



Midlands State University

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FACULTY OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**AN EXAMINATION OF THE IMPACT OF THE HISTORICAL CULTURAL
CONTACT BETWEEN THE KALANGA AND SAN GROUPS IN WESTERN
ZIMBABWE SINCE THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD THE CASE OF BULILIMA**

BY

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**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS OF THE BACHELOR OF ARTS IN HISTORY AND
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES HONOURS DEGREE**

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Approval Form

The undersigned certify that they have supervised read, and recommended to the Midlands State University for acceptance of dissertation entitled “*An examination of the impact of the historical cultural contact between the Kalanga and San groups in Western Zimbabwe since the pre-colonial period the case of Bulilima*” submitted by Sizo Mandisi Ncube, registration No. R146622T in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Bachelor of Arts Honours Degree in History and International Studies at Midlands State University

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Declaration

I, SIZO MANDISI NCUBE do hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own work in conception and execution, and all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of direct and indirect references. I also solemnly declare that this work has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other University.

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.....

Date

...../...../.....

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to the Almighty for instilling in me the spirit of hard work, to my parents Mr and Mrs. K. Ncube, brothers and sisters for their unreserved support and love. Most importantly I dedicate this piece of work to my late sister Charlotte “Bobby”, who was, still is and forever be my pillar of strength and inspiration.

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Glossary of terms

Bahia/Tyua/Bakhwa/Tsarwa: the San ethnic group

Borro: San traditional sacred dance mostly performed during healing and initiation process, this dance is still practiced

Emlageni/ Lagisa: seasonal movement of cattle to new pastures.

Hoodia: a plant used by the San to suppress hunger

Hossana: Kalanga rain dancers

Jiiwas: San ceremony which its purpose was for the appeasement of the Spirits.

Kyebe: Salt

Khuta: Kalanga traditional court known as *Idale* in Ndebele

Mahhonja: mophane worms

Manyangwa: Kalanga rain making shrines referred to as Daka

Musiwa: initiation into the office of traditional healing or hossana.

Nata: present day Manzamnyama River dividing Bulilima and Tsholotsho

Njelele: fish eagle in Kalanga

Njelele: rain making shrine

Ooi: meat

Oha: water

Tso-ro-otso: a wild fruit which was eaten by San people on their arrival in Tsholotsho

Tso-ro-otso: Tsholotsho

Tshwao: San language

/i: fire

Umlaga: temporary shelter which was abandoned at the end of the herding season.

Maphungubgwe: a jackal popularly known as Ikhanka in Ndebele

List of acronyms

AU	Africa Union
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Programme For Indigenous
GFPA	Game and Fish Preservation Act
LK2	Leopard Kopje Culture
NLHA	Native Land Husbandry Act
RDC	Rural District Council
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community

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Abstract

The dissertation is mainly focused on the effects of cultural contact between the San and the Kalanga in Western Zimbabwe, Bulilima area from pre-colonial. The San solely survived on the environment, their religion was defined by the environment this has been evidenced by the supernatural phenomena and myths which were grounded on the environment. Before the advent of the Bantu speaking groups, the San were nomadic in nature, non-pastoralists, hence the study reflected on how the Bantu speaking groups turned the San into labourers. The research further highlighted on the origins of the Kalanga people who became the masters of the San on the San areas. The reasons why the San were not able to resist the Kalanga domination were simple based on the lack of leadership structures hence they were loosely united. The study concluded that there was no cultural diffusion but there was cultural hybridity because both the San and the Kalanga borrowed from each others' culture however, it was noted that the San were affected the most as they were subjects of the Kalanga thus it was forced on them. The dissertation further highlighted on the effects of colonialism to both the San and the Kalanga people. The San were affected by colonial legislative policies which were meant to turn the Africans into colonial labour force. The San were mainly affected by the NLHA which entailed on the confiscation of land hence the San nomadic nature was dealt a blow, as it was regarded as vagrancy. Moreover, the GFPA criminalized San hunting activities hence the San were forced to rely on both the Kalanga and the Ndebele, the colonialists viewed the San hunting as poaching though it was not harmful to the environment because they hunted down sick animals.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

Introduction

Whereas the Kalanga and Ndebele are sedentary agro-pastoralists, San were originally hunter-gatherers, they do not have a tradition of growing crops for food, nor of rearing cattle, but rather always depended on the environment of which they always had superior knowledge for their sustenance.¹ As their contact with the Kalanga and Ndebele increased over time, the San, facing a shortage of wild grain, increasingly bartered meat for grain such as pearl millet and Sorghum.

The dissertation will focus and explore the reasons why the San are marginalized economically, socially and politically in line with the cultural contact with the Kalanga in the Western part of Zimbabwe. The thesis will further dwell or explore the reasons why the San culture was undermined and some traits absorbed by other ethnic groups with special reference to the Kalanga. Moreover, the pre-colonial Kalanga, colonial era and the post-colonial will be compared so as to come up with a conclusion on how the cultural contact affected the San during these periods.

The dissertation will further highlight and explore why the San people in the Western Zimbabwe have been affected by drought after the historical contact with the Bantu speaking groups such as the Kalanga. The role played by the colonial government in undermining the San culture or to parcel it out to the Kalanga shall be examined. The research will try to unearth the effects of the policies imposed by the colonial government which affected the San cultural way of livelihood as they were viewed as Kalanga due to the cultural historical contact with them.

Furthermore, the research will also dwell on how the historical cultural contact between the San and Kalanga affect both groups after independence, *“Is there pure or original Kalanga culture and*

San culture?'''. The research will scrutinize the Zimbabwean constitution especially section 280 which emphasizes on traditional leaders' performance of cultural activities; the questions would be raised on why the San ethnic group's leadership is that of the Kalanga and the Ndebele.

The dissertation will further assess how the historical contact between these groups affected each other, and the attention will be based on self-denial by the San which is due to the discrimination by the Kalanga and Ndebele groups clearly demonstrate that they do not value any aspects of San culture besides the Toro dance. San youths see their transformation into Kalanga as a way of escaping discrimination and symbolically dissociating themselves from the poverty and perceived 'backwardness' of their ethnic group.

It would be historically naïve to only concentrate on how the cultural contact affected the San, because there was cultural diffusion that is the Kalanga also adopted some of the San cultural practices, therefore the dissertation below will unearth the traits of the Kalanga culture that were borrowed from the San. Language would be looked at and the naming of the villages as to establish the cultural exchange between these groups. Lastly the research will further assess whether the colonial government recognized the Kalanga and the San as the independent ethnic groups, the divide and rule principle shall be scrutinized so as to draw conclusion on the continuation of the cultural contact between the San and the Kalanga.

Research Problem

This research seeks to demythologize the confusion that is compounded by the official Zimbabwean history narrative which seeks to promote the idea that the San ethnic groups are

second class citizens. Moreover, the problems which further perpetuated the research into the field on the San is the question, Why are the San people led by the Bantu speakers and why their cultures are undermined? Furthermore, the other problem is that there has been a confusion on whether the San still exist in the Zimbabwe, why is it that their history has been parceled to the Kalanga and Ndebele. Lastly it is important to note that the San history and language is facing the danger of extinction due to the policies which were enacted by the colonial and post-colonial governments because of the assumptions that they were Kalanga, hence reflecting on the effects of cultural historical contact between the Kalanga and the San.

Conclusively, the research seeks to answer why the San political interest and grievances are thought to be that of the dominating groups and why the San people are socially and economically marginalized by national policies and their neighbors? The problem further affecting the San is that their youths see their transformation into Kalanga as a way of escaping discrimination and symbolically dissociating themselves from the poverty and perceived 'backwardness' of their ethnic group, therefore the research will seek to unearth the reason or the 'advantages' of belonging to the Kalanga. As such, according to Murphree, the attitude that has been adopted by the San is one of silence.²

Objectives

1. To differentiate the San from the Kalanga
2. To explore the reasons on why the San ethnic group found it difficult to resist Kalanga domination.
3. To evaluate the impact of the policies imposed by on both Kalanga and the San {historical cultural contact}

Research Questions

1. Who are the San and the Kalanga?
2. What were the long lasting impacts of Kalanga historical cultural contact with the San?
3. Examine the role played by the post-colonial legislations in turning the San to beggars?

Historical Background

There are about three different ethnic groups found in Western Zimbabwe which makes it difficult to study their history because they dominated each other, that is Kalanga -80%, Ndebele -14%, San -6%. There are around 2500 San living on the Western Zimbabwe districts of Bulilima and Tsholotsho, mainly populated with the Kalanga and the Ndebele. The San in indigenous languages are called Batwa, Bakhwa, and Amasili. The San are known to be the first inhabitants of the Southern Africa and Madzudzo support this by saying that the San are indigenous to this country though some came from Maitengwe area.³ The San settlement predates the arrival of agricultural groups. Hitchcock points out to the fact that the San larger population in Zimbabwe is found in Makhulela area and *Tsoro-o-otso*. San is known to be a collective name for Khoisan speaking nations in Southern Africa and lived about 20,000 years.

The hunter-gatherers maintained a semi-nomadic life and moved according to seasons and favorable climate for their livelihood. Hunting was so important to them to the extent that their semi-nomadic existence was governed by the movement of the game and the change in seasons.

The presence of the San in Botswana is evidenced by rock art paintings and stone tools dating back to over 70 000 years. It should be brought to light that the other place of origin of the San is Northern Cape; these San from Northern Cape are descended from two tribes, an amalgam of the original San hunter-gatherers and the later arriving. They were virtually exterminated by the subsequent settlers. Before the hunt the shaman would conduct a religious ceremony and they would enter a trance and his vision recorded on a rock by way of painting. The distinct click of their language once found nowhere else in Africa has been incorporated to Zulu and Xhosa speech. However due to human migration and Bantu expansion the San found in Botswana and Eastern Cape were displaced to parts of Zimbabwe like Tsholotsho and Plumtree near the Botswana boarder.

The San groups in Bulilima just like the general populace in Southern Africa were affected by imperialism and the social-political and environmental change as a result of European domination.⁴ It has been noted that the changes among the San was as a result of government “*developmental changes*” and land reform efforts.⁵ Many San people in the Bulilima area and Tsholotsho suffered from forced resettlements to areas which provided or which they would have access to the Zimbabwean political economy e.g water sources and schools. San who lived on the land for Safari hunting were moved to communal areas where they suffered discrimination socially and economically, however some preferred to be herders and domestic servants for the Safari hunters.⁶

The Kalanga originate in the North East African region, specifically the Sudan-Egypt-Ethiopia region. The Kalanga ethnic group just like many Bantu ethnic groups trekked from the North to Southern Africa notably Zimbabwean Plateau. The difference with other groups is that the Kalanga settled south of the Zambezi (Matebeleland North and South) over two millennia ago. By 100 AD,

the Kalanga had settled in the Zimbabwean Plateau and the areas of the present day Botswana while the other groups arrived later between 500 and 1700, and the Shona ethnic group arrived around 1700 years hence the argument that the Kalanga was the hybrid of the Shona and Ndebele is misleading. With regards to the above it can be argued that the Kalanga were the first Bantu ethnic group to settle on the present day Zimbabwe.

By the earliest centuries of the Christian era (500AD) the Kalanga had established what archeologists have called the Leopard's Kopje Culture.⁷ It was an Iron Age sequence culture which was the first in Sub-Saharan Africa to practice mixed farming; mine, smelt and trade in gold, copper and iron. By 1000 AD, the Kalanga had become a sophisticated people, establishing the first city-state in Sub-Saharan Africa, the Maphungubwe City, on the confluence of the Limpopo and Shashe Rivers, here they traded in gold, and indeed so great was this industry at Maphungubwe that archeologists have found several artifacts made from that precious mineral there. The most famous is the Golden Rhino, which now forms the Order of Maphungubwe, South Africa's highest national honor.

Although there are some allusions to earlier 15th century Kalanga migrations into the western parts of the country from oral traditions⁸, it is on good record that in the seventeenth century, Khami fell within the territory of the Kalanga ruler Ndumba.

Literature Review

There are various sources which have tried to differentiate or do away with distortions which speculate that Kalanga was a sub ethnic group of the Shona, Ndebele and Bangwato. Some of these sources are published and unpublished which argue that Kalanga was an independent ethnic group.

A major book that will be used is a book by Wentzel, the source deals with the history of the pre-colonial Kalanga but it does not mention or give emphasis on who the Kalanga found when they were coming from Central Africa besides the *Bakhwa*. The historian does not give an insight or differentiate the San and Kalanga culture for example he presumed that the prominence of the rocks was a Kalanga phenomenon. Wentzel went on to say, '*the Kalanga liked everywhere, where there were rocks or mountains, they put their riches and possession there*'.⁹

T. Dube in her book, defines the Kalanga as an ethnic group which is found in Bulilima and Mangwe districts, in the South-Western parts of Zimbabwe¹⁰, however her definition is shallow because he defines the Kalanga as only those who are in the Kalanga concentrated areas and did not put into considerations the effects of the cultural diffusion and displacement, and she does not mention the San- Kalanga cultural contact and assumes that the Kalangas found Bulilima to be the "*no man's land*".

