

**THE DISPLACEMENT OF A NORTHERN CAPE COMMUNITY: AN  
ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH**

by

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## DECLARATION

I, Elize Becker, declare that the research work I completed, displays my own efforts to develop an understanding of the Meetse-a-tala community displacement event of 1964 and the aftermath thereof. I used diverse literature resources, historical research studies and electronic data to support my thesis.



2019/12/09

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SIGNATURE

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DATE

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## **ABSTRACT**

Displacement in the South African context is a complex and diverse phenomenon which is under-researched, particularly from the point of view of post-resettlement stress. The Meetse-a-tala community from Groenwater, Northern Cape, was resettled in 1964 and returned in 1999 to their ancestral land after a 25 year struggle to do so. The community anticipated that the land would present all the natural resources they had in 1964, but unfortunately, when they returned, the outlook seemed a lot different.

## **OPSOMMING**

Verskuiwing in die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks is 'n diverse en komplekse verskynsel wat nog nie voldoende nagevors is, veral vanuit die oogpunt van post-hervestigingsstres nie. Die Meetse-a-tala-gemeenskap van Groenwater in Noord-Kaap is in 1964 hervestig en het in 1999 teruggekeer na die land van hul voorouers na 'n 25 jaarlange stryd om dit te bewerkstellig. Die gemeenskap het verwag dat die gebied weer al die natuurlike hulpbronne sou aanbied wat hulle in 1964 gehad het, maar ongelukkig, met hul terugkeer, het die vooruitsigte heel anders gelyk.

### **Keywords:**

Displacement, resettlement, community, traditional leadership, leadership, Meetse-a-tala, Groenwater, Postmasburg, Kuruman, Metsimanzi, Community Property Association, Tsantsabane Local Municipality, Government, local authorities, anthropological research,

social-cultural, youth, employment, post-resettlement stress, transport, electricity, basic services, symbolism, sacred, culture

## **TSHOBOKANYO**

Tiragalo ya go fudusiwa ka dikgoka mo bokaong jwa Aforikaborwa e tlhagisa marara a a farologaneng ka ntlha ya dipatlisiso tse di lekanyeditsweng malebana le kgatelelo ya maikutlo e e amanang le morago ga go fudusiwa. Baagi ba Meetse-a-tala go tswa kwa Groenwater, kwa Kapabokone, ba itemogetse tiragalo ya go fudusiwa ka 1964 mme morago ga go kgaratlha dingwaga tse 25 go boela kwa lefatsheng la badimo ba bona, ba boetse ka 1999. Baagi ba ne ba solofetse gore lefatshe le tlaa ba neela ditlamelo tsotlhe tsa tlholego tse ba neng ba na natso fa ba tsamaya ka 1964, mme ka bomadimabe, e rile fa ba bowa, ba fitlhela le lebega le farologane thata.

### **Mafoko a botlhokwa:**

Phuduso ka dikgoka, phuduso, baagi, boeteledipele jwa setso, boeteledipele, Meetse-a-tala, Groenwater, Postmasburg, Kuruman, Metsimanzi, Mokgatlho wa Baagi wa Dithoto, Lekgotlatoropo la Selegae la Tsantsabane, Puso, bothati jwa selegae, dipatlisiso tsa anteropoloji, setsoloago, bašwa, ditiro, kgatelelo ya maikutlo e e amanang le morago ga go fudusiwa, dipalangwa, motlakase, ditirelo tsa motheo, bokao, boitshepo, setso

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## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW**

The first chapter aims to orientate the reader and describe data collected during the completed literature review. Resources collected diversify between research data or interpretations collected from anthropologists, economists and lawyers who participated in community displacement studies. Chapter 1 provides an orientation to explain the reasons for studying the Meetse-a-tala community and focuses on community displacement within the South African context, a literature review and a historical background.

The chapter aims to guide the reader into a global understanding of resettlement and then focus on the local South African context. The initial start aims to provide an insight into the area decided on to form part of the research study and the initial thoughts that guided the research planning.

### **1.1. Orientation**

The thesis focuses on events experienced by the Tswana-speaking people from Meetse-a-tala located in Groenwater, Northern Cape, South Africa. This first chapter aims to provide an overview of available literature explaining community displacement experiences and case studies by other researchers. Some case studies refer to Elizabeth Colson's resettlement work in Zambia, economic research due to resettlement completed by Michael Cernea, South African context experiences presented by Chris De Wet, among others, history of the BaTswana completed by P L Breutz, and other authors who focused on the resettlement themes. I added some of my own work encounters in the resettlement environment with the

aim to explain the roles and responsibilities anthropologists deal with in the applied sciences field.

Although the core of this thesis relates to the Meetse-a-tala people who faced historical displacement before 1994, I attempted to provide examples of other types of resettlements that happened in Africa. My thesis tried to explain the processes followed by other relocation projects, the problems and challenges associated with historical community displacement programmes and the manner in which these projects compare with the Meetse-a-tala removal events. I thought it best to explain the depth of problems and concerns developed because of projects funded by resettlement. A significant component of the work I allocated towards the understanding of the post-displacement phases and development of interrelations between community members.

Colson's study focused specifically on the displacement of people due to infrastructure developments. I used the information to understand the different phases that people experience when they encounter forceful removal from their living spaces. The resettlement impacts mostly accounted for by projects focus on the engineering expenses and not necessarily the social costs associated with such an event (Colson E, 1971:1).

Case studies demonstrated that forced removals resulted in food insecurities and undernourishment encountered by diverse displaced communities. Cash compensation regularly used during resettlement projects was deemed unsuccessful, especially with individuals becoming worse off after receipt of large sums of capital without receipt of basic financial management training (Cernea, 2000: 3668).

Some developments evident in Africa resulted in the displacement of people due to dams, railway, power lines, agricultural and road developments, for example. The problems faced by poor individuals, comprised homes, sense of place, and livelihood losses and economic instability because of displacement. In many circumstances, projects focus on the preparation of the people identified for displacement and not the impacts a host town or village may experience during displacement.

It was noted during the displacement of the Gwembe Tonga, in 1957 Hydro-Electric Dam development across the Zambezi River, that women experienced disadvantaged positions within their families, which resulted in renewed quarrels (Colson, 1971: 33). The protection of vulnerable groups during displacement events requires additional support, especially when individuals cannot present their own frustrations experienced during displacement.

Displaced communities that were resettled in areas unknown to them, and without symbolic meaning, resulted in greater cultural and economic divide for these villages impacted by displacement. The class difference between the resettled and the host community become more evident after displacement was finalised and the resettlement support teams left. Communities rely on their family members to gain a sense of belonging and to develop a survival method, especially in the poorer communities. In the event that people experience resettlement, they fall outside of their comfort zone and the effect on individuals, increases significantly, especially when the kinship, family and traditional authority structures start to change (Colson, 1971:101).

Anthropologists, social scientists, researchers, lawyers and government departments allocated substantial time to understand and analyse legislations, policies or procedures used

when communities are displaced. The following section aims at providing an overview of the research question, objectives, research design and theoretical approach. The research design focused on providing a socio-cultural perspective on the displacement of communities.

## **1.2. Literature review**

Roli Asthana participated in the involuntary resettlement discussion by contributing towards two different concepts related to displacement. The three areas of discussion included displaced people, post-resettlement events and rebuilding of their livelihoods. Asthana described the Scudder-Colson relocation theory that influenced resettlement theories and policies across the globe. The core of this theory indicated that impoverishment can arise because of displacement and the need for infrastructure development in the developing countries followed an increase in community displacement.

The major developments relate to dam construction, urban improvement or transportation developments, and developing countries invest in a large amount of new infrastructure expansion capital. Two types of movements related to the “push” factor and the lesser occurrence “pull” factor form part of the resettlement environment. Involuntary resettlement is associated with major disruption of complete communities livelihoods and migration relates to voluntary, more gradual events and is associated with ties still kept with the original villages (Asthana, 1996: 1469).

Asthana describes involuntary resettlement complexity in her publication with a focus on demolished production systems, kinship groupings that are traumatised, disorganisation of

well-established residential areas, job and asset losses, as well as a decline of healthcare. Involuntary resettlements related to development-induced activities are embedded in a political decision and promoted to fall within the nation's ideology or social good. Involuntary resettlements also relate to a need for permanent support in terms of income generating options and living conditions. Long-term attachments to a place are also required, for example, new agricultural lands need to be developed, social connections with host communities become necessary and symbolic associations must be developed within the new environment.

Asthana explained the Scudder-Colson relocation theory, who argued that displacement, involuntary or voluntary, develops a stressful event. Primary displaced people tend to behave conservatively, avoid risks and maintain family practices. After establishment of the community they settle economically and socially. People become more open and individual after resettlement, according to Asthana. The theory says that a community displays signs of successful displacement when they show integration into a wider regional management system with economic and administrative abilities (Asthana, 1996: 1469).

### **1.2.1. Economic Interpretations**

People who experienced displacement began to ask questions and demand answers, especially during the post-resettlement phase. People started to realise they could claim a right to information regarding pre-displacement and post-displacement claims. Depending on the nature of the project and the development policy, people may question the resettlement process and require an opportunity to contribute towards the decision-making process. The project-affected people realised they could oppose displacement and the

recommendations provided by resettlement experts. During some instances, beneficiaries used the Land Acquisition Act's regulations as a tool to continuously request for funding but without equipping all displaced people in the process. It is important that the affected persons benefit from the project first (Patkar, 1998: 2433).

Involuntary resettlement motivated by infrastructure development for the "greater good" may result in the restriction of people's rights by state-owned power and the outcome of communities being poorer than before the resettlement. Cernea developed an impoverishment risks and reconstruction (IRR) model that adds tools for explaining, diagnosing, predicting and planning for development. Cernea raised diverse issues of common characteristics noticed during comparison of forceful resettlement and refugee movements.

Cernea's model, based on the characteristics of risk, impoverishment and reconstruction, comprises features defined by notions of landlessness, marginalisation, morbidity and disarticulation. The appearances present an interlinked concept and influence each other on different levels. The identified characteristics assist with the theoretical understanding of the resettlement processes that include and illuminate its nature, linkage, pathologies and socio-economic cures. The concept of risk placed opposite the issue of security describes the higher the risk, the less evidence of security. To prevent impoverishment, the risk factor should be reversed by taking on specific policies, for example financial backing (Cernea, 2000: 3662).

The key social actions involved in displacement of communities include involvements by governments, the affected communities, the host population that benefits, the development

agency, NGOs and the academics. It became critical that social scientists and anthropologists should not only concentrate on intervening during involuntary developments, but also be a part of developing policies to guide the development processes from a social and anthropological point of view. These views concentrate on community's ways of living and impacts on their livelihood due to displacement. Cernea explains that three steps influence policymaking in terms of resettlements and these phases focus on a social analysis of the ethnographic surface, the second step presents basic principles in terms of policy-making, and lastly to provide feasible procedures used by governments or other organisations involved in development.

The policies should be prepared take into account all parties involved, namely the resettled communities, government and other public organisations. Rehabilitation of involuntary displaced people should be associated with the reconstruction of the social-cultural organisation of the communities and their survival in the longer term, as well as political or leadership complexities that create hardships or conflict. Community displacement presents various types of losses that includes loss of employment, assets and housing availability.

The models used by Cernea displayed the stress using a conceptual model for forced resettled communities, which directed attention to the physiological effect rather than the socio-economic systems of the displaced. Cernea indicated that policy development process and applied anthropology or social work resulted in the underlining of displacement or re-establishment of populations. The anthropology of resettlements become more intense when explaining their influences and ability to provide informed decisions.

The applied anthropologist regularly faced with strategy development includes judgement calls on opportunity and feasibility that become embedded in cultural as well as political contexts. In the event that an anthropologist displays involvement in the development of policies, the documents should be acceptable to a large variety of people categories or institutions, for example traditional, legal, financial and administrative bodies (Cernea, 1993: 29).

### **1.2.2. World Bank Viewpoints**

In the 1960s, the banks placed an emphasis on poverty alleviation and adopted guidelines in their lending programmes. The approach aimed to ensure that resources earmarked for the poorer social groups become a reality. The World Bank addressed social issues as part of their human rights programme, which focuses on poverty alleviation, fulfilment of nutritional needs, safe water, education, healthcare, housing and famine early warnings. The World Bank indicated that occurrence of involuntary displacement as a category displays adverse impact during execution of capital developments.

Social scientists documented the adverse effects that occur during displacement by undertaking various field studies (Refer to 1.1). The short-term consequences of displacement become mostly justified by the necessity to provide benefits to a large group of people. These short-term consequences relate to loss of productive assets, dismantling of social networks, destruction of cultural assets, increased morbidity as well as mortality rates.

Development projects normally aim at addressing high priority needs of a country and may conflict with some individuals as well as interested groups' viewpoints. The World Bank



included a goal that referred to sustainable development and presented as difficult to maintain when taking the re-settler and host communities into account. This scenario related to a need for more specific legislation to guide the displacement of communities to a host site. The use of cash compensations for a loss of goods and land sometimes presents the only method used during displacement of communities.

The reference to the World Bank aims to provide an explanation of the general economic approach accepted by the international community. In the event of the relevant study, the displacement aligned with political decision-making and possible mining developments that had an impact on the community's wellbeing. The researcher therefore included the reference to the World Bank to explain their stance related to displacement occurrences.

Few available legal systems can compensate for the seizing of common properties at resettlement areas. The issue regarding rehabilitation aims to provide the re-settled community with a re-established and economically self-sustainable environment. The World Bank's main objective focus was on the development of people's productivity during displacement. The process sometimes results in the opposite effect and the right of rehabilitation becomes excluded during the justification of Government to use private property for public use.

Governments tend to think that cash compensation may absolve them from providing the displaced community with further welfare needs or the necessary support. Few countries comprise specific laws that speak of the displacement of people, for example, China's 1982 Statue for Land Regulation for Construction Use by the State requires the restoring of the productivity of expropriated people (Shihata et al., 1993: 47).

Legal issues that typically arise during a displacement process involve the compulsory acquisition process, rehabilitation measures and a system for resolving grievances. The World Bank requires a resettlement plan as part of a project that should include a clear description of the legal aspects associated with displacement. Other legal issues connected with a displacement process include compensation for expropriated properties, resettlement entitlement criteria, land transfer and registration, as well as resettlement agency legislations.

In addition to the committees and bodies responsible for resettlement management, an appeals mechanism should be in place to assist with disputes over land acquisition, property damage and resettlement contract violations. The influences of non-governmental agencies should be significant during the management of resettlement projects. The World Bank set a precedent for development agencies and how they should deal with resettlement projects; some countries started to develop new compensation strategies focused on appropriate compensation of displaced people (Shihata et al., 1993: 52).

Development projects associated with large development projects offer considerable challenges especially when they relate to large-scale community projects. The aim of involuntary resettlements focuses on the re-establishing of an individual at a higher level of per capita income than the person earned previously earned, and to create a more sustainable future. Human capital associated with health, nutrition, and schooling and, for example, entrepreneurial skills becomes key during resettlement processes.

Economists for example Cernea's work tend to forget the problems that field anthropologists deal with when working on resettlement projects and the impacts on communities become

significant. This happens especially when their whole livelihood become affected. Colson allocated significant time to understand the development impacts on communities because of infrastructure projects for example (refer to page 26). The fact that resettlement tends to be seen as a social problem only, may result in a situation where economists feels excluded during studies or development of resettlement policies. The idea to involve economists may result in a more sustainable economic feature and the focus should not be on resettlement only, but also to plan a new way to live, work and play. The focus should be, as mentioned before, not only on the resettlement but also to determine a methodology where the whole family can be sustainable. The investment of capital should not be on the physical aspects only, but also the human capital component as well (Schuh et al., 1993: 60).

According to Penz, in the past, development was normally associated with a structural approach and the neoclassical counterrevolution. Governments started to become more concerned to ensure the development of their own economic standing rather than social development (Penz et al., 2012: 66).

The displacement of people due to development-induced projects received the economic attention it should, or large-scale displacements became characterised by socialist and capitalistic developments. The need for infrastructure developments and the power of governments resulted in overriding the property rights of communities and the neo-classical approach became hegemonic in the structuring of development policies (Penz et al., 2012: 66).

In addition to the structuring of development policies, the delivery of ethical business practices became a key and critical approach when undertaking business in Africa for

example. Africa commenced to focus on their Corporate and Sustainable Community Development practices *via* the use of various drivers. These drivers include cultural, social and environmental practices (Wolf & Thiel, 2018: 146).

Cernea refers to the key social actors that play a role in development-induced resettlement and these social actors include Government, the affected population that benefits from the displacement, the agency that develops or execute these programmes, the Non-Governmental Groups and the researchers who provide knowledge during the process. During the early 1970s and 1980s, limited contribution provided to analytical skills was linked to involuntary resettlement, but the situation changed in the later 1990s. The public debate in terms of resettlement increased significantly and this resulted in an opportunity for social scientists to identify disruptions by displacement, also to recommend policies that could prevent displacement or mitigate impact on the communities.

Social scientists, and economists inclusive of Cernea, Patkar, De Wet or Fay should concentrate more on the development of policies that include basic goals and compatible means. Anthropological knowledge can improve the development of policies and enhance the benefits of induced development. To implement anthropological or social analysis, steps need to be taken that include ethnographic understanding, formulating and recommending principles as well as normative content of public policy based on empirical knowledge (Cernea, 1996: 1516).

Cernea explains the social or anthropological applied science definition associated with involuntary resettlement includes two processes, namely displacement of people and

reconstruction of their livelihood. The implementation of displacement normally includes the expropriation of land for the provision of compensation.

According to Cernea, rehabilitation refers to the re-construction of the socio-economic life because of displacement. Involuntarily resettlement of people may present more risks to the community than voluntarily displacement. Involuntary resettlement in most cases offers a result of infrastructure development for the greater national good, but not for the smaller communities or individuals impacted by the displacement (Cernea, 1996: 1517).

Displacement consists of indicators that refer to the number of people displaced, the number of people who lose their assets, employment losses, environmental harms and costs of the move. The World Bank requested a study on the execution of resettlements after various concerns raised by the impact of these developments became evident.

Cernea indicated that the outcome of these studies displaced the dramatic impact on highly dense resettled communities in Asia because of infrastructure developments. Many anthropological studies contributed to the documentation of qualitative consequences of resettlement. Cernea mentioned that the displacement process resulted in the impoverishment of communities with a focus on landlessness, homelessness, joblessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, loss of access to common property assets, increase in morbidity, mortality and social dislocation (Cernea, 1996: 1518).

Involuntary Resettlement (IR) resulted in impoverished communities instead of providing positive effects on the inhabitants. Some of the reasons why IR presents the opposite effect include occurrence of forced socio-spatial space, the personification of certain differing

tendencies, the impact on communities at once and not over a distributed time. According to De Wet (2001: 4639), IR includes major administrative work and institutional as well as financial demands. Project planners also treat the involuntary resettlement component as less important and an external economic burden. Involuntary Resettlement displays a complex process and is sometimes beyond the control of rational development thinking.

The various issues related to Involuntary Resettlement influence the success rate of all affected parties in a resettlement programme and the implementation of development should include the affected inhabitants with an improvement of their material circumstances, a series of options and control over their day-to-day lives. Involuntary Resettlement aligns with characteristics associated with development intervention, people located in the way of proposed development or communities who receive compensation for new houses and permanent removal after permanent impact on their living space.

The allocation of resources mostly decided by government authorities and many government structures display a lack of development-orientated policies, administrative structures or budgets for resettlement projects. Some resettlement schemes profit by sharing benefits with the affected communities. These project-affected people used for the benefit of project teams normally come from fragile economic backgrounds or marginalised communities (De Wet, 2001: 4639).

Even in the event that people receive compensation for the loss of their assets, compensation may result in impoverishment. In some cases, inhabitants find themselves receiving land that is not equipped for farming, or they lose their land completely. Often in the event of resettlement, Government as well as businesses do not invest in an area anymore; the

outcome of resettlement communities takes a long time to recover and re-gain a level of economic independency.

Resettlement can become influenced by political choices and timeframes as well as what is theoretically good for the nation. The laws for many countries provide an opportunity for the acquisition of land that is part of the national interest. The type of compensation provided aimed at supporting private property owners and excludes cover of common property rights. If people experience resettlement, the Government acts as both the player as well as the referee (De Wet, 2001: 4640).

Per the World Bank's review in 1994, most resettlement projects presented an unsuccessful rate because the living standards refused to reach a like-for-like or better status and one of the concerns related to the poor income status. Five reasons identified may provide an explanation in the reason why resettlement projects tend to be a failure, and these refer to lack of capability, finance, political input, development opportunities and minimal compensation. The World Bank emphasises that resettlement must focus on improvement of resettled communities, but in most cases, the lack of better opportunities became evident (Scudder, 2013: 228). Household heads tend to receive less income or assets than before the resettlement process, which affects the community's identity or sense of belonging (Abdissa and Degefa, 2011: 228).

Fay argued that the spatial design and physical pattern of resettled communities present an incomplete funnel to the longer-term results of resettlement, where resettled communities and the host group became socially indifferent. The distribution of communities may result in some settlement areas being more open to outsiders than experienced resettlement

regions. Unique social patterns tend to develop during resettlement and a possibility exists that people move back to their original living areas. Resettlement also influences the social status of a community and their affiliations with the neighbourhood community.

In some instances, where a community is composed of diverse types of relationships, residents tend to gain access to land via church membership, friendship and shared employment. Residents tend to return to their original settlements when the host site provides insufficient space for agricultural activities or to house livestock. Another example of return mentioned by Fay, referred to a person who returned to the pre-resettled site between 1993 and 1994 because the new host site would not allow for the expansion of his homestead.

As a result, the person returned to his previous homestead during 1998 and described his decision to be politically as well as morally orientated. The pull factors relate to moral and politically orientated reasons, but the push factors become more important because of uncomfortable living conditions amongst these closely related families. Tense relationships and mistrust tend to develop when old families return to the pre-resettled areas and are not able to develop an understanding with the new neighbouring residents (Fay, 2012: 65).

The increase in mining projects resulted in some discussions regarding the appropriate management of conflict between these industries and the local communities. The need for foreign investment resulted in countries relaxing their mining legislations, allowed for investment by private mining companies, adapted tax codes as well as their leadership in the mining environment. The identification of new resources at remote areas resulted in a



negative impact upon indigenous people and increased the debate regarding mining ethics at such sensitive areas.

The case enquiry of the Peru Compania Minera Antamina's procedures aimed to determine how symbolic capital, interpretation of authority and distributed power can compete among different role players, for example lawyers, academics or anthropologists. Szablowski refers to what Bourdieu summarised as patterned ways of thinking and behaviour shared by diverse groups of participants (Szablowski, 2002: 254).

