San are seen by the non-San population as people of no value, regarded as children, and unable to guide their life in any logical manner. Therefore, the San suffer from pejorative words such as “Ovakuankala” (ungrateful people). A participant from Etale la Mulavi community expressed her sentiments as follows:
…as much as we tell the Bantu people our names, they will never call us back by our names, they will always say “you’ the “Ovakunkala.”

All the respondents from both communities, with an emphasis from Etale La Mulavi, stressed that they are facing marginalisation and discrimination from the dominant community on the basis of “who” they are. These findings support the literature in which Cook and Sarkin (2009:128) argued that the San in southern Africa have encountered marginalisation and discrimination from all segments of society in contrast with other ethnic groups, and yet there is very little being done to stop it.

Other supporter from the literature on San marginalisation and discrimination are found in Nthomang (2002:104); Suzman (2001:3) and (Zips-Mairitsch 2009:156), who indicate that most names used by scholars and government referring to the Khoisan, such as Masarwa, and ‘Ovakwankala’ are unfortunately etymological disapproving names.

The study clearly indicated that the government is aware that the San in both communities face stigmatisation, marginalisation and discrimination from the dominant people, but, nothing convincingly indicated to the researcher that the government is committed to prevent this from continuing.

4.5.1.2 Lack of financial means

The study revealed that most of the San both at Kafima and Etale la Mulavi communities are unemployed. A few San from Kafima Centre community who were employed were working at communal and commercial farms of the Bantu people. During fieldwork, a visit was paid to a community of about 70 people—workers and their families—who had temporarily relocated about 15 kilometres from Kafima Centre to the farms in search of petty jobs.

Participants from this temporary community said that not only was the payment for work low, but also that most of the jobs were casual and seasonal, and there was no guarantee of a permanent job. The MEC of Assistance and Social Re-integration in the interview lamented the fact that most of the San in the province were unemployed, apart from a small number who were serving in the national army. According to the MEC high unemployment among the San is due primarily, to the fact that they lack skill required to compete in the global cash economy.
4.5.2 Survival strategies of the San

In order to “make ends meet” the San people employ diverse strategies, as shown in Table 4 below.

Table: 4 Survival strategies adopted by the San in Kafima Centre and Etale la Mulavi San communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme 3: Survival strategies of the San</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub-themes:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Diversity of livelihood strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Hunting and gathering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Subsistence agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Engaging in business</td>
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4.5.2.1 Diversity of livelihood strategies

The study revealed that the San from both communities are involved in different activities for the sustenance of their household. These activities are engaged in as they are required, or as they appear randomly, and are summarised below:

“Okunhanga” Data collected through individual interviews and the key informants revealed that one of the primary survival strategies the San were involved in was “okunhanga” (a spontaneous activity that can be translated as: “go and look for …whatsoever might be found… anywhere …at an unknown place and time). All the participants from both communities indicated that among other activities, “okunhanga” was the most common survival strategy. In the event where there was no food in the house, able-bodied individuals or a group of family or community members would go, wherever they deemed suitable, to look for immediate food or anything that could compensate for food. The official for local government noted that “okunhanga” as an economic activity goes beyond hunting and gathering; in other words “okunhanga” means to go and look for…and find anything existing elsewhere. This may include hunting and gathering, begging, stealing, doing petty jobs, working for food, bartering activities. It is any tactic of getting anything to satisfy the immediate need—in this case, a meal for that day.
“Ondjabi”: The study’s findings indicated that the San from both communities sought manual labour engagements from the Bantu people in exchange for cooked food and homemade brewery drinks for work (to be consumed at once after the completion of work). “Ondjabi” is an organised communal activity for mutual work, in which many people are notified and invited to do the work jointly and at the end, people are rewarded by receiving cooked food and homemade brewery drinks. This practice is especially important because it reduces the number of meals a day back home, and it gives opportunities for the children and non-able-bodied people who have remained at home, to eat food there that otherwise was not going to be enough for the whole family. However, such activities are seasonal, mostly practised during cultivation times, when every Bantu person wants to maximise the annual harvest.

**Bartering:** The participants from both communities indicated that they were also involved in immediate exchange of goods with the Bantu people, goods mainly collected from the forest, especially honey, meat, and “eemunha” (wild berries used by the Bantu for brewing hot drinks) when they are in season.

**Military:** The participants from Kafima Centre said a few members from both communities were serving military duties in the National army services, and with their monthly payment were able to send cash back home for the sustenance of the family. The official for local government, observed that the San who were serving in the army were in a better position than who—presumably others in the community. Army work was also sustainable as they were official and permanent jobs; however, there were very few San people with this opportunity.

**External Assistance:** The study indicated that Provincial government had periodically supported the most impoverished individuals, families and communities under a government-run social protection safety net policy, regardless of their ethnic group, through distribution of food such as rice, maize flour, sugar-beans, oil, salt, dried salted fish, or sometimes tin cans of any kind. The programme also provides non-food items such as blankets, second-hand clothes, and domestic utensils. Participants regretted the fact that the provision of these safety nets programmes was periodical, and only intensified during calamities. The MEC of Assistance and Social Re-integration responsible for the programme, indicated that although the programme was designed to cater for all the needy people regardless of ethnic group, the
San were the most beneficiaries compared to the dominant groups. However, this programme never satisfactorily catered for the San at Etale La Mulavi due to the nonexistence of road.