Contrary to the above assumptions, the book seeks to show and reflect that the Kalanga has been an independent ethnic group which maintained its ethnic identity since the pre-colonial times. However, the scholar does not clearly show how cultural diffusion and the contact with other groups such as the San diluted the Kalanga culture. Dube also highlight on the '*bukalanga ndiko kanyi kwedu*' phenomena which means *kalangaland is our home*. He argues that this phrase became to be popularized with the coming in of the Ndebele immigrants, who sought to dominate all spheres of Kalanga lives¹¹, this phrase according to Dube does not only refer to the structures but to a totality of Kalanga and their existence as an independent ethnic group though being dominated by the Ndebele, however the Kalangaland is our home phenomena is biased because the land belonged to the San who are indigenous to Zimbabwe. The gap which the dissertation

seeks to address is how the cultural historical contact changed the social lives and political structures of the Kalanga and Kalanga people in Bulilima.

The major scholar who has written much on the Kalanga is Msindo. Msindo has wrote much pieces of literature which are helpful to the study of the Kalanga ethnic history from the pre-colonial history hence the dissertation would borrow most of his arguments in trying to address and correcting the Kalanga distorted history. Msindo also covers the colonial era and bring out how the government policies further failed the Kalanga ethnic group. Msindo comes up with a theory of, '*Arguing for Ndebele failing the Kalanga*' meaning that the colonial government recognized the Ndebele for literacy and educational purposes hence affecting the San due to their contact which led to the assumptions that the San did not exist because they were overshadowed by the dominating group.¹² In line with the above, it was unfair for the San because their consciousness of being an independent ethnic group was overlooked due to cultural diffusion which perpetuated the mythology that it was a sub-ethnic group of the Kalanga. As such the dissertation will also argue along the lines of argument by Msindo in asserting the '*creation or invention*' of the Kalanga by the colonial government as sub-ethnic group.

Moreover, Moyo wrote a thesis on the Kalanga Oral wisdom and it addresses the demands of the dissertation topic indirectly. He argues that, until recently the Kalanga language was falling into disuse as most of the people in this part of Zimbabwe and Botswana had and still have adopted their *linguae francae*, Ndebele and Tswana respectively due to cultural diffusion which had led to the relegation of the Kalanga as the language of 'old people'.¹³ Moyo and Msindo share the same idea that is the origins of the Njelele which is the main shrine of Mwali in the Matopo region. Moyo further denotes that the effect of the Ndebele colonialism that happened in the 1840s can

still be felt as Ndebele, Shona and English are only official languages in South Western Zimbabwe. Moyo is of the view that the Kalanga have been denied their history, and he manages to trace and link the Kalanga to the Leopard's Kopje (*Ntunungwe = ntunu meaning kopje, ngwe meaning leopard*).¹⁴ As such it can be argued that Moyo has managed to trace the Kalanga history using the naming of certain places and reflecting on the influences of other languages notably Ndebele and English. However, the gap which needs to be addressed is the omission of the San influence on the Kalanga culture as they had cultural contact which in turn leads to cultural exchange or hybridity.

Ndzimu-Unami Moyo in his books, *'The Rebirth of the Bukalanga'* he seeks to redefine the Bukalanga nation and reclaim the distinctiveness and tradition imposed by the Shona and Ndebele *'colonialists'*. He further argues along the lines that, Kalanga culture and heritage was totally redefined by the sword in the 19th century as the Ndebele and early 1980s as Shona.¹⁵ Due to cultural diffusion and the feeling of being a minority language, Moyo says that the Kalanga surnames have since been translated to several languages that they now speak. The books further reflect that cultural diffusion have affected and denied Kalanga their heritage, thus they loss their identity because the Ndebele did not understand the Kalanga language thus they perpetuated the change of Kalanga surnames to that of which they could understand. As such one can argue that the Kalanga changed the surnames into Ndebele as a way of fighting inferiority complex. Therefore, the book is helpful in the compilation of the dissertation, however there are some issues which are biased and reflect frustration of the author. The book does not mention the influence of the San as it views the Bukalanga as the 1st to settle in the Zimbabwean plateau and the book is relevant to the study as it gives the background of the Kalanga and its neighbors who later dominated the San. The Bukalanga according to Moyo was redefined by the sword and the Kalanga

were forced to change their surnames to the master's language,¹⁶ however he did not comment on how the San were changed their surnames by the Kalanga hence a selective narrative.

The works of Madzudzo will be used as one of major sources to the above study. This is because its assessment on the San status in Southern Africa is outstanding. The scholar managed to identify Western Zimbabwe as the focal point of the San residence. The source is outstanding because it managed to highlight the fact that the San were the first inhabitants of Western Zimbabwe areas, and he further traced the reasons behind social and economic marginalization of the San in Southern Africa. The source stresses on the role played by government policies to further worsen the existing marginalization of the San. Madzudzo further argues that a major San settlement predates the arrival of the agricultural groups like Kalanga and Ndebele.¹⁷ He further highlighted on how colonial policies affected the indigenous people mainly the San and the change from solely relying on the environment is discussed in detail. Therefore, it can be noted that to a greater extent the works of Alias Madzudzo gives an overview on the historical cultural contact between the Kalanga and the San in Western Zimbabwe.

D. G, Gil '*Confronting Injustice and Oppression*' will be used in the dissertation and the scholar state that the San have been relegated to a stigmatized and dependent underclass in the political economy. The author of the book stated that, the policies of the countries with the San population are founded on the old-style of liberal capitalist values and fortify economic policies that endorsed the interests of leading social groups.¹⁸ Therefore, the book is paramount to the research because it reveals how the colonial government dealt a blow on the San as an independent ethnic group.

R. K. Hitchcock's works will be used as he is one of the Gurus writing on the San livelihood. He wrote various books and articles explaining how the San lived and the transition to mixed

economy. The sources are helpful as they are going to be used as guidelines to the study on the examination between Kalanga and the San cultural contact and its effects. One of his book titled, *“The San in Zimbabwe- Livelihoods, Land and Human Rights”* he is of the view that the San ancestors have been in Southern Africa for 20,000 or more years, he traces the culture of the San from its originality and continues to present day. He explores the changes which occurred due to the contact with Bantu speaking groups. He further outlines how the San were changed into practicing mixed economies and he points out that the interaction with Kalanga were generally characterized by co-operation and mutual assistance though traits of discrimination and exploitation of the San were common.¹⁹ The source is relevant to the study because it managed to raise the points on the education policies in relation with historical cultural contact with the Kalanga. To support the above Hitchcock noted that San children attend school and learn in dominant languages at the expense of their mother language.

Moreso, he managed to scrutinize the colonial policies which affected the San as a result of the contact with Kalanga and Ndebele, these include the *‘Game and Fish Preservation Act 1929, Native Land Husbandry Act 1951’* which were crafted to enhance the white economy as a result San lived on degraded land with no natural resources the depended on. As a conclusion the scholar state that the San even today are still considered landless, jobless, and homeless.

Raftopoulos and Mlambo, in the book entitled, *‘Becoming Zimbabwe’* which seeks to trace the Zimbabwean history from pre-colonial era. The book however, does not mention much on the aboriginal groups of the present day Zimbabwe. The Ndebele settled on the Zimbabwean plateau and established a heterogeneous/ mixed nation that composed of the Kalanga, Rozvi and these were brought through conquest.²⁰ The book further highlights on the origins of the Kalanga and

tries to link it with the leopard's kopje because of the ceramic correlates found in Maphungubgwe. However, the book only concentrated on the history after the San, it does not dwell much on the San history and how they were incorporated into the Kalanga system meaning that it overlooked their history and parceled it out to other ethnic groups.

Sources and Methodology

The sources that were used in compiling this piece of writing are oral interviews, written evidence and the method which was used was the qualitative and quantitative that is the interpretation of pictures and figures. Oral tradition was used through the interviews which were conducted whilst the written evidence played a pivotal role in this research, thus the research relied much on the written literature, both unpublished and published sources, and conference papers were used together with online articles and newspapers.

Research and Methodology

Qualitative Research Methods

Qualitative research was used in gathering the information used in compiling the dissertation, thus the use of interviews and observations. There are two aspects that are of essence in qualitative research and these are observations and interviews. There are some aspects which were covered or unearthed through interviews and focused discussions for example the uniqueness of the San gums as a way to differentiate them from Bantu groups. Qualitative research thus refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things for example the qualitative method managed to probe on the importance of rock art and the interpretation of the San rock painting and the meaning of certain terms such as Tso-ro-otso among

others. As such the qualitative approach is also more flexible and participatory. The researcher was able to inquire on some issues for further clarification. The approach which was used was not discriminatory in nature as it accommodated both the leadership and the villagers.

Oral Sources- interviews were used to gather such information from knowledgeable individuals. Oral evidence was used in the research and it played an important role because it managed to explain and complement the written sources. The interviews were conducted in Bulilima which is the area of study because there is limited number of literature which explains the cultural hybridity between the san and the Kalanga. Moreover, the oral interviews and focused group discussion played an important role in compiling the dissertation because it gave clarity on who the San are and how they can be differentiated from the Kalanga.

Questioners

1. How do you differentiate a San from a Kalanga?
2. Why do San regard themselves as a Kalanga?
3. Where did the, '*nkwa ekaguta nobhaya ddula*' phrase originated from?

Written Records: The major literature which was consulted is those written by Msindo, Nau dzaBakalanga wrote by Kumile Masola, Dube. T, A History of the Kalanga in Bulilima and Mangwe Districts, USA, 2010. R, K Hitchcock and Elias Madzudzo among others will be consulted. Other sources that were used in the research were journals and unpublished works notably Munjeri who wrote on the pre-colonial Kalanga people. It is important to note that these sources were used because they are readily available on the MSU library and on the Google books

internet panel. The disadvantages of the written sources lies on the biasness and the influence of the regime for example the colonial government scholars such as Lewis-Williams quoted the explorers who said that the caves wall were full of San paintings which were hideous and more ugly than its neighbor²¹ justifying the ill treatment of the San people by the colonial government.

Media: newspaper were used in compiling the dissertation notably the Herald, *“Neglected San community slowly plunging into oblivion”*, Newsday, *San people ignorant of their language*, The Patriot, *“New Constitution gives identity to Tsholotsho San community”*, Bulawayo 24 News, *‘Zimbabwe Bushmen demanding to be taken back to the bush’*. The reason for the use of these newspapers lies on the lack of literature written on the plight of the San. Online documentaries on the San people were also used, films such as the Gods must be crazy were used to analyze the role played by the colonial government in dehumanizing the San people.

Research Population: the research will target the Bulilima population especially the leaders and the new generation around Ndolwane area.

Chapter Breakdown

The study has different chapters which focus on various themes. There is an introductory chapter which is made up of an introduction, statement problem, objectives, research questions, historical background, literature review, sources and methodology and the chapter breakdown. Chapter one will focus on the origins of the Kalanga and the San, identify the geographical location of these two ethnic groups. Most importantly the chapter will discuss the pre-colonial interactions or relations between these groups and the chapter will analyze the pre-colonial Kalanga means of production. Most importantly, the San rock paintings will be scrutinized. Chapter two will mainly

be based on the impact of historical cultural contact of the San and Kalanga. The chapter will also highlight on the colonial policies and how these policies, implemented affected the San as they were viewed as the sub-ethnic group of the Kalanga, and how it has perpetuated continued marginalization of the minority groups. Lastly, chapter 3 will focus on the post- colonial dispensation and evaluate how the San and Kalanga way of life has been improved. It will also highlight on the effects of the post- colonial government policies on the San culture and educational policy and a conclusion will be the last piece of work to be written.