Various key role players became involved in the interpretation of the Directive, the completion of a resettlement plan, the implementation of the relevant plan and land acquisition or resettlement planning by staff from legal compliance, environmental, operations, planning and project development points of view. In most cases, the mining industry consists of mainly engineers, geologists and physical scientists that do not understand the application of anthropological and social sciences. Another major factor involves the mining environment, time and costs sometimes used as an excuse to prevent legal compliance with certain social-cultural requirements. The last concern related to the lack of accredited social scientists and anthropologists who participated in mining resettlement projects (Szablowski, 2002: 254).

### **1.2.3. The Four Stages of Resettlement**

Cerneá's model of characteristics focused upon the notions of landlessness, marginalisation, morbidity and disarticulation; Scudder referred to this as the four-stage framework. According to Scudder, a four-stage framework describes the resettlement processes that

occur in the event of development-induced resettled communities, and which is expected to happen over two generations. Scudder describes the resettlement process as inclusive planning for resettlement before the move commences, dealing with the lower living standards, initiation of economic development to improve the lives of first generation resettlers, focusing on sustainable development and provision of support to second generation resettlers as well as authorities. Scudder indicated the evidence of an established International Network on Displacement and Resettlement (Asthana, 1996: 1468).

Scudder describes the first stage as presenting a time of preparation for resettlement prior to actual removal and the second stage to adapt to a decline in living standards. The first generation resettlers display a critical component of a project, because their survival can mean the development of opportunities to support the second generation. One of the reasons why the living standards decrease during the second phase involves influences by government authorities that tend to withhold investment in infrastructure development. Also, competition between the resettlers and the host community impact on the economic environment by various stakeholders. The reason for this is when re-established local businesses display a disadvantage when compared to the host community businesses.

The third stage refers to the initiation of community opportunities and economic development that allow for the betterment of living standards related to the first generation who moved to the new settlement. The fourth stage involved the handover of a sustainable resettlement process to a second-generation community who resettled, as well as to authorities outside of the project environment (Asthana, 1996: 1468-1469).

The resettlement of communities, presents psychological stresses because of a concern regarding their future prospects and occurrence of vulnerable groups specifically affected by these activities. The transfer of communities to the host provides a stressful circumstance because of the socio-cultural phenomena in terms of births, marriages and funerals that adapt to the new host site environment. Another aspect that displays a significant phenomenon during the resettlement process includes people who adapt to their new political environment and fit in with the existing sacred areas, churches and ritual grounds.

The Scudder–Colson relocation theory influenced the understanding of resettlement and indicated the stressful experiences that link to such an occurrence (Colson, 1985: 191). Scudder indicates that the issues associated with resettlement presents a similar experience to diverse communities, for example, the time before the move, the adjustment after the displacement and the indication that communities act within a risk-avoidance manner.

The Scudder-Colson model received criticism for the similarity approach and by excluding investigation of the different behaviour presented by communities impacted by resettlement (Asthana, 1996: 1469). Household heads tend to offer less income or assets than before the resettlement process.

#### **1.2.4. Community Displacement in South Africa**

During the Apartheid years, the central theme focused on the explanation of illegal spaces referring to Black communities and how to place them within confined spaces to be controlled (Maharaj, 2001: 133). Since 1913, many Africans experienced resettlement for

mostly political reasons and the implementation of land reform resulted in further displacement of communities across South Africa.

The 1913 Land Natives Act prevented all methods of sharecropping and definition of Black tenants as servants, and the Act used by some farming families forced communities to move or limit the keeping of cattle. Due to the forced removals, families resettled in nearby towns and cities with the hope of finding work, which resulted in a change within the social-cultural patterns. The 1936 Native Trust and Land Act was used to “rationalise” land-use planning, as evident in the implementation of the Betterment schemes. A significant resettlement of communities occurred after World War 2 due to the Apartheid and Homeland policies between 1948 and the 1950s (De Wet, 1994: 360).

#### **1.2.5. Surplus People Project**

The Surplus People Project (SPP) provides a clear account of the types of resettlement that occurred in South Africa and refers to 11 categories of relocation. De Wet describes displacement events aligned with the SPP findings because of households leaving White owned farms, the Group Areas Act, de-proclamation of African townships, settlement within urban areas and the subsequent relocations.

The SPP types of resettlement areas refers to people who left their original settlements areas and commenced looking for accommodation or work opportunities that resulted in living in informal housing, mostly in urban or semi-urban areas (De Wet, 1994: 360).

The role of the SPP offered a significant role to develop an understanding of historical forced removals in South Africa. The SPP aimed to combine a significant number of recorded forced removals and to determine the nature of these displacements.

Displacements present a significant impact on community wellbeing and the influences because of removal that formed part of the SPP volumes.

SPP explained that forced removals present a destructive environment that changes families from a social, psychological, economic and political point of view. Within the South African context, displaced communities received negative motivations and the Government becomes negligent towards an analysis of post-resettlement events. South African Governments delayed any process to determine what happened to communities after they experienced resettlement and if they successfully adapted to their new environments (Mazur R, 1988: 147).

Diverse principal laws formed part of the forced removals phenomenon, for example the Natives Land Act of 1913, the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the 1980 apartheid legislations. According to SPP, more than 3.5 million people experienced removal during the apartheid years (Mazur R, 1988: 148).

SPP refers to a range of land management definitions, for example scheduled, released and trust land. SPP indicated that between 1960 and 1962, there were 834,000 experienced livelihood impacts because of the implementation of the Group Areas Act (Hallett R, 1984: 308).

Some other land legislations passed during the apartheid years referred to the Trust Act of 1936 and the Natives Act of 1923, which embedded segregation within the society.

Explanations presented by the pre-1994 government included intentions to remove race friction and develop an integrated society. According to the apartheid government, they attempted to focus on cultural and spiritual development of all people and their attempts resulted in the development of a higher-level class. According to them, their approach extended to include traditional chiefs and a few local businesspersons. Subsequently an environment developed based on political control and struggle to reach ethnic freedom and many organisations who attempted to reach levels of equality experienced diverse threatening situations (Hallett, 1984: 314). The studies completed by SPP explained some of the experiences recorded during the Meetse-a-tala fieldwork sessions and an intense feeling of mistrust progressed since the start of the apartheid years.

According to the SPP Reports, 2000 people experienced removal during 1964 because of relocation between Groenwater and a property 200 km north of their existing land (SPP, 1983: 89). During that time, they experienced displacement to the Batlharos or Wyks areas that formed part of the Kuruman Reserves, in close vicinity of Mothibistad situated north of Kuruman, which the Meetse-a-tala community call Metsimanzi (refer Chapter 4).

According to SPP, the Wyks, which mean districts, presented a large assembly of consortium farms where communities were relocated from diverse cancelled reserves. The 1913 scheduled experienced removals saw relocation to numerous different farms that comprised inhuman living conditions. The removal of the community to the north occurred because of consolidation proposals explained in the SPP reports, and Groenwater formed part of the 1913 excised scheduled areas. According to the Diamond Fields Advertiser

(29.12.77), as indicated in the SPP report, the areas used for community relocation presented an appalling living environment.

The challenges people faced included poor road conditions, limited water resources, and hospitals more than 130 km away, with no methods of communication. Some villages were 25 km away from the closest shops and within a semi-desert environment; the area offered a dreadful agricultural environment to secure food. The relocated areas had a few boreholes but presented undrinkable water because of the bitter taste. People also complained about the sand in the water and the impacts on their health as a result.

Individuals worked in the asbestos mines in the region and displayed symptoms of lung sickness. Family members complained about the significant loss they experienced when their men and brothers died because of the unsafe working conditions.

During the week, women and children stayed alone at the Metsimanzi settlements with limited support, as most men worked away from home, which increased their vulnerability to survive at the difficult land. Finally, although the government allowed for the development of primary schools, they struggled to maintain the education system because of minimal teacher availability (SPP, 1983: 94-95). The following section aims to provide the historical background of the Meetse-a-tala people to provide an in depth inside into their geographical movements before 1964.

### **1.3. Historical Background of the Meetse-a-tala People with a focus on the BaTlharo and BaTshweng Tribes**

The Meetse-a-tala people has a long heritage of land ownership, tribal leadership, religious and sacred areas. The section below aims to provide an in-depth description of the origin of the Meetse-a-tala people and the context they originate from. The historical background aims to guide the reader and provide an in-context understanding why displacement impacted them from a physical to a cultural point of view. The historical map below provides an indication of the South African geographical outlook during 1901, and aims to provide an insight into the typical breakdown of the colonies and regions during the time. The historical background described in the following section refers to events since 1590, but the map provides an overview of the regional developments before the 1964 displacement events.

The baTlharo and baTshweng originate from the baHurutshe who, geographically, form part of the Southern Tswana speaking groups. According to Breutz, Chief Mohurutshe II's youngest son Motlhware, born at some point between 1590 and 1640, became the paternal uncle of Chief Manyane. During the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, tensions in the Hurutshe tribe increased during the same time as the existence of Motlhware, not significantly mentioned in the Hurutshe history.





**Figure 1: Historical Map of South Africa (Gotha: Justus Perthes 1901)**

The Hurutshe group possibly split before 1700 during Manyane’s time. Breutz mentioned that the Motlhwane possibly controlled the group, and the “Morena” of the “Mophato” left the tribe. Motlhwane missed out becoming regent like his older three brothers. It was mentioned that the group possibly allocated their first night to live at the Motlhwane tree known for ritual importance related to rainmaking and fertility (Breutz, 1989: 188).

Recordings by Breutz show the baTshweng, who were originally excluded from the baTlharo tribes, originated in the reign of *Kgosi* Mahurutshe in the latter part of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but were prevented from joining the older sons, who moved north to their original home. The baTshweng tribe lived without a *kgosi* and subsequently joined the baTlhaping

and baRolong tribes, indicated as sub-clans, while others joined the baTlharo. The baTshweng presented a mixture between Hurutshe and the Korana peoples. The baTlharo villages situated at Griqualand formed part of the Adam Kok III leadership and, according to Breutz, sold to the Orange Free State during the time (Breutz, 1989: 188).

Isolated Tlharo reserves in the south date back to the Griqua chief named Waterboer, who allocated land to headmen who married Griqua wives. Some of the reserves refer to Gatlhose, Maremane, Dikeeng (Skeyfontein) and Metsematala (Groenwater). Breutz indicated that the “Metsematala” reserve at Groenwater formed part of the Batshweng tribal authority, with headman Kweetsane as leader. According to Breutz, the Meetse-a-tala tribe moved to Kuruman area during 1964 and in 1956, the Bachweneng Tribal Authority was created in Groenwater, but the authority became a sub-ordinate of *Kgosi* Toto. The headmen and some relatives ruled, and the tribal council authority consisted of six members (Breutz, 1989: 189).

The intensity of the social relationships at the Northern Frontier included Whites and Non-whites who lived in the area during the time. It was mentioned that the colonists preferred to trade in weapons and would eagerly sell these goods to Khoikhoi hunter-gatherers who looked for new hunting grounds. A person named Jan Bloem was alluded to during numerous times in various historical records, which mentioned that he became responsible for many cattle raids at Kora and Tswana speaking communities (Elphick and Giliomee ed, 1979: 255).

The first BaTlharo ruler named Maele had seven sons, of which Phadime, Khidi, Ngwaisane, Motlhwaremang and Tokwane became known leaders. Phadime

acknowledged as a harsh person, subsequently lost the opportunity to become chief. According to Breutz, because of conflicting information, the records show limited information related to the leadership succession line. The name Khidi mentioned by Breutz became problematic to align with the mentioned historical records because of the possibility that either the son or grandson adopted the chieftainship. Both carried the same names according to Breutz, which increased the difficulty to identify the different roles each person played. The names Mothlhwaremang or Lotlhware acted on behalf of Ngwaisane, according to historical records, and subsequently Ngwaisane's son Khihi acted on behalf of Ngwaisane. Khidi's sons included Mokgothu, Mwatshi, Matshabelele, Seakana and Phetu (Breutz, 1989: 192).

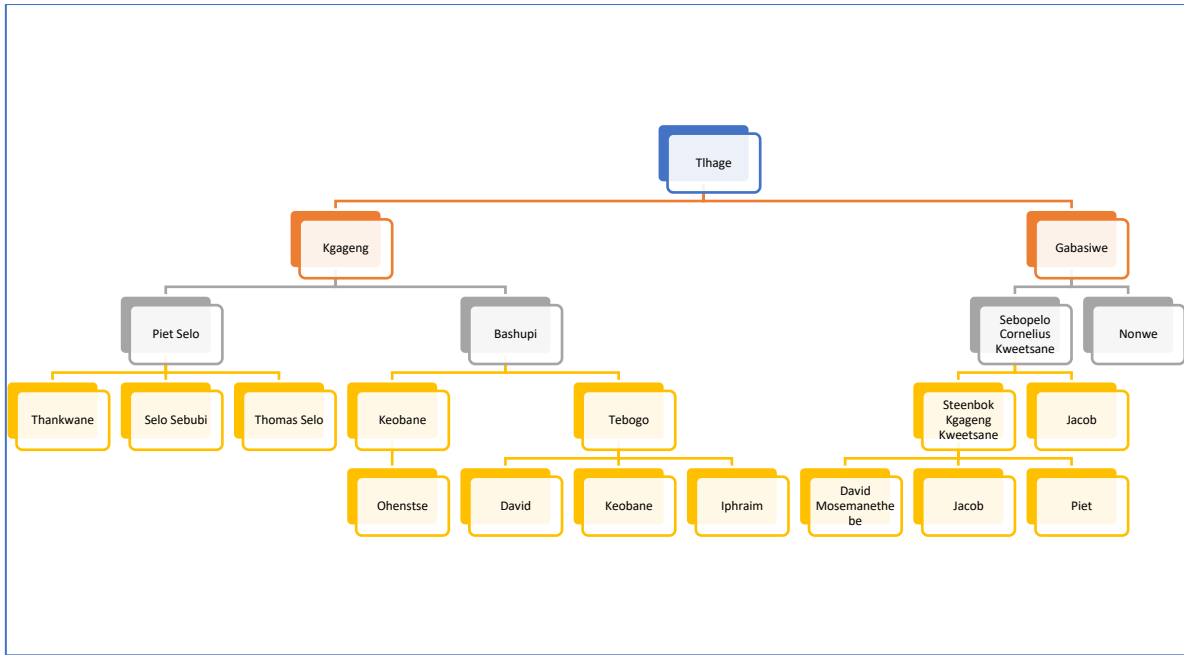
During the death of Mokgothu at a young age, Mosimanyane became the acting *kgosi* and possibly carried the name of Lotlhware. After the event, the tribe split in three and received their own *kgosi*'s during the time. Breutz indicated that these three groups formed their own clans (*dikgoro*) of which the bookhidi became the most senior. Headmen mentioned by Breutz who lived in the 17<sup>th</sup> century referred to Maphiniki, Tsining, Gamopedi, Gatlhose and Metse-Matse (Groenwater). Chief Tshowe at Heuningvlei was also believed to have lived during the time.

The role of Chief Toto's influence during the Langeberg rebellion in 1897 received significant attention. Toto received a name as a good leader, and who befriended white men. During 1896, because of the Rhinderpest epidemic, the government commenced removing infected livestock. During this time, because of cattle being killed at Taung, *Kgosi* Galeshewe shot a European officer and requested protection from *Kgosi* Toto at Langeberg (Breutz, 1989: 194).

Toto and Galeshewe were imprisoned for starting the rebellion and placed on Robben Island in 1901. After the Langeberg rebellion, the British government refrained from acknowledging any other traditional leaders and the tribes became scattered because of the event. Since then political importance changed with the appointment of official government headmen (Breutz, 1989: 194). Breutz mentioned the Meetse-a-tala people formed part of the boeKeakopa clan (*Kgoro*).

The little information available related to the baTlharo makes the reconstruction of the different tribes difficult. According to Breutz, a document indicated that Totwe Makgolokwe informed the missionaries during 1885 of the baTlharo tribe. During this time, the baTlharo started to lay claim to areas known to belong to their ancestors, which they could not occupy over a long period. Some areas aligned with the baTlharo tribe refers to the Lower Kuruman State Land and formed Trust Farms and some tribal people from the south moved into the northern Trust Land of the Lower Kuruman estate. A split arrived between dependent and independent headmen from isolated areas who moved into the Kudumane district. Some independent headmen decided to join the Batlharo ba Motlhware Tribal Authority defined by government in 1978; the Meetse-a-tala headmen also decided to join the Batlharo ba Motlhware Tribal Authority.

The first baTlharo people who reached Groenwater noticed that Griqua Chief Waterboer claimed ownership of the land and Breutz explained Headman Kgangeng discovered the Meetse-a-tala fountain at Groenwater. Subsequently chief Waterboer claimed the Groenwater land and the people during 1850. The headmen's genealogy and relationships, according to Breutz, started with Kgangeng and followed with Kweetsane.



**Figure 2: Genealogy of Meetse-a-tala Headmen according to Breutz (1989: 218)**

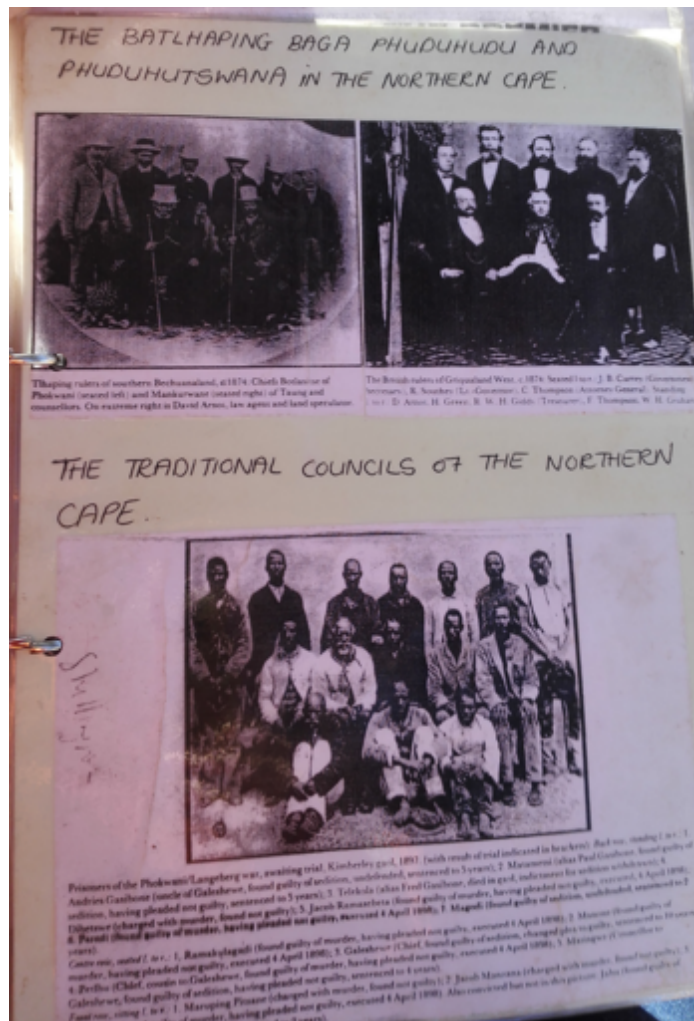
According to Breutz, Galeshewe maintained rule over Pokwane, Magogong, Majeakgoro and Modutung. During the Langeberg Rebellion, Galeshiwe became deposed by the ruling government because of involvement in armed uprisings. Punishment for the crime involved confiscation by the Cape Government during 1898. During 1903, Galeshewe was released from prison and decided to settle at Magogong, which was ruled by Chief Molale. Galeshewe, according to Breutz, died in 1927 (Breutz, 1989: 154).



**Figure 3: Referred to as *Chief* Matsaobane Paul Galishewe the 1<sup>st</sup> Metsi Matale traditional leader (Photo received from acting *Kgosi* Marotobolo)**



**Figure 4: Kgosi Galeshewe (The Presidency of South Africa: 2018)**



**Figure 5: Photograph of the Northern Cape Traditional Councils during the Langeberg Rebellion 1897 – received from *Kgosi Marotobolo***

Actual observations of Tswana speaking people, made during 1800 to 1820 by eyewitnesses, indicated the occurrence of people at Kuruman and Taung. According to Saruel Daniell, who lived in the area during 1804, the Tswana settlements consisted of great assemblages of huts within a large open area. Various scholars and missionaries travelled in the Northern Cape and described their experiences of the historical events that transpired in the area.

Some of these names included Burchell, Schaepera, Saunders, Maggs, Leggasick and Thompson (Hardie, 1931: 30). The historical main town or village of the BaTlhaping

received the name of Dithakong, according to Shillington, and the settlement was known for evidence of stone walling and cattle. The Setswana speaking people referred to the Cape Colony as the Mokaapa, which experienced occupation by *Makgowa* that meant white people. Other tribes or nations evident in the area included the Khoesan, Koranna and the Griqua (Shillington, 2011: 4). The Setswana community has a significant historical record and traces of these settlements are evident at the Groenwater area. According to Breutz, the former Bachweneng Tribal Authority consisting of the baTshweng and baTlharo received leadership from Headman Kweetsane.

Initially the Meetse-a-tala people stayed at Groenwater, which received the name after a fountain evident in the area. The Meetse-a-tala people relocated in 1964 to Kuruman State Land and became sub-ordinates of *Kgosi* Toto (Breutz, 1989: 218). The Groenwater location comprised 11 072 hectares of land and presented evidence of the baTshweng, baTlharo, Xhosa and Southern Sotho people. The historical records explain that an estimate of 1400 people lived in the area before the 1964 removal (Breutz, 1989: 218). According to SPP, 2000 residents from Groenwater experienced displacement to Kuruman (refer to section below). The Meetse-a-tala community named the area they relocated to Metsimanzi, in short “Metsi,” that played a key role in shaping their lives after displacement (refer to Chapter 4).

Breutz indicated that different categories of land existed made up of tribally owned land, local reserves, tribal farms, native privately owned land, and people living on European owned land as farm workers and seasonal farm labourers. According to Beinart and Delius Land dispossession happened before the Natives Land Act of 1913 with colonial rule expanding their search for land (Beinart & Delius, 2014: 669). During the time the colonial



government undertook a series of land surveys with the aim to privatise land. During the 19<sup>th</sup> Century the Colonial governments used to set-aside land for African populations and later became known as reserves or locations. African populations also could purchase land but not own the properties.

The 1913 Land Act stipulated three major elements namely the ban of selling of reserve land to Africans, the appointment of a specific commission to manage the scheduled land process, also the prevention of renting by Africans on scheduled or so-called white owned land. Africans living on white owned land worked at least 90 days to return “payment” for living on these designated properties (Beinart & Delius, 2014: 670). Beinart and Delius explained that many African people occupied white-owned land but lived as farm workers or tenants (2014: 670).

According to Breutz, the Tswana tribes became structured according to tribe, clan, sub-clan and wards with having a *Kgosi*, Tribal Council and Clan Heads. It was indicated that the Southern Tswana decided to abandon the clan system and villages acted as subdivisions of the tribe.

The Village Head received the name foreman after election by the people and received approval from the Chief or Headman. The Village Head did not receive the same authority as the traditional Headman according to Breutz. Land disputes and inheritance presented key challenges the Headmen and his advisors had to manage, according to Breutz (Breutz, 1958: 6).