4.5.2.2 Hunting and gathering

The study revealed that the San mainly at Etale La Mulavi but also partly at Kafima Centre San communities still relied on hunting and gathering as part of their survival strategies. All the participants from both communities agreed that although there were few animals in the forest now, there were still places where small animals could be hunted. Unlike Kafima Centre, the Etale La Mulavi community was located in the deep forest, far from frequented places, and the location offered more hunting opportunities including bigger game animals such as antelope, kudu and springbok, as compared to Kafima Centre. The researcher observed kudu horns, and when the community was asked, she was informed that was a kudu that was hunted for household consumption two weeks earlier.

The San still keep their cultural and traditional gender roles although at times roles can overlap. The men are hunters and women and young children are gatherers. The women collect wild fruits, nuts and roots and small animals like caterpillar, tortoises, and rats. However because of widespread hunger and due to wild animal scarcity, men can also participate in gathering, just as much as women can also assist in hunting. They accompany the men during hunting and assist in tracing the animals’ footprints in order to find them.

The official for the local government observed that the San as an ethnic group had been facing life disruption, in which the majority had turned to alcoholism instead of dedicating their energies to something profitable. For example, the San, mainly those of at Kafima Centre, no longer possessed sharp hunting skills as they had before. Skills such as tracking an animal, knowing whether the animal is male or female, young or old, weak or strong, as well as making poisoned arrows for hunting, were slowly dying out. The only instrument the San used was what they call the “oluvololo” a very long stick about 5 metres or more that serves to drag small animals such rabbits from their hole.

The study results revealed that the San of Angola are still hunters and gatherers. Traditional practices that are deep-rooted in San culture are still relevant and significant as survival strategies today for the San, who would not otherwise survive in the changing world; however, it is important to note that such practices are not as frequent as they used to be in
the past. This is because the forest has been depleted, animals have been killed, and collection sites for the veld products have been destroyed, following the armed conflict in Angola (Nahinda, 2011:508). In addition, the climate change has caused shortages of forest resources, and natural resources such as manketti nuts, mopane worms and naxani have been exterminated (Suzman: 2001: 66).

Nahinda (20001:508) states that other hindering factors are current restrictions resulting from government policy regulating the environment and ecology. In Angola such policies may exist on paper, but in practice there are no punitive measures issued against anyone who might be found hunting.

The study results have also shown that San traditional economic activities hunting and gathering are subsiding, but the San have not managed to replace these activities with other actual and profitable activities such as subsistence agriculture or business engagement activities that would contribute positively to their livelihood. It seems that “okunhanga” will remain the most profound means of survival for another time.

4.5.2.3  Subsistence Agriculture
The Study indicated that at Kafima Centre San community, only two members of the community cultivated over the last five years. The researcher managed to observe those two cultivated fields, but they were very small for adequate cultivation. When the participants from both communities were asked the reasons for non-involvement in subsistence agriculture, which is the dominant activity among dominant Bantu rural people, participants cited that they lack everything to start with, among others, cultivating materials, land, seed, fertilizer, and animals for helping in cultivation.

However, the official for the local government and the MEC of Social Assistance and Social Re-integration, revealed that the San people are not willing to work for themselves, only for others. Their cultural practice based on the belief that they do not need to accumulate and own property, it is an internalised belief and attitude, the local government authority has never been able to change. The official for the local government added that the San know the job, and they are hard workers.

...But again, the San are unable to cultivate for themselves as they are each time invited by the Bantu people to work for them, taking an advantage that the San
are unable to refuse as they need immediate food which results as payment (official for the local government).

The official for the local government also revealed that for the last consecutive ten years the San have been provided by the government and NGOs with agricultural materials, including cows, to help in cultivation. However, all the items are constantly sold out by the San, and they go back to the vicious circle of having nothing.

Baiphethi and Jacobs (2009: 474) argued that in rural areas, in the absence of other alternative means of making a living, subsistence agriculture is essential to improve food security and fight poverty. This statement can be understood that San people are living in extreme poverty, more than Bantu people, as they are unable to adapt to subsistence agriculture as an important means of self-sufficiency. Baiphethi and Jacobs’ view can lead to an argument that food shortage and poverty among the San is a direct consequence of San non-adherence to subsistence agriculture. This view can be obvious, taking into consideration that some of the Bantu people in the surrounding are equally characterised by poverty, but not in the same way as the San people are, because the food they produce from subsistence agriculture is self-sufficiency.

The habitual practice of the San of working as cheap labourers only for other people but not for their own farms or for themselves, is a puzzling mystery, not only for the researcher but also for the policy makers. There is a need for further research on such attitudes held by the San people.