ENDNOTES

¹ S. Robins et al, *An Assessment of the San in South Africa, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe*, Windhoek, LAC Publication, 2001, p.78

² M. Murphree, “The Salience of Ethnicity in African States: A Zimbabwean case study”. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 11; 2, 1988, p.ii

³ S. Robins et al, *An Assessment of the San in South Africa, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe*, Windhoek, LAC Publication, 2001, p.78

⁴ R. K. Hitchcock et al, “Environmental Anthropology in the Kalahari: Development, Resettlement, and Ecological Change Among the San of Southern Africa”, *Explorations in Anthropology*, Vol. 9:2, 2009, p.170

⁵ Ibid, p.177

⁶ Ibid, p.177

⁷ E. Moyo, *The Rebirth of Bukalanga: A Manifesto for the Liberation of a Great People with a Proud History Part I*, Maphungubgwe News Corporation, 2012, p.10

⁸ P.T, Wentzel, *Nau dzaBakalanga: A History of the Kalanga*, Pretoria, University Of South Africa, Vol.1, 1983, p.36

⁹ Ibid, p.33

¹⁰ T. Dube, *A History of the Kalanga in Bulilima and Mangwe Districts: 1850-2008*, USA, VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2010, p.112

¹¹ Ibid, p112

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CHAPTER ONE: PRE-COLONIAL SAN AND THE KALANGA

Introduction

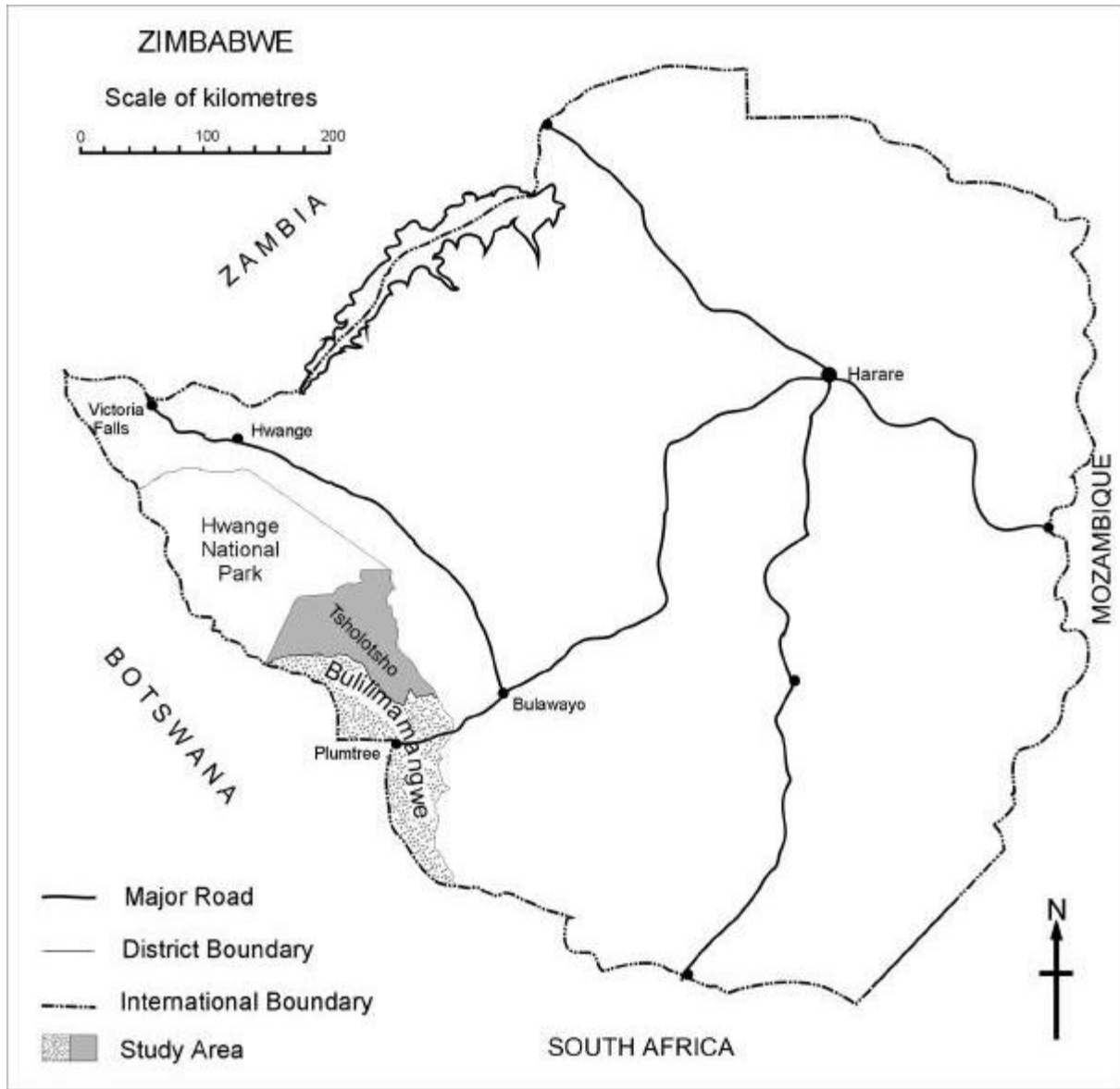
The chapter will be based on the pre-colonial era and the historical background of the San and the Kalanga people. The chapter will trace the origins of both the San and Kalanga and try to trace on where they came from before settling in the Western Zimbabwe. The Chapter will seek to explain who are the San and who are the Kalanga, difference and similarities in their culture will be drawn so as to analyze the historical cultural contact between these groups and how cultural hybridity affected them. Rock painting in general will be dealt with in this chapter, geographical location will be identified. Therefore, it can be noted that on this chapter the history of the San and Kalanga will be looked at and the San way of life before the coming in of the Bantu groups, analysis will be made on the San influence on the Kalanga culture and vice versa.

Area of Study

In the past San occupied most of the areas south of the Zambezi River; archaeologically their presence is evidenced by hundreds of rock part.¹The study or research will be based on the areas of the Western Zimbabwe (Bulilima) and some examples will be drawn from Tsholotsho area because they have a Kalanga population. In Bulilima, the locals refer to the San as Bakhwa, or Amasili however these are derogatory. The San people are found in Bulilima area, Makhulela being the most populated. Even though it has been noted the areas where the San people are found, it is important to note that they live according to Ndebele and Kalanga cultures, which are the languages defining the laws, rituals and sacred days e.g *Izilo*. Therefore, the area under discussion

or study has complex relations, hence difficult to define or point out the genesis of certain cultural values, thus cultural hybridity can be used to explain the complex relations in the area of study.

FIG 1.1-A map on the area of study



Source- San are found in two settlements in the Makhulela Ward in northern Bulilima, Thwayithwayi.²

The above map seeks to establish the area of study that is the Western Zimbabwe where most of the San are concentrated. The highlighted areas being the areas where San are found namely Tsholotsho, Bulilimamangwe, however the study was focused on the Bulilima.

Origins of the San

Yet it was they who had solitary domain over the continent for ages before the introduction of agriculture by the Bantu³ the San history have been parceled out. The San people are members of various Khoisan-speaking indigenous hunter-gatherer people representing the first nation of Southern Africa, whose territories span Botswana, Namibia, Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Lesotho.⁴ The click language of the San people can be traced back to the middle Stone Age period.

Historical Background of the San

The San is a collective name for Khoisan speaking nations in Southern Africa. The San ethnic group is indigenous to this country and some came from the Maitengwe region. The San settlement predates the coming or the arrival of the agricultural groups that is the Bantu speaking people,⁵ as such, the San history or way of life excluded agricultural activities. The San are believed to be the first people living in Southern Africa dating back to about 20 000 years back.⁶ The San were hunter-gatherers, maintaining a nomadic life, moved in accordance with favorable climatic conditions supporting their survival.⁷ It has been noted by various scholars that the San had no permanent homes rather they had more permanent structures around water sources or holes in the winter period,⁸ hence short hunting distance. The San were a classless society as there was no official leader and the decision making was collective as it included women. An individual's

viewpoint was weighted according to their level of skill and know-how in the particular field of discussion.

Moreover, the traditional San hunted so as to feed the whole groups through collaborative exercise. The San diet was traditionally about 70/80% of plant food, including berries, nuts, roots and melons gathered by women and 20-30% was meat hunted by the men using poisoned arrows and spears.⁹ The San used songs, folklores and rock painting as medium of communicating their history, he further state that the San used animal hide slings to cover their essentials¹⁰ and the blankets were made from animal skin hence the conclusion that the San were the environmentalist as they solely survived on the environment to sustain their livelihood.

The San practiced division of labor based on gender, men hunted while women gathered. The children usually just trail along, helping where they can as they assimilate the experience of adults. The older members of the band mostly remain at camp, and watch over the children when their parents are out hunting and gathering. This is an opportunity for the elders to pass on their extensive knowledge of their world to the children in the form of stories and song. The San are excellent mimics or imitators, and it is fun all round as they mimic various animals, while asking the children to name the animal in play.¹¹ The elderly are the pillars of San spiritual life. This is an important role as the San are quite a spiritual people, believing in the supernatural world and the existence of a supreme God. This belief infuses everyday life, and nearly every aspect of their simple lives has a spiritual dimension. For example, they believe that to hunt is to dance in the spirit

In light of the above, it is imperative to note that before the advent of the Bantu communities the San people were non-homogenous groups like the Kalanga and the Ndebele. It has to be noted that

before the historical cultural contact with the Kalanga and later the Ndebele, the San people solely survived on the environment, thus their economy, religion and social activities were hinged on the environment. For example the San religion originated from the environment notably the *Jiiwas* ceremony which its primary purpose was to appease the “*hunting spirits*”.

Significance of rock art

Roper argues that Africa is a dark continent, as such there is no history to talk about, there is history of European and Americans and the darkness is not the subject of history,¹² and however the statement is invalid especially when the analyzing San rock painting because through these paintings the social, economic and religious activities are unearthed. The San rock paintings reveal the importance of various environmental traits that they gave prominence to and were a record of daily life. The arrival of the Europeans such as the explorers denounced the San rock painting as ‘*innocent playing things*’. Lewis-Williams quoted the explorers who said that the caves wall were full of San paintings which were hideous and more ugly than its neighbor.¹³ Regardless of the above it is important to note that San rock painting was rich with meaning as Dawson argued against the above perspective saying that, the paintings were actually metaphors and symbols, which reflected the San way of life for example the depiction of eland bulls, marriage, and trance dance.¹⁴

The rock art painting was important as the San managed to record the daily activities for the purpose of history as some of the caves were painted depicting wagons which came with the explorers and colonialists. Therefore, the view that San rock painting was hideous and “*innocent playing things*” is invalid because it is the piece of history which is useful in tracing the economic, social and political life of the San people. As one can argue that, even though the San people were

“illiterate” as postulated by colonial historians, it is important to note that they were literate in their own way because they managed to document their history and their livelihood through rock art. With regards to the above it can be noted that rock art gives us a preview or an insight on the San’s history, and how they lived.

Fig 1.2- San Rock Painting showing a healing dance.



Source- T. Forssman & L. Gutteridge, *Bushman Rock Art, an interpretive guide*, Southbound, 2012

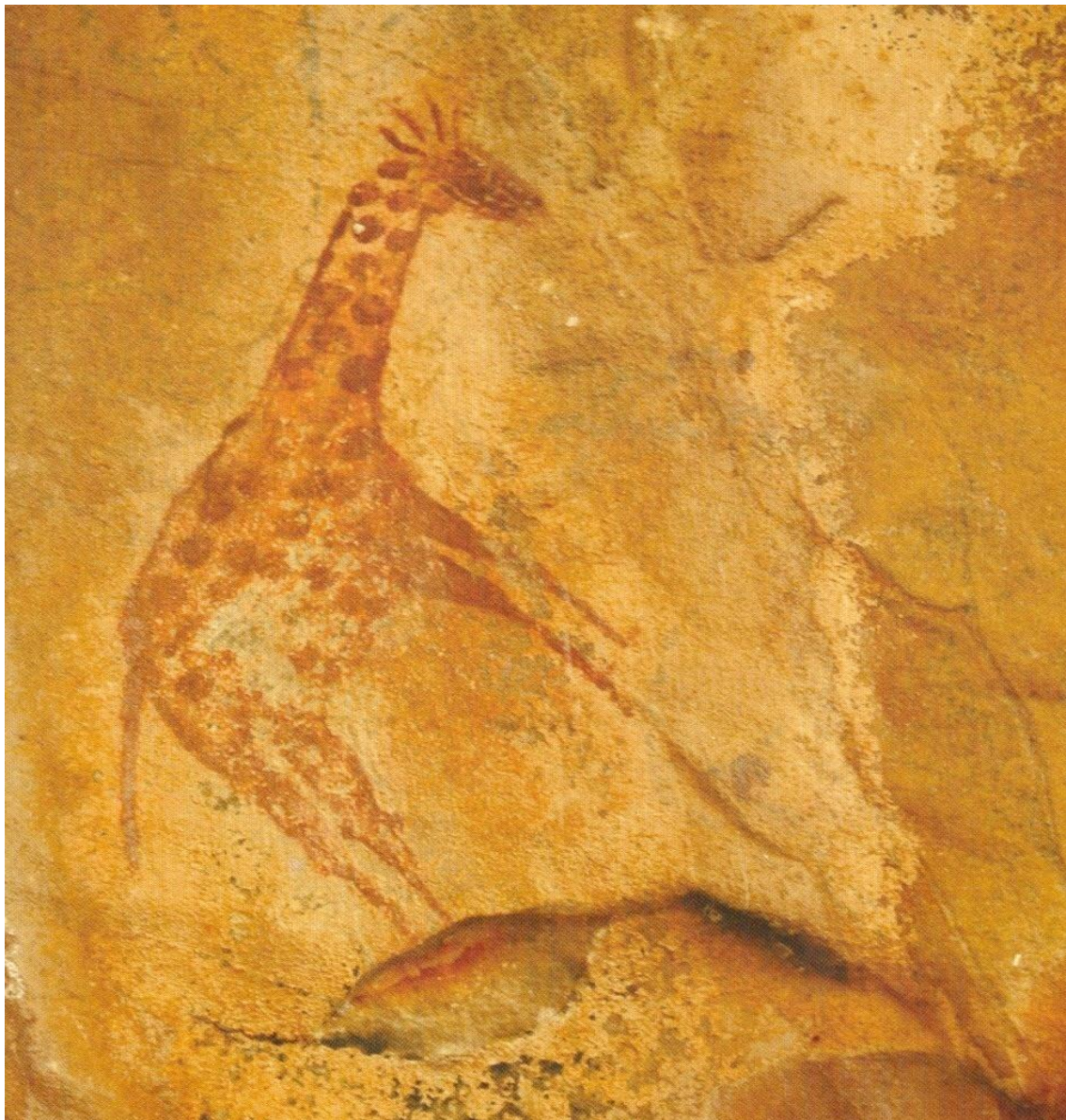
With regards to the above picture it imperative to argue that, the San rock art '*was not art for art sake*' but there were meaningful reflection on their livelihood. Trance dances were the foundation of the San culture and a major component in expressing their religion. Through the dances the San communicated with gods via animals and were also used for problem solving of all kinds and healing.