The colonial history of South Africa displays many forms of national European colonial ideas associated with White minority rule, which influenced many communities. During 1912, the first modern African Nationalist Party originated, but with limited impact during the early 1900s (Shillington, 2012: 376).

Shillington explained other political matters that influenced the lives of the Tswana speaking people in the Northern Cape referred to the racial segregation laws implemented by the colonial government between 1910 and 1940. The colonial times included the development of overcrowded land reserves where people were moved to and as a result, an increase in evictions on White owned land areas (Shillington, 2012: 376).

The eviction of Africans from White owned land areas needed further control in terms of the colonial laws and African people needed to carry a valid pass that allowed them to live in certain areas. The pass policy attempted to control the movement of people, especially labour in the main areas and preventing unemployed Blacks from staying in the town areas. In addition, the colonial government prevented 11 000 African people from voting in any parliamentary elections of the Cape Province, formerly the Cape Colony, according to Shillington. These movements resulted in Black resistance that presented a level of political, social and economic freedom. During 1912s, the African elite groups developed their own political party named the South African Native National Congress that received a name change during 1923 to African National Congress (ANC) (Shillington, 2012: 378).

#### **1.4. Land Frontier Challenges Experienced during the 1800 and 1900's**

The phenomenon of trading and political expansion played a role between the 1800s to 1900s to develop social-cultural relationships between the different groups. Historians for example Hamilton, Elphick and Giliomee, have recognised events that had an impact on the lives of the Tswana groups in the Northern Cape and the role of the colonial governments to change the landscape of the local communities.

The colonial landownership issue was preceded with tribal conflict during the late 1700s to 1800s, and Tswana speaking people indicated that during this time their existence was filled with conflict between different traditional leaders as well as cultural groups (Hamilton, Mbenga, Ross ed., 2012: 213). The most known groups namely the Bafokeng, Bahurutshe, Bakgatla, Bakwena, Bangwaketse, Barolong and the BaTlhaping who experienced continuous conflict between each other (Hamilton, Mbenga, Ross ed., 2012: 213).

At first, the role of the *Kgosi* was respected by the colonists and approval was asked to enter the Tswana speaking territories. Once the *Kgosi* agreed, only then did the foreign groups enter the area and develop their own settlements in the area. The role of the missionaries changed from influencing the local groups on their religious practices to becoming negotiators between the colonial governments and the local tribal groups. According to historical records, the missionaries introduced their own methods of agriculture, domestic skills, community care and language especially during the 1820s.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the rulers decided where the missionaries could settle with the idea that these individuals would influence the political, social and economic forces of the Tswana speaking people. The South African history is made up of wars, extensive colonial influences, subjugation of people, which had impact on the identities evident of modern day society (Hamilton, Mbenga, Ross ed., 2012: 392).

Historians for example Shillington (2011-2012), Hamilton (2012) and Elphick (1979) indicated that the historical environmental landscape affected their agricultural activities, along with having higher rainfall during this historical time. Due to the higher rainfall, the communities developed larger livestock numbers, and the introduction of maize may have happened during the 1800s. Due to the expansion of the European trade, the shape of the Tswana chiefdoms changed with communities moving to new settlement areas.

The expansion of northward trading routes resulted in an increase of settlement raids at the Tswana settlements, and the growth in colonial commandos required the services of Tswana speaking individuals (Hamilton, Mbenga, Ross ed., 2012: 214). Historians indicated that Tswana speaking individuals who worked for Whites sometimes had to join the war and represent the White farmers.

### **1.5. Landownership Struggles, Historical evidence of Missionaries and the role of the Colonial Governments to change the landscape of the Meetse-a-tala people**

The challenges related to land-ownership originated during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century when the colonial government closed borders and the free movement of people changed at the frontier

zones. The entrenchment of the colonial controls and the transfer of land rights to mostly White farmers transformed relationships as well as territories in the Northern Frontier.

The social-cultural regulation of White and Non-white movements influenced trade as well as the political environment. The registration of titles changed to a long process, with some cultural groups' applications moving significantly quicker than did others (Elphick and Giliomee ed, 1979: 259). It became evident that the political situation changed people's lives to become labourers at White owned farms to receive food and shelter. Some pre-1964 community displacements happened because of households who experienced resettlement after government removed them from White owned farms to live in reserve areas.

According to SPP, the Kuruman reserves required cleaning up by 1961 and Government decided to relocate them to Tlhaping-Tlharo or the Ganyesa magisterial districts of Bophuthatswana, while others relocated to Taung or Molopo. Northern Kuruman, the apparent home of the Batlharos evidently became the temporary home of the Meetse-a-tala community (SPP, 1983: 104).

Groenwater formed part of the 1913 scheduled reserves inclusive of other neighbouring areas, for example Skeyfontein, Schmidtsdrift and Metsematshwe or Metsi Matsi. The reserves mentioned became part of the Tlhaping-Tlharo magisterial districts of Bophuthatswana.

The displacements during 1964 varied for different reasons. It started with consolidation at scheduled reserves mostly, so called black spot removals, infrastructure displacements and

influx control. Other displacements included informal settlements clean-up, urban removals, betterment schemes, group regions and farm relocations.

These cleaning up processes and evidences of an increase in mining operations provided the historical background to determine the impacts on the Meetse-a-tala community. Chapter 2 explains the research methods used to analyse the post-resettlement challenges experienced by the Meetse-a-tala community after their return during 1999.

## **CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH DESIGN**

### **2.1. Introduction**

The chapter below aims to provide an overview of the research design used to develop an understanding of the Meetse-a-tala displacement events that happened since 1964. The section focuses on the research question, objectives, research methodology, ethical considerations and chapter design. The research design explains the methods used to collect assorted resources for example literature reviews, overview of the project geography, the fieldwork, analysis and development of a conclusion.

The first part aims to provide an explanation of the research question. In this research, the author refer to different geographical areas, namely Groenwater Location an area in close vicinity to the ancestral cemetery, new Groenwater I refer to as the area mostly occupied by individuals who support the Community Property Association (CPA) and Metsimanzi, the community rereferred to as the place where the apartheid government relocated them to in Kuruman (refer to Chapter 3).

## **2.2. Research Question**

My regular visits to the Groenwater Location and surrounding areas allowed me to develop an interest in the displacement events that happened in the past. In view of the legacy of forced removals, colonial and apartheid events, I commenced to ask the question about the understanding of the resettlement events of the Meetse-a-tala community? In addition, I asked if the community received any assistance from Government to develop a coping mechanism to adapt to their circumstances.

## **2.3. Objectives**

After the identification of the objectives, I identified an objective that guided me throughout the development of the thesis. The main objective relates to the study of the Meetse-a-tala community, located 50 km west from Danielskuil and 50 km east from Postmasburg. The Groenwater Location area is in the Northern Cape, South Africa, and surrounded by diamond and iron ore mines. To develop an understanding of the resettlement events I identified the following objectives as part of my research methodology to understand the displacement events that happened during the time.

- To identify the geographical settlement changes since the relocation of the Meetse-a-tala community.
- To determine the type of social-cultural disturbances communities experience in the event of displacement and the impacts on their daily live routines.
- To understand what happens to communities' livelihoods in the event of forced displacement.

- To investigate the post-1994 government's approach to provide support to communities who experienced displacement.
- To analyse the events that happened aligned with theoretical models developed by resettlement experts.

## **2.4. Research Methods**

### **2.4.1. Introduction**

My research started with developing a framework that guided me throughout the process. My research focused on the completion of a literature review, determination of the area profile, participation in fieldwork, questionnaires and analyses of the data collected. I attempted to develop a case study related to the core occurrences of a community that experienced displacement during the apartheid time.

The first step included the start of a literature review and the development of a theoretical background related to the understanding of displacement in the global context. The literature review started on an international scale due to the need to understand the general global perspective regarding the occurrence of displacement events. I subsequently realised that a significant part of the literature I identified with the assistance from the library focused on infrastructure developments, natural disasters or migration occurrences. The literature review included a detailed reading and understanding of the displacement discipline. I subsequently realised too many articles focused on challenges outside of South Africa and I changed my research approach. I continued with my literature review



and started to identify literature pertaining to the Southern African and then South African environment.

After reading sources on displacement related to the South African environment, I began to understand the Northern Cape displacement environment, and additional reading became necessary. My initial research allowed me to develop an understanding of the international approach towards resettlement, but I still needed a case study or examples to develop a Northern Cape case study. I therefore commenced to collect material that referred to the Meetse-a-tala community in terms of their settlement areas and movement in the Northern Cape.

Direct references in terms of the Meetse-a-tala people were identified by reading material from P L Breutz, who completed a study focused on the History of the Batswana (refer to Chapter 1). In addition, I studied the SPP Reports Vol. 3, which focused on the Western, Northern Cape and Orange Free State forced removals (SPP: 1983). The SPP published by the Surplus People Project allowed for insightful data related to the 30 years forced removal impacts on the region.

A significant component of the resettlement articles identified during my initial search focused on the World Bank operations and policies not specifically relevant to this study. I continued to study the role of the World Bank in resettlement to gain an insight into the development of frameworks and policies adopted by the organisations, with the aim of understanding the reasons why such an intense interest started to develop in the political field and the role they played in the formulation of different resettlement models presented by diverse academia. During my initially study, I could not identify any government-related

policies directly linked with the Meetse-a-tala people because the case studies focused mainly on displacement events in Central Africa (see Chapter 1).

I therefore began with additional explorations to develop a historical understanding of the events that happened before and after 1964. I focused on the historical components to allow for the creation of a movement pattern of the Meetse-a-tala community between their current and past settlements. I also needed to develop a picture of the Meetse-a-tala political-cultural environment, their historical *kgosis*, headmen and traditional leadership landscapes. It became clear to me that the geographic understanding, in addition to their leadership history, played a key role in appreciating the cultural events that happened in the area.

The next step allowed me to undertake diverse fieldwork sessions to gain first-hand knowledge regarding the memories, emotions and perceptions the community could share that allowed for a clearer understanding of the displacement events. It allowed me to receive first-hand data from elderly people who experienced the 1964 resettlement, but who also lived in Groenwater before the event. I also received a chance to meet with the acting *Kgosi* and members of the CPA. The interviews provided me with an opportunity to develop the necessary genealogies that contributed to the understanding of the Meetse-a-tala leadership environment and family histories.

My literature review included works from anthropologists, economists, sociologists, lawyers and historians who over the years contributed towards the field of applied and theoretical sciences. The overview presented a multi-disciplined insight into the different viewpoints collected by professionals working in the field of resettlement or community displacement.

### **2.4.2. Research Theory**

Anthropological research approach has been developed over the years with significant focus on ethnography and exploratory research. Initial research methods used by Malinowski for example, attempted to focus on a participatory approach and investigating cultures as subjects. This approach commenced to adopt a “colonial” study approach, which received significant critique by the newer anthropology generations and a request to display more respect when working with people. Communities started to oppose the methods of research, fieldwork and participatory approach adopted by anthropologists, because in their view, they were being seen as subjects to be studied (Watson, 1981: 28).

Pragmatic social sciences such as Applied Anthropology is low in practice and characterised by its own metaphysics that are sometimes opposed by scientists who are less sensitive towards people and culture (Cernea & Guggenheim, 1993: 26). I used the expression as my first guide to commence with an approach where I actively could develop an understanding of the displacement events in the Northern Cape.

My second theoretical guidance I identified by developing an insight into ethnographic fieldwork methodologies, taking part in interviews, creation of genealogies and identifying specific events during specific timelines in the lives of the Meetse-a-tala community. Anthropologists make use of ethnographic techniques to understand the social, cultural and historic complex relations of organisations (Roberts, 2000: 2).

Translating social science into policy requires intensive involvement in field seasons and an understanding of the applied environment becomes critical (Cernea, 1993: 27). It became

clear that field assignments carried out by anthropologists require tested knowledge, approaches, constraints and project performance. Diverse constraints develop during the fieldwork sessions an anthropologist needs to deal with on a constant basis and manage to ensure delivery of the research according to set timelines. The development of policies is substantiated by empirical data to ensure legitimacy as well as refinement (Cernea, 1993: 27). The development of policy *via* the use of pre-existing theory included new research in quasi-experimental situations, collection of empirical knowledge, identification of new issues and variables previously not studied, use of analytical methods, development of new solutions and social arrangements (Cernea, 1993: 27).

I continued to identify research material aligned with the area I investigated without duplicating any work. I attempted to prevent my research from shifting into another historical display of the Meetse-a-tala community. I needed to focus on their displacement events and gather new data not collected before using an anthropological approach. The participation in interviews became critical, especially with the older generation who had most of the data I needed to include in my study. The ethical skills that a social scientist or anthropologist displays in this process presents a complex activity, especially if the person becomes involved in the development of policies themselves on a regular basis (Cernea, 1993: 29).

#### **2.4.3. Archival Research and Map Review**

I attempted to undertake a search by identifying data on the National Archival Database and determine any data or reference directly linked to the Meetse-a-tala community. Limited information indicated direct links to the displacement events I needed to develop an

understanding of the social-cultural impacts on the Meetse-a-tala community. I required more solid data and reverted to reviews of digital historical maps available at the library.

The historical maps displayed intrinsic graphic explanations of the movement of communities between Groenwater, Postmasburg, Hotazel and Kuruman. It also allowed me to understand the geographic changes that happened before and after 1964.

In addition, I used contemporary Google Maps to provide me with an understanding of the post-1994 municipality regions, current and future land-uses planned for Groenwater and surrounds. Mapping became increasingly important to understand the severe impact on the Meetse-a-tala community during the displacement events. The distances between the different key towns display one of the key reasons why they suffered before 1964 and are still struggling.

#### **2.4.4. Interviews**

The participation in different interviews allowed me to gain insight into the memories of the Meetse-a-tala people and their identification with the displacement experiences. Individuals interviewed consisted of different age groups, but especially aimed to request data from the elderly, the Community Property Association (CPA) and traditional leaders. The elderly, who remembered the displacement experiences of 1964, presented insightful information of real-life events. My interview methodology focused on the execution of participatory discussions and allowed my informants to share their memories. I needed to understand their perception of past displacement events and their reasoning behind the resettlement impacts

on their communities. I therefore decided to follow a natural conversational approach and ask key individuals if they were available to discuss the displacement events of 1964.

I divided my interviews to reflect inputs received from the traditional leadership, the CPA, the elderly who lived in Groenwater during 1964, individuals who currently lived outside of the resettled area but experienced the displacement as a child, young people who lived in Groenwater permanently, youths who relocated and returned, new community members who moved in recently, and individual farmers who lived in the bordering farm lands (see Chapter 4).

The interview set-up aligned with visits to the ancestral cemetery, the Groenwater fountain, the grazing land and scattered graves situated in close vicinity of the railway station. The community asked that I visit these key areas that triggered conversations regarding the 1964 events. It allowed me to develop an insight into their symbolic attachments and interpretations to Groenwater Location specifically.

During the interviews, I followed mostly a one-on-one approach that allowed individuals to feel relaxed and share their past memories. I started the interview by asking about their family relations, their links to the Meetse-a-tala community and if they could remember the displacement events of 1964. The younger individuals shared the memories they received from their parents or grandparents that had an impact on the manner they experienced the past event's influences. To develop an understanding of their thinking about the historical displacement, I asked if they possibly knew the reasons why communities experienced displacement during 1964.

In the event I interviewed older members who lived in Groenwater Location during the time, I asked them to share all their experiences as young people of 1964. I provided them with the space to talk about their feelings, frustrations and experiences that formed part of their lives during the time. I made use of a notebook to capture data that indicated the arrival of the government trucks, the removal of their goods, the resettlement of their homes and the distances they walked. I wanted to keep the interviews less formal and provide them with the opportunity to talk about their past-experiences. Besides the one-on-one interviews, I also aimed to provide groups who carried authority with the ability to formally share their displacement memories.

A significant part of my interviews aimed to retrieve information from the traditional leaders and the CPA. I used the CPA example to display the contrast and conflict between the different leadership styles. I aimed to collect data from both leadership structures and determine if these different approaches could cause post-resettlement ownership strains. My interview approach aimed to identify any possible conflict between the relevant parties that may cause additional leadership tensions. I allowed the CPA to arrange two meetings formally, where the elders shared their understandings and memories of the 1964 displacement. In the second CPA meeting, I aimed to focus on collecting information from the younger leaders, because they carry different ideas to the elders. I followed key steps to ensure that all individuals received the participation they need. During the interviews of the CPA, the Chairman and his secretary received the opportunity to share their frustrations related to the leadership challenges at Groenwater Location. I aimed to collect as much data as I could find, by allowing an information sharing approach and comfortable atmosphere to share all relevant facts.

#### **2.4.5. Photographs**

As part of the research, it became essential to provide a visual display of the Meetse-a-tala community settlement, the signboards, the Groenwater fountain, the ancestral cemetery, other graves, the station and the new Groenwater area. I requested permission from the *Kgosi* and the CPA before I commenced collecting photographs from the landscape and informants. After I completed one-on-one interviews or completed group discussions with the CPA, I asked for permission to proceed with image collections.

#### **2.4.6. Ethical Considerations**

The research approach required extensive ethical considerations to ensure display of respect to the Meetse-a-tala community and their leadership. The research required visits to sacred and symbolic areas that represented the core of the community's fundamentals and reasons why they wanted to return. I needed to ensure I followed the appropriate ethical procedures to prevent displaying an intrusive approach.

My initial site visits I completed before executing my formal research as a Master's student at Groenwater, focused on collecting data to complete social and heritage impact assessments. For both these studies, I needed to request approval from the Meetse-a-tala community to proceed. I mention both of these impact assessments because the work allowed me to gain an insight into the lives of the community and to guide my research proposal. During my arrival at Groenwater Location, I asked if I could possibly receive the details of the *Kgosi* to arrange for a community representative to guide me. After receipt of the number, I contacted the leader and he permitted two traditional leaders to assist me.



Both individuals took me to the sites they felt played a key role in determining the areas of sensitivity and possible impacts because of possible development opportunities.

During my follow up return to Groenwater, my focus shifted from being a social and heritage specialist to a researcher. I contacted the *Kgosi* again and explained I was returning to Groenwater to undertake research that aligned with my own studies. The leader recommended that I set-up a meeting with his wife and she would arrange for community representatives to guide me to the different sites I want to re-visit. Each time it became clear that the fountain and ancestral cemeteries played a key role in explaining their existence. I therefore allowed the traditional leaders to take me to the different areas, although I had visited them before.

My final field visit presented a different turn, with the *Kgosi* allowing his successor and another traditional leader to assist me in the fieldwork. I respected his approach because it became key that the younger leader needed to gain experience in taking visitors around and provide support in terms of information sharing. In addition, it allowed me to gain insight into the younger generation's approach to represent the Meetse-a-tala community.

After receiving the necessary approvals from the traditional leaders, I also needed help from the CPA who played a key role in the management of the area. The CPA present themselves as the "real" authority and body appointed by Government to look after Groenwater. My reference to Groenwater in this case includes what I refer to as Groenwater Location and new Groenwater (see Chapter 3).

It became critical to receive the respect and trust from the CPA because of the significant conflict between the different leadership groups. The complexity lies within the fact that the CPA are prevented from acknowledging the *Kgosi* or the traditional council supporting his leadership.

According to a letter presented by Government, the *Kgosi* takes the position as acting and in the process of becoming the true traditional leader at Groenwater. This process seemed to upset the CPA and they clearly indicated they declined any reference to a *kgosi* or traditional leader in their area. I therefore needed to present a neutral role and withhold from displaying a biased approach to either sides. I attempted to request approvals from both sides and listen to the community's support or non-support to the different leadership styles. I also continued to show respect to the *Kgosi* as a proclaimed traditional leader and followed the Anthropology Southern Africa protocol required during my fieldwork sessions at both sides of the Meetse-a-tala community (Anthropology Southern Africa, 2005: 3-4, 142-143). I also explained clearly to my informants what the role of my present position was in the research context and my expected outcome after finalisation of the thesis document.

During my final visit to Groenwater, the community wanted to show me again their *kgoro* (meeting place), but excluded from taking me to the first ancestral cemetery we visited the previous time. From there I requested from the traditional permission to visit some of the newer areas in the settlement, for example the creche (refer to Chapter 4).

The research I completed followed UNISA's policy on research ethics to ensure that I participated in acceptable research tactics with the focus on the human study environment.

I aimed to follow an approach of respect towards my informants, inclusion of integrity during the process and protection of confident data provided during the research process (UNISA: 2016, 1-33).

The duration of my research included the provision of respect to the scholarly community and ensured I collected research data in an ethical manner. I abstained from influencing other researcher's fields and from having a negative impact on their study fields. I referred to the Code of Ethics stipulated by the American Anthropological Association's guidelines and related frameworks (American Anthropological Association, 1998: 1-9).

As part of my professional career as a social and heritage scientist, I received inhouse training to adhere to specific protocols and ethical requirements. In addition, during my role as a sustainable development specialist and lead on a resettlement project, I received on the job training to adhere to specific ethical rules during the project planning and delivery. Each Friday we attended health and safety meetings where ethical issues formed part of the discussions we had when operating at the office or on site. As part of a project team we attended diverse workshops and project management meetings to discuss behaviour at site or report on any difficulties we experienced when in the field. I also received an opportunity during induction to learn from human resources professionals regarding ethical requirements specialists must adhere to when in the field or working with communities.

My career since 2008 included different appointments as a social and heritage scientist with a focus on management of diverse impacts assessments that formed part of the overall environmental management projects. My appointments included two engineering

consultancy firms namely Knight Piesold and Hatch. I also received an appointment as a social and heritage specialist at Environmental Assurance with a focus on providing assistance to the environmental management teams. During my time with Hatch I received an appointment to complete social and heritage impact assessments, but also form part of a client resettlement team over a period of five years.

The project lifetime allowed me to work with a resettlement working group and provide assistance to a displaced community. During the time I received a sustainability award as part of the contributions I made to innovation, schedule and budget management. The resettlement project allowed me to work with professionals in the fields of the social, resettlement, finance and legal disciplines to develop diverse project plans that allowed for the planning and execution of the displacement project.

I also received an opportunity to form part of a global sustainability team at Hatch and contribute towards a community wellbeing report with a focus on social, heritage, stakeholder engagement and community grievances plans. The work preceded by an environmental and social audit allowed me to gain insight into the ethical considerations required when executing a project of such a magnitude. I subsequently received an excellence award after completion of the project.

## **2.5. Chapter Design**

I aimed to develop a chapter design that presented a logical flow of the applied anthropology approach I wanted to take during the development of my research. The different chapters in this thesis include the following:

Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review

Chapter 2: Research Methodology

Chapter 3: Profile of the Area

Chapter 4: Fieldwork

Chapter 5: Analysis and Interpretation

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Chapter 7: Biography

## **CHAPTER 3: WALK THROUGH GROENWATER AND MEETSE-A-TALA COMMUNITY LIVING AREAS**

### **3.1. Introduction**

Chapter 3 focuses on providing an explanation of the geographical layout of the Groenwater area, the bordering towns and the typical land-uses. The contents also attempt to provide an overview of key statistical data collected on STATS South Africa pertaining to the demography, employment, infrastructure availability and municipal control evident of the area.