4.5.2.4 Engagement in business

The study revealed that involvement in business among the San is not a habitual survival strategy. Participants from both communities indicated that the unavailability of goods for trading is the reason for the unpopularity of this activity. However, participants from both communities said that sometimes whenever they hunt an animal or gather wild products such as honey, “eemunha’ (wild berries used for brewing hot drinks) they are able to sell these goods for cash, and in return buy food, clothing, and/or any other items deemed necessary for the household with the Bantu people. A few San are talented in producing artistic goods, such as making traditional hoes, axes, knives, and woodcarving. They are then able to trade their products with the Bantu people.
Participants lamented the scarcities of raw material that enabled these activities. Nonetheless, the official for the local government regretted the fact that the San are always persuaded by the potential Bantu buyer to sell their product for low prices, and in most circumstances the cash resulting from this trading is not invested in livelihood survival but rather in alcohol consumption. The San also sell items such as food and non-food items distributed to them by the government or as donations from NGOs.

4.5.3 Sustainability of the activities

Participants were asked to give their views on the sustainability of the economic activities the San perform. Most of the participants from both communities saw no sustainability in the activities they were engaged in. Participants indicated that some of the activities performed were culturally inherent, but in the changing world there is no sustenance for these activities. This was supported by the following two participants’ comments:

…If we do not find food for that particular day, we sleep hungry and children cry the whole night.

…“Okunhanga” and occasional job truly cause poverty; instead of working for oneself and family, you work for other people. In this way we only enrich other people.

However, one participant from Kafima Centre community defended that the economic activities performed by the San have been always sustainable and still remain sustainable.

…We are San people, we have been surviving like this since, thus, we will be always surviving in this way. “Okunhanga oshawana” go to look for…is enough?

The study results revealed that most activities performed by both communities with the exception of military service, were not sustainable, as they give very little reward, lack continuity, and most of the survival strategies related activities create dependency syndrome.
4.5.4 Gender task allocation among the San people

The study revealed that in both communities, tasks were allocated depending on physical competency (as the ages of the children were never known) and both genders had equal participation in the provision and maintaining of family survival. Tasks were allocated according to gender role, however, with an overlap on some tasks. This was demonstrated in the following comment:

...When there is nothing in the house to eat you just say “Fikameni indeni kanhangeni” (stand up and go to look for...), in this way any person regardless of his gender will go try get something to eat for that day.

Men were reported to be involved in activities such as hunting, and working in commercial and communal farms of the wealthy Bantu people, as well as in the homesteads of the Bantu people, doing activities such as clearing or preparing the field for cultivation, cutting trees for building houses, clearing space for cultivation purposes, and fencing the farms.

Women were reported to be involved in the tasks that were less physically demanding, activities such as gathering wild fruits, caterpillars, and roots. Women were also engaged in the communal and commercial farms of the Bantu and in their homesteads. The Bantus used the San women in activities such as digging compost and transporting it to the field, weeding, harvesting, and transporting grain crops from the field to the storage container. Both genders did what the San call “okunhanga” planting, and “ondjabi”. This is an activity where people work as a group and then get cooked food and homemade drinks as a gesture of appreciation. Furthermore, both genders, though more women than men, also get involved in activities such as transporting water from boreholes and wells for the Bantu people for domestic use. The study also showed that all the manual duties performed by the San of many kinds, were more available during cultivation time.

4.6 PRACTICAL RECOMMENDATIONS TOWARDS ADDRESSING EXTREME POVERTY AMONG THE SAN

When participants were asked to give their views on what could constitute practical recommendations towards addressing extreme poverty among the San community by different stakeholders, the following suggestions were outlined. It is however important to
mention that the suggestions below are those of the key informants, as the San people themselves found it somehow difficult to give opinions and suggestions for this objective. Some of the research recommendations were formulated with these suggestions in mind.

By the Government:

- The government needs to implement “Merenda Escolar” school feeding programme at the local schools in special rural areas, particularly where the children of the San are supposed to attend lessons.

- The government needs to put an extra effort to overcome ethnic clashes, by organising a sensitisation and mobilisation campaign to the Angolan population through radio and television talk, as well as organising debates at local level that promote respect towards cultural diversity in Angola. In this way, the San culture can be respected and be valued by other ethnic groups. This may stop the stigmatisation experienced by the San children at school.

- The government needs to research more on the underlining factors that are both contributing and hindering the socio-economic and cultural development of the San people.

By the NGOs:

- Since NGOs have the vocation of dealing with issues in community and/or rural settings, they could retain their charismatic role as the spokespersons or ombudsman for poor people, by attempting to influence government policies and programmes on behalf of the San.

By the civil society:

- In Cunene Province, the civil society sector is limited and non-active. However, that small existing formal or informal group made up of community cooperation and voluntarism association with common interests and values should be empowered to function as a link between marginalised people, among them the San people, and immediate authority such as local and/or provincial government and NGOs, to promote San socio-economic development.
By the private sector:

- The private sector has a role to contribute to poverty reduction by promoting job opportunity and sustainable livelihood among the most impoverished social class. In this sense, the private sector could extend their commercial activities to places where San people could sell their labour.