Moreover, the rock painting was and is still an important phenomenon in trying to understand the San way of life from the pre-colonial era. The most important phenomena on the San rock painting is the bird, hence it gives us an insight on the origins of the national bird within the Zimbabwean flag. The rock art painting in Zimbabwe is important because it contributes in reconstructing and tries to understand San behavior and beliefs, because the San are now extinct people. Hubbard came up or unearthed the importance of bird rock painting of the San in Zimbabwe especially the swallows and shifts. The San artists according to Lewis-William and Dawson used the bird as a metaphor in explaining the flight during the trance¹⁵. According to Hubbard, the swallows' birds were viewed as intermediaries between the physical and the spiritual world and it was associated with the coming of the rains¹⁶ (abundance of food and fruits) hence explain why the birds painting is prominent in the San rock art. Therefore, the Swallow/swift according to the San tradition acted as a mediator for the rainy season and maintained a special place in their beliefs.¹⁷

Walker is of the view that, the abundance of rock art in Zimbabwe demonstrates its importance and relevance.¹⁸ Big animals or species were usually depicted for example in Fig 1.3 a giraffe was drawn though it is not suited by a rocky and hilly environment, this may have suggested that, it was of great symbolic value to the San who believed that it had spiritual mighty such as healing

and rain making powers and is associated with death.¹⁹ In light of the above, it can be argued that the San rock paintings are relevant to the study of the San history and their livelihood.

Fig 1.3- San Rock painting depicting a giraffe as a religious symbol



Source: T. Forssman & L. Gutteridge, *Bushman Rock Art*, Southbound,

Theories on the origins of the Kalanga

The narratives on the origins of the Kalanga are numerous; some scholars believe that the Kalanga was a sub-ethnic group of the Rozvi while others link with the Togwa state. Therefore, various schools of thoughts will be visited on the origins of the Kalanga. The Kalanga originate in the North East African region, specifically the Sudan-Egypt-Ethiopia region. The Kalanga ethnic group just like many Bantu ethnic groups trekked from the North to Southern Africa notably Zimbabwean Plateau. The difference with other groups is that the Kalanga settled Africa south of the Zambezi (Matebeleland North and South) over two millennia ago. By 100 AD, the Kalanga had settled in the Zimbabwean Plateau and the areas of the present day Botswana while the other groups arrived later between 500 and 1700, and the Shona ethnic group arrived around 1700 years hence the argument that the Kalanga was the hybrid of the Shona and Ndebele is misleading. With regards to the above it can be argued that the Kalangas were the first Bantu ethnic group to settle on the present day Zimbabwe.

The other school of thought suggests that, the neighboring Tswana tribes pointed out that the Kalanga were long established in the West. The Hurutshe tradition reflects to the view that before 1700 they already knew the Kalanga and the latter corrupted the name to Khurutshe. Schapera is of the view that, when the Hurutshe split from the Ngwato under Lesela they trekked to the North where Tati district is located and there they became Kalanga overlords²⁰. Therefore, it can be argued that, before the Hurutshe assumed their current status the Kalanga had been long established though fewer in number.

By the earliest centuries of the Christian era (500AD) the Kalanga had established what archeologists have called the Leopard's Kopje Culture. It was an Iron Age sequence culture which

was the first in Sub-Saharan Africa to practice mixed farming; mine, smelt and trade in gold, copper and iron. By 1000 AD, the Kalanga had become a sophisticated people, establishing the first city-state in Sub-Saharan Africa, the Maphungubwe City, on the confluence of the Limpopo and Shashe Rivers, here they traded in gold, and indeed so great was this industry at Maphungubwe that archeologists have found several artifacts made from that precious mineral there. The most famous is the Golden Rhino, which now forms the Order of Maphungubwe, South Africa's highest national honor.

Although there are some allusions to earlier 15th century Kalanga migrations into the western parts of the country for moral traditions²¹, it is on good record that in the seventeenth century, Khami fell within the territory of the Kalanga ruler Ndumba.

Raftopoulos and Mlambo, *Becoming Zimbabwe*, states that when the Ndebele settled in what is now called Zimbabwe in the 1840s they established a nation which encompassed the Kalanga, Shona ethnic groups and others. This was achieved through military conquest, assimilation [giving away their original identity], and incorporation. In his analysis, Mazarire traced the origins of the Kalanga back to the Mutapa State, by saying that the Kalanga ruler Tjibundule broke away from the Mutapa during the civil wars²², however his argument does not hold much water because in the introductory chapter in this book it is stated that the Leopard's Kopje people were presumed to have spoken an ancient Kalanga dialect.

Beach further says that, there is not much known about the Torwa/ Togwa from the written records he argues that the builders of the Khami capital are the Togwa who saw themselves as the Kalanga. The Rozvi conquered the Togwa and the sub-rulers were incorporated into the Rozvi state and intermarriages with the Kalanga followed with the intention to aid and consolidate the conquest.

He further argues that, the new dynasty adopted the Kalanga dialects and cultural continuity of the Kalanga remained unbroken, thus some people who called themselves Rozvi were in fact descendents of the Togwa.²³

The Kalanga Modes of Production

It has been noted that the Kalanga have their origins in the Leopards Kopje Culture which had a long history of heavy industry dating back to the ninth century.²⁴ The Leopards Kopje people are well known for their iron industry which manufactured hoes, arrow heads. Therefore, Halton concluded that due to the linkage of the Kalanga to the Leopards Kopje, it can be noted that the Makalanga were also engaged in iron industry,²⁵ and it has been noted that the external traders and travelers bought good spears and nails from the Kalanga blacksmiths. Besides iron processing the Kalanga were also miners, that's they mined Copper near Embakwe mission,²⁶ they also mined in the Tati province. The validity of iron smelting can be evidenced by the fact that the Iron trade increased with the coming in of the Ndebele. Munjeri quoted an Ndebele informant saying that,

*“I had never seen iron being smelted in the country until I
went to the Tegwani area in 1893”²⁷*

For women the more pronounced economic activity was pottery making, this was a long tradition going back the Leopards Kopje people. The Kalanga pottery was unique in the Zimbabwean plateau with textured decoration and art which could have been the San influence. The Kalanga women were also involved in basket weaving. In conclusion it can be noted that the mainstay of the Kalanga economy was trade because it involved every aspect of their economy

Pre-colonial San-Kalanga Interactions

To begin with, it is of paramount importance to note that the San people settled in Bulilima, Western Zimbabwe before the coming in of the Kalanga from central Africa, this means that the San were non-agriculturalists but they adopted these due the interactions or relations with the Kalanga ethnic group. The San livelihood was founded on the natural environment conditions which obtained, this is exemplified by three basic fundamentals of life; food, shelter and clothing. In regards to the above one has to note that the Kalanga-San interactions led to various cultural change which is referred to as Cultural hybridity. Bhabha say that hybrid ensures that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity,²⁸ in line with Bhabha's statement it is important to note that there was cultural exchange between the San and the Kalanga hence defining the relations or interactions of these groups, though the San culture was looked down hence absorbed by the Kalanga people.

The San-Kalanga interaction can also be explained as a mutual relationship even though the Kalanga benefited more. The San people began cultivating and this was the change from the past where they were non-cultivators this was due to various reasons such as depletion in wildlife and drought which affected the Kalanga who were giving the San the handouts the reason for the change being that getting food handouts from Kalanga.²⁹ Most of the San used hoes for farming but they were helped by the Kalanga in exchange for herding cattle. Moreover, the interactions between these groups can be explained or traced back to the arrival of the Bantu pastoralists and agriculturalists that drove or forced the San to withdraw from their traditional territories, which meant the abandonment of their way of life hence the interactions to some extent, were characterized by historical tensions.

It has to be illustrated that, before the displacement of the San and arrival of the Kalanga, the San had no permanent homes but established their settlements around water holes as such with the arrival of the pastoralist and farmers, i.e. the Kalanga there was friction between the two camps as it meant that the San nomadic culture was supposed to give way to the invaders way of life. To worsen what can be called '*colonization*' the Bantu invaders (Kalanga) introduced new phenomena of leadership which was completely new to the San who were an egalitarian people. Therefore, even though it has been said that it was cultural hybridity, in real sense it was cultural diffusion because the San were victims of the forced imposition of '*foreign culture*'.

The San people interactions with the Kalanga have been explained by Gil, as relegated, stigmatized and dependent underclass in the political and social sphere.³⁰ The interactions between these groups were characterized by exchange culturally. This is evidenced by the traits which the Kalanga borrowed or adopted from the San. The San burned incense to chase away the evil spirits and the communication with the ancestors to bring forth healing. This has been adopted by Kalanga traditional healers who solely rely on the environment for medication and the role played by the ancestors in the healing processes.

According to Ndlovu, she stated that, male respondents blamed the women for fueling the process of cultural diffusion, when they married Kalanga men, and they used Kalanga as medium of communication with their children as it is assumed that Tshwao is the language associated with poverty and classlessness.³¹ The San man therefore never had opportunity to marry from Kalanga women due to their poverty they were neglected and only married amongst each other; hence the worsening of historical tensions as the Kalanga viewed themselves as superior compared to the San.³²

Conclusion

As a way of conclusion, it can be noted that there are various theories propounded on the origins of the Kalanga. In line with the San, oral tradition has it that they came all the way from the Cape where they were disturbed by the sailors and explorers. The chapter addressed the activities which were practiced by the San before cultural hybridity. The San solely survived on the environment before the interactions with the Kalanga and other Bantu speaking groups who trekked from the areas of East Africa. The chapter tried to address the pre-colonial San- Kalanga interactions and how the relations were worsened by master- servant relationship. Mazarire is of the view that, the pre- colonial Zimbabwean history is usually explained using the rise and fall of the state, which is misleading because of the assumption that nothing significant happened before and after these period and he traces the Kalanga people to the Leopard's Kopje.

The chapter also discussed about the San economic, social and political activities which were summed up in the rock art. The San painted for both religious and educational purposes, medium of communication. This is evidence by the painting depicting animals, religion and many other of symbolic value. Religiously the San, painted the human figures and animal figures that explains the trance or healing dances. The technical know- how and practice of trance implies that rock painting was inspired by religion; hence their art was symbolic and had religious character. Moreover, the San painting depicted a therianthropes which are bigger than the normal figure suggesting that there was religious stratification, the paintings also points out to sexual division of labor as women are depicted carrying digging sticks while men bows and arrows.

Endnotes

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⁹ Kalahari Meerkat Project, www.kalaharimeerkats.com Accessed 25 February 2018

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CHAPTER TWO: THE IMPACT OF THE HISTORICAL CULTURAL CONTACT

Introduction

The second chapter will discuss the historical cultural contact between the San and the Kalanga. Before the discussion on the impact of the historical contact, the dissertation will explore the Ndebele- Kalanga, relations because the relations explain why the San were treated the way they were treated by the colonialists. The chapter will also highlight on the colonial policies and how these policies, implemented affected the San as they were viewed as the sub-ethnic group of the Kalanga, and how it has perpetuated continued marginalization of the minority groups. The Kalanga dialect in Bulilima was influenced by the San and Ndebele however, with regards to the influence it had managed to withstand to a larger extent the forces of language diffusion especially from the Ndebele. In light of the above it is important to note that even though the Kalanga managed to withstand cultural diffusion, it fell on the trap of cultural hybridity as it borrowed some the cultural traits from the San, Tswana, Ndebele and the Rozvi. The area called Matebeleland from the second half of the 15th Century it has been a region of political and cultural exchange as it has been subject to invasion by various groups.¹

Kalanga-Ndebele Relations

“What perpetuated the Kalanga Domination by the Ndebele?”