The chapter commences by providing an initial historical geographical profile collected during the literature research and methodology development (refer to Chapters 1 and 2). The historical geographical profile provides key data to grasp the meaning of the impacts experienced by the Meetse-a-tala people. The displacements the community experienced

link significantly to the different areas to which they were relocated. Besides the historical profile and the statistical data, I aim to provide an insight into what I initially saw when I reached Groenwater.

### **3.2. Historical Profile**

The historical maps provide an indication of the key towns that played a significant role during the displacement years. The reason why the maps were included was to provide an overview of the features that existed during the time when the Meetse-a-tala community started their lives at Groenwater Location before the 1964 displacement. I attempted to display visually the distances between the different settlements, towns and mining areas mentioned in this thesis. The role of the diamond and iron ore mines played a significant role in the employment sector that shaped the lives of the Danielskuil, Postmasburg, Kathu, Hotazel and Kuruman communities. I therefore decided to present an understanding of the historical background before displacement happened. According to historical studies, the key areas of movement within the study area related to Danielskuil, Postmasburg, Hotazel and Kuruman. The Meetse-a-tala community lives 25 km east from Postmasburg and a similar distance west from Danielskuil. The well-known Kimberley town, known for its diamond history, occurs approximately 160 km from Groenwater. Community members mostly visit Kimberley if they need specific government-related support or need to attend community-orientated meetings.



**Figure 6: Location Map (Google, 2018)**

According to the tribal leaders in Groenwater, they attempted to re-investigate the history of the Meetse-a-tala communities and visit Kimberley museum frequently to request assistance with the research project (refer Chapter 4). People mostly travel to Postmasburg in the event they need to purchase groceries and goods. Postmasburg, located in close vicinity of Beeshoek iron ore mine, provides diverse employment opportunities to the Northern Cape communities.

During my visit to Groenwater, I aimed to develop an understanding of the Tswana speaking communities and the historical living areas. Breutz prepared detailed studies regarding the movement of the Northern Cape communities, and I used this historical data as a fundamental basis to gain an insight into the spread of the different tribal communities. The historical language map below provides an insight into the spread of the Tswana speaking communities before 1964 (Breutz: 1989, p 20). My study area focuses on the Meetse-a-tala community who live at Groenwater in close vicinity of Postmasburg. During 1964 they experienced displacement and relocated to an area referred to as the Batlharos, north of Kuruman, and indicated as Tlharo in the map below (refer to Chapter 1).





Figure 7: Language Historical Map (Breutz: 1989, p 20).

The map presented by Breutz offers a language map with information collected from N.J. Van Warmelo during 1940 and from the 1960 Municipality records. As indicated in the literature review the first baTlharo played an extensive role to shape the history of the Meetse-a-tala community when they reached Groenwater during 1850 (refer to Chapter 1).

The historical map below also indicates the Sishen railway line route and the towns it crossed during delivery of goods (Breutz: 1989, p 28). It also played a key role to assist

individuals from the Groenwater community to reach the larger town destinations as identified during the fieldwork sessions (refer to Chapter 4). In the past, the trains carrying diverse goods used to stop at the various stations but this ceased when it changed to a manganese freight line only.

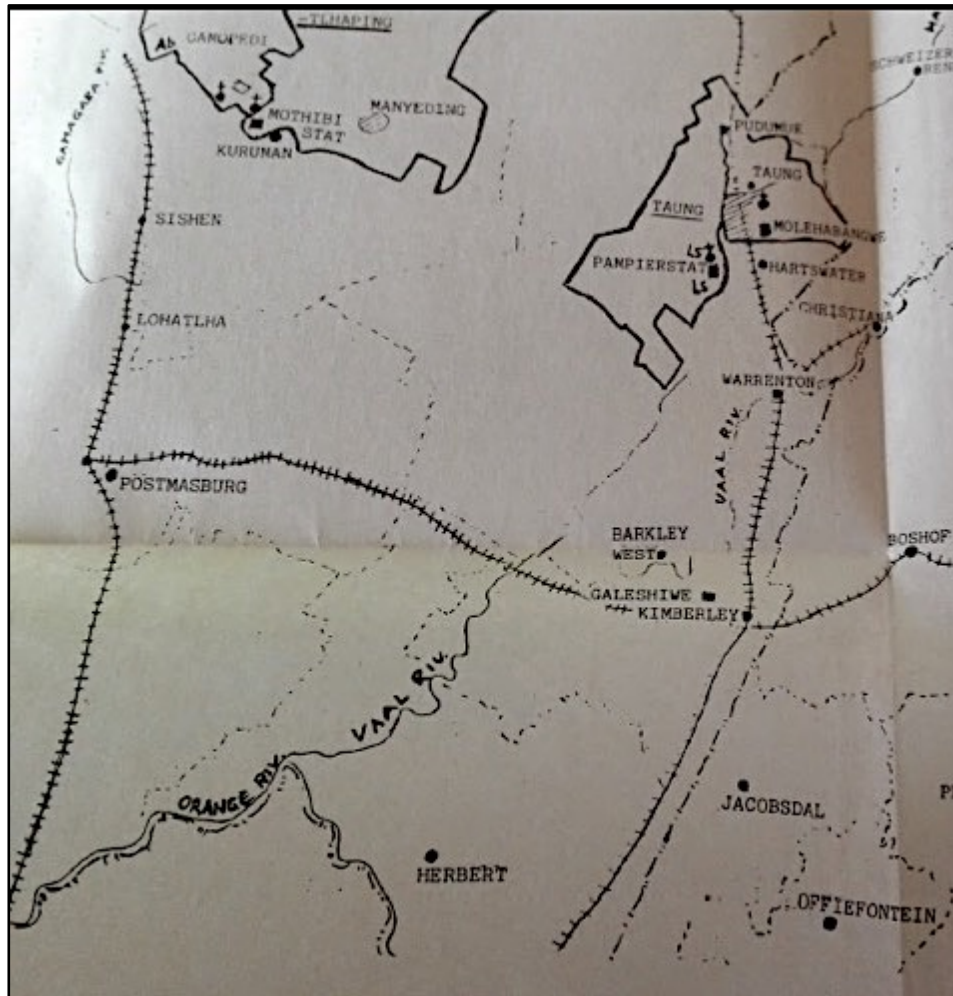


Figure 8: Breutz historical map indicating the Sishen railway line (Breutz: 1989, p 28)

### **3.3. Geography and statistical data**

The Meetse-a-tala people from Groenwater, indicated on the Google map as Metsimatala, lived in an area historically referred to as Groenwater or Groenwater Location, according to historical records (refer to Chapter 1). The reference to Groenwater Location indicated a land size of 11 072 ha and presented traces of grazing land, cattle and livestock (Breutz: 1989, 218). I mentioned the land size because it provides an insight into the original vastness of the area initially occupied by the Meetse-a-tala people.

The land-use changed from being mostly reserve land-uses to significant municipal planning opportunities to develop main and local access roads, expand settlements and focus on increasing employment via extension of existing industries, for example iron ore mining (Tsantsabane Local Municipality: 2014,18). The extensive change in the land-use surrounding the Groenwater Location area had a significant impact on the availability of land for the Meetse-a-tala communities.

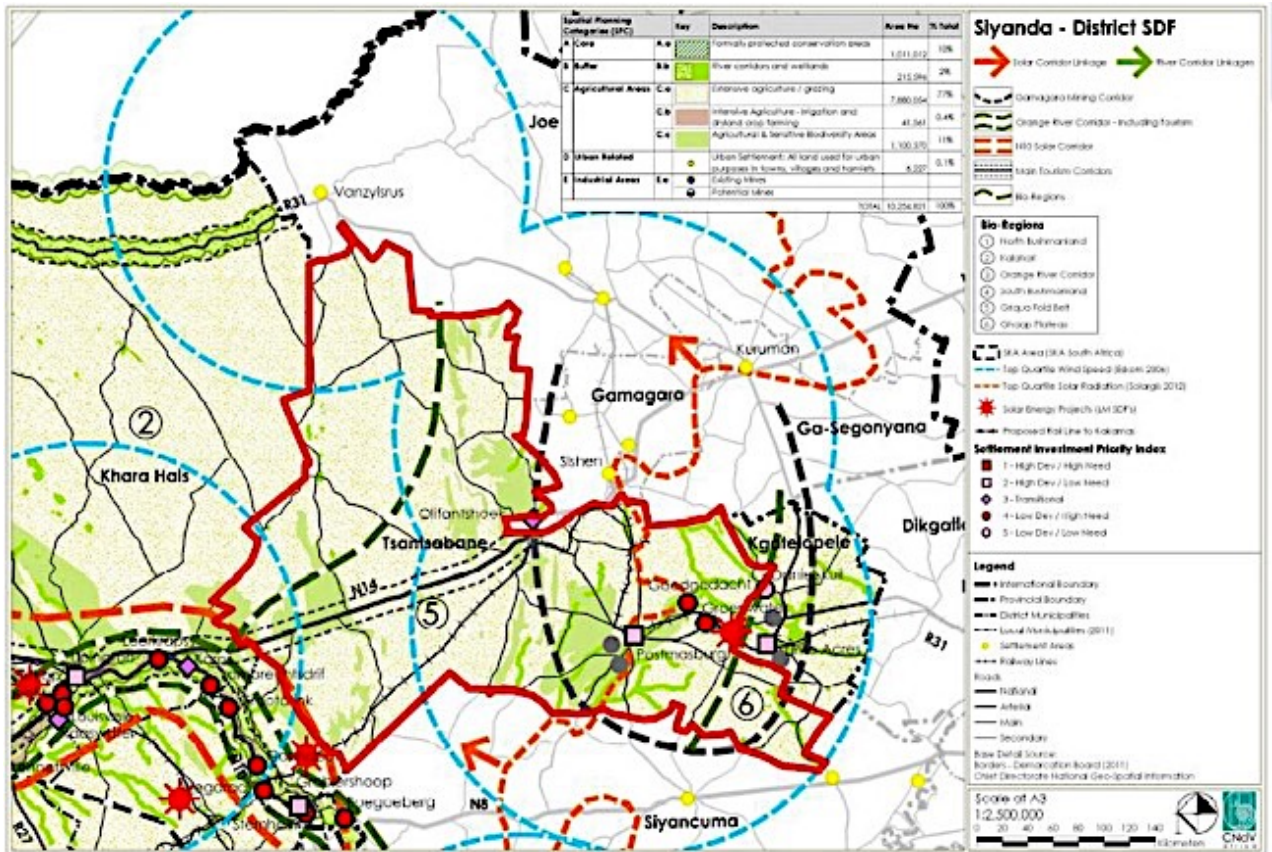


Figure 9: Groenwater Land-use Map (*Tsantsabane Local Municipality Draft Spatial Development Framework October 2014*. Aurecon and Assmang).

The Meetse-a-tala settlement falls within the Tsantsabane Local Municipality and is located in the Northern Cape Province within the Z F Mgcawu (Siyanda) District Municipality. Postmasburg is the nearest main town of the district and is a core place to stay when travelling to various destinations, for example Kuruman, the Kalahari or Botswana. Popular towns in the area include Jean Heaven, Postdene, Boichoko, Skeyfontein, Groenwater, Marenane, Lohatlha and Beeshoek. Danielskuil, Kuilville, Thlakalatlou, the Lime Acres mining town and various surrounding farms bordering the Tsantsabane Local Municipality.

The estimated size of the local municipality is 18, 333 km<sup>2</sup>. Kimberley is located 200 km from Postmasburg and 100 km from Kuruman. The local municipalities that border the Tsantsabane territory include Khara Hais, Gamagara, Ga-segonyana, Kgatelopele and Siyancuma.

According to the Tsantsabane Local Municipality's Spatial Development Framework Plan (SDFP) of 2014, Groenwater situated alongside the R325 falls within the Ward 3 area and had an approximate population of 739 in 2011, but is projected to increase to 1923 in 2034. The estimated number of households 207 in 2011, and is anticipated to increase to 519 in the year 2035. The average household size was 3.6 people per household presented in the 2014 report. An estimate growth of 312 households between 2011 and 2035 may require additional 6 ha land for residential development.

Groenwater comprises only one primary school that displays a significant shortage in education centres in the vicinity. The learner environment indicates a ratio of 175 students receiving education from five teachers. The Tsantsabane Local Municipality report indicated that 24% of people who lived in informal housing at Groenwater during the 2014 received no income. Thirty one percent of people who lived in formal housing received no income during 2014. Individuals who obtained income displayed a salary of less than R10 000 monthly. The local municipality earmarked Groenwater as one of the key nodes that required additional investment and support by government.

The municipal report indicates that Groenwater became a reality after the community commenced to participate in land claim procedures. They also mention in the report that the community also demanded land at the Lohatla military base. Key social features

identified at the location refer to the community hall and the school. The municipality indicates that the ownership belongs to the Community Property Association (CPA) and that most of the residential land belongs to private owners.

The 2014 report only refers to the formal land-use housing, ignoring the informal settlements located at the Groenwater station area. The municipality acknowledged the diverse challenges related to transportation concerns, safe water access, schooling and unemployment. The area at Groenwater Station presents a mostly informal and agricultural environment with households mostly relying on sustainable farming. The community hall highlighted in the map below plays a significant role in the daily lives of the Meetse-a-tala community. The hall, mostly used by the Community Property Association (CPA), provides space for people who live at the formal and informal settlements to attend different meetings (refer to Chapter 4). The types of discussions refer to land-use, land-claims, and public participation meetings as part of environmental impact assessments and politically centred gatherings. The blue section refers to the one school evident in the Groenwater area (Tsantsabane Local Municipality: 2014, 104).



**Figure 10: “New” Groenwater Land-use Map (Tsantsabane Local Municipality SDF Report: 2014)**

The estimated statistics for Tsantsabane Local Municipality provide an overview of the age groups, the population density, unemployment figures, schooling and home owners. Young people between the ages of 0-14 reflect 27.9% and 67.6% were working age people (15-64) (STATS South Africa 2018). The community displays 4.4% of elderly people (65+) and the population density is two persons/km<sup>2</sup> (STATS South Africa 2019). The unemployment rate refers to 26.1%, and 32.3% of young workers are unemployed (STATS South Africa 2019).

In total, 66.7% of people had access to flush toilets connected to a sewerage system, 45.3% had indoor water pipe access and 83.5% had electricity (STATS South Africa 2019).

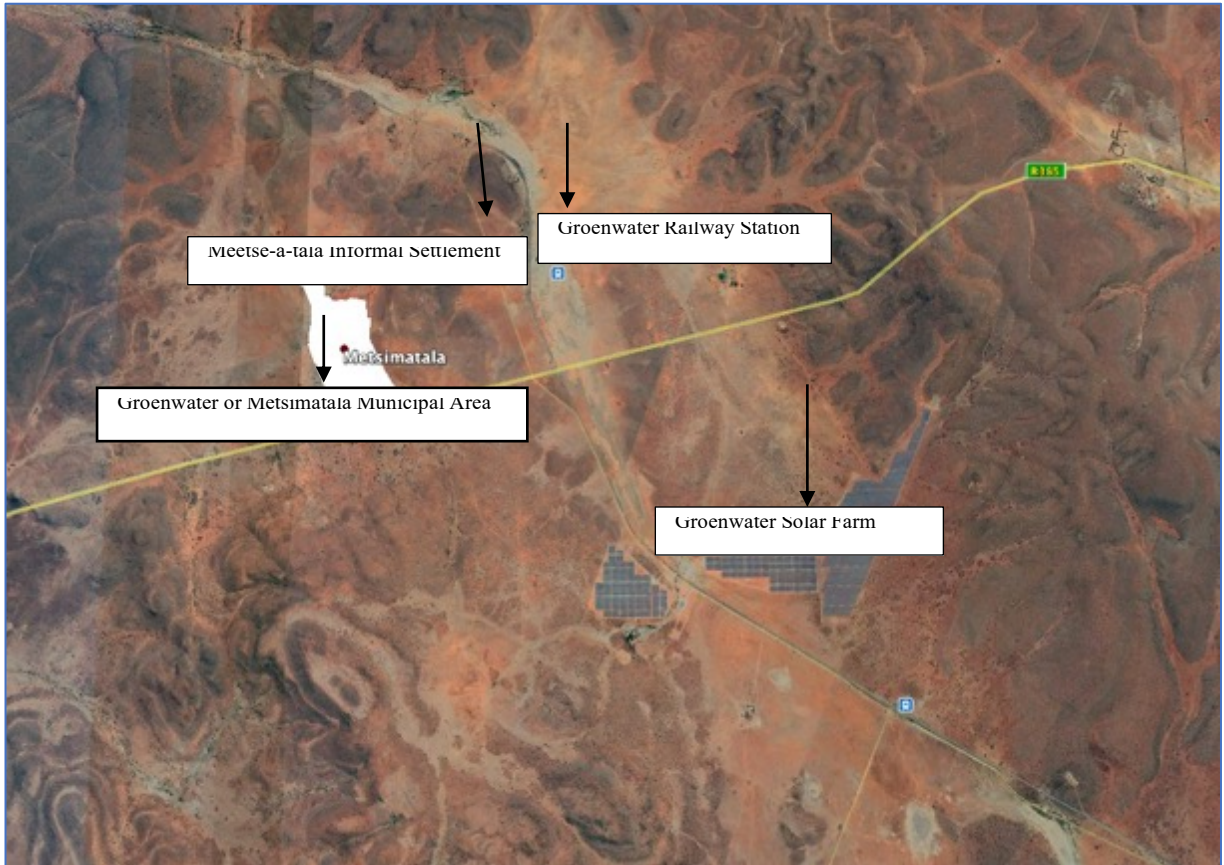
The climate can vary between very cold in the evenings and hot during the day. The area is known for tourists, small game hunting, stayovers at lodges or game farms, off-road trails, sightseeing and archaeological sites known at the area. Many travellers or tourists pass by the Groenwater area on their way to Postmasburg, Kuruman, Kathu, Hotazel and Botswana.

The climate consists of significant variations between maximum 25°C and 38°C or minimum -5°C and 12°C. The extreme climates can be problematic when livestock is exposed to the weather. The extreme hot or cold weather results in the community looking for shelter in existing old structures.

Solar farm development increased significantly in the Northern Cape environment to allow for the development of alternative energy in the region. Developers identified Groenwater as one of the locations to receive a 150 MW CSP Solar Energy Facility to generate clean energy for submission into the Eskom grid (Archaeomaps: 2016, 1).

Besides the newly developed alternative energy projects, the area presents evidence of key railway lines that carry the responsibility of transporting manganese between main centres and port areas in South Africa. The Groenwater Location railway stations occurs in close vicinity of the settlement as indicated on the map below. The Meetse-a-tala community explained the significant influence the occurrence of the railway line presents in their daily lives and the impact it carries by being located in close vicinity to their living areas (refer to Chapter 4). The informal settlement starts approximately 600 metres from the Groenwater Railway Station.





**Figure 11: Groenwater Location and Solar Farm (Google Earth, 2018)**

The 1:50 000 map below indicates historical occurrence of asbestos mining, a railway line and a landing strip in the immediate area. Diverse farm roads exist that provide farmers with access to their land via the Groenwater area. Busses, taxis and smaller vehicles from the community also make use of the access roads. The R385 allows access between Kimberley and Postmasburg popularly used by mining trucks on route to Kathu and Hotazel, army vehicles traveling to Luthatla, passenger vehicles and other transport goods vehicles. The access roads in the municipal area offer an improved outlook, being well maintained compared to the secondary roads in the Meetse-a-tala community informal settlement.

Figure 12 provides a visual display of the entrance to reach the Groenwater formal settlement and the community hall. The entrance to the settlement presents a significantly maintained outlook in comparison with the informal section of Groenwater.



**Figure 12: Access road towards and from Metsimatala or Groenwater Municipal Area**

Figure 13 provides an indication of the access roads at Groenwater informal settlement with access mostly limited due to poor maintenance received.



**Figure 13: Secondary roads at Meetse-a-tala informal settlement**

Historically asbestos mining occurred in the area close to Groenwater and significant railway activities are indicated in the 1:50 000 map (Figure 15). The map also displays references to small plane landing sites and scattered agricultural lands.

The Google image below provides an aerial view of the new Groenwater municipal, referred to as Metsimatala on the map, and the informal living area referred to as the old settlement. The informal or old settlement comprises traditional leadership and the new settlement presents support to the CPA leaders (refer to Chapter 4).



**Figure 14: Google Image displaying outlook of new Groenwater municipal area and the Meetse-a-tala community informal settlement (Google Maps, 2018)**

The image below provides a visual display of the road between the R385 and the informal settlements at Groenwater. The road also allows access to commercial farmers who live in close vicinity of the settlement area.



**Figure 15: Road towards the R385 from the Meetse-a-tala informal settlement area**

The informal settlement community only recently received an opportunity to gain access to electricity. After many requests since 2010, they received access to the service during 2018. Initially only the municipal section received access to power and caused frustrations within the Meetse-a-tala community (refer Chapter 4).



**Figure 16: Meetse-a-tala informal settlement only received access to power lines during 2018**

### **3.4. Entering Meetse-a-tala and the initial view**

The following section I dedicate to my initial view when I entered Groenwater and the expectations I had. I reached Groenwater travelling from Kimberley after a three hours' drive. The travel between Kimberley and Groenwater presented many difficulties because of regular road works by the local Department of Transport. Besides the road works, the average road quality presented a problem and the occurrence of much mine traffic made the travel even more difficult. The land uses, viewed while travelling, comprised mostly of farmland, small game farms and guesthouses. Travelling towards the area requires good planning with having limited access to petrol stations or next to the road refreshment shops.

If travelling during summer high temperatures are presented makes for uncomfortable travelling circumstances at times. Travelling towards Groenwater from Kimberley, one passes the T-junction to reach Danielskuil and a few secondary roads to reach commercial farms in the area.

One also passes the secondary road that allows access to Lime Acres known for the Finsch Diamond mine that offers work opportunities to people from the area. Besides the R385 and road towards Danielskuil, most of the access roads are of poor quality and difficult to use during the rainy season.

During the first time I visited Groenwater during 2010 as part of an environmental impact assessment study, I noticed a sign saying Groenwater Location. During the final visit to the area during 2019, I realised that the sign had been moved to the formal settlement

managed by the local municipality. While driving on the main access road I noticed some scattered housing, old farm structures, few livestock and 4x4 vehicles driving past the settlement.

After I entered Groenwater at the informal section, I realised the vastness and quietness of the environment. Initially I saw no person to assist me and kept on driving until I reached the scattered informal settlements. I asked for guidance and if they could direct me to the *kgosi's* household. The residents kindly showed me the way and I met with the traditional leaders organised to assist with the site visit (refer to Chapter 4). The fieldwork started and I commenced to collect on the ground information to guide my research.