4.7 CONCLUSION

Results of the study indicate that nearly all the participants did not know their ages because of high illiterate rate among the San people. The study results revealed that at both communities children were not enrolled at school. At Okafima Centre San community reasons hindering San children access to school include hunger at school, stigmatization and poverty. Whereas at Etale La Mulavi San community, lack of school infrastructure near the San habitants constituted the main hindering factor to children accessing education. Common health problems experienced by the San people Malaria constitute the highest percentage at both San communities with 48% at Okafima Centre San community and 42%, at Etale La Mulavi. The study results revealed that the closer the San are to the health centre, the more the San utilise the health services. The common socio-economic problems faced by the San people at both communities are poverty, stigmatization and discrimination and lack of financials means. The Survival strategies employed by the San to ‘‘make ends meet’’ include diversity of livelihood strategies that involves okunhanga, ondjabi, bartering, military and external assistance. Hunting and gathering as a means of survival strategies still relevant and practiced among San people particularly by those at Etale La Mulavi San community. Subsistence Agriculture and engagement in business were found to be not habitual survival strategies among the San. Conclusions and recommendations are made in the subsequent chapter.
5 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 CONCLUSION

This study explored the survival strategies of the San people in Kafima and Etale La Mulavi San communities in Cuanhama Districts in Angola. The aim of the study was to investigate and obtain a better understanding of how the San people are economically surviving in the absence of economic opportunities. The study questions helped the researcher to investigate what survival strategies the San use to sustain their livelihoods, what are the social services the San are access to and what are the socio-economic problems they face as San people.

The study aimed to achieve the following objectives: (i) investigate San access to education (i) investigate San access to healthcare system (i) investigate multiple economic activities undertaken by the San for sustenance in their livelihoods and households (i) make practical recommendations towards addressing extreme poverty in the San community.

The first objective was to investigate San access to education. This objective was to find out whether the children of the San were enrolled at school. The study found that all the children of the San at both communities were not enrolled at any school with the exception of one San child who was under the care and guardianship of a Bantu school teacher. The reasons hindering children’s schooling were found to be diverse. In Kafima Centre San community the reasons were hunger at school, stigmatisation, and poverty among San children. In the Etale La Mulavi San community, the main hindering factor was the absence of basic social services including school infrastructures near the San community. The school infrastructures were absent because the Etale La Mulavi is located in a remote area about 45 kilometres away from the nearest town, where the government so far has yet to invest in basic social services because of the protracted war that took place in Angola and devastated the area, leaving it inaccessible due partly to landmines and governmental priorities in terms of on what to invest first and where to.

The reasons hindering children’s access to education between one community and the other were seen to contradict one another. At Etale La Mulavi San community the non-existence of school infrastructures was the reason for inhibiting children’s access to education. On the contrary, at Kafima Centre San community, the basic social infrastructure including school facilities was in place, and yet children were not attending school because of other cultural, social and economic problems. That is to say, what constitutes a hindering factor in terms of
access to education in one San community is not exactly the same in another San community in a different place.

The study has found that the government has made immense efforts to make sure that the San children were enrolled at formal education schools, particularly for those at Kafima Centre. This was realised initially by building school facilities in proximity to the San community, as well as organising follow-up awareness campaigns across the surrounding communities, which included the Bantu community. The advocacy campaigns were uniquely designed to highlight the importance of formal education in the life of an individual and society at large. However, the intervention has not yet yielded much, or resulted in the San children being present in the formal schools. Nevertheless, the study concluded that San access to education in Cuanhama District is a major social and developmental concern that needs to be resolved on its own merit.

The second objective of the study was to investigate San access to health facilities. The aim was to assess San adherence to health care, by assessing what treatment options the San have when they fall sick. According to the research, they use diverse treatment options depending on the circumstances at hand. Treatment options were a combination of conventional medicines and traditional herbs; there were those who exclusively used conventional medicines and others who exclusively used the traditional herbs.

The research concluded that 76% of participants at Kafima Centre community used both conventional and traditional medicines, whereas 24% used exclusively conventional medicines. The San used both methods, either to begin with one first and end with the other, or simultaneously, depending on the decisions taken and the type of disease that was being treated. There are diseases that are well known and are easily treated using herbs. Such diseases necessitated the use of herbs. The study clearly showed that, unlike at Kafima Centre, the San community had access to healthcare facilities.

At Etale La Mulavi San community, 100% of the respondents used exclusively traditional medicines as there were no health facilities closer to their habitat.

It was concluded that the San who were residing in close proximity to the health centre had access to conventional medicines, contrary to those living far from the health centre. The end result for the San et Etale La Mulavi has been low life-expectancy from birth, as compared to the rest of the population who had access to the health centre (Cook and Sarkin 2009:104).
The third objective of the research study was to investigate multiple economic activities undertaken by the San for maintaining their livelihoods. The objective was to investigate how the San are surviving in the absence of economic opportunities in their area in Angola. The research concluded that the San in both communities shared the same survival strategies, but the function of livelihood activities ranked differently. The San communities at Kafima Centre community embarked on diverse livelihood strategies. They included temporary employment or manual casual contracts at commercial and communal farms owned by the Bantu people. “Okunhanga” go.. and look for.. was among the most common activities the San were involved in. They were also doing occasional petty jobs at Bantu people’s homesteads. Another random job they were engaged in was what they called “ondjabi”.