To begin with it is important to note that, when the Ndebele arrived in the present day Zimbabwe they scattered the Kalanga and incorporated them easily into the Ndebele social structure of Amahole and thus the Kalanga were the slaves of the Ndebele.² The Kalanga reaction to the

Ndebele dominions differed from one area to the other, the Kalanga under Tategulu were easily subdued while those under Malaba resisted the Ndebele but grudgingly submitted and moved to the West towards Tegwani River,³ which stretches up to Makhulela where the San and Kalanga population are mainly concentrated. The Kalanga just like they did to the Rozvi they paid tribute to the Ndebele authority. It has been noted that the Kalanga men were reputed to be the best herdsman thus the cattle of Zwangendaba regiment at Mbembesi were herded by the Kalanga⁴ however it can be argued that this could have been a confused narrative, as the Ndebele failed to differentiate between the Kalanga and the San who are the ones reputed to be best herders before the arrival of the Ndebele. However, the Kalanga people even though regarded as subjects, they were a necessity for the economic and military reasons because there were good iron workers hence supplied the Ndebele with hoes and spears (a technique which might have been borrowed from the San but later modified).

The Ndebele invaders were not resisted by the Kalanga because the latter were organized into small chiefdom which had weak military structures to withstand invasion.⁵ The Ndebele incursion of the Kalanga chiefdoms was followed by peaceful co-existence and the incorporation of the Kalanga and the San into the Ndebele social system. However Bhebe says that, during these years of Kalanga incorporation into the Ndebele culture, they continued with their traditions and the Ndebele adopted the Mwali cult,⁶ which has the elements of the trance dances originated with the San. Therefore, one can conclude that the relations between the Kalanga and the Ndebele worsened San status as they were viewed as Kalanga that's they were non-existent and further forced to adopt Ndebele way of life. Masola in Msindo noted that, the Kalanga in the interior of the Ndebele state were thoroughly Ndebeleized, pointing out to the fact that, the Kalanga were incorporated into the Ndebele meaning that it was necessary to adopt cultural and ethical identity of the Ndebele,

that is the requirement to pierce their ears and adoption of the Ndebele language.⁷ Therefore, the contact between the Kalanga and the San had long lasting impacts as the *Bahia* were made to change over lordship frequently, the Kalanga and the Ndebele respectively, and their cultural and ethical identity.

According to Moyo the Ndebele- Kalanga interactions were explained or redefined by the sword and the Kalanga surnames were translated into Ndebele.⁸ The Kalanga had the surnames whose language the Ndebele did not understand; hence it became a necessity for the Kalanga to change their surnames and this was the same process in which the San original surnames were absorbed and further distorted as it was translated from the Tsarwa to Kalanga and finally to Ndebele.

However, it is important to note that, even though the Ndebele dominated the Kalanga, the worship of the Mwali was also extended by assimilation through marriage.⁹ Bhebe support this claim saying that,

“As new people and ethnic groups such as the Ndebele came into contact with the Mwali institution, they came to consult Mwali and in so doing, assimilated the worship of Mwali into their religious paradigm”¹⁰

Effects of the Contact between the San and the Kalanga

After arriving in the Zimbabwe Plateau, the San settled in Matopo Hills (which they refer to as *Matojeni*) before the coming in of the Kalanga. While they were still settled in the Matopo, the *Bahia* were joined by the Kalanga pastoralists and cattle herders. Being hunter-gatherers, the San could not live with pastoralists and cultivators as they feared competition and conflicts just like in

Cape of Good Hope they moved towards the north along the Khami river basin. The Kalanga trekked the San because they assumed that there were good pastures for their domestic animals and water supply unlike the rocky Matopo area. This thought of the Kalanga was influenced by the fact that the San were hunter gatherers hence a possibility that they settled in the area which might be of great use to the Kalanga, the arrival of the Kalanga further forced the San to move further and others settled in Hwange, Tsholotsho and Bulilima where they are still found today. As such one can note that the historical cultural contact between the San and the Kalanga had impact on the San and Kalanga way of life. These effects were mostly felt by the San who had forced migrations abandoning the Matopo area which was suitable for their livelihood considering the caves for shelter and the rocks which was important for recording the San cultural history. Therefore, it can be argued that the preliminary San-Kalanga contact intensified San nomadic nature. This was due to the arrival of people from the '*outside world*' and population increase which forced the game to move away, as such the San moved in search of the game.

The San's Tshwao language and customs were lost due to the historical cultural contact with the Kalanga. According to Ndlovu she concurs that, when the San went to beg for food from Kalanga in Tshwao language they were chased away, they would be only tolerated when they spoke in Kalanga.¹¹ As starvation terrorized the San people, they were forced to adopt the Kalanga language and culture so as to benefit from those who had means of production. Speaking and following the Kalanga way of life became a requirement of acquiring food. Therefore, the San-Kalanga interactions or contacts had more of negative effects on the San because they lost their cultural identity. One can safely argue that desperation and food insecurity caused by anti-hunting laws hastened the process of cultural assimilation.

In addition to the language policy employed by the pre-colonial Kalanga, it can be argued that it was implemented as a deliberate measure to assimilate and destroy the San culture. It has been noted that language is the vehicle of culture hence the destruction of a particular language is synonymous to the destruction of culture. This can be evidenced by the use of the Kalanga language as the first language meaning that the Kalanga culture was given prominence than the Sans'. According to Keiper, before the arrival of the Kalanga people the San original language was characterised by 'clicks' sounds. For example,

Fig 2:1 A table showing language translation

<u>TSHWAO</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>	<u>KALANGA</u>
<i>Qha</i>	<i>Water</i>	<i>Vuula</i>
<i>Ooi</i>	<i>Meat</i>	<i>Nyama</i>
<i>Kyebe</i>	<i>Salt</i>	<i>Muunyu</i>
<i>Nata</i>	<i>Manzamnyama River</i>	<i>Manzamnyama</i>
<i>Tso-ro-otso</i>	<i>Tsholotsho/ Mat North</i>	<i>Tjolutjo</i>
<i>/i</i>	<i>Fire¹²</i>	<i>Mooto</i>

In light of the above one can note that the San language was compromised hence they adopted the Kalanga language. Wentzel is of the view that, the Kalanga who were rich spread out looking for places which would be called by their names¹³ for example *Gonde*, *Temateme*, *Makhulela*, *Ndolwane*, *Butshe*, these became the respective names of the areas once occupied by the San and

these became the chiefs instead of the San. Therefore, the San seized from using the Tshwao language for both economic and social reasons.

It is important to note that the effects or impact of the San contact with the Kalanga were tremendously felt by the minority group that is the San. According to Wentzel the Kalanga from the Zambezi, they found the *Bahia* occupying the areas west of Zimbabwe; they were defeated and absorbed into the Kalanga ethnic groups.¹⁴ It is important to note that the defeat of the San by the Kalanga meant that the San had lost their independence and freedom, thus the San stopped hunting and level of gathering decreased. Zhou says that, the San were beaten up by the Kalanga if found hunting as accused of driving animals away.¹⁵ In light of the above, one can argue that the San contact with the Kalanga was harmful to its cultural survival as they were forced to adopt the master's way of life because of the minority status hence the change of the San livelihood. The change of lifestyle destabilized their productive capacity and compromised their living conditions hence the popular phrase by the San people '*Kusukela khonapho, aBatwa babangabacelayo*'. With regards to the above, the San-Kalanga historical contact had effects on the San as they were relegated to second class citizen in their historical area of settlement and suffered discrimination at the hands of the Kalanga, saying '*Nkhwa ekaguta nobhaya ddula*' meaning that the San people destroys granaries once they are full, this might have been a proverb referring to the San as ungrateful to the Kalanga people. However according to an interview with Sibanda, he said that the phrase '*nkhwa ekaguta nobhaya ddula*' simple refers to the nomadic nature of the San people because they settled where they killed big game and the areas with the abundance of wild fruits and after the exhaustion of these they moved in search of better areas.¹⁶

Maintaining their customary civilization and their livelihood became difficult for the San because pastoralism became rooted in African culture, previous land that had been used by the San for hunting and gathering was turned into grazing land. In the Bulilima district during the dry season the herders move to the areas called *Emlageni* which was occupied and suitable for the San because of the availability of the water sources for wild animals which the San solely relied on together with the herbs such as *Hoodia* plants. Therefore, in line with the above one can argue that the contact between the San and the Kalanga had negative effects on the survival of the San culture as they were forced by their overlords the Kalanga and the Ndebele to move away from the place of settlement which had been turned into grazing lands.

Moreover, it can be noted that the historical cultural contact between the San and the Kalanga had both positive and negative impacts to the cultures of the aforementioned. However, it is imperative to note that these effects or impacts were most felt by the San who were a minority group and lacked the forms of production hence forced to adopt the livelihood of the Kalanga people. It has been noted that living alongside the Kalanga people, the San experienced segregation as they were usually called 'savages' or 'animals' by their Kalanga neighbours due to their traditional practices and beliefs which were a new phenomenon to the Kalanga. This impacted much to the San self-esteem hence most the San people referred or identified themselves as Kalanga due to humiliation. Madzudzo also says that, the contact between the San the Kalanga had tremendous social effects on the San because it led to continuous forced migration beginning from Matopo, he further says that due to segregation and ill treatment the San crossed Nata (*Manzamyama*) River and settled in *Tso-oro-tso* because it is presumed that the treatment was much better compared to the Bulilima area and the area was less muddy.¹⁷

Furthermore, it can be noted that the San Kalanga interaction impacted on the San's livelihood as they were now regarded as laborers for the Kalanga due to the inferior status given to them by the Kalanga ethnic group in Bulilima. It has been brought into light by scholars that the San in order to sustain their livelihood they turned into laborers for the Kalanga and did most of the weeding and harvesting, farming and clearing the field.¹⁸ In return they got food, mostly buckets of grain, of which the amount of grain they get depends on the work done and this was due to cultural erosion as the Kalanga before the invent of colonialism had forced the San to abandon their way of life as a way to obtain cheap labor. In addition it is important to note that the San Kalanga historical contact impacted on the San as the nomadic nature was now determined by the rainfall patterns because the San had abandoned their way of live. This is evidenced by their movement from Bulilima to Tsholotsho because it had better agricultural production than in Bulilima, and since San relied on Kalanga and Ndebele for grain, which they exchanged for meat, one can surmise that San found it easier to live in Tsholotsho where grain supplies were more abundant.¹⁹ Therefore it can be argued that, due to the failure to live their pre-Bantu settlement life they became laborers on the Kalanga farms.

The San before the coming or the arrival of the Bantu speaking groups were hunter- gatherers who maintained nomadic lives as they moved according to favorable season determined by the availability of water. However, the arrival of the Bantu pastoralists and agriculturalists in general forced the San to abandon and withdrew from their traditional land hence the abandonment of their norms and values. For example the San had no permanent homes, they only established semi-permanent homes or structures around water holes, however due the contact with the Kalanga and reliance in them, forced the San to establish permanent structures because they survived on exchanging their labor for grain for their survival and the nomadic lives did not allow that hence

abandoned.²⁰ In light of the above it has to be noted that the San survival skills were seen as vagrancy and suppressed, due to the fear of victimization the San concealed their identity.

The San-Kalanga contact in Bulilima before the advent colonialism had tremendous effects on both ethnic groups. This is evidenced by the establishment of independent villages practicing mixed economy. The San suffered from forced resettlements by the Kalanga as they were moved from arable lands (meant for Kalanga cultivation and pastures) and moved to dysfunctional land away from the land which supported their livelihood, this was a strategy by the Kalanga to maintain labor ties with the San who could not practice hunting and gathering as they were closely monitored by the Kalanga people.

Due to historical cultural contact between the San and the Kalanga, there was more of cultural diffusion than cultural hybridity because the San were forced to adopt the *'masters'* norms and values. The San abandoned their way of live that's they turned into cattle herders of the Kalanga people in Bulilima return they were given grain as payment as well as access to milk from the cows.²¹ Although there was a system among the Kalanga and the Ndebele of rewarding a cattle herder with a heifer after a year or so, this system was never extended to San because they were looked down at. It was an important system in that it enabled households without cattle to start their own herds. Because they were denied this benefit, the San became cattle herders of the Ndebele and Kalanga without the prospect of starting their own herd. The above analysis therefore summarizes the impacts on the cultural historical contact between the San and the Kalanga people.

It is of paramount importance to note that, the historical cultural contact between the San and the Kalanga people also affected the medium of communication of the San. It has been noted that the San people before the coming in of the Bantu speaking groups, they have always passed their

history through folklore and rock art. However, with the advent of the Bantu settlers, the San were forced to adopt the languages such as Kalanga hence the use of folklore became difficult especially for the new generation which grew up within the Kalanga sphere of influence because they were not well versed on the San historical language. To add on, the San flee from the Kalanga people in Matopo and Khami, these areas were perfect for the documentation of the San history and way of life but due the contact with the Kalanga the San moved to the areas which were much drier and non-mountainous areas such as the Lagisa. In Bulilima the mountainous areas were occupied by the Kalanga that is *Dombodema*, *Tokwana*, *Malopa*, *Swazi* and *Malalume*, chiefly because these areas were suitable for animal husbandry. As such the San people were moved to the Lagisa area which was usually invaded by the Kalanga and the Ndebele for grazing purposes.