## **CHAPTER 4: FIELDWORK**

### **4.1. Introduction**

Chapter 4 consists of a narrative and general description of three field sessions completed at the Meetse-a-tala Tswana speaking village and data collected during the various interviews undertaken. These field sessions happened during 2016, 2017 and 2019, which allowed for the collection of as much information as possible to analyse the post-resettlement situation at the Meetse-a-tala community. The field notes provided significant information in relation to individual experiences by members of the Meetse-a-tala community. These field notes described the events and emotions experienced by Meetse-a-tala individuals who remembered the events themselves or received information from their families or parents.

The fieldwork chapter focuses on capturing the 1964 resettlement memories, their lives at Kuruman referred to by the community as Metsimanzi, the return to their ancestral land and data collected during interviews completed in Groenwater Location. The area still presents evidence of the original railway station and tracks that consisted of a similar name. The railway station divides the living area from the grazing land and the Groenwater fountain area. The Groenwater fountain plays a key role in understanding the symbolism associated with the settlement importance and sensitivity explained by the Meetse-a-tala people.





Figure 17: Historical Map of Griqualand West (Londres: S. W. Silver & Co.: 1877)



The fieldwork chapter forms the basis of the thesis and aligns with the literature review that described past interviews undertaken by missionaries, anthropologists, or ethnologists of the past. The chapter aims to provide insight into the reason for choosing Groenwater Location as a research site, the motives why the Meetse-a-tala people feel strongly about their living area and the challenges they have experienced since they returned to the site.

## **4.2. Background**

The fieldwork interviews focused on people from Groenwater Location and individuals from the Community Property Association (CPA) situated at new Groenwater. New Groenwater is used to indicate the living area situated north of the hilltop that falls within municipal control and is evident by new government developed housing. Farmers and people who live in Groenwater Location reach the settlement area by entering secondary road T8/7H. Originally, a Groenwater Location name board situated opposite the road sign panel allowed easy identification to the entrance area. When asked about the signboard, community members explained that an NGO who worked in the area removed the feature and placed it at “new” Groenwater. They explained that the CPA asked for the removal of the sign and placement thereof at the new municipal settlement site.



**Figure 19: Groenwater Location Road Name T8/7h**

The entrance road to Groenwater Location borders land allocated for agricultural purposes, according to the CPA. They indicated that the people who settle at Groenwater Location have an impact on agricultural land allocated by local government for planting. The road also provides a means for farming communities who live outside of the Meetse-a-tala community area to reach their lands. Busses, and farm vehicles use the road on a frequent basis and the road seems well maintained.



**Figure 20: Gravel Road towards Groenwater Location Settlement**

Key aspects that relate to Groenwater Location comprise of the traditional leadership role that the Meetse-a-tala people attempt to uphold. The active *kgosi*, with the support from elderly people in the settlement, continuously meet with the CPA and Tsantsabane local government. The interviews described in this chapter attempt to highlight the essence of traditional leadership and the reasons why people feel strongly about the authority role. The below image provides an indication of the traditional meeting place (*kgoro*) used by the Meetse-a-tala community to meet and discuss diverse challenges. According to Baruti, when the community hear a noise that sounds like a bell, it indicates the start of a meeting. The meeting place also permits the traditional leaders to discuss sensitive issues related to land management, shortage of services owed by the municipality, conflict challenged between them and the CPA or other community specific experiences that require attention by the leaders.



**Figure 21: Kgoro or Meeting Place Groenwater Location**

Baruti, who was identified to replace the current acting *Kgosi*, explained the meeting place displayed an important symbolic site for them and was highly respected by the community. Any serious matters pertaining to the community receive attention at the *kgoro*. The meeting place consists of a large open space in the event traditional leaders ask the whole community to attend. Significantly the place forms part of a core decision-making area and presents symbolic importance of their cultural origin that started at Groenwater Location.



**Figure 22: Groenwater Location Kgoro with Baruti**

Baruti explained that the meeting area presents a key place of importance available to discuss key topics related to their survival as a community. The *kgoro* offers a structured layout available for central seating areas required by the traditional leaders. The methods of engagements originated in the time their ancestors participated in meetings and decision making before 1964. The *kgoro* plays a central part in their everyday lives and provides a central place where the community can present their frustrations to the *kgosi*.

A significant part of their discussions relates to the issue of land and the way they manage the constant threats the traditional leaders need to address. Baruti indicated that land ownership stays a key discussion when they participate in the *kgoro* meetings. The meeting environment looks well maintained and looked after by the community. It has areas of

sacredness, importance and one can feel the uniqueness when entering the area. Baruti explained that people must show levels of respect when entering the area.



**Figure 23: Road bordering agricultural land**

The fieldwork questionnaires followed an informal approach to ease feelings of being uncomfortable. The informants preferred to follow a conversational approach and presented their eagerness to provide as much information they could offer to explain their family backgrounds.





**Figure 24: View of the Village from the JoJo Tanks Site**

A significant portion of the data was sourced by having discussions with the Kgosi and his household members, Kgosi's future replacement, Meetse-a-tala traditional leaders, the elderly people aged from 55 and older people who lived at Groenwater location during 1964, young people between the ages 18 and 35, CPA, individuals from new Groenwater and retired professionals who form part of the Meetse-a-tala community.

The community attempted to share their stories, emotions, ideas and viewpoints during the interviews and visits to various sensitive sites. The acting *Kgosi*, his regent and his traditional leaders provided an opportunity to visit areas of sacred and symbolic value. These sites related to the traditional and new gravesites, stand-alone graves, the Groenwater fountain, grazing areas, meeting place (*kgoro*), water pump and a borehole.

The different experiences, stories and information shared by the community provided an in-depth understanding of the key events that shaped the Meetse-a-tala community's history. It provided additional understanding of the frustrations they experienced during 1964 and after 1999. The next section focuses on three main events, namely the 1964 displacement events, the life experiences at Metsimanzi and the return to Groenwater Location during 1999.

These three events present the key times that had an impact on the Meetse-a-tala community's wellbeing, livelihoods and sense of identity. The informants included members from the traditional council, the elderly, members of the *Kgosi* family, young people who lived permanently in Groenwater Location and members from the Community Property Association (CPA). The interviews attempted to combine fieldwork data collected since 2010, which provided an insight into the displacement challenges experienced by the Meetse-a-tala community. The interviews provided opportunities to reach the core meaning of the culture and traditions associated with the people from Groenwater Location.

One of my research constraints referred to my inability to undertake a detailed site visit at Metsimanzi. Diverse complexities related to research funding, available time and the distance between Groenwater as well as Kuruman influenced my ability to include a field session at Metsimanzi. The following chapter provides a summary of interview data and responses received by the local community.

### 4.3. Interviews Completed

The interviews commenced with participating in a discussion with the *kgosi*'s regent to understand the traditional leadership hierarchy evident at Groenwater Location. According to Baruti, Boipelo Marotobolo received an opportunity to act as a *kgosi*, but the process of formalisation only recently started. Baruti explained that acting *Kgosi* Marotobolo's mother and his are sisters. This presents the link between the two families and he feels proud to take on the role as upcoming leader. Baruti explained his family descent and the genealogy below portrays a breakdown of the family names.

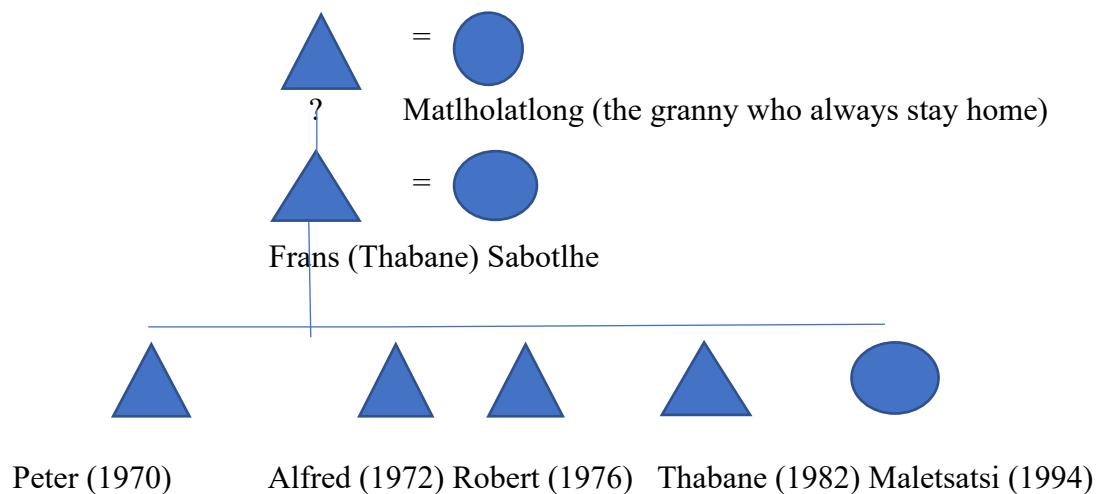


Figure 25: (Baruti) Thabane and Family Members

Baruti aged 36, explained the main challenges young people experience at Groenwater Location. Key frustrations, Baruti explained, related to the shortage of proper housing and the shanties in the living areas that become cold or extremely hot during summer times. Baruti explained that Groenwater Location had continuously struggled with drinking water shortages since he could remember. Baruti explained that in terms of recreational and sports facilities, the only place the young people can use exists at “new” Groenwater. The sports

facilities developed at new Groenwater formed part of the municipalities building plans to uplift Groenwater. Due to the conflict between people who live at Groenwater Location and the new development, they sometimes prefer to stay away. Baruti explained, sometimes youngsters take a taxi and travel to Danielskuil to meet with friends during weekends. Although they can use taxis to reach their destinations, they struggle to afford the fees asked and they still need to walk a distance to reach the pick-up points.

In addition, if they purchase groceries, they must travel by taxi to Postmasburg or Danielskuil, which requires 30km road travel that becomes expensive. From a logical point of view, the taxis deliver them at the main road, but they still need to walk 200 to 300 metres to reach their homes. The carrying of heavy grocery bags becomes problematic, especially for older people.

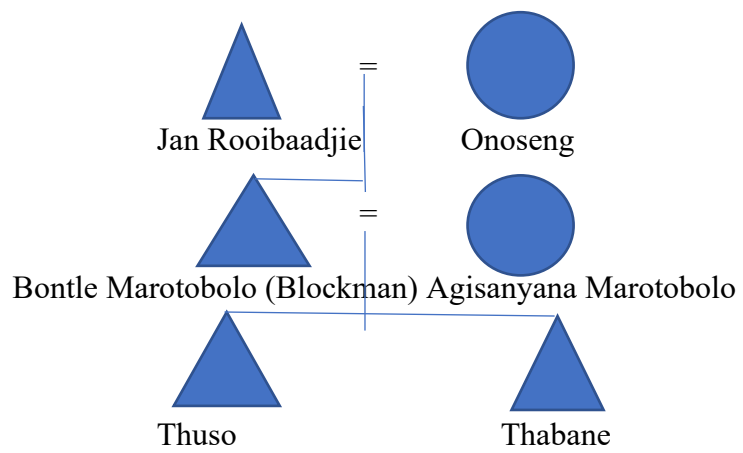


**Figure 26: Baruti at cattle grazing area**

Baruti's girlfriend Sarah, who originally arrived from the Free State, explained their frustrations as young people living at Groenwater Station. She described the difficulties to reach water points, purchase groceries and basic goods. During the day, she needs to look after the washing and cleaning of their home. In addition, she looks after the older people and helps when needed. Numerous times Baruti needs to travel to Postmasburg, and has to walk a significant distance to reach the tar road and wait for a taxi. As they recently had a baby, Baruti needs to buy baby food for the child, and it becomes expensive and heavy to carry on the way back. Apart from the baby food, they also purchase groceries for themselves.



**Figure 27: Baruti's home**



**Figure 28: Bontle and Family Genealogy**

Bontle Marotobolo, who is the known traditional leader in Groenwater, showed us many key symbolic sites known to the Groenwater area and of great importance to the local community. Bontle explained as a “block man,” he carries the responsibility to assist people who visit the area. Many times, they receive visitors from Gauteng who represent Non-governmental or private companies appointed to undertake research in Groenwater. Bontle, aged 65, who was part of the displaced people during 1964, discussed his experiences during the time. Key memories included the time when they returned from school and noticed Government trucks parked at the village.

The children who reached home experienced a frightening event when they were required to pack their belongings in haste and load it on the train or trucks provided by the 1964 Government. Bontle explained the havoc created by the sudden relocation and the fear they experienced due to the chaos created by the white trucks. During the 1964 resettlement, some individuals decided to run away and stay in Danielskuil. Bontle explained that some of his siblings still stay in Kuruman and another in Danielskuil.



**Figure 29: Interview with Lesego and Bontle**

Apart from the forced removal, Government trucks damaged and destroyed the mud houses used by the Meetse-a-tala community. The big trucks waited to bulldoze their houses and they had limited opportunity to rescue what they had. In addition, people quickly jumped on the train aimed to transport the Meetse-a-tala people to Hotazel. The distance between Groenwater Location and Hotazel presents more than 60 km, while individuals needed to walk another 50km from Hotazel to their new settlement area. As a result, people and animals struggled to cope with the long walking distances and became tired due to hot temperatures. Many old people explained they suffered because they needed to walk on hot sand and had no water.





**Figure 30: Bontle's home**

During the return to Groenwater, people realised the complexity of adapting to an environment after 25 years of being removed from their original ancestral land. Bontle especially explained the return during 1999 when Government vehicles assisted them to transport their goods back to Groenwater Location. Apart from the provision of the vehicles, they received no supplementary help from Government and needed to resettle themselves. They reached an area after 25 years lacking houses, water pipes, schooling, electricity or basic infrastructure. The status of the land allowed for the development of additional frustrations by the Meetse-a-tala community members. To create living spaces, people

started to develop shanties at Groenwater Station to protect themselves from the extreme weather.

During 1999, when the community returned to Groenwater Location, individuals received help from surrounding farmers or Non-governmental bodies to develop dams, upgrade existing windmills for water and set-up an additional solar powered water pump. The photo below provides a display of the broken water pump from which they originally used to collect water.



**Figure 31: Borehole with Water Pump**

The current situation provides them with continuous struggles related to education, municipal services and Government support. Apart from limited access to grocery stores, one formal school exists at new Groenwater and only provides education up to grade 6 level.

After grade 6, children must travel to Postmasburg to attend a formal school. Bontle explained their frustrations with being removed from the place they originally lived. As a courtesy to their visitors, Bontle showed us the original grazing grounds, and the fountain discovered by his ancestors. The fountain plays a significant role in the community, and it provides a memory to the place they lived without any worries of land-use shortages. Bontle explained the fountain plays a key role in the history of the Meetse-a-tala people and this place presents the start of their ancestral settlement.



**Figure 32: Cattle at the fountain**

Bontle clarified that a snake taking on the gender of a woman calls people to the water and then eats them. While visiting the fountain, a herdsman arrives and discusses the daily

routine with the animals. The herdsman, a young man possibly early twenties, explains that they visit the fountain daily and look after the animals.



**Figure 33: Groenwater fountain**

Bontle and Baruti clarified that the NGO involved in the organic farm project assisted the community with the set-up of the JoJo tanks that provide them with access to clean water. Originally, the JoJo tanks aimed to provide drinking water access to the children attending the creche, but since the facility closed all community members began to use the water point. The water pipes connected to the JoJo tanks start at the hilltop and reach the school buildings

at the valley. Shanties located in close vicinity of the pipes gain easy access to the water points allocated with taps to water their gardens.



**Figure 34: JoJo tanks**

*Kgosi* Marotobolo's mother is the sister of my mother, Bontle explained. During a visit to stand-alone gravesites, the grave of Betsie became a key discussion point. Bontle explained that Betsie was his grandfather's sister and he was proud to explain his family history.



**Figure 35: Lesego and Bontle**

Initially interviews conducted during 2010 focused on the archaeological landscape and some interviews provided insight into the diverse gravesites evident in the area. The interview data mostly comprised information related to the return of the Meetse-a-tala community during 1999. During an initial site visit in 2010, Fred a member of the traditional council assisted us and arranged an opportunity to visit the large ancestral gravesite opposite the Groenwater Station railway line. The site consists of the Kweetsane traditional grave that received a new headstone as a memory to the Headmen's role in Groenwater. Fred

explained the significance of the gravestone and the reasons the Meetse-a-tala community feel attached to the area.

Fred explained that the graveyard presents an insight into their ancestral origins and the reason they needed to return to the land in 1999. Fred presented a passionate explanation regarding memories of resettlement events and the reasons they suffered extensively. Fred mostly focused on the symbolism of the graves and the frustrations they experienced when they returned to their ancestral land. Fred explained that they had to work hard to join land claim associations at Postmasburg that could support them.



**Figure 36: Visit to Headman Kweetsane's Grave**



**Figure 37: Headman Kweetsane's new headstone (photo taken during 2013)**



**Figure 38: Ancestral gravesite visited during 2013**

Fred explained that since their return in 1999, they have struggled with water access, reliable electricity, and housing. Apart from infrastructure concerns, they are constantly required to live with flooding issues during the rainy season. He explained that if they are busy at the grazing lands and the rain starts, they are unable to return to their homes. Subsequently, they stay overnight in old farming structures located in the grazing land and fountain area. A significant point mentioned by Fred relates to the availability of formal housing and the opposition they received from the CPA because they decided to live at Groenwater Location in close vicinity of the fountain.





**Figure 39: Betsie Rooibaadjie's grave (family member of Bontle)**

Fred explained that the stand-alone graves and stonewalling, provide testimony of their historical existence. Continuously, he referred to the meaning of the large ancestral graveyard and the scattered graves in close vicinity of the railway line. Fred complained that the municipality shows no interest in assisting the community with gaining access to proper drinking water or electricity services. They make use of a broken pump and borehole that originates from the time the White farmers lived in the area. Fred said that the community believes that the White farmers broke the windmill and pump on purpose before they deserted the farmland.



**Figure 40: Broken Windmill feature dating back to before 1999**

During a second field visit in 2013, Fred again began to talk about the importance of the ancestral graveyard and the reason why they returned after 1999. Apart from the ancestral graveyard importance, he explained the community still feels frustrated even after receiving their land back from the newly elected Government. Fred also showed us the new graveyard and the modern methods of burial practices situated closer to the settlement areas.



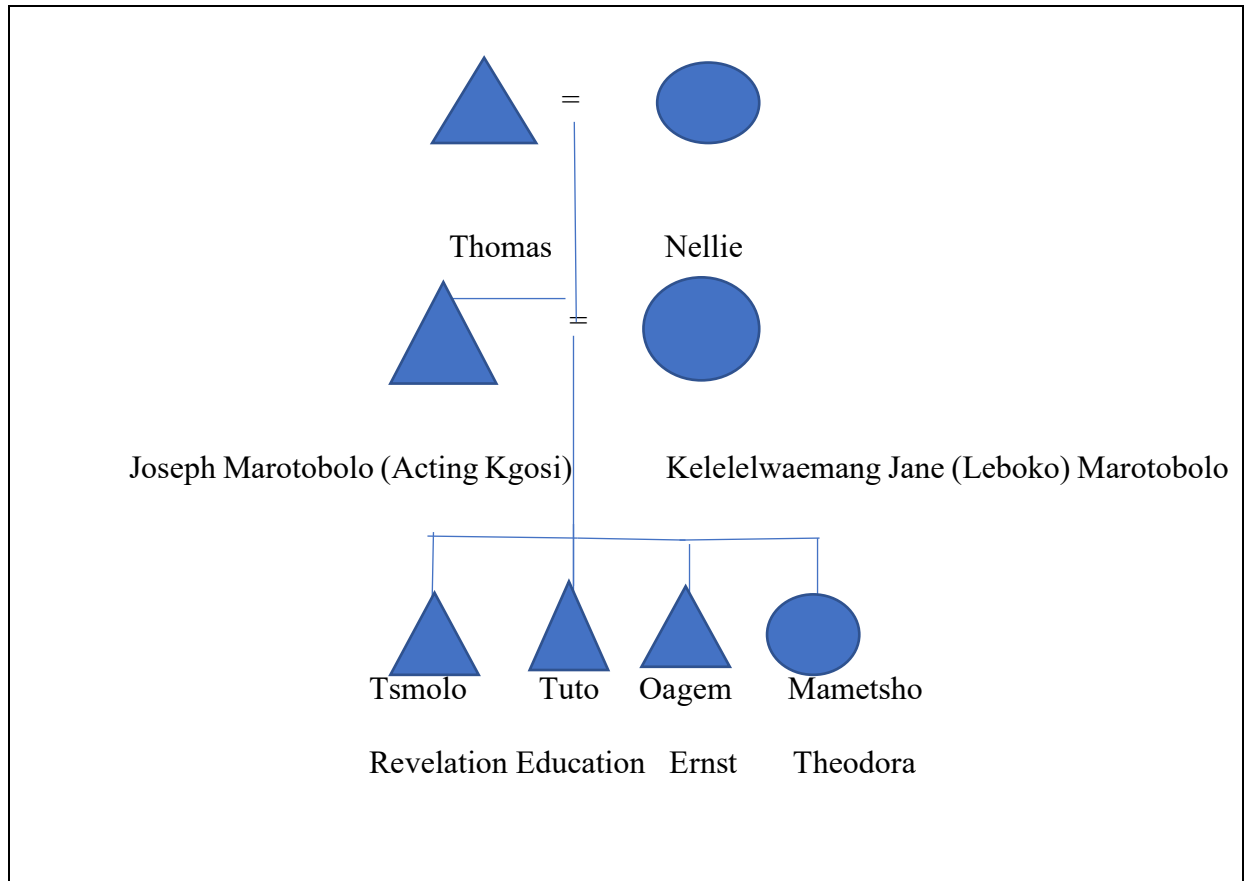
**Figure 41: Stand- alone graves situated in close vicinity of Groenwater Location Railway Station**



**Figure 42: New graveyard area (various new headstones identified)**

During the fourth day of the final fieldwork session, acting *Kgosi* Boipelo Marotobolo requested a meeting with him in Postmasburg. Boipelo explained he lives in Postmasburg during the week and only returns home when the community needs him. He plays an intermediate role during labour conflicts that sometimes happen at the Beeshoek Mine areas. The genealogy below provides a breakdown of *Kgosi* Marotobolo's family history.

Boipelo mentioned that Jacob Marotobolo represents his father's brother with having John Marotobolo as his brother.



**Figure 43: Acting Kgosi Marotobolo and Family Genealogy**

He described the events when the Government forcefully removed the community to live at “Metsi” under challenging living conditions during 1964. Boipelo said his birthplace refers to Metsimanzi, but his Groenwater Location presents his ancestral home. *Kgosi* said that after his birth at Metsimanzi, the family removed him from his parent’s household to live with his relatives at Groenwater Location. Boipelo explained the troubled relationship between him and the Community Property Association (CPA) that creates many conflicts between the two groups. He described that much in fighting occurs between the Groenwater Location people and the CPA at new Groenwater during public meetings. Boipelo explained

that the *Kgosi* represents the Groenwater Location community and acts as an intermediary between the diverse groups. His role includes facilitation between Government, interest groups, developers, neighbouring communities and the Meetse-a-tala people. He also amends relationships between different generations from young to old.