The “ondjabi” is manual labour done by the San for a Bantu person in exchange for cooked food and homemade drinks. There was sometimes a little barter trade between Bantu and San communities as the San here exchanged goods such as meat, honey, and other wild fruits for food and non-food items. Some San young were serving in Angolan military service. The Kafima San community rely also on government and non-governmental organisations hand-outs. External hand-outs from both the government and NGO bodies are a welcome activity that the San look forward to most of the time. However, survival strategies such as reliance on hand-out food and non-food items are considered to be safety-net measures for the most vulnerable citizens, and are perceived by the researcher to create a dependency syndrome among the San people.

On the other hand, the San at Etale La Mulavi San community regarded hunting and gathering as the main livelihood strategy they were engaged in. The research concluded that hunting and gathering constituted most of the livelihood activities the San were undertaking. However, the forest that used to be a potential source of simple plants and small creatures, no longer belong to the San but to Bantu farmers or are still riddled with landmines from the civil war.

At both San communities, subsistence agriculture as a means of survival had no significance in the San culture and tradition. The research concluded that the survival activities at both San communities are not sustainable, as either they give very little reward or create dependence syndrome among the people. The non-sustainability of the livelihood activities at both San communities was clear in the extreme poverty that pervaded all the people.
The fourth objective of the research study was to make practical recommendations towards addressing the poverty among the San community. This objective was meant to gather possible propositions that could assist the San to make their lives bearable. The research found that government as well as some NGOs have intervened in the overall socio-economic problems of the San, though the attempts have failed to yield satisfactory results. The research result has given an indication that there is a profound need for the government to review or re-evaluate current strategies being implemented at San communities and to reformulate programmes and projects which could be more inclusive and create interest for the San’s full participation, and could empower them to sustain themselves and survive. Given these points, the researcher states that this study has attempted to achieve the formulated aim and objectives.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of the study painted a picture denoting that to enable San development and empowerment, it is required to establish flexible, participatory and integrated development programmes and projects that take into account the scale and extent of San economic and social marginalisation and diverse factors that contribute and continue to reproduce San marginalisation. Based on the literature reviewed, study findings and conclusions, the following recommendations are made:

Access to Education

- The study indicated that at Kafima Centre San community, the numerous initiatives and interventions aimed at attracting San children’s participation in formal education, had proved unsuccessful. In this case, the local and provincial governments need to improve their methods of problem identification, so that developmental programmes are agreed upon and designed in a participatory manner, within the borders of the socio-cultural and economic context of the San.
- “Merenda escolar” school feeding programmes need to be implemented in rural schools, essentially targeting schools in proximity to San communities. School feeding programmes in poor rural areas can be viewed as potential social safety nets that provide both health and educational benefits, in this way alleviating hunger at
school, and at the same time enhancing school enrolment rates and reducing absenteeism among the most vulnerable children, in this case the San children.

- The provincial and local governments need to work towards removing barriers preventing children of the San from accessing formal education. There is a need to embark on intervention that considers issues in relation to distances between school and San communities. The government needs to expand basic social infrastructure among other school facilities closer to Etale La Mulavi San community, to give these San children access to education.

- Although primary and secondary education in Angola are free, the study findings showed that San children should be assisted with school equipment, and materials such as school uniforms, educational books and school bags, to ease the humiliating absence of such things among the San children.

- The study findings showed contradictory scenarios. Et Etale La Mulavi San community participants explained that children were not going to school because there were no school facilities closer to their habitat, but at Kafima Centre there were school facilities closer to the San habitat, but children were not going to school because of other social and economic factors such as the embarrassments of extreme poverty. It is recommended that intervention aimed at San development and empowerment should be a multi-sectoral approach. In other words, initiatives undertaken in one sector can be of little benefit unless they are spread across other sectors. For example, any programme aimed at improving San access to education implemented without focusing on San economic insecurity, San mobility and San cultural identity, can be of limited success, as it does not take into consideration the underlying causes of the educational problems.

- The researcher recommends that an educational campaign aimed at educating San parents and/or guardians be held, to ensure that San people understand the importance of formal education in the life of individuals and society as whole.

- There is a need to contact participatory research with the stakeholder at local level in order to certify measures on how to handle the semi-nomadic life of the San, and perhaps consider the possibility of providing mobile schools in remote areas.
Access to Healthcare services

- The researcher recommends that appropriate educational projects and campaigns be formulated to deal with the increasing San problem of alcohol abuse in their communities and surroundings.
- The provincial and local governments need to expand healthcare facilities to remote areas where the San live.