The Lagisa is a form of seasonal movement practiced by people in the communal areas of Matabeleland. This is a seasonal movement of people, with their cattle or other grazing animals to new pastures which may be quite distant. Cattle owners or employees move into the Lagisa area and make a temporary shelter (*umlaga*) which they abandon at the end of the season. In the Bulilima Lagisa area some of these shelters are almost permanent, with owners returning to them each year. Lagisa has historically been practiced by communities around southern Africa. It is important to note that these areas were occupied by the San before the advent of the wildlife acts. As such one can refer to this as an impact of the cultural contact with the Kalanga because the San were isolated. The *Lagisa/Emlageni* practice was motivated by the need for reliable sources of water and nutritious grazing. The practice is also common in neighboring Botswana, where it is known as *Muraka*. The Bulilima Lagisa area encompasses the area bound by Makhulela Ward, Bambadzi Ward, the Hwange National Park boundary fence, *Nata* (Manzamyama) River and the Botswana/Zimbabwe border. It is said that in times of need, the area can be used by people from

as far as south and east of Gala Ward. Some people from nearby Tsholotsho District graze their cattle in this area.²²

Moreover, it is worth noting that before their contact with the Kalanga and the Ndebele people, the San were easy to identify, Hubbard says that the original San people were light in complexion and had a body structure smaller than of the average person²³ but due to cultural contact with the Kalanga it had become more and more difficult to identify the San by their appearance. Dube echoed the same sentiments about the San appearance, and further said that they can only be identified by someone who knew the San people or a member of the group because the original appearance was distorted by the inter-marriages with the Kalanga, he argued that the San people from the contact with the Kalanga they can only be identified using the gums because they are peculiar or different from that of other ethnic groups.²⁴ Kalanga perceived the San to be socially different from them, and this opinion had numerous repercussions on the interactions and the San-Kalanga relations. For example, San men complained that it is difficult for them to marry outside their own ethnic group. On the contrary, Kalanga men occasionally marry San women who gave birth to children raised according to Kalanga traditions.

It is important note that, the San- Kalanga relations can also be explained by the theory of cultural hybridity. According to Keiper, the San burned incense to chase away the evil spirits and asked for the protection from their ancestors.²⁵ While preparing traditional medicine the San healers asked for strength from their ancestors to bring healing and health. The Kalanga like the San had faith on the plants and nature. The Kalanga healers to a greater extent solely relied on the nature and consultancy to the ancestors for healing purposes. The knowledge on the environment point out to the fact that Kalanga borrowed and developed this healing method. According to the San

tradition, what accompanies the disease, demons in the body evil spirits that were supposed to be exorcised? In light of the above it is important to note that, the San- Kalanga interactions before colonization were explained in terms of cultural hybridity as the Kalanga absorbed some of the San cultural values and beliefs.

According to the rock art interpretation, it is important to note that the San people were involved in the trance and healing dances and it continued even under the Kalanga over lordship. During the trance and healing dances the women sat around the fire while men danced. The women's complex, clapping and singing induced the Shamans' entry into spiritual realm or trance to bring healing or rain. Some scholars had concluded that religion was not an important phenomenon but, Guenther concluded that these dances were a central ritual of the Bushman religion and its defining institution.²⁶ In light of the above it can be argued that the trance and healing dances were 'pan-San' pointing to the cultural hybridity because these dances were absorbed or borrowed by the Kalanga people. This has is evidenced by the healing dance practiced by the Kalanga people from the pre-colonial era up to the post-colonial dispensation. In Kalanga it is particularly known as *Musiwa*, this is an initiation to the office of healing, *hosana* and exorcising the bad spirits. Just like the San, these dances took place during the night; women and children clapped hands while men dance but as time went on, most these sect leaders became women but with the spirits of men reflecting of the patriarchal nature of the Kalanga society. According to the interview with one of the respondents who had her sibling affected or troubled by the ancestral spirits narrated saying that,

'The respondent was saying that, her sibling had difficulties in walking and has been suffering for around two years; the hospitals

*had failed healing her. She further said that it became a miracle when they found her gone, she flee to the initiation school and she believes that it was through the help of the ancestral spirits which can be compared a trance*²⁷

In light of the above it is important to note that the Kalanga healing processes and belief in the ancestral spirits and the trance flight might have been borrowed from the San because they are aboriginal on the Zimbabwean plateau.

In addition to religion as an element which describes the notion of cultural hybridity, it can be argued that there are similar traits which points out that there was a certain group which absorbed some religious traits between the two discussed groups. Barnard concurs that there are beliefs and rituals that are common to the Kalanga and the San. Religion is far more uniform throughout Bushman and even Khoisan southern Africa than are material aspects of culture and society.²⁸ This can be exemplified by the San *Borro* dance and the Kalanga *Hossana*; these are all raining making dance or ceremonies. Keiper supports the above saying that the San traditional dance influenced the Kalanga dance known as the *Hossana*.²⁹ With regards to the above it can be concluded that there were cultural impacts due to the San-Kalanga historical contact.

It has been noted that the Kalanga when they arrived from the Zambezi down to the Khami pans they found two tribes the *Nanzwa* and the *Bakhwa*, they defeated them and took care of them. This was the continuation of cultural hybridity, Wentzel argue that, the Kalanga liked everywhere, where there were rocks or mountains.³⁰ This is where they put their riches; they kept their possessions in the mountains. Various scholars have explained and reflected on the importance of the rocks; as such the importance of the mountains on the Kalanga culture was a borrowed

phenomenon because the San gave prominence to the Rocks and stored their riches “history”. To add on, the rocks in both groups have been used for religious purposes for example the Kalanga while settled in Matopo they used *Njelele* as a religious centre mainly for rain making ceremonies, while the San people drawings in Matopo symbolized their religious traits for example the swift birds which were linked with the coming of the rains. Most importantly, one has to point out the importance of birds in both cultures for example the Kalanga *Njelele* and the San belief in swifts. As such it is important to note that the Kalanga borrowed the rock and bird trend from the San and continued with the tradition in the western Zimbabwe where they now use the *Manyangwa shrines* in the Tokwana area. According to the Kalanga rule, all tribes which wanted rain worshipped Mwali and the worship was attached with gifts such as beer and blankets made from animal skins.

Scholars argue that the Bushman did not have initiation ceremonies but when analyzing the traits on how these activities were conducted they point out to initiation ceremonies. There were some dancing and cleansing ceremonies after girls had their first menstrual blood and while the boys were supposed to kill big and dangerous animals to be initiated to manhood. Boys are not considered men until they have killed their first large and dangerous animal. Thereafter they are treated as full members of the clan or tribe. Just like their San counterparts the Kalanga had their initiation founded or based on that of the San people. This is evidenced by the initiation of girls into womanhood, when Kalanga girls had grown up, she was seen by the clay on her head and ululation which was heard. It is noted by Wentzel that, the Kalanga girls stayed for a month without talking to males except family members, and she was given a goat which was a ritual offering known as *Nswingilo* given to her parents to be sacrificed at her home.³¹ A Kalanga boy to be recognized as a man he was supposed to be a hunter and find skin of animals to be used in sewing blankets and they were given porridge and tree roots to give them strength they needed as men. In

light of the above, it can be pointed out that the San-Kalanga contact had social and cultural impacts as evidenced by the similarity of cultural values and beliefs.

To sum up, it is vital to argue that there is no single factor which can be used to explain the impacts of the San- Kalanga historical cultural contact. What is clear is that there were similarities in the socio-cultural activities of these ethnic groups, it is difficult to conclude or answer the question ‘*Who copied from who?*’ However, it has been highlighted that the San were forced to absorb the Kalanga culture while the Kalanga absorbed some San cultural traits willingly. Scholars such as Woodburn have concurred that the San suffered mainly because of their elasticity and mobility though it had some advantages. They had the power to survive outside the system. On the other hand, their lack of chain of command meant that outsiders with sufficient political or military force, the foragers could not easily resist the domination of the other groups who compel them to follow their traditions.

The Effects of White Colonialism on the San

The majority of the San/*Tyua*, in western Zimbabwe, were former foragers during colonization practiced mixed economic production systems, pastoralism, agriculture and small-scale income generating activities because of the laws which were enacted thus infringed with the original San productive ways. Also with environmental management and conservation becoming popular, national laws and policies have turned most areas rich in wildlife and natural resources into parks or other protected zones with any form of human activity prohibited. This has been blamed on the San-Kalanga historical contact because the colonialists believed that the areas were occupied by the agriculturist and pastoralists thus the Ndebele and Kalanga who had the forms of production. As such one can conclude that the Kalanga San interactions defined the treatment of the San by

the whites, who regarded Kalanga as the Ndebele. Therefore according to Msindo, he denotes that this was an era of white *'confusion'* because the word Ndebele became a name identifying those belonging to Matebeleland hence identity was regionalized, the Kalanga became Ndebele by nationalization and that they should not use a separate language from the one spoken by the Ndebele.³² As such this line of argument will be used on this section to bring out how the San Kalanga historical contact was affected by colonization.

The diminution of natural world fueled concerns in the government of Rhodesia that the resource potential of the region would be lost if laws to protect the wild species were not enacted. One way to deal with the problem, it was decided, was to employ the “royal game” principle of Ndebele, Tswana and Shona chiefs and to declare wildlife species as state property.³³ As such hunting and killings by the individuals was illegalized, even if the animals invaded the fields or threatened their lives. As one San expressed it, The Europeans became the gamekeepers, and the Africans became the poachers. In light of the above it can be argued that, the advent of colonialism worsened the San condition.

It is important to note that, the cultural historical contact of the San and the Kalanga determined how the colonialists treated the San. Therefore, it is important to note that according to the white colonialist the San were ‘non-existent’ because the San had concealed their identity were referring to themselves as Kalanga. However Msindo points out to the view that during colonial era the Kalanga also concealed their identity and referred to themselves as Ndebele for economic purposes.³⁴ As such, one can argue that it was problematic and complex in ethnic identification during the colonial era because the minority ethnic groups were considered to be either Ndebele

or Shona. Therefore, this session will argue along the lines of location so as to identify the San who were seen as the Kalanga due to the historical cultural ties between the two.

According to Staff reporting, the San people were moved from the wildlife areas, that is the present day Hwange National Park in the 1920s during the colonial era and most were moved to Mgodimasili area in Tsholotsho and Makhulela area in Bulilima.³⁵ The San people in Bulilima and Tsholotsho said that it was far much better to live in the bush than with the Kalanga, because they were treated as animals. Gil further supports the above view saying that, the San were downgraded to a stigmatized and dependent underclass in the political economy from pre-colonial era, and the social policies of the countries which have San population were founded on capitalist values and the economic policy promoted the interests of the dominant social groups.³⁶ Therefore the colonial policies outlawed hunting by the local people, and this affected the San tremendously because they solely relied on the environment for their survival hence they were forced to survive on the handouts and other became '*laborers*' not workers of the Kalanga and the Ndebele

The new Game and Fish Preservation Act of 1929 did not allow for humans to live in areas designated for wildlife hence they had to move to other areas which were meant for human settlement and agricultural production. The colonial policies which outlawed the hunting of game by the indigenous people especially affected the San who relied and lived on hunting.³⁷ These further entrenched the San reliance on the Kalanga for their requirements forcing them to continue being herders. Keiper stated that the San flee into the wild with the game in front of the gun during the colonial era, meaning that the San according to the whites were non-existent³⁸ because they were viewed as *Bushmen* (people living in the bush) literally relegating the San people to the status of animals however during this period the animals had rights unlike the San. Therefore, the San

people were killed or arrested for hunting and killing the game, while the dominant groups and the whites were not brought into book for violating the San rights.

The colonial government established and set aside permanent land and locations for the San to settle. This move has been both to '*civilize*' and transform the lives of the San for the better as well as to protect natural resources and wildlife. The San were relocated to places outside Wankie because they were feared that they would be involved in poaching of wild animals in the reserve, which was considered to be '*renowned game country*'.³⁹ It has been noted that, the arrival of the Bantu pastoralists and agriculturists, the San were forced to abandon their traditions. This was further worsened by the advent of colonization who established private land ownership on fertile lands hence the San were confined to non-arable areas which did not support animal husbandry, crop cultivation and hunting.

According to Madzudzo, the colonial structures had negative impact on the San cultural continuity because it forced them to adopt new ways of production not known to the San. Tsholotsho was the nearest place for the San to settle after being driven out of Hwange while others moved to Bulilima, Victoria Falls areas hence there was separation of families. As a result of the San's non-capitalist way of life, they had no assets thus the Kalanga and the Ndebele became dominant as they had better resources in terms of wealth (cattle) such that they took over the leadership in the area and destroyed the existing leadership of the San. As such it can be validated that the coming in of colonization in the Zimbabwean plateau affected the San who were presumed to be Kalanga.

In 1963, the San joined the Kalanga and the Ndebele in practicing agriculture. However, with no farming implements whatsoever the San used their hands to farm their land and even today, the majority of them do not own ploughs and they continue to use their hands.