**Figure 44: Photo provided by Acting Kgosi Marotobolo (left)**



**Figure 45: View of the Living Areas**

*Kgosi* Boipelo discussed his family routes and described the affiliation with the historical *Kgosi* Galeshewe. Joseph said that Kweetsane only acted as the role of Headmen and the true traditional leadership originates from *Kgosi* Galeshewe. He produced a photograph of the “true” *Kgosi* and a booklet presenting the history of the Galeshwe family. Apart from the history on Galeshwe and the Langeberg rebellion, Boipelo showed correspondence received from the local government appointing him as acting *Kgosi*.

Another letter described an agreement between him and the CPA providing him with access to the old farmhouse at Groenwater Station. Joseph kept a file comprising various letters between the local government and himself to discuss the traditional representation at Groenwater Location. Boipelo highlighted that the Koranna people started to claim land at Groenwater Location and surrounds, and different land claim associations started to develop that represented the Koranna and the Tswana speaking groups.

*Kgosi* Marotobolo started to talk about the time the forced removals happened and described the events associated with the resettlement. Some people decided to flee and during the process stayed in Danielskuil or Postmasburg instead of moving to Metsimanzi. Most people who decided to live in these areas were certain Boipelo explained the community needed to adapt to a strange world when they experienced displacement during 1964 and experienced many challenges. The people stayed in tents with water seeping into their sleeping places during rainy days. Only later did the people receive formal housing of which some still stand next to the Kuruman road. The return to Groenwater presented them with different challenges and frustrations, of which they still feel unhappy about. The initial delight to return to Groenwater Location quickly changed when they realised the status of the property, lack of water access and no houses in which to stay.

When asked why the previous government resettled the people from Groenwater, *Kgosi* Boipelo said that the issue started with Finsch Mine. He explained that the mine discovered diamonds and became scared that the communities may steal from them. They moved the people away from the mine and surroundings.

During the community return of 1994, they only received a small portion of land to rebuild their lives. Boipelo said that they could not rebuild their lives and make a living for their children on such a small piece of land. Originally, they had had large tracts of land of approximately 11 500 ha and they could keep cattle or other livestock. In addition, they had access to a fountain that provided them and their animals with water. During their return to Groenwater, they only received the size of a property that could accommodate approximately 50 people.

The Meetse-a-tala community claims they want all their land back, aligned with a similar size as before inclusive of the fountain that played a significant role in their history. The Meetse-a-tala people want the Government to return the land representative of their history, tradition and history. They also need the dams recovered that they lost during the time of forced removals to allow their animals to have access to drinking water. *Kgosi* Marotobolo explained the Meetse-a-tala people returned in 1999 from Metsimanzi.



**Figure 46: Creche not in operation anymore**



**Figure 47: Area surrounding Acting *Kgosi's* Home**

Boipelo highlighted that they continue to experience many frustrations at Groenwater Location because of conflict between the various groups living on both sides of the hilltop. The split between the people from Groenwater Location and new Groenwater keeps on creating diverse issues between the community people from both sides. One of the major conflicts relates to traditional leadership *versus* contemporary land management. People who live at the new Groenwater pay rates and taxes because they fall within municipal control. Subsequently, they refuse to live there because of the municipal costs associated with the settlement. The municipality developed various RDP housing and provided water, electricity and basic schooling at the area.

Boipelo said that young people travel to JHB with the aim of achieving higher levels of education and a better life for themselves. Crime and drug use increased at Groenwater, which created many concerns for the Meetse-a-tala community.



**Figure 48: Water Infrastructure in need of maintenance**



After having a discussion with Lesedi Marotobolo (*wife of Kgosi Marotobolo*), I had an opportunity to discuss the different roles the *Kgosi's* wife fulfils to support the Meetse-a-tala community. Jane explained her interest in childcare, and she showed me the pre-school or Early Childhood Development centre sponsored by a local mine. The hope was that the Early Childhood Development school would assist working mothers, who must work away from home and endure the burden of being away from their children and having to leave their children with grandparents. She said that because the parents refused to contribute financially, it became very difficult to maintain operational costs and pay the teachers.

Lesedi provides support to young children and the younger generation in general who need guidance with respect to making career decisions or overall care. She is a critical advisory figure in the settlement and receives respect by all age groups. Lesedi, the wife of Kgosi Marotobolo, described her role as busy because she needs to look after the Meetse-a-tala community when Boipelo attends to matters in Postmasburg. Lesedi explained that her role sometimes had many complexities, especially when she needed to provide support to elderly people. Some elderly people ask her to arrange for food and transport that Government sometimes fails to deliver. Lesedi explained she struggles with men who attempt to steal her livestock and continuously needs to fight with them.



**Figure 49: Lesedi and Lesego (2015 interview)**

The fieldwork allowed us to undertake an interview with one of the Kgosi's sons, Pilane. Pilane the second son of Boipelo and Lesedi Marotobolo explained that he attended university after school. He said that in the event we need information or need to make a booking with his father, we must speak with him first. Pilane described the frustrations young people struggle with in Groenwater and the challenges they face to keep busy. He said that he manages a taxi business in Groenwater and mostly transports people to Postmasburg. Pilane provides support to his parents and takes his mother to Postmasburg during shopping days. One time, one of the Groenwater community members experienced a tragedy and needed to attend a funeral in Postmasburg. Pilane explained that he assists the old people to reach Postmasburg during funeral events because sometimes they struggle to pay the fees asked by taxi owners.

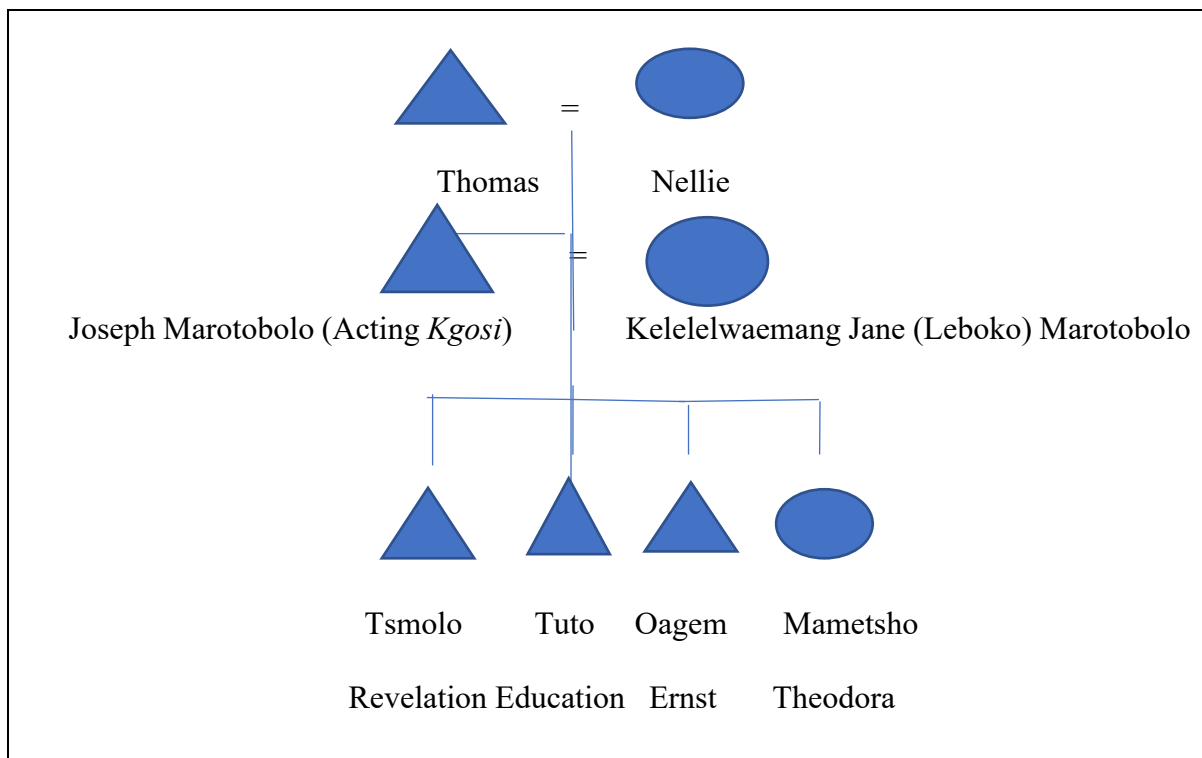
The previous day elderly people waited for the Government to bring them food parcels, but after waiting for many hours, nobody arrived. Pilane said that in many instances, they wait for food, but nothing arrives and some of the elderly live at new Groenwater. If it happens, he needs to provide them with transport and return them to new Groenwater.

After attending a discussion with Lesedi, Baruti arranged for us to meet with Lesego, an elderly lady from the area who experienced the 1964 forced removals. Lesego, who lived in Groenwater during the time of the removal, explained to me the experiences they had. She explained when they initially lived at Groenwater they were able to develop their own beautiful red houses; the mud and sand they used presented a red colour that they liked. Apart from their houses, they had plenty of livestock, for example, donkeys, sheep, horses and goats.

Lesego explained the good memories they had before the forced removals of 1964 by explaining all the freedom they had. She described the way they visited the fields and ate from the trees. She explained some of the trees you needed to stay away from because of a bad woman that calls your name, when you reached the tree, the snake would trap and eat you. Lesego explained that the men, who were especially attracted by the woman's voice, landed in trouble because they refused to listen to her warnings. Lesego also mentioned the way the horses, donkeys, goats and sheep freely walked, and they could visit the fields whenever they wanted. Apart from living a relatively free life, she said they could live from the ground and they planted, used goat's milk and owned plenty of cattle, but everything changed.

Lesego had in-depth memories and knowledge related to the people of Groenwater Location, the initial living environment and the historical background of the Meetse-a-tala people. Lesego never married, but she received support from her children's father. Now aged 90, she described during the 1964 displacement how people needed to load their goods on the trucks as soon as possible to prevent the authorities from destroying them.

As a child, Lesego could remember the shock when the Government trucks arrived and the chaos it created. She related that they received their livestock by train when they reached Hotazel and it presented an emotional time for all people from the community. She mentioned a gathering of the animals at Blinkklip as well and after delivery of the animals, they needed to walk another 50 km to reach their destination. The animals died along the road because of the heat and struggle to find water.



**Figure 50: Acting Kgosi Marotobolo and Family Genealogy**



**Figure 51: Herdsman at the Fountain on the way to gather cattle**



**Figure 52: Conversation between Lesego, Baruti and Lucky**



**Figure 53: Groenwater Location station, railway tracks**

Lesego explained the 1964 displacement events and the challenges they experienced. First, they needed to climb on the train wagon with all their goods, while the Government trucks waited for them. Due to the extensive chaos, some people lost much livestock and some of their personal goods. Apart from the complexities experienced during the actual move, people needed to walk from Hotazel to Metsimanzi where the Government had placed the tents. Lesego explained how people and animals suffered because of the hot sand, the heat and long distances they were required to walk. When they reached the destination, they realised the complexity of the living area with only tents available in which to sleep.

Their lives at Metsimanzi presented a difficult time for the Meetse-a-tala community that they can still remember today. The tents placed between the thorn bushes carried evidence of snakes, soil not suitable for planting and only two pumps available for water. One water pump contained saltwater, and the people complained about its quality, and because of the high salt levels, people and animals started to become sick. In time, they used the one pump for human drinking water and the other for the livestock. Lesego explained some additional challenges they needed to deal with and focused on the isolation of the different towns.

Issues related to the reaching of larger town areas during 1964 to 1999 with limited transport available.

The community placed within an isolated environment needed to walk to the shops and carry their belongings. The distances between Metsimanzi and the closest grocery stores came to an average of 60 km. Subsequently, people needed to hike or take a taxi to reach the closest town. Before 1999, they could use the train that stopped at the railway stations; it allowed them to buy goods and load them on the train, but this ceased when only manganese trains passed by daily. The opportunity to use rail transport disappeared with freight trains becoming the only wagons that passed by Groenwater Station.

After 1999, the people wanted to return to Groenwater Station and Lesego stated they 'jumped as high as a young horse' when they reached their old home. However, when they returned, the happiness started to disappear when they realised the challenges they faced. On their return, they needed to develop homes to live in, and the quickest method to get a roof over your head had to be a shanty. Arriving at a place consistent with no water, they needed to find a borehole, luckily, one borehole still existed but with a broken pump. They fixed it to gain access to some drinking water and only after a few years, did they receive a new solar water pump.



**Figure 54: Lesego and Baruti explaining the history of Groenwater Location**

Lesego pointed out that the role of Finsch mine influenced the sudden removal of the Meetse-a-tala community and their relocation to Metsimanzi. She said that the mine attempted to move the people away from the diamonds and their operations, because just after the mineral discoveries at Groenwater Location, the forced removal started. When they returned to Groenwater Location, they realised that they still had no transport and had trouble reaching the closest town.





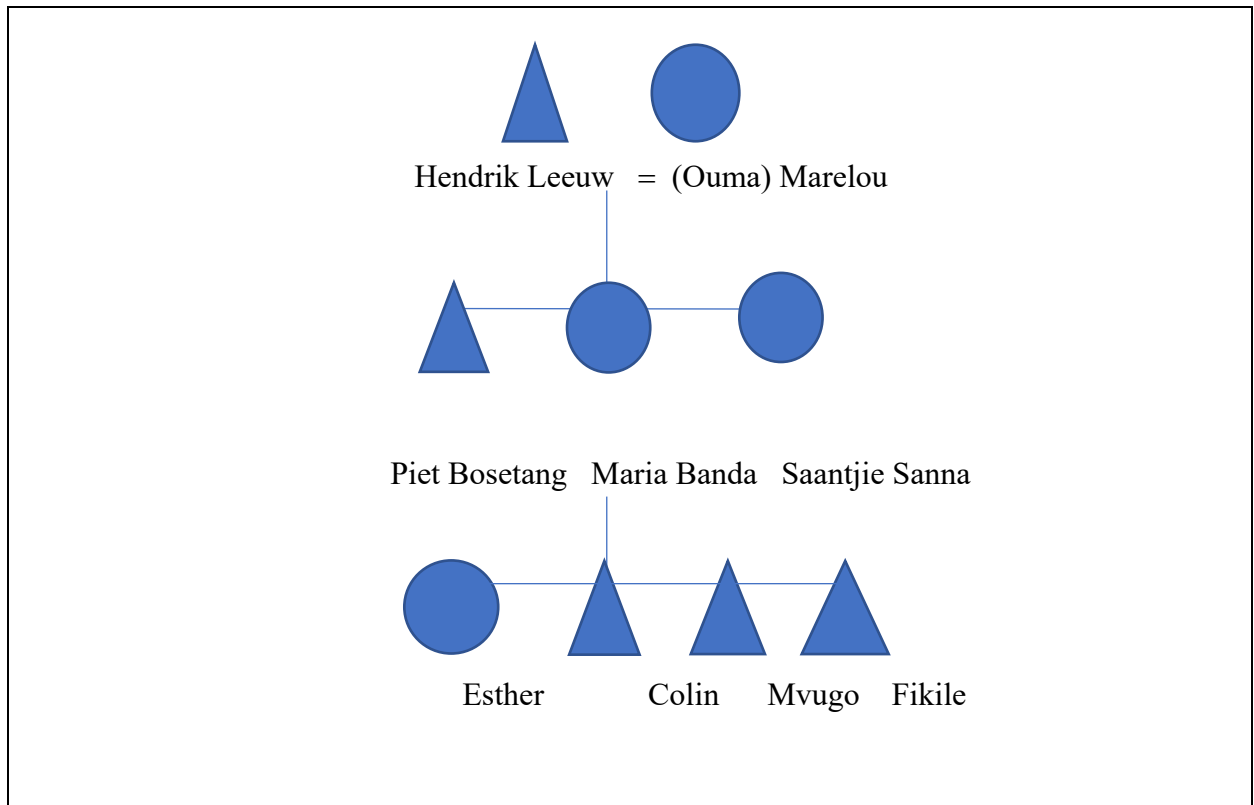
**Figure 55: Lesego during 2015 Fieldwork**



**Figure 56: Groenwater Station in the distance at the trees and surrounding environment**

Besides transport, home and water problems, Lesego explained their frustrations with electricity access. Only recently had the community been provided with prepaid electricity, but they need to purchase it at Postmasburg. Again, the distance entailed significant problems for the community to gain access to basic needs.

Anna Bosman, the daughter of Lesego, said she looks after her mother, especially after her brother Sarel passed away. In addition, Anna looks after her own children, washes the clothes and looks after the maintenance of the house. Anna revealed her father never married her mother, but he cared for them. She explained that they struggle at Groenwater, especially if they need to purchase groceries. The distances between their home and the main road presents a problem, as they struggle to carry the groceries between the taxi drop off point and their household. Anna said the taxi's only drive to your home if you pay them extra.



**Figure 57: Lorato Maria Banda Family Tree (Maria lived in Groenwater during 1964)**

Lorato Banda portrayed her experiences when she lived in Groenwater as a child. Lorato said she could remember the time when they could plant mealies and eat lots of porridge and watermelons. She explained sadly the day when she returned home from school and realised her life had changed significantly. After asking why she said because everything needed to go, and these people formed part of our ancestry. Lorato said she could remember the cattle and the open fields during her younger years, then the trucks arrived, and everybody needed to load their goods as quickly as possible.

During the time they lived at Metsimanzi, they struggled especially during winter times or rainy seasons. Initially, they only had tents to live in with lots of snakes around. 'Life changed so much for us; we needed to adapt to new environments with limited water and places to plant. We struggled to grow our vegetables because of the soil and water quality in the area.' Lorato said they suffered a lot because of the extreme weather and living conditions.

Lorato said that after return to Groenwater Station, everything changed, and people became scattered attempting to find work. Some people moved to Postmasburg, others to Danielskuil or they just moved away. Lorato Banda said that her family links with the Marotobolo's and she can remember the time they lived at Groenwater before the forced removal. In Groenwater, they ate porridge, sour milk, and fruits and had plenty of access to water. She explained her mother's father worked in Postmasburg.

After asking Lorato who she thought made the decision to remove the Meetse-a-tala people, she immediately referred to Finsch Mine. 'The mine people wanted us to move because they

became scared after they found some diamonds.’ Lorato said she could remember as a child that they even excavated and removed bodies from the cemetery.

Lorato also related that many people died because of the mining operations over the years due to asbestos use. Many people became employed by the mine over the years. Lorato explained she moved to Postmasburg because they could find work in the area, and decided to stay in Postmasburg with her children and visit Groenwater sometimes. Lorato explained she became old but could still remember the events of the forced resettlement.

Key informants during the field visit related to the local farmers who arrived from the outside areas, for example, Danielskuil or Postmasburg. One farmer named Dineo Botelo explained his life at Groenwater. Dineo and his wife, Martha, lived in the area for over 18 years. Originally, they lived at Lime Acres until they stopped working for Finch Mine. Dineo explained that he used the money received from the mine to build his own house at Groenwater. The funds he received after he left Finch Mine assisted to purchase a sheep, cattle, goats, horses, and chickens. Dineo’s house had an expensive outlook with large rooms and a garden in which they enjoyed planting tomatoes.



**Figure 58: Dineo's home (farmer and entrepreneur)**

Dineo revealed that although they live a good life and have enough funds to support their daily living, they have to deal with local challenges. Some issues they struggle with relate to dry weather and difficulty in accessing water. The dams developed to support the community agriculture provide limited support to sustain livestock and planting of vegetables. Another serious issue they deal with relates to the freight train that passes by daily. Dineo explained because of poor maintenance the fences at Groenwater Station degraded, allowing animals to cross the railway line. In many instances, they lose their animals if they are killed by oncoming freight trains. The farmers in the area feel the responsibility lies with Transnet and they should attempt to upgrade the fences.

Apart from the farming and agricultural activities, the farmers keep themselves busy with stone making, which they sell to their customers in the surrounding area. Dineo explained

that he can remember the resettlement events where communities needed to pack their goods and move to an area unknown to them.

The first CPA meeting aimed to provide an opportunity to meet with the members and introduce ourselves to the council. The meeting allowed us to explain our roles and objectives of visiting Groenwater. Not all CPA members could attend the meeting, but a small group of mostly elderly people attended a short meeting. The meeting, comprising five CPA representatives, Baruti and two researchers, allowed for an insightful discussion. The CPA members explained that we need to schedule a meeting with them in advance and they agreed to assist with any information we may need. Botshelo, one of the CPA members, assisted us to arrange a meeting with some of the other CPA members. The following individuals formed part of the first CPA meeting, in which approval was requested to record the attendees' names:

- Annah Lekwene
- Paulus Dikgetoi
- Jonie Rooibaadjie
- Moses Seboko
- Linnie Bogobile
- Lucky Tobane

During the following day, we requested another meeting with the CPA to retrieve more insight into the meaning of the CPA and their role. Botshelo kindly assisted us to ask members to join. Unfortunately, because of a burial ceremony in Postmasburg, they

explained that not all members could attend. Botshelo recommended that we meet with the individuals who could attend on Friday at the CPA meeting room.



**Figure 59: New Groenwater entrance (municipal and CPA authority)**

We scheduled a meeting for 10h00am in the morning. Baruti joined us at the second meeting as a representative from *Kgosi* Marotobolo. Initially, we waited for a while at the venue until Botshelo recommended that we speak with some older people who lived in new Groenwater. The following people joined us at the CPA meeting place and contributed towards the understanding of the diverse leadership roles in the area. The community members also attempted to clarify the reasons why they lived at new Groenwater and rejected joining the group at Groenwater Location. The community member names include:

- Oleboging Soloke
- Paulus Dikgetoi
- Andries Lekwene

- Ester Jonas
- Botshelo Dlogetsi (Kagiso)
- Leeuw Matshabeng
- Cladine Kolberg
- Nicolaas Steenkamp (Kabo)
- Agnes Lebegang
- Lorraine Maboya
- Poppie Vossie
- Margaret ?
- Lucky Tobane

Two older women and another elder man arrived after being called by Botshelo. They explained that they had lived at new Groenwater since the community returned from Metsimanzi. They said the people who live at Greonwater Station stay at the wrong place and the area forms part of agricultural land. When asked about the role of the CPA, they explained that they do not support traditional leaders because they stopped using the system during 1964. One of the elderly women, Margaret aged 82, explained that they used to plant “wheat,” but the birds kept eating their food; as a result, they struggled to grow food for themselves.





**Figure 60: Paulus and Elderly at CPA Meeting (Paulus key CPA representative)**



**Figure 61: CPA Members and Elderly after the community meeting**

Botshelo Dikgetoi highlighted that in the past they had traditional leadership but since they moved to Metsimanzi, the role of the traditional leader disappeared. During their return to

Groenwater, the Meetse-a-tala people decided on providing support to the CPA leadership and cancelled any form of traditional leadership. The CPA received the role of looking after the land, people and assets. Currently, every second year the community elect different CPA members, but the process may change to five yearly elections according to updated legislation. Botshelo revealed that no traditional leadership exists in their area.