Socio-economic development empowerment

- Taking into account historical factors as well as the findings drawn from this study, the extent of San marginalisation, the degree of their daily life dependence, and the fact that there are no policies in favour of the San, the government of Angola needs to adopt positive measures which are policy-formulated in order to improve and protect the rights of non-dominant groups, by eliminating discrimination and accommodating their cultural differences. At the the national level, there is a need to create a San Development Division within a competent Directorate or Ministerial sphere, which will have a mandated role for tackling issues facing the indigenous and marginalised groups with the objective to improve the livelihood of this group in the country. For long-term measures, there is a need to adhere to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. This would require policies at the legislative level, such that the indigenous peoples’ rights are in line with the international laws.
- The findings of the study demonstrated that several initiatives aimed at promoting and improving the livelihoods of the San have been in vain. In this perspective, the researcher suggests that if the government is to succeed in dealing with some of the most complex social, cultural, economic and political issues, it is necessary to establish consultations and contacts to create a platform for collaboration and cooperation with neighbouring countries such as Botswana and Namibia, who have had success in some areas of creating inclusive and multi-sectorial policies, and an approach from which San have benefited.
- There is a need to expose the San of Southern Angola to other San communities in the neighbouring countries, for them to see role models which may raise awareness of a possible higher standard of life.
- The findings of this study regard the current socio-economic conditions of the San at Etale La Mulavi San community as based on extreme scarcities and near starvation.
This evidence is manifested by the signs of malnutrition, particularly among children and breastfeeding mothers, and is aggravated by the non-existence of healthcare facilities. Hence, the researcher feels that the overall condition needs to be declared a calamity situation, which deserves no further postponement of a government intervention.

- The provincial government, through the Directorate of Agriculture and Rural Development, needs to give high priority to strategies that improve food security for the San. Evidence from the study revealed that the San are no longer surviving on hunting and gathering, but succumb to providing poorly paid work for the dominant ethnic groups. There is an urgent need to assist with good potential agricultural land, draught power (cattle or donkeys) and simple farming tools, so that they can achieve food security for themselves. However, these interventions should always include rewards in the form of food assistance at the beginning of ploughing, to allow the San to do their farming work and reduce the risk of abandoning their field and go and work for the Bantu people for immediate food, or selling their agricultural equipment to get food.

- The study findings reveal how urgently the Angolan government needs to consider prioritising paying social grants to all eligible people, such as the elderly and other vulnerable groups.

Suggestions for further studies

This study is not an exhaustive work on the San communities in Angola. It has focused only on two communities among several other San communities across different municipal districts. In addition, the study only focused on the access to education, health and economic survival strategies. Therefore, there is need for further research to examine differences of the San of Southern Angola in their divergent geographic communities with regard to education, health, land, legal rights, and survival strategies, and how these interplay with their culture.

Further research is needed to examine in detail the role played by San women in shaping their family and communities. The assessment would give insights and draw conclusions based on each case study that would enable proper planning at different governmental levels, and generate achievable programmes and projects.
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW GUIDE

FACE TO FACE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE RESPONDENTS FROM THE SAN COMMUNITY.

1.1. Personal and household details

Kindly tick the correct answer

1. What is your age category?
   - 18-25 □
   - 26-35 □
   - 36-45 □
   - 46-55 □

2. Gender
   a) Male □
   b) Female □

3. Are you married?
   - Yes □
   - No □

4. a) How many people are in your household?
   b) How many people under the age of 18?
   c) How many people between the ages of 18 and 35 years?
   d) How many people between the age of 36 and 59 years?
   d) How many people above the age 60 years?

1.2. Objective 1: To investigate San access to education

1. Do your children or children under your care go to school? If not give reasons?

2. How many kilometres do children travel to get to school?

3. How are the children performing at school?

4. a) What are the challenges (if any) do the children face at school as San children?
   b) (i) If any, how does the school management solve them?
   b) (ii) Additionally, how do you as parents/guardians/ San community solve them?

5. a) What do you think the government has done so far to help your children to go to school?
   b) What do you think the government has done so far to sustain your children at school?
6. What do you think; the government did not do to help your children go to school?

7. In your opinion, what is the importance of formal education in the life of an individual and community?

1.3. Objective 2: To investigate San access to health care system
   1. a) Do you or members of your household sometime feel sick?
      b) If yes, what are the common health problems in your community?
   2. a) Where do you go to when you are sick?
      b) If at the health post/centre, how do you feel about the treatment there?
   3. What distance (in kilometres) do you travel to reach the health post/centre?
   4. In your view, how do you appraise the health workers assistance at the health post /centre?
   5. How do you deal with referral from the health post/centre to a referred hospital?

1.4. Objective 3. To investigate multiple economic activities undertaken by the San for sustenance of the livelihood of their household.
   1. What are some of the economic problems that you face as San people?
   2. What kind of economic activities do you engage in for your own survival?
   3. Among the activities you do how do you assess their economical sustainability?
   4.a) How many of you from the household are involved in the task of sustaining your family economically?
   4.b) If there are others, how do you allocate tasks?
   5. What kind of resources do you think you lack most that could help improve your livelihood/lives?
   6. Do you have any assistance that you get from your extended family/community members? If yes, what are they?
   7. Does the government provide you with any form of assistance? If yes, which ones?
   8. Do you have any economic assistance that you get from any other organization and if so which ones are they?
   9. What suggestion in your opinion can the San community do to improve your own situation?

1.5. Objective 4: To make practical recommendations towards addressing extreme poverty among the San community.
   1. What do you suggest need to be done to make your livelihood socioeconomically feasible and sustainable?
      a) By the government;
      b) By any NGO;
c) By the Civil society;
d) By the private donors.