Finally, under the colonial administration of Rhodesia the District Commissioner set up a permanent camp at the Maitengwe Dam in Bulilima, this may have led to more intense state close watch, as there was no such structure on the Tsholotsho side, the San moved away from Bulilima to Tsholotsho where they felt themselves to be more independent. Crossing into Botswana might have been a less attractive option in view of the fact that some San had already fled from that country to escape harsh treatment at the hands of the Tswana. In regards to the above it can be observed that colonial structures and activities also contributed to the intensification of nomadic nature of the San.

The colonial government policies exacerbated the situation of the San culture, such landmark policy was the GFPA of 1929, and this act outlawed human settlements in areas designated as wild life reserves. Before the enactment of these policies the San occupied areas in Western Zimbabwe and Hwange National Park thus they were relocated to Tsholotsho and Bulilima. Colonial rule barred hunting thus forcing the San to turn to the Ndebele and the Kalanga for grain and in return for that they became cattle herders, ploughed and weeded for the Ndebele and Kalanga. The San did not have technical know-how of farming for they were only experts in hunting. Hunting was a key part of the San culture and basis to their survival, therefore the colonial rule worsened the dependency syndrome of the San on the Kalanga people.

Conclusion

In summation it can be noted that the San domination by the Kalanga had many effects. However, it would be historically naïve to describe this process as cultural diffusion because it was a two way hence cultural hybridity can be used in explaining the historical cultural contact between the San and Kalanga. Moreover, one has to note that the San felt these effects or impacts because they were forced to adopt the Kalanga way of life as they were a minority and due to lack of ‘proper’ political and military structures. As for the Kalanga their culture has been influenced by the San culture through marriages and religion although these effects were not tremendously felt because it was voluntary.

The treatment of the Kalanga and the San during the colonial era can be explained using the Acts imposed by the colonial government. These Acts include Game and Fish Preservation Act 1929, Land Apportionment Act 1930 this act dictated that people could not live in areas designated as game reserves. Several hundred Tshwa were relocated out of the reserve, mainly to areas south of the reserve, some of whom were allegedly treated aggressively. Land Husbandry Act 1951 and the Parks and Wildlife Act 1975, these summarize the treatment of the Africans by the whites. In line with the above, it can be observed that due to historical cultural contact with the Kalanga the San were the most affected by these Acts which were enacted, on the basis that the San were a sub-ethnic group of the Kalanga. These brought about the continued exploitation of the San people by the Kalanga, Ndebele and the Colonialists.

Moreover, it is important to note that the impacts of the San Kalanga historical cultural contact continued to be felt well after the advent of colonialism. This is evidenced by the white colonialists’ policies, which further undermined the socio-economic livelihood of the San; their

policies supported the welfare of the leading ethnic groups meaning that the minority groups were non-existent in their agenda. To further authenticate the above, the San people were required to obtain land from the dominant groups, which in the pre-colonial era relegated the San to the second class citizens. Hitchcock states that, the NLHA 1951 was crafted to enhance white economy while doing away with pre-colonial traditions of survival as a result the San occupied the degraded land.⁴⁰ There was the creation and '*historical engineering*' of the San as their culture and way of life was reshaped by those who were in leadership. The institutionalization of anti-hunting laws did more to destroy the sovereignty of San people. San people were only equal with Ndebele and Kalanga when they were hunting, for they used to meat barter for grain. When hunting was forbidden the San returned to Ndebele and Kalanga thus, starting a process of cultural assimilation. Colonialism did not only subject San to be sub servants of other groups, but it damaged the San people spiritual life, beliefs and continuity. San have become a lost group living on the margins of poverty, surviving on charity and slavery. Therefore, it can be concluded that the coming in of colonialism worsened the San plight.

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CHAPTER THREE: THE EFFECTS OF HISTORICAL CULTURAL CONTACT IN THE POST-COLONIAL ERA

Introduction

The chapter will begin by addressing or highlighting the San-White clashes, this defined the treatment of the San in the post-colonial era because of the *'myth'* brought about by the white settlers. Therefore, the chapter will seek to establish or trace the origins of the post-colonial land and game policies, and its effects on the San population. The chapter will focus on the post-colonial dispensation and evaluate how the San and Kalanga way of life has been improved. It will also highlight on the effects of the post- colonial government policies on the San culture and educational policy. The chapter will analyze the role of the constitution in addressing the inequalities perpetuated from the pre-colonial era and how the oppressive Acts enacted by the colonialists were readdressed. The chapter will also try to address the role of the CAMPFIRE in the resource allocation, and the role played by the traditional leaders in development. The study will draw conclusion on the effects of Ndebele leadership in Western Zimbabwe and the Kalanga leadership on the San, *'whose objectives and agendas are addressed?'*

The San-Settler Conflicts

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries most aboriginal groups in Southern Africa, notably the San in Western Zimbabwe and the Doma/Vadema found in Guruve seized to exist as independent ethnic groups. This loss of cultural diversity was a product of both physical and cultural erosion as well as cultural transformations brought about by state-imposed assimilation policies.

Historically, the San since the arrival of Bantu groups in Western Zimbabwe they have always occupied lower positions in social hierarchies because of their ethnic status and wealth. African hunter-gatherers in general provided services to non-foraging groups, such as hunting guides, and ostrich feathers, and engaging in ritual healing. This kind of relationship endured interdependency between foragers and non-foragers, however on a close analysis it can be observed that this was a horse and a rider relationship because the San benefitted to a lesser extent. When colonialism was established settlers put in place legislations which gave the whites the rights to hunt while relegating the San and other Bantu groups to the status of poachers.¹ The San viewed white hunting and establishment of game reserves as a deliberate measure by the state to acquire cheap labor, form of indirect rule and destroying their way of life, which defines their culture.² As such one has note that the post-colonial governments' notable of Zimbabwe inherited the colonial structures meaning that even the pieces of oppressive policies continued.

The San raided the black pastoralists' and white commercial and small-scale farmers, this resulted in punitive raids on San villages, killing the men and capturing women, children who were taken back to the farms and homesteads. The San house households in Zimbabwe were also removed by settlers and resettled directly side by side with the Kalanga and Ndebele who were directed and given rights over the exploitation of San,³ hence the friction between the Kalanga and the San worsened due to historical cultural contact. Therefore, the independent Zimbabwean government adopted this kind of approach towards the San people who remain marginalized in Western Zimbabwe. As such, in the Zimbabwe context, the government has sharpened the laws which criminalized the hunting hence dealt a blow on the San who were also involved in the War of liberation for their own grievances but they were later ignored because of the stereotypes and their

culture of hunting remained illegal. In light of the above one can note that the San traditional livelihood was criminalized during and after colonialism.

To sum up the relationship between the colonial and post-colonial dispensation, it can be validated that, colonialism was responsible for setting up the structures for exploitation of the minority groups such as the San. These structures were set up in form of resettlements and enactment of policies which were later inherited by the Zimbabwean government thus the colonialism socialized the post-colonial governments to stigmatize the San and other minority ethnic groups.

It has argued by various scholars that, the post-colonial governments were a replica of the colonial government because they inherited the use of the law as an instrument of oppression and forcing cultures on certain ethnic groups notably the San in Western Zimbabwe and the Doma in the Zambezi valley. The colonial masters manufactured Acts and legislations which were and are still perfected to continue with the deliberate measure to do away with San livelihood; this is evidenced by the violation of rights of these minority groups. The above view is further supported by Kuper who concurs that the San people have fewer links with the large communities and small in number hence their plights were ignored. Therefore, the above analysis was trying to explain the relationship between colonial and post-colonial governments. As such it can be noted that the probability in change of San treatment is low because '*Africa was recolonised at independence*'

Comparison on the 1979 and 2013 Constitutions

On the analysis of the San treatment, the constitution Chapters and subsections will be scrutinize leading to conclusions whether the San and other hunter-gatherers' treatment or segregation is constitutional.

1979 Zimbabwe-Rhodesia Constitution

Chapter 12: 161

The English language shall be the only official language of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. Section 162 subsection 1, denotes that there shall be chiefs to preside over tribesmen on Zimbabwe Rhodesia shall be appointed by the president, in appointing the chief the president shall give due consideration to the customary principles of succession of the tribes' people over which the chief shall preside, however this is problematic when it comes to whose customs should be followed.

According to the provisions on section one hundred and sixty three subsection 1, it shall be the duty of the government to establish by or under a law the regional authorities for specified areas for the purpose of administering functions of health, education and other functions affecting the daily lives of the inhabitants of a specified area and members of these regional authorities shall be elected directly by the inhabitants.⁴ However this has been ignored in the Bulilima areas because the leadership and administrators are imposed on the San hence the continuation in misrepresentation.

The Zimbabwean Constitution 2013

Chapter 15

According to section 280: 2, a traditional leader is responsible for performing cultural, customary and traditional activities of a chief, headmen or village head of his own community. Section 282 further explains that, traditional leaders must uphold and promote cultural values of their own communities, take measures to preserve the culture, traditions, history and heritage.⁵ In line with

the above it can be noted that the San ethnic group do not have a Chief or headmen from their tribe in Bulilima, they are led by Kalanga Chiefs such as Ndolwane, Madlambudzi and Masendu, meaning that the customs which are being upheld are that of the Kalanga people, as such it is in written form yet to be implemented practically. Moreover, the leaders or chiefs must facilitate development, to administer communal land and protect the environment and resolve disputes amongst people in their communities in accordance to customary law. To add on, the chiefs must protect and develop Zimbabwe's culture and traditions. Therefore, it has to be argued that the constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe does accommodate the San but it has been implemented in a wrong manner that is appointing Kalanga chiefs who will continue to develop and promote Kalanga culture, the customary law becomes complex meaning that the disputes among the San communities are resolved using Kalanga customary law which is different from that of the San. For example, in the Kalanga setup there is what called *khuta* which is a traditional court where the Kalanga customs are upheld excluding the San, Kalanga language is used in these places meaning that they are upholding their culture as speculated by the Zimbabwean constitution.

The effects of San-Kalanga Contact in the post-colonial Zimbabwe

The population of the San living in Southern Africa is around hundred thousand and only a few proportions live in accordance to their aboriginal traditions. Most of the San people living in Zimbabwe and Southern Africa as a whole have fall victims of the limitations imposed by the modern culture and globalization. It has been argued that the government discriminative policies, social injustices and loss of cultural define the livelihood of the present day Zimbabwe.

It has been highlighted that the San failed to live their pre-Bantu settlement lives hence they have turned to be laborers of the on the farms. This has led to the San to suffer discrimination at the

hands other ethnic groups such as the Kalanga and the Ndebele thus they have been relegated as the 2nd class citizens in their own land. The San history is not unique because all the Africans experienced the cultural exchange and war; however, their plight is worse because they are viewed as outcasts by both Africans and the Europeans. Therefore, it is imperative to note that due to the above notions and presuppositions, the San survival skills are termed vagrancy; due to the fear of victimization the San have continued to conceal their identity.

It is of great importance to note that in the post-colonial era the San people continued residing in scattered remote area with the shortages of basic needs, and they participate to a lesser extent in the national politics and the cash economy because of the continued segregation by government policies. In addition, one can argue that the post-colonial educational policies further entrenched the San language which is a vehicle for its culture because it recognizes Shona and Ndebele as common indigenous language taught in schools. Hays concurs that the educational and language policies were and are still designed to accommodate the Bantu languages⁶ and culture and adding extra layer for separation, hence not helping the San but further segregating San culture and traditions. The post-colonial Zimbabwean government failed to introduce educational policies which catered for the autochthonous groups such as the San and the Doma. Hitchcock and Vinding are of the view that, the Zimbabwean government worsened the San grievances by inheriting the settler structure, it deliberately failed to come up with policies or programs which encouraged mother-tongue language education which was culturally oriented,⁷ this can be pointed out as a punitive approach because some of the San fought the liberation struggle on the side of the colonialists. . The SADC and the AU have both held meetings where the needs and rights of indigenous peoples have been discussed, but they have yet to devise any specific programs to

promote indigenous peoples' rights.⁸ In light of the above it can be noted that the post-colonial government further entrenched the San plights.