He explained that with help from the Government, the land title deed became the property of the people. Botshelo said they received a letter from Tsantsabane Local Municipality allocating them the authority to look after Groenwater. Botshelo clarified that the land occupied by people on the other side forms part of allocated agricultural land and that the community should not live there. The land composes part of long-term farming plans, but the people moved there because they refuse to support the CPA. The people also abstain from paying taxes or supporting the municipality.

While talking to Botshelo and the elderly people, the CPA chairman and his secretary arrived. Kabo, the secretary, started to talk and explain that we should ignore any information provided by the people who live at the station, because no such traditional leader exists. Kabo explained that the community that lives at the other side of the hill also falls under the CPA jurisdiction and they only comprise of one leader that forms part of the CPA. Kabo allowed Kagiso Dlhogetsi to introduce himself and his role in the CPA, but Botshelo continued to point out that they became frustrated with the way the people from Groenwater Station reacted. 'It makes life very difficult for us' Kabo explained, 'and we stand to lose everything including our land.'

Kabo discussed their predicament with the opposition received from people who refuse to support their leadership and said they become unhappy because they only tell untrue stories. Kabo explained that they do not support any traditional leadership because the support of the leadership structure stopped when the community returned to Groenwater from Metsimanzi. Kabo described the troubles they continue to experience between new Groenwater and the people who live at the area earmarked for planting. We cannot plant because people occupied the agricultural land instead of living here where the municipality provided us with houses. He explained that because of continuous administrative and people conflict, the Government decided to possibly remove Groenwater from the CPA administration and place them under local authority control.



**Figure 62: Community Members at new Groenwater**

Kagiso Dlhogetsi, who acts as the CPA chairman, explained that some people attempted to create their own leadership and it created conflict in the community. Kagiso felt strongly about the situation and explained their concern that local government may take control of Groenwater. This means the CPA structure would become obsolete and they would lose control of their land. He supported Kabo's feelings and said that they support no traditional leadership control because it operates against their beliefs.

Baruti explained after the CPA meeting that the community at Groenwater Station attempted to withhold from having meetings with the new Groenwater people. He said that this meeting only provides a little insight into the tense environment that develops when they meet and sometimes people become aggressive. Baruti said he has to inform *Kgosi* Marotobolo of the fact that the CPA said at the meeting that no traditional leader exists. He explained apart from the emotional, tense environment between the two groups, they struggle with other logistics. For example, we noticed that the Groenwater Station signboard at the old Groenwater access road disappeared. After asking, Baruti revealed that the NGO group responsible for the organic farm project removed the board and placed it at new Groenwater.

Some elderly people who form part of the CPA related they could remember the displacement years and the difficulties they experienced during the time. They also described that since their return they experience constant conflict between the two different groups from Groenwater Location and themselves. They explained that in the event of community meetings, they constantly struggle with individuals who use the meetings to fight and they are sometimes scared to attend such events. The CPA said they receive a fee to look after the property at Groenwater that includes the area next to the station. They feel that

people cannot ignore their leadership because legally they represent the people from Groenwater.

When asking people who live at new Groenwater why they decided to live in the vicinity, they explained this is the land we were given after our return from Metsimanzi. The other land the Government returned for us to plant and use as grazing land. The people from new Groenwater also said, we want municipal services but at the station, there seems to be nothing. People indicated that although they receive municipal services at new Groenwater they still struggle because they have limited services and only one school.

Mrs. Sethunya Tumelo, a retired teacher who provided guidance regarding the location of the *Kgosi's* living area, explained that because of her health she decided to retire. Mrs. Tumelo invested in a brick and mortar structure, which she feels offers her a better investment and permanent place to stay. She received education and participated in a formal career during most of her life, indicating that she became financially well established and able to live a comfortable life. Mrs. Tumelo explained that although she had gained a general understanding of the historical background, it would be advisable to engage with the elderly people between the ages of 60 to 65 who form part of the traditional leadership.

To gain insight from different parties, we interviewed a former politician from Danielskuil whose family originated from Germany. Mr Donbass Bilderburg explained that they knew the area to have a rich, diverse culture from Tswana speaking peoples, Khoikhoi, Afrikaans and German communities. Mr Bilderburg explained that his family traded when they lived in the Northern Cape and we can visit traces of historical trading stores in the area. Besides the trading stores, Mr Bilderburg explained the German people focused on cattle farming

and later on small game. He further noted the German-speaking people's participation in the political environment and represented positions especially in Danielskuil during the 1980s.

Mrs Agatha Goulash, an English-speaking female farmer living in close vicinity of Papkuil and in close vicinity of Lime Acres Mine, explained that they had focused on cattle farming since the 1980s. Mrs Goulash described that the relationship between the farmers and workers varied, but the general approach was to appoint labour from the neighbouring countries because local labour was significantly more expensive than labour sourced from countries such as Zimbabwe.

During a drive through visit to the formal Meetse-a-tala settlement, an individual from the community was asked why the area was so quiet. The individual explained most people live away from Meetse-a-tala and only return during holidays.

#### **4.4. Summary**

The chapter served to provide an insight into the lives of the people from Meetse-a-tala, their stories, memories and events that contributed to the status of their current wellbeing. The people from Groenwater Location at the station and new Groenwater comprise different viewpoints mostly focused on the issue of leadership. Both sides agreed they struggled significantly during the displacement years and when they returned to Groenwater. The split thereafter made their lives extremely difficult. The next chapter details the analyses of the Meetse-a-tala community events.

## **CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION**

The chapter's objectives and the interpretations of the data collected during the fieldwork are detailed in this section. It aims to focus on three key events that have happened since 1964, which formed part of this research to achieve a better understanding of the Meetse-a-tala displacement events. I used the 1964 date and the different social-cultural impacts experienced by the community as the framework to provide an anthropological interpretation of the resettlement events.

### **5.1. Introduction**

The first section focuses on evidences of symbolism in Groenwater presented by the community. These areas of symbolic interest relate to the Groenwater fountain, the traditional cemetery, stand-alone graves and associations with the ancestral landscape. The second section focuses on different authority systems used at Groenwater Location and the new municipal settlement area referred to as "new" Groenwater.

The Groenwater community setting encompasses a significant and important reference to the occurrence of a fountain in the area. Groenwater also means green and the water at the fountain displays a similar colour. The Meetse-a-tala people experienced the fountain area as significant because it reminded them of the historical events that happened before they relocated to Metsimanzi. The Meetse-a-tala community were removed from their ancestral grounds between 1964 and 1999, and looked forward to returning to the land of their ancestors. According to research, 2000 people relocated to Mothibistad, 7km away from northern Kuruman during 1964 as part of the consolidation category (SPP: 1983, 89).

Metsimanzi formed part of the Kuruman reserves of which Mothibistad represented the closest town to the northern reserve areas.

The community's way of living centred on the existence and discovery of the Groenwater fountain by their ancestors. The historical traditional hierarchy, comprising Headmen and their followers played a key part in the establishment of the Meetse-a-tala community at Groenwater. The following chapter explains the importance of the fountain, the symbolism and surrounding places of sacred value that formed part of the community's everyday experiences.

## **5.2. The Meetse-a-tala Community before 1964 and the role of Symbolism in the Area**

The Groenwater fountain plays a significant symbolic meaning in the lives of the Meetse-a-tala people and the manner they relate to their ancestral origins in the area. They perceive the fountain as the reason for their existence and it has played a key symbolic role since the discovery by Headman Kgangeng, who initially reached Groenwater with his followers (Breutz: 1989, 218). The in-depth meaning associated with the fountain provides the Meetse-a-tala people with reasons to fight for their return to Groenwater Location and stay where their grandparents or parents lived prior to 1964.

The Meetse-a-tala journey started at the fountain and until today, it still forms part of an important site occupied by a portion of the community. The discovery of the fountain, also referred to as Meetse-a-tala, plays a key role in the community's legendary explanation of the events that happened to secure them their land. The community continuously reminded us of the significant discovery and the reasons why they feel strongly about the protection



of their area. The repetitive symbolic explanations highlighted the important role the natural feature presented and still plays in the lives of the Meetse-a-tala people.

The elderly people explained their childhood fear of the water, the water snake, and the woman's voice calling out at some tree areas situated alongside the Groenwater Station railway line. The role of symbolism in the area of origin offers a significant insight into the level of sensitivity the Meetse-a-tala people feel towards their land.

The second place of symbolic importance relates to the ancestral cemetery in close vicinity of the fountain that comprises Headman Kweetsane's grave. During the fieldwork, the community emphasised the importance of the cemetery and the role the Headman played to start the origin of the Meetse-a-tala community settlement at Groenwater Location.

The third area of importance in Groenwater Location relates to the stand-alone graves, representative of some family members, the railway station and the *kgoro* or meeting place. During the final fieldwork, some individuals in the community prohibited us from visiting the ancestral cemetery evident of Headman Kweetsane's grave. Even after asking about the graveyard, they ignored questions related to the Headman's grave. During many times a segment of the community showed that their ancestral importance lies with *Kgosi* Galeshewe and not with Headman Kweetsane. The fieldwork data displayed a traditional leader split between people who supported the traditional leadership and others who preferred to follow a more communal property management approach.

Many elderly people interviewed during the fieldwork indicated their support for the acting *Kgosi* but few individuals attempted to explain the role of the Kweetsane family.

During the earlier interviews, community leaders showed us their ancestral cemetery next to the fountain and explained the placement of an updated headstone to commemorate Headman Kweetsane.

During the follow-up fieldwork sessions, the community limited references of Headman Kweetsane, or said that we should understand that they reflect common rules and not traditional methods. It appeared that not all Meetse-a-tala people supported the headmen leadership approach or references to historical ancestral leadership discussions related to the Kweetsane family.

The fountain and ancestral graveyards only receive visits from the herdsmen, traditional leaders or visitors who have received approval from traditional leadership to access the site. The fountain area displays a sacred environment and becomes accessible only when accompanied by a dedicated community representative or a traditional leader. I saw that the area received protection from the community at all costs because of the sacred value attached to it.

### **5.3. The Move to Metsimanzi**

According to historical records, the Government identified an area north of Kuruman to where they decided to relocate the community. During the interviews, the Meetse-a-tala community referred to the area as Metsimanzi or “Metsi” for short (refer to Chapter 4, p. 105). The move to Metsimanzi revealed experiences of shock, dismay, and disappointment by the Meetse-a-tala people (refer to Chapter 4, p. 116). The fieldwork data revealed that the community blame the discovery of diamonds at Groenwater

Location as the reason the Government relocated them. The community felt strongly about the attitude displayed by the diamond mines since 1964 and the Government's role in the displacement process.

The methods of relocating people without proper warning, placing them on Government trucks or train wagons to move the community created stressful memories still remembered until today. Apart from the memories people shared who lived during the time of the forced removal, these stories form part of their history telling. The Meetse-a-tala community finds it important to share with visitors the details of their experiences during the time they moved to Metsimanzi. Each elderly person who shared their displacement memories remembered the emotions of confusion when they reached home after school during 1964.

Informants said that as they returned home from school, they noticed all the white Government trucks waiting for them. The chaos experienced by small children had an impact on the memories of community members who lived at Groenwater Location during the time. According to the interviews completed, parents could not assist their children because they needed to load as many goods as possible on the trucks and train wagons.

The high level of fear experienced by the community followed them until they reached Metsimanzi, which presented a tented camp area at first until the Government decided to develop them permanent homes. When the community reached their new destination, they experienced a scare when they realised the status of the living areas. People reported becoming sick because of the saltwater, insufficient food quantities or unsuitable land to plant their crops. The situation, according to the elderly, developed into frustrations and

sadness experienced in the community. Informants mentioned the suffering of their animals transported by train who needed to walk, as did the people, to reach the settlement after being delivered to Hotazel. The distance between Hotazel where the trains stopped to deliver their goods presented a walking distance of 55 km and a significant portion of the animals died along the way (refer to Chapter 4, p. 116).

The burning sun, the red sand typical of Kuruman and surrounds changed into further disappointment with the manner they received treatment from the colonial government.

Only after two years did they receive the opportunity to move into structured housing, but again without additional Government support. The community explained their houses neighboured foreign settlements and different Tswana speaking groups. According to diverse individuals, their neighbours felt like strangers and initially they were scared of them.

Another key factor experienced by the community related to the dramatic experience of family graves being destroyed by the white Government trucks. Family members attempted to remove any traces of the burials and take the remains with them before the trucks cleared all proof of their existence. Elderly people explained they needed to move the ancestral burials themselves because the Government trucks started to destroy the graves. The emotions of loss started to become a reality in the daily lives of the Meetse-a-tala people after they lost their land, food and belongings. They felt isolated, deserted, confused and sidelined after the resettlement experience. The events of the loss engraved in their memories created a history that the community continuously wanted to share to ensure that people remembered the struggles they had.

The relocation resulted in diverse impacts experienced by the Meetse-a-tala community from loss of identity, land, and assets to a sense of belonging. The forced removal to Metsimanzi resulted in the community feeling misplaced, without leadership and guidance from their ancestral ways of living. The greatest landmark at Groenwater Location relates to the fountain and they struggled to cope with the loss of such an important natural feature. They experienced removal from their core meaning of existence symbolised by the fountain. In addition, they suffered a loss of the natural environment where they could keep large quantities of cattle, sheep, donkeys and owned significant pieces of land to plant. During their return in 1999, the Meetse-a-tala community realised their fountain still existed, but without fresh water, not enough grazing land, insufficient space for planting and no suitable housing.

It became clear to the community that what they received from the post 1999 Government, addressed a small percentage of their expectations and without help to secure additional services, for example, electricity or access to clean water. The return to Groenwater Location affected their leadership hierarchy and relationship building between the Meetse-a-tala community members. The section below aims to provide insight into the development of new relationships and the challenges associated with it.

#### **5.4. Return to Groenwater and the Traditional Leadership Conflict After 1999**

Moving on to the settlement area, the accommodation or living areas display small, informal, and uncomfortable living spaces for the community. The acting *Kgosi* received use of the old farmhouse during an initial agreement with the CPA, but his wife mostly makes use of it, as the fieldwork indicated the *Kgosi* prefers to stay in Postmasburg where

he assists the local mines as a mediator during labour strikes or work-related challenges. The *Kgosi*, therefore, allocated some of his duties to his wife and Baruti his second in charge (refer to Chapter 4, p. 87).

The interviews showed that when the Meetse-a-tala people initially moved to Groenwater before 1964, they lost the traditional leadership they had during the time. The community explained that the original true traditional leadership belonged to the Galeshewe family and not the Kweetsane's. The Marotobolo family attempted to re-introduce the leadership they believe belongs to the true tribal line and not the Headmen who reached Groenwater Location during 1850. This resulted in the split between a returned community who thought they could return safely and enjoy life as their ancestors did before 1964.

Unfortunately, the community experienced additional challenges related to leadership and other practicalities to resettle at the place they longed for.

Baruti representing the next *kgosi* in line plays a critical role to ensure the traditional leadership stays a reality, and the council receives the support they require. During an interview with the *Kgosi*, the importance of the historical leadership events played a key role in the discussion that highlighted the importance of the link between the Meetse-a-tala people with the Galeshewe tribe history.

The *Kgosi's* children decided to withhold from taking part in any traditional leadership activities or accepting roles as leaders. During the fieldwork visits, the *Kgosi's* son, Pilane, fulfilled a caring role to protect and assist his mother, but not to adopt a community caring role. Pilane looks after the elderly if no help arrives, for example if they require transport

between the settlement and neighbouring living areas or commercial centres. The help he provides relates mostly to transport because of his role as a taxi business owner in the area.

The concept of leadership at Groenwater Location presents a complex environment because of the divide between supporters for Kweetsane or Galeshewe. In addition, the acting *Kgosi* still awaits formal approval of his traditional leadership position, although local government acknowledged him by adding the title to his name. All meeting minutes or communication refers to the acting *kgosi* as a traditional leader, but the CPA, or a portion of the Meetse-a-tala community, refuse to support his position (refer to Chapter 4).

One traditional authority follower showed us the cemetery closer to the railway station and explained the reasons they fought for formalisation of the traditional leadership. People linked to the Marotobolo family revealed serious emotions and concerns regarding the implementation of, according to them, the real traditional leaders.

The Marotobolo family explained they require a person to rewrite the Meetse-a-tala historical events with the focus on the Galeshewe family and not the Kweetsane's. The Marotobolo family feel strongly about the impact of the Langeberg Rebellion during 1897 and the role that *Kgosi* Galeshewe played during the event (refer to Chapter 1). Looking at the prepared genealogies presented in the fieldwork chapter, the Marotobolo family presents a strong presence at Groenwater Location.

The interviews showed that different people supported diverse leadership options in the area. Apart from the distinct conflict between community members from Groenwater Location and individuals who support the CPA structure, the inter-community conflict

appears to increase in intensity. Individuals who live at Groenwater Location do not agree with the role that Headman Kweetsane, his family and informal leaders adopted when they reached Groenwater Location. Even during the different leadership stages, tribal leaders accepted key roles to manage the various tribes or communities who lived in the area.

The community specifically pointed out that we remember that in practice, the Kweetsane family do not represent traditional leadership and they only formed part of the so-called commoner group although they played a role in local government circles. The first tribal authority conflict originated when the first small group of baTlharo individuals arrived at Groenwater (refer to Chapter 1). This event presented the first split from the main tribe when they reached Groenwater without a kgosi. Historical attempts made by the local traditional leaders in Kuruman aimed to secure formal leadership for themselves at the Groenwater Location area. These attempts to extend tribal authority rule via a kgosi to the south continued to happen until the establishment of authority under the rule of Headman Kweetsane.

Since the removal of the Meetse-a-tala people from Groenwater Location to Metsimanzi, the fight for formal tribal leadership ended until their return after 1999, when a portion of the community wanted to revert to traditional leadership.

### **5.5. Other Leadership Challenges and the CPA**

The leadership and hierarchy complexities reflected a lot more than just the conflict between Groenwater Location and the CPA areas, but that a tribal split happened during 1850 (refer to Chapter 1). The initial group that arrived at Groenwater Location



comprising a Headman and supporters that made a life for themselves at the fountain became key to the Meetse-a-tala story. For this specific reason, the Meetse-a-tala community already started establishing a new settlement without the use of the traditional rule. Although initially the *kgosis* in Kuruman and surrounding areas attempted to keep the Meetse-a-tala group within traditional leadership control, it changed into a difficult scenario to manage the different viewpoints presented by the communities. In addition, the colonial government of the time also implemented their own control that increased the complexity of the situation.

The leadership genealogies reflect the Headmen's families and not the original *kgosis* who ruled before the origins of Groenwater Location (refer to Chapter 1). Besides the role that Groenwater Location played initially, the traditional leadership positions ended when a portion of the original Tswana speaking group broke away from the main tribe. The re-implementation of the traditional leadership comprises a link between Groenwater Location, the Meetse-a-tala community and the Galeshewe family. A portion of the community aims to investigate the completion of a full historical record but without highlighting the roles that Headman Kweetsane played.

In opposition to the Marotobolo family's views, the CPA plays a key role to counter the traditional leadership approach and implement a different governance method related to what they see as the ordinary people's view. The CPA comprises individuals who oppose the leaders striving to ensure the reintroduction of traditional leadership. Besides the governance role of the CPA, the individuals feel that the original Meetse-a-tala community split during 1964 allowed for the disablement of the traditional leadership.

The conflict between the Marotobolo family and the CPA created diverse complexities from governance to a more practical point of view, where individuals in the community continuously oppose each other. The divide created significant problems for local municipal governments because they constantly experience frustrations when dealing with community services, for example. Over many years, the community that settled at the Meetse-a-tala Fountain lived without electricity since they broke away from the municipal area. The argument declares that the municipality feels that the individuals refuse to pay rates and taxes, and for this motivation, they cannot provide them with municipal services. In addition, the people also settled at an area allocated as agricultural land, which had an impact on the planning prepared by Tsantsabane Local Municipality to use Groenwater Location for rural land.

#### **5.6. Non-Tswana Speaking People at Groenwater and External Influences**

The other phenomenon relates to outsiders or non-Tswana speaking people who live at Groenwater Location with the authority of acting *Kgosi* Marotobolo. Dineo, a farmer who only requested land for his cattle, built a house and set up a sand mining business after he resigned from Finsch Mine. Dineo explained that he provides work to community members from Meetse-a-tala and people from surrounding areas. Dineo plays a unique role by living isolated from the core village but presents an intrinsic business-orientated position in Groenwater Location. Although farmers or foreigners play a purely commercial role in the area, they contribute by paying rent and providing bricks or food to the community. The community sees Dineo as the rich farmer that provides food or resources, and therefore they seem to display a little fear towards him.

Elderly people not linked to the Marotobolo family focused more on their life experiences as children during the interviews and not so much on explaining the political events that affected the Meetse-a-tala communities. Their memories align with daily living events, for example, visiting the fountain, planting, emotions of fear, the water snake and the ability to keep cattle, donkeys and chickens.

Other external impacts relate to influences from the surrounding mines, non-governmental organisations and land claim groups. These people aim to invest in the community, but the outcome thereof becomes problematic when the projects fail. For example, the development of a creche and organic farm collapsed, and the community felt frustrated because of it. Numerous times failure happened after the set-up of projects and no operational funding is available to support these programmes.

Also noticeable was the influence of non-governmental organisations to support certain groups in the community created additional conflict and debates; other matters related to foreigners who visit the site without gaining approval. The community explained they become frustrated because they feel scared that they may lose their land again. It took them 25 years to return to Groenwater Location, but they struggle to settle because of government and foreign influences from diverse groups.

### **5.7. Post-resettlement Anxiety**

The diverse complexities that happened since the Meetse-a-tala community originally arrived at Groenwater Location during 1850, their resettlement to Metsimanzi in 1964, and their return during 1999 had an impact on their livelihoods and ways of living (refer to

Chapter 1 and 4). The impacts also relate to the status of the youth, government involvement, their economic circumstances, land ownership issues, minimal support, fear of land loss and diverse community challenges evident in Groenwater. The chapter below aims to describe these impacts and the manner in which these events influence the community's wellbeing.

### **5.7.1. Impacts on the Youth**

Various young people presented an insight into the difficulties the youth experience living at Groenwater Location. Baruti, Pilane and Lesego explained the frustrations they deal with daily. The young people who live at Groenwater carry significant responsibilities to care for the elders. Baruti, the right-hand man of *Kgosi* Marotobolo, plays a critical role in the community by providing leadership direction during the week while the main leader works in Postmasburg.

#### **a) Elderly Care**

This means that he cannot continuously visit his friends at Danielskuil because he represents a role of responsibility and seriousness respected by the Meetse-a-tala community.