2. **SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE GOVERNMENT KEY INFORMANTS, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AT PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL LEVEL.**

2.1. **Objective 1: To investigate San access to education**

1. a) What is the school enrolment rate at the school (s) where the San children go?
   b) What is the enrolment rate of the San children?
   c) If there is less enrolment rate, in your view, what are the contributing factors to the poor attendance?
   d) What is the age category of the San children?

2. According to your school policy, what measures are taken to deal with those who attend classes poorly/ have frequent absenteeism and truancy?

3. a) What is the performance score of the children at the schools attended by the San community?
   b) What is the performances score of the San children?

4. How many kilometres do the San children travel to reach the school?

5. a) Are there San children who drop out of school?
   b) If yes, in your opinion what are causes of the dropouts?
   c) How does the department of education solve these challenges of dropout?

6. How do the San community collaborate with your department concerning educational matters?

7. a) What are some the challenges the San children face at school?
   b) If any, how does the education department solve them?

8. What do you think the government has done so far to help the San children to go to school?

9. What do you think the government has done so far to sustain the San children at school?

10. In your view, do you think the San community value formal education? Give reasons.

2.2. **Objective 4. To make practical recommendations towards addressing extreme poverty among the San community.**

1. What do you suggest need to be done to make the children of the San adhere to formal education?
   a) By the government;
b) By the NGO;  
c) By the Civil society;  
d) By the private donors.

3. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE GOVERNMENT KEY INFORMANT, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AT PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL LEVEL

3.1. Objective 2: To investigate San access to health care system  
1. a) Do the San come to the health post/centre when they are sick?  
b) If not, in your opinion, what do you think are the reasons preventing them from coming?  
2. What are the common health problems found among the San community?  
3. a) How is the adherence of the San people to primary health care services?  
b) How is the San adherence to maternal health?  
4. In your view, are the health workers willing/commitment towards assisting the San people?  
5. What are some of the programme/projects you have, specifically to assist the San people?

3.2. Objective 4. To make practical recommendations towards addressing extreme poverty among the San community.  
1. What do you suggest need to be done to improve the health condition of the San?  
a) By the government;  
b) By the NGO;  
c) By the Civil society;  
d) By the private donors.

4. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE GOVERNMENT KEY INFORMANT, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ASSISTANCE AND SOCIAL REINTEGRATION AT PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL LEVEL.

4.1 Objective 3. To investigate multiple economic activities undertaken by the San for sustenance of the livelihood of their household.  
1. a) Is there any socio-economic ministerial policy that protects and promote the rights of the San as indigenous people?  
b) If yes, what does it stipulate?
2. In your opinion, what kind of economic activities are the San people involved in for their living?

3. What resources do you think they lack most that could help improve their livelihood/lives?

4. In your opinion, what are the socioeconomic problems that are unique to the San people?

5. Do you have any programme/project specifically designed to assist their socio-economic uplifting taking into account their cultural and socioeconomic status?

4.2. Objective4: To make practical recommendations towards addressing extreme poverty among the San community.

1. What do you suggest need to be done to improve the socioeconomic life of the San
   a) By the government;
   b) By the NGOs;
   c) By the Civil society;
   d) By the private donors.
Appendix II: Ethical Clearance

ETHICS CLEARANCE FOR TREATISES/DISSERTATIONS/THESIS

Please type or complete in black ink

FACULTY:__Business and Economic Sciences__

SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT:__Development Studies__

I, (surname and initials of supervisor) Aisling de Klerk__

the supervisor for (surname and initials of candidate) __T Hamise__

______________________(student number) 212428667

a candidate for the degree of MA Development Studies


The survival strategies of the San people: A case study of San communities in Angola.

considered the following ethics criteria (please tick the appropriate block):

| 1. Is there any risk of harm, embarrassment of offence, however slight or temporary, to the participant, third parties or to the communities at large? | YES |
| 2. Is the study based on a research population defined as 'vulnerable' in terms of age, physical characteristics and/or disease status? | |
| 2.1 Are subjects/participants/respondents of your study: (a) Children under the age of 18? | |
| (b) NMMU staff? | |
| (c) NMMU students? | |
| (d) The elderly/persons over the age of 60? | |
| (e) A sample from an institution (e.g. hospital/school)? | |
| (f) Handicapped (e.g. mentally or physically)? | |
3. Does the data that will be collected require consent of an institutional authority for this study? (An institutional authority refers to an organisation that is established by government to protect vulnerable people)

3.1 Are you intending to access participant data from an existing, stored repository (e.g. school, institutional or university records)?

4. Will the participant’s privacy, anonymity or confidentiality be compromised?

4.1 Are you administering a questionnaire/survey that:
(a) Collects sensitive/identifiable data from participants?
(b) Does not guarantee the anonymity of the participant?
(c) Does not guarantee the confidentiality of the participant and the data?
(d) Will offer an incentive to respondents to participate, i.e. a lucky draw or any other prize?
(e) Will create doubt whether sample control measures are in place?
(f) Will be distributed electronically via email (and requesting an email response)?