There have also been petitioned by the San who feel that Kalanga and the Ndebele in Western Zimbabwe were resettled on their traditional lands and they claimed that they have customary land rights. This may be influenced by the San who have expressed the desire for self-governance and decision-making powers but however the government and other groups are not willing to consider the San plight due to misconceptions created from the pre-colonial era and were further worsened by the colonialists. It can be argued that the San in post-colonial Zimbabwe have managed to participate in local and district level political activities however they have benefitted from these activities to a lesser extent as compared to the rival ethnic groups in the Western Zimbabwe. Hitchcock and Vinding says that even though the San have participated in the political activities, it would be misleading to conclude that the San have reached a point where they have equal rights with the leading ethnic groups in Western Zimbabwe.⁹

In both Kenya and Zimbabwe, efforts were made by colonial and post-colonial government authorities to establish control over the San and other hunter-gatherers. According to Marks this was done so as to enhance the state interests and prevent hunter-gatherers engaging in harmful activities such as stock theft. There were also attempts to try and curb hunting of wild animals by hunter-gatherers through passing legislation that gave only white settlers or safari hunters from outside the country rights to hunt.¹⁰

The San in Western Zimbabwe are marginalized in all spheres of life by national policies which tend to favor the leading ethnic groups of the Western Zimbabwe. The San have argued that their culture is undermined and they do not have the forms of production and resources to ensure food

security, hence the explanation on why they have continued to conceal their identity leading to assimilation by the Kalanga and the Ndebele. According to Robins and Madzudzo, speculated that, the San political interest and grievances are presumed to be that of the leading ethnic groups, therefore the CAMPFIRE in Bulilima addresses the interests of the powerful groups without taking into consideration the San grievances.¹¹ In light of the above it has to be noted that the San have continued to experience the impacts or effects of the historical contact with the Kalanga as they are now excluded by the CAMPFIRE which is made up mainly of the Kalanga. Before the advent of the CAMPFIRE in 1989, most San households lived a semi-nomadic lifestyle in the Lagisa area. The Bulilimamangwe RDC resettled the San people in Makhulela area where they lived side by side with the Kalanga and under Kalanga leadership. This was done in the name of promoting safari hunting under the CAMPFIRE while undermining that of the San which continued to be termed poaching. However, one can also note that this was a deliberate attempt by the CAMPFIRE which works under the auspices of the RDC which is mainly composed of the Kalanga people, to drive the San away from the *Lagisa* grazing lands and trying to force the San to sell their labor to the Kalanga people because the San were managing to survive the Lagisa area, where they survived on selling thatching grass and *mahhonja*.

As an evidence that the San people livelihood is not changing, there have been plights from the San and their activists for the accommodation of the San in the decision making and to allow them to follow their traditional way of life, this has been impossible because the government has continued to sharpen the legislations that enhances San dependence on its neighbors, the Kalanga. According to staff reporter, the San people were moved from Hwange National Park in the 1920s during the colonial era and most were resettled in Mgodimasili area while others occupied the Bulilima basin. The San have argued that going back to their traditions and live in the bush was

far much better than being treated like animals by both the Kalanga and the Zimbabwean government.¹² The San people have argued that the government is only interested in their votes and self-enrichment not the San development and cultural reestablishment. In light of the above, it can be noted that the San grievances have not been addressed by the government hence the notion to go back into the bush for survival.

Just like in the pre-colonial era when the San culture was dominated by the Kalanga, the government in the post-colonial era has continued with the policy of neglect through the language policy. According to Chapter 6 subsections 1- 4, the Khoi San language is officially recognized in Zimbabwe¹³ but however this is only applied on the paper. Subsection 3 of Chapter 6 it is noted that all institutions and agencies of the government must ensure that all officially recognized languages are treated equally.¹⁴ The San language activists purports that the neglect of the Tshwao language has led to the San switching to Ndebele to Ndebele and Kalanga, Ndlovu of the Tsoro-o-otso Development Trust has accused the government of contributing to the neglect of the San culture by refusing to bring back the San chieftainship.¹⁵

The San according to Nkala, do not participate in local supervisory processes, this is reflected by the few numbers in traditional structures.¹⁶ This can be supported by the fact that in Bulilima, there are no headmen or chiefs among the San communities meaning that there is no contact between the San and the traditional justice system. According to section 280 of the constitution, traditional rulers are accountable for performing the cultural and customary functions of a chief, therefore it is important to note that in order for the San culture to be reestablished there is a need by the government to enforce the constitution and install a San chief who will be able to facilitate the San

culture which is driven by its language. The installation of a San chief and headmen in Bulilima means linking the San with the government structures.

It is important to note that, when the competition for resources emerged in the Bulilima district the San people continued to amalgamate themselves into the Kalanga system because resources were distributed in line with ethnic identities in the post-colonial dispensation. Note worth is the fact that even though the San in the post-colonial Bulilima absorbed into the Kalanga system they were treated with distrust and resentment. The San are resented in Western Zimbabwe because of their ritual status. Siamonga supports the above by saying that, the San ritual status as the rainmakers and traditional healers have led to the perceptions that they have a connection with spirit world, thus they have been blamed by the Kalanga people for misfortunes because they are perceived to be practicing witchcraft.¹⁷

Fig 3.1 Showing the absence of draught, San family pulling a plough bartered for traditional healing.



Source. R. K. Hitchcock, *The San in Zimbabwe: Livelihoods, Land, and Human Rights*.¹⁸

From the analysis of the above picture, it can be noted that the Sans' way of life has been worsened due to discriminatory policies which supports the agriculturists and pastoralist Bantu groups in Western Zimbabwe. Hitchcock is of the view that the San have continued to rely on the Kalanga just like in the colonial era.¹⁹ The independent government have failed to emancipate the San from the hard economic situation and restoring the pre-Bantu San livelihood.

It is important to note that in the present day, the San do not have religious ceremonies to talk about. The pre-colonial San people had the *Jiiwas* ceremony which its primary purpose was to calm down/appease the spirits San, the ceremony was centred on the *borro dance*. According to Dube, he noted that there were various ceremonies, but this has seized to exist because of cultural

contact.²⁰ Scholars have echoed similar view whilst adding that, the decline in of these ceremonies is partly due to the decline in hunting practices and contact with the Kalanga people. For example before the contact with the Bantu groups, the San women were supposed to lie on their stomach when men went after dangerous animals. It can be concluded that the implementation of the policies which outlawed hunting dealt a blow to these ceremonies hence no need of these ceremonies which were centred on hunting.

San Education and Language Policy

There has been a misconception that the San population were not interested in education and that they resist '*civilization*', these perceptions are misleading. However, one has to analyze the pull and push factors when looking at the reasons why the San school-aged children do not go to school. It is important to note that the San parents are well versed on the importance of education because they view it as the liberator from their grievances. Firstly, it can be denoted that the San are failing to sustain themselves in Bulilima hence they survive on the Kalanga handouts, they sale '*mahhonja*' for their survival because hunting is prohibited by the sitting government which inherited colonial legislations, thus only a number of the San manage to raise income to send their children to school. Moreover, the schools are far away from the San settlements.

In many cases, the San do not send their children to school because of the discrimination their children face from the Kalanga in Bulilima, mainly in Makhulela primary School, where they are called '*Amasili*' which is derogatory term. This is due to cultural historical contact with the Kalanga hence the San lower status and the perceptions on the San have continued to the younger generations. Moreover, the San have complained that the lack of appropriate curriculums in schools is the major reason why their children are not going to school. They have argued that

education has been used as a tool to further destroy the San culture because children are taught in Ndebele and Kalanga.

In the post-colonial Zimbabwe the San people use Kalanga as their first language in Bulilima and only the few San remember the Tswao language because due to cultural contact they use Kalanga and Ndebele for day to day interactions. It is imperative to note that the Zimbabwean legislations enhanced the Kalanga-Ndebele domination over the San because in schools the Ndebele and Kalanga are languages of instruction and examination. Due to historical cultural contact the Kalanga and Ndebele have continued with their domination of both socially and economically.²¹ This is evidenced by the use of Kalanga and Ndebele which are similar or equivalent of their San surnames. In light of the above, it can be observed that social assimilation continues to take its toll resulting in cultural denial by the San turning to either Kalanga or Ndebele.

Conclusion

In summation, the research further highlighted the independent Zimbabwean government, which inherited the colonial draconian piece of legislations which further relegated the San to the second class citizens. The research further realized that Zimbabwe after national independence failed to affirm indigenous languages as official languages of communication in post colonial Zimbabwe. The language of government is not the language of the governed. The language being the vehicle of culture it is imperative to note that there is somehow cultural erosion. The post-colonial Zimbabwean laws further criminalized hunting hence the San continued to rely on handouts. The introduction of the CAMPFIRE which worked under the auspices of the RDC further supported the interests of the Kalanga and the Ndebele.

Endnotes

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⁴ Constitution of Miscellaneous Provisions, Zimbabwe Rhodesia, 1979

⁵ The Final Draft Constitution Of the Republic of Zimbabwe, COPAC, Milton Road, 31 January 2013, p.22

⁶ J. Hays, *Learning Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, www.hsrapress.ac.za, assessed 15 March 2018

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¹⁰ S. A. Marks, *The Imperial Lion: Human Dimensions of Wildlife Management in Africa*, Boulder, Westview Press, 1984, p.22

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¹⁹ Ibid, p.42

²⁰ Interview with D. Dube, Village Head, Tsukuru Village, 14 February 2018

²¹ Madzudzo E & V Dzingirai, “A comparative study of the implications of ethnicity on CAMPFIRE in Bulilimamangwe and Binga Districts of Zimbabwe” *Zambezia*, Vol. 2:1, 1995, p.43

CONCLUSION

In summation, it can be noted that there are various theories propounded on the origins of the Kalanga. In line with the San, oral tradition has it that they came all the way from the Cape where they were disturbed by the sailors and explorers. The research tried to address the activities which were practiced by the San before cultural hybridity. The San solely survived on the environment before the interactions with the Kalanga and other Bantu speaking groups who trekked from the areas of East Africa. The chapter tried to address the pre-colonial San- Kalanga interactions and how the relations were worsened by master- servant relationship. Mazarire is of the view that, the pre- colonial Zimbabwean history is usually explained using the rise and fall of the state, which is misleading because of the assumption that nothing significant happened before and after these period and he traces the Kalanga people to the Leopard's Kopje.¹

According to Mazarire, the pre-colonial of Zimbabwe has been explained by the rise and fall of bigger states, and however it would be historically naïve to assume that before these states nothing significant happened.² The Bantu arrival marked the replacement and transformation of the existing clusters of autochthons/aboriginal in the Limpopo identified with the Zhizo culture and moved into the Kalahari. In light of the above it can be argued that the emergence of new identities led to the transformation and assimilation of the old ones.

The research also reflected on the San economic, social and political activities which were summed up in the rock art. The San painted for both religious and educational purposes, medium of communication. This is evidence by the painting depicting animals, religion and many other of symbolic value. Religiously the San, painted the human figures and animal figures that explains

the trance or healing dances. The technical know-how and practice of trance implies that rock painting was inspired by religion; hence their art was symbolic and had religious character.

The treatment of the Kalanga and the San during the colonial era can be explained using the Acts imposed by the colonial government. These Acts include Game and Fish Preservation Act 1929, Land Apportionment Act 1930 this act dictated that people could not live in areas designated as game reserves. Several hundred Tshwa were relocated out of the reserve, mainly to areas south of the reserve, some of whom were allegedly treated aggressively. Land Husbandry Act 1951 and the Parks and Wildlife Act 1975, these summarize the treatment of the Africans by the whites. In line with the above, it can be observed that due to historical cultural contact with the Kalanga the San were the most affected by these Acts which were enacted, on the basis that the San were a sub-ethnic group of the Kalanga. These brought about the continued exploitation of the San people by the Kalanga, Ndebele and the Colonialists.

Moreover, it is important to note that the impacts of the San Kalanga historical cultural contact continued to be felt well after the advent of colonialism. This is evidenced by the white colonialists' policies, which further undermined the socio-economic livelihood of the San, their policies supported the welfare of the leading ethnic groups meaning that the minority groups were non-existent in their agenda. To further authenticate the above, the San people were required to obtain land from the dominant groups, which in the pre-colonial era relegated the San to the second class citizens. Hitchcock states that, the NLHA 1951 was crafted to enhance white economy while doing away with pre-colonial traditions of survival as a result the San occupied the degraded land.³ There was the creation and '*historical engineering*' of the San as their culture and way of life was reshaped by those who were in leadership. The institutionalization of anti-hunting laws

did more to destroy the sovereignty of San people. San people were only equal with Ndebele and Kalanga when they were hunting, for they used to meat barter for grain.

When hunting was forbidden the San returned to Ndebele and Kalanga thus, starting a process of cultural assimilation. Colonialism did not only subject San to be sub servants of other groups, but it damaged the San people spiritual life, beliefs and continuity. San have become a lost group living on the margins of poverty, surviving on charity and slavery. Therefore, it can be concluded that the coming in of colonialism worsened the San plight.

It has been argued that, according to the San mainly youths, being a Kalanga or Ndebele brings advantages of belonging to a dominant group however according, to this research the shift from San identity to either Kalanga or Ndebele did not yield economic and social progression. It has been observed that due to cultural and historical ties, the Bantu children find it difficult to respect and treat the San pupil equally in positions of authority. This have caused r affected the San children because they have been socialized to accepting that the Ndebele and Kalanga are supposed to hold positions of authority. The Rural District Councils Act makes the RDCs the authorities responsible for developing communal lands. 'Development' is defined at higher government levels, and the RDCs tends to sacrifice minority interests in the name of national or collective interests

Therefore, according to Madawo the San are defined by hiding their true identity and accept that of the Kalanga and Ndebele.⁴ As such it can be concluded that the self-denial is due the historical cultural contact which was centered on discrimination of the San by the Kalanga who dominated the leadership positions while relegating the San to the second class status.

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² G. C. Mazarire, “Reflections on the Pre-colonial Zimbabwe, C850- 1880s”, in *Becoming Zimbabwe- A History from Pre-colonial Period to 2008*, Harare, Weaver Press, 2009, p.1

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