Note:
• If your questionnaire DOES NOT request respondents’ identification, is distributed electronically and you request respondents to return it manually (print out and deliver/mall); AND respondent anonymity can be guaranteed, your answer will be NO.
• If your questionnaire DOES NOT request respondents’ identification, is distributed via an email link and works through a web response system (e.g. the university survey system); AND respondent anonymity can be guaranteed, your answer will be NO.

Please note that if ANY of the questions above have been answered in the affirmative (YES) the student will need to complete the full ethics clearance form (REC-H application) and submit it with the relevant documentation to the Faculty RECH (Ethics) representative.

and hereby certify that the student has given his/her research ethical consideration and full ethics approval is not required.

SUPERVISOR(S)  

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT  

STUDENT(S)  

Please ensure that the research methodology section from the proposal is attached to this form.
Appendix III: Final permission to submit

OF TREATISE/DISSertation/Thesis To THE Examination Office

Evelyn S. Es
De Klerk, A

Hamuse T. N. J

The Survival Strategies of Gunya

sed amendments to the treatise/dissertation/thesis rated to the candidate to submit the final bound to the examination office.

Pru Hof de Klerk
07/04/2015
Appendix IV: Government Permission

DECLARAÇÃO

Incumbe-me Sua Excelência Senhor Governador Provincial da Guiné para comunicar as Autoridades competentes que a Exma. Senhora Tibéria Mdanyukukwa Lilanga Hamuse, está autorizada a fazer investigação científica sobre o Grupo dos Kung (Carnusqueu) na Província do Cunene.

Por ser verdade e para que não se lhe ponha impedimento, mandei passar a presente Declaração que vai por mim assinada e autenticada com carimbo a óleo em uso neste Gabinete.

GABINETE DO GOVERNADOR PROVINCIAL DO CUNENE, em Ondjiva, 06 de Agosto de 2014.

A Diretora de Gabinete,

Dr.ª Suzana Eulália, F.W. Sacata
***TRANSLATION***

THE COAT OF ARMS
REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA
THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF CUNENE
THE OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

DECLARATION

It is incumbent on me, that the Governor of the Cunene Province, wishes to inform all the competent authorities that Mrs TIBERIA NDANYAKUKWA LILONGA HAMUNDE, is duly authorized to undertake a scientific investigation on the Kung Group (Camussequela) in the Province of Cunene.

For this being the truth and that there be no impediments, we have issued this Declaration which is duly signed, authenticated with an oil rubber stamp as used by this Office.

Issued by: THE OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR OF CUNENE PROVINCE
Issued in: Ondjiva
Issued on: 06 August 2014
Signed by: THE DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE
Dr. SUZANA EULALIA F.W. SACATO

TRANSLATORS NOTE: Said Certificate has been authenticated.

***TRANSLATION***
CERTIFICADO
TRADUÇÃO OFICIAL

Su abaixo assinado, Dr. Aníbal De Rego (Ph.D), Tradutor e Comissário de Juramentos, Ajuizada pelo Supremo Tribunal da Justiça da Namíbia, morador nesta cidade de Windhoek, República da Namíbia. Certifico e atesto que o texto aqui contido foi traduzido da língua portuguesa para a língua inglesa, e assumo toda responsabilidade por essa tradução.

I hereby certify that the text hereunder is a faithful translation of the attached document written in the Portuguese language, and hereby assume full responsibility for the same.

, the undersigned, Dr. Aníbal De Rego (Ph.D), Sworn Translator and Commissioner of Oaths duly admitted by the High Court of Namibia, residing in the city of Windhoek, do hereby certify and attest, unto whom it may concern, that the attached is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a true and correct translation of the annexed hereunto in the Portuguese language, or which translation I hereby assume full responsibility.

Sworn Translator
Tradutor Oficial
Dr. Aníbal do Rego (Ph.D)
P. O. Box 31491
P.O. Box
Windhoek
Republic of Namibia
Appendix V: Language Editor Report

Confirmation of editing

Hamuse, Tiberia (Mrs) (s212428667)
Thu 11/27/2014 6:41 PM
Sent Items
To:
Vicki Lgglesden <v.igglesden@polka.co.za>
Dear Editor
Thank you so much for the corrections and resending the confirmation.
Best Regads
Tiberia

Vicki Lgglesden <v.igglesden@polka.co.za>
Thu 11/27/2014 2:48 PM
Inbox
Dear Tiberia

This email serves as confirmation that I have edited your Masters in Development Studies dissertation entitled SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF THE CUNAHAMA SAN COMMUNITIES IN CUNENE PROVINCE, ANGOLA which you submitted to me in November 2014. This was done in my private capacity, and as an editor on the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University list of approved editors.

I edited the assignment for grammar, vocabulary, punctuation and sentence construction. I completed the edit in track changes and using text boxes. Recommendations for changes were given, where considered appropriate.

Kind regards
Vicki Lgglesden (MSc)
v.igglesden@polka.co.za
072 432 2260
044 356 2638
Appendix VI: Turnitin Report

Turnitin Originality Report

- Processed on: 01-Dec-2014 11:47 SAST
- ID: 484115402
- Word Count: 29367
- Submitted: 1

FINAL DRAFT REPORT *By Tiberia Hamuse*

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