Baruti receives support from the *kgosi* and lives across from the main house occupied by the senior family. During the field visits, the elderly waited for food parcels from the Government but after no delivery of the expected goods, they returned home. Pilane and Baruti quickly needed to make a plan, because some elders had also arrived from new

Groenwater to receive food parcels. They explained that sometimes government officials prevent the goods from arriving at the correct time and then they need to provide them with food or take them home. The interviews provided some insight into the responsibilities the youth deal with who live at Groenwater Location and the associated impacts on their daily lives.

### **b) Youth**

The youth at Groenwater who received opportunities to study relocated to areas outside of the province or they moved to Postmasburg. Gauteng, especially Johannesburg, became a popular place for young people who wanted to leave Groenwater and the youth felt that if they want to progress in life, they need to move to Gauteng. Other young people felt if they move to Postmasburg they may receive more local opportunities to take part in technical schooling and hope to find work at the local mines. Finsch diamond mine at Lime Acres, mentioned by the youngsters, provides significant technical employment opportunities to the youth of Groenwater.

A phenomenon of extremes happened with the Meetse-a-tala youth as they dreamed of new opportunities to progress in life and move away from an isolated place that became an impossible dream. Apart from the urge of receiving education, other individuals explained they feel responsible to look after their parents, which prevented them from moving away to the larger city or town areas.

### **c) Employment**

If they stayed in Groenwater, they attempted to find local work where available. Besides Finsch (Diamond) and Beeshoek (Iron Ore) Mine, other potential opportunities for young people became available in Kathu or Hotazel. The long distances they were required to travel created diverse issues because of the expensive rates that the local taxis charged. They attempted to return home when possible, but sometimes they never go back to their ancestral properties. The youth feel frustrated with the positions they are in and are divided about the role traditional leadership plays in the manner they progress in life.

Interestingly, the Groenwater Location, although mostly occupied by the elderly, consist of youngsters that live in the area permanently. The individuals had different roles and reasons for staying in the area. Baruti, who was identified as the next *kgosi* of the Meetse-a-tala people, had received the responsibility of maintaining the traditional leadership and was trying to find more technical work at Finsch Mine. Baruti's responsibilities extends far beyond the other young people who live in the community and he seeks to connect with other youngsters by visiting Danielskuil. His outlook suits a youngster that is looking for new opportunities, but his responsibilities prevent him from moving to Johannesburg.

### **d) Pressure to Uphold Traditional Leadership**

Baruti's world comprises a sense of duty, sometimes preventing him from being carefree with no additional responsibilities. The relationship between Baruti and Pilane seems strange, because Pilane received the prospect to study, but excluded himself from the traditional leadership opportunity. Pilane seems to present a different approach to

traditional leadership thinking and aims to focus on his career rather than to take part in local traditional activities. The roles Baruti and Pilani display are vastly different from the life goals they had planned for themselves.

Pilane aims to grow his business and protect his mother without having to take on leadership responsibilities requested by the traditional system. He seems to stay away from the other households or community members when at Groenwater Location and presents a formal approach. If the *kgosi* struggles with labour challenges at the mine, he contacts his son to ask for advice. Pilane plays a specific advisory role in his family and assists with providing professional support when asked. Pilane mentioned that he could return to Johannesburg at the right time and proceed with additional studies, as he aims to follow a business career.

#### **e) Motherhood challenges**

Lesedi plays a motherly role at her household, and she withheld from relocating to other areas. She looks after her mother and children while living in an informal home on the outskirts of the settlement area. Lesedi is a friendly person, and explained since her brother died in 2005 she has looked after her mother Lesego.

#### **f) Isolation**

Three different personalities, responsibilities and young people who carry different responsibilities in life. All three individuals struggle with isolation, lack of connection with other young people and responsibilities transferred to them by their parents or the

traditional leadership system requirements. One key issue relates to finding employment opportunities in an environment mostly consistent with mining activities. One individual received the opportunity to study and travel but returned to start a business from home; the other two individuals revealed they struggle with funding and cannot travel to find work or educate themselves.

### **5.7.2. Lack of Government Related Support and Landownership Concerns**

Government plays a key role as a mediator between the CPA and the people from Groenwater Location. The reason for this relates to the fact that some community members feel frustrated because of the lack of support they receive from the Government. In turn, the Government argues that they can only provide services or support to community members who live in their dedicated areas. New Groenwater displays a formal settlement characterised by brick houses and well-maintained entrance roads, a café, school and community centre. The informal section of Groenwater presents a combination of old farmhouse structures and shacks developed as shelters for the community.

The informal side mostly depicts people who support the Marotobolo traditional family and objectives to re-establish traditional leadership in the Groenwater area. The complexity increased with a portion of the community taking part in a drive to start with land claims in the Northern Cape area. The section below focuses on key challenges the Meetse-a-tala community deals with daily and influences their livelihoods on a constant basis.



### **a) Leadership Styles**

Many issues started between the CPA and the community in terms of the different leadership styles or responsibilities within the organisation. The constant conflict experienced between the CPA leaders and some community members from both sides of the hilltop urged the local government to step in. According to the Chairperson of the CPA, the Government claimed they may decide to withdraw Groenwater from community governance and the possible governance decision increased the tension between the different groups (refer to Chapter 4, p. 129). The CPA continue to feel threatened by local government wanting to dismantle their role and the increased traditional leadership support at the informal settlement area.

### **b) Land-ownership**

The land-ownership associations started to become a reality and evident in the Skeyfontein, Kuruman, Meetse-a-tala and Kathu Tswana-speaking communities. During discussions with the Meetse-a-tala traditional leaders, they indicated that each community presents an association and they attend joint meetings when strategic discussions become necessary.

Other associations or groups focus on discussions related to land-ownership and methods to request additional land from the Government. These groups informally developed by members of the Meetse-a-tala community used previous displacement experiences as the core of their land debate and a request for additional support from the Government. The landownership and claims discussions have increased since 2015, with individuals using

the opportunities to vent their frustrations to Government. They indicated their reluctance to support local government because of the so-called threats that they may take their land away.

This land claim challenges impact on the manner in which the Meetse-a-tala community develops. They constantly feel scared and insecure because of conflicts between them, their neighbouring communities and local government. Communities feel that the displacements happened with minimal support and, as a result, created a conflict between the community members (refer to Chapter 4, p. 131).

#### **c) The Social-Cultural Make-up**

The historical displacement has an impact on the social-cultural make-up of the Meetse-a-tala community by dividing the group into different geographical locations. The displaced Meetse-a-tala community became scattered between Farm Groenwater and Kuruman. The scattered community affected their social-cultural cohesion, a sense of belonging, and identity. Due to the impact on the social-cultural make-up, many conflicts, arguments and feelings of neglect developed, and these social frustrations started playing a significant role in their traditional practices, beliefs and attitudes towards their ancestral customs.

#### **d) Big Divide**

A big divide developed between the different age groups and the older Meetse-a-tala community began to isolate themselves from the younger group. The detached approach resulted in the elderly feeling disrespected with minimal family support. In addition, the

restricted government assistance increased distressed emotions experienced by the older generation and they felt more marginalised because of minor funding provided by the local leaders. The removal of the Meetse-a-tala community away from their ancestral land and sites of symbolic importance created emotions of depression and feelings of oppression.

#### **e) Local Government Relationships**

One of the key concerns highlighted by the Meetse-a-tala community referred to the relationship between the community and local government. Key concerns mentioned related to minimal government support, poor quality access roads, minimal water points, limited formal housing and electricity shortages. Only during 2018, did the informal settlements receive access to electricity after many years of requesting Government to assist with basic needs.

Community members feel that the bulk of the Government funding allocated to land development falls outside their original ancestral settlements and only focuses on the new Groenwater area. The individuals explained they highlighted their issues at the *Kgotla* meetings every week, but they have made no progress. The promises made by the Government during election times raised concerns with the community members, especially since some of the deliveries never happened.

The concerns regarding minimal Government support resulted in community frustrations and fears. One fear highlighted by individuals from the Meetse-a-tala community related to the land-ownership issue. They feel they lack support, and external threats by other cultural groups increases their levels of insecurity at the old settlement.

#### **f) Lack of Consultation**

A sizeable portion of the displacement events relates to government decision making without involving the Meetse-a-tala community. Limited legislations and policies available to monitor displacement of communities resulted in the Meetse-a-tala people experiencing a continuous identity struggle. Various challenges relate to weak resettlement policies and legislations, colonial influences, leadership debates, developments without consent from local communities and poor after-care by Government affected the Meetse-a-tala community's identity (refer to Chapter 1 and 4). After many years since displacement, communities complain about limited governmental input and their refusal to listen to their basic livelihood needs (refer to Chapter 4, p. 131).

The after-care of displaced communities reverted to the private sector or mine houses in the surrounding area. The case study focused on the portion of the community who presented their concerns about government involvement, and they became worse off because of displacement. It seems the small size of the community prevented validation of any significant contribution by Government and the outcome thereof relied on the *Kgosi* to negotiate solutions with the relevant authorities. The *Kgosi* presents the symbolic power to negotiate with the Government and determine the best methods of providing care to the displaced community (refer to Chapter 4, p. 105).

The aftercare of the community after resettlement carries significant challenges if leadership becomes an issue. The limited support received from the local government to manage both sides of the community, the biased approach to support the CPA, the misunderstandings between traditional and communal land management approaches

created problems not easily solved. The aftercare can only happen if the CPA, the traditional leadership and Government reach a consensus and common goals for the good of the community.

### **5.7.3. Economic and Daily Living Challenges**

The section below aims to underline key economic and daily living challenges the Meetse-a-tala community experiences. A significant portion of these difficulties the community reported to Government but without any feedback or additional assistance. Consequently, the community feels they returned to ancestral land only to struggle and feel disappointed with the limited support they receive from the institutions established to help them.

#### **a) Water Access Challenges**

The initial displacement and return to the Meetse-a-tala community's ancestral land resulted in many economic challenges within an isolated landscape. The original move to Kuruman or Metsimanzi and return to their ancestral land not only resulted in a community divided internally, but also economically. The return to Groenwater restricted the community who were struggling to plan their lives, and so they started with small-scale farming. The shortage of proper water accessibility influenced the manner in which they attempted to initiate sustainable planting and create a livelihood for themselves.

## **b) Food Availability Challenges**

The Meetse-a-tala community, isolated from any formal commercial centres and self-support, became adamant to ensure availability of food for their household members. The community protested against the broken farming implements they received during their return to Groenwater in 1999. They indicated they had to start from the beginning with limited resources or Government support, but still struggled to stay alive because of limited land availability. Apart from the isolated distance between the land and the commercial areas, they struggle to reach the grazing land sometimes because of the manganese railway line that divides the living areas with the area where they keep their cattle. Local farmers complain that they constantly lose animals because they are killed by the ongoing train and wagons. They also mentioned that because of poor fence maintenance they struggle to keep their animals from entering the railway reserves. These issues create a significant concern if this area, according to planning, needs to form part of future agricultural development. It became evident that the initial planning by Government to change the informal section into agricultural land did not take into account the movement of the manganese freight traffic by rail on a daily basis.

## **c) Rail Transport**

The community explained that before their return to Groenwater in 1999, the train stopped at the railway station and people had an opportunity to jump on the train and reach the larger economic centres. Since the train became manganese freight only, their rail transport opportunities stopped and decreased their transport opportunities. Due to the isolated

environment, it stays problematic for the community to reach areas where they can purchase their daily goods.

#### **d) Hand-outs to Private Sector**

The land-uses make it difficult for the Meetse-a-tala community to develop a well-structured settlement and the bulk of the developments do not provide substantial support to the Meetse-a-tala community to grow and develop. Most of the community initiatives to assist with the poverty levels derived from solar developers, neighbouring mines, or Non-government organisations. None of the support or community development proposals focused on long-term planning and only assisted with immediate complexities. The community mostly relies on funds from support groups or pension pay-outs received once a month. The outcome added to additional frustrations by the Meetse-a-tala community because of a lack of Government funding to upgrade their land to a suitable living environment (refer to Chapter 4, p. 103).

#### **e) Transport**

Various taxi businesses attempted to assist with transport between the settlements and surrounding towns. The costly taxi services influences the community's decision to travel and individuals would rather stay closer to the town areas. The original displacement not only divided the community, but also affected future planning or development in the Meetse-a-tala area. Since the community's return, Government or developers provided no additional support to assist with future planning and the only matter addressed was to

assist with the return of ownership. The role of Government stays critical in a displacement phenomenon, especially with limited resettlement support available.

#### **f) Education**

Only one primary school located in new Groenwater allow access to young children who aim to start their learning career. The secondary schools occur in Postmasburg, Kathu and Kuruman, meaning that children who attend these facilities require boarding, which means additional expenses and creates a problem if the parents receive less than R 10 000 salary. The subsequent planning by Government to provide the community with basic schooling support failed significantly, and requires further investigation. The existing conflict between the community groups at the formal and informal settlements impact on the children's health as well.

#### **5.7.4. Constant Fear of Land Loss**

Since the displacement of 1964, the community faced many challenges focused on a land conflict. The Groenwater area displays much evidence of historical developments or activities, for example, railway expansion, solar farms and regular diamond mining prospecting over the years. The fieldwork data indicated that numerous visits by surveyors, environmental consultants, developers and prospectors happen continuously and affect the community's sense of trust. The regular visits made them restless and insecure because of the resettlement experiences they had. The public participation meetings aimed to inform the Groenwater Location and new Groenwater communities about future developments normally happen at the formal settlement.



These meetings tend to adopt an atmosphere for political debate rather than to discuss any specific development-orientated challenges or to inform the community of future events.

The location decision creates diverse frustrations for the people from Groenwater Location who sometimes feel scared to attend the meetings and because they become exposed to conflict situations.

Other matters related to activities by the Koranna people, who have indicated they disagree with land transfers to the Tswana-speaking people and they commenced to start their own land claim procedures. The insecurities and fear of land loss resulted in desperate methods to demonstrate that the original settlement belongs to the Meetse-a-tala community. For this specific reason, the older people from the Meetse-a-tala community insisted that they stay in close vicinity of the ancestral graveyard because it demonstrates the origin existence.

Strive to ensure ownership of land has developed into a generational conflict between the young and older people from the Meetse-a-tala community who live at both sides of the hilltop. The internal and external conflict situations place significant stress on a community that still needs to recover after years of displacement and has an impact on their community wellbeing.

#### **5.7.5. Impact on the Family Structure**

The historical displacement events affected the family structure because of the community divide. The 1999 return by the Meetse-a-tala community resulted in a significant split between family members who supported traditional leadership and an individual who

preferred the common rule. Not all individuals agreed with the return to their ancestral land, and most young people stayed in Kuruman.

An additional divide happened during the return to the ancestral land after an alleged conflict about the future use of the site. Mostly older people lived in the study area and traditional values seem to be stronger among the older community members. The young people prefer to settle away from the ancestral area, which resulted in older people living isolated from the rest of the family members. Due to the community divide, it seems difficult to identify a formal family structure, and a few young people live at the formal or informal settlements during the week.

#### **5.7.6. Social-Cultural make-up, Livelihoods and Development of Identities**

The younger generation's focus on sustainable living, work opportunities and education remains the focus points to ensure future planning and development. The young generation is more concerned about reaching employment sustainability, own property and attend university than following traditional practices. Both generations strive to reach social cohesion and community development, but the areas of importance differ.

Two different identities developed at the Meetse-a-tala community and approaches to traditional practices changed between the different generational groups. The symbolic values related to land, and the associated traditional practices added to the development of various land claim dynamics. The land claim challenges in the Northern Cape became part of political influences and agendas instead of supporting the displaced community.

Essentially, the frustrations on both sides of the generations related to land ownership, a

sense of identity, meaningful lives, food and shelter. The older individuals found their sense of place by ensuring that the ancestral cemetery receives an acknowledgement, maintenance of the traditional *kgoro* meetings and transfer of the Meetse-a-tala legacy to the next generation.

The protection of the Meetse-a-tala social-cultural identity is becoming less realistic with the younger community members moving away from the area or settling away from home. The preservation of the identity of the Meetse-a-tala community is reliant on protecting the ancestral cemetery, the scattered graves, and traces of stonewalling and oral histories. If the younger generation isolates themselves from the older generation and living areas, the more difficult it will become to rescue the generational divide.

The various stages of displacements, decisions made by government and the continuous struggle for survival resulted in a disjointed community. The community's return to their ancestral land could not solve identity challenges, but it did create additional experiences of being away from home and returning to a foreign land. The handover of the land to the Tswana-speaking communities involved conflict and additional friction between the old and new landowners.

The poor relationships between the different cultural groups added to additional stresses to manage the impacts of the original displacements that happened in 1964. Other issues combined with land-use, land ownership and support from the Government on diverse levels resulted in continuous community unhappiness, lack of Government support and understanding of the socio-cultural environment. Political decisions and other interest

groups operating in the area contributed to the continued uneasiness between the different communities in the area.

A combination of poor living conditions, Government turning their backs on the older generation and the younger generation losing interest in their socio-cultural history created various frustrations with the older community members. The trust relationships between the older and younger generations ceased because of different ideologies and the generation of new identities.

The older generation is hoping that the traces of history will convince the younger group that they need to appreciate and respect their socio-cultural background. They will need a coordinated approach between Government, community leaders and other non-governmental groups to develop a sense of meaning and minimise the historical social-cultural impacts. It will require facilitation between the older and younger groups to mend the divide and allow the community to grow and reach a shared future vision.

#### **5.7.7. Community Displacement and development of Social Dynamics**

The paragraphs below provide an interpretation of the social dynamics associated with relationships, political influence, family structures and traditional leaderships. It links the discussions regarding social dynamics to the creation of identities, social-cultural boundaries and the definition of land ownership. The Meetse-a-tala community experienced different stages of displacement from being moved to Kuruman or Metsimanzi in 1964 and returning to Groenwater in 1999. The displacements between Groenwater and Kuruman resulted in the experiences of marginalisation, insecurity,

disappointment, and distress. The Meetse-a-tala community became fractured because of the various displacements and struggled to find their identity thereafter.

Community frustrations allowed for the development of different boundaries, cultural relationships and various types of decision makers. The region represented historically driven land-ownership battles, which had an affect on the Meetse-a-tala community's sense of identity. They associate the need for power with decision-making requirements in terms of land ownership, new housing requests, improved infrastructure, roads and access to health facilities. The conflicts of decisions made by traditional leadership, government, and modern interest groups create the social boundaries evident at the Meetse-a-tala today. After the community returned to their ancestral lands, they struggled to re-define their identity and outlined themselves as a community who needs basic services to house, clinic, schools, roads and water.

The mechanisms used to define land ownership relied on government mapping and colonial property rights. In 1964, infrastructure development and prospecting highlighted government interests and agendas. The influences by historical events and continuous movements between various places resulted in the community using different methods to re-develop their identity.

These methods included land association participation, peaceful protests against the Government, joining land claim interest groups and sharing their frustrations with outsiders. The displacement outcomes since 1964 redefined the structure of the Meetse-a-tala community and definitions of the social dynamics.

The Meetse-a-tala case study only covers a portion of the community and the individuals who formed part of the study reflect identities associated with the traditional social-cultural thinking. The Meetse-a-tala community defined themselves by association with historical events, storytelling, the importance of ancestral cemeteries and traditional leadership. The identity of the community opposes the younger generation, who, according to the older people, has a minimal understanding of their origins and cultural practices.

The displacement phenomenon changes family relations and structures because of economic adaptation and identity stresses. The stories recorded during the field visits indicated a community fractured because of different views, emotions regarding land ownership and cultural traditions. The stories told by the old women and representatives from the *Kgosi* explained a change in cultural values and traditions.

The traditional settlement relocated to an unfamiliar territory unknown to the Meetse-a-tala community and resulted in family structures changing. According to the ethnographic information, the community split from the main group without planning resulted in the family members' struggle to settle and re-define their identities.

## **6. Conclusion**

The displacement of the Meetse-a-tala community followed various stages related to the original split in 1850, resettlement to Metsimansi in 1964, return to their ancestral lands during 1999, becoming used to the new property resources after the return, struggle for survival and post-displacement community challenges. The Meetse-a-tala community faced continuous frustrations because of these displacement events and still felt threatened

by future land loss. The sense of security stays minimal, especially with continuous talks about developments, land-claims by other cultural groups, government decisions and internal conflict.

It becomes reality when the Meetse-a-tala community, who live south of the hill, may always battle to reach a sense of belonging. The new identity of the older people represents a different approach than the younger generation, and as a result, the community boundaries may change. If the limits change, the survival sense becomes critical and can only experience maintenance by finding common reasons for existence. These common reasons can vary between land-ownership, basic social needs, housing, and an elevated level of living standards, or finding methods to improve their daily lifestyles.

## **CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION**

### **6.1. Background and Literature Review Summary**

This displacement thesis entailed four main headings that included a literature review, research methodology, profile of the study area, fieldwork and analysis or interpretation of data collected. The study ethnographically focused on the observation of the Tswana-speaking Meetse-a-tala group who live in close vicinity of Postmasburg in the Northern Cape. The limited archival material available complexed the research and interpretation of the cultural outlook of the Meetse-a-tala community. On-site data gathering became a requirement to retrieve field data that would provide leads regarding resettlement experiences and impacts on the displaced people.

My role as a heritage and a social practitioner, appointed by various engineering companies, allowed me to develop an interest in the Groenwater social-cultural landscape. My involvement focused on the completion of diverse heritage or social impact assessments as part of environmental studies. My role in the resettlement environment also increased between 2013 and 2018 when I accepted a role as a sustainable development specialist on a displacement programme in the Northern Cape.

Before I started with field research, I needed to undertake a literature review that I initially began by reading resettlement case studies focused on a global scale (refer to Chapter 1). I began with Elizabeth Colson to gain an insight into research methods used as part of the Gwembe Tonga resettlement study located in Central Africa; thereafter, I focused on displacement discussions by Cernea, De Wet, Asthana and Patkar. I realised that most



resettlement articles concentrated on displaced communities because of infrastructure developments, environmental crises, wars or migration events. I struggled to formulate an alignment between the Meetse-a-tala community and South African displacement situations.

I reverted to different academic thoughts and mindsets completed by Shihata, Schuh, Pentz, Scudder, Abdissa, Degefa, Fay and Szablowski. I also studied the different resettlement phases explained by Cernea and attempted to align them with the Meetse-a-tala's displacement events (refer to Chapter 1).

Other examples of ethnographic research pertained to work completed by Breutz, but more from a traditional customary point of view. Historical publications reflecting the colonial times and events completed by Hardie, Shillington, Hamilton, Elphick and Giliomee became reference points to understand the colonial times in South Africa.

Besides historical events, the traditional customs and structuring of the Tswana-speaking people played a key role, and these structures required investigating before the fieldwork sessions started. The role of the *Kgosi* and the traditional leaders became important to grasp, inclusive of the previous anthropological or historical works evident before and after 1964. Shillington's historical overview of Africa presented an insight into pre-colonial events, arrival of the Europeans and struggle for land.

I realised I needed more local academic understanding of displacement events within the South African context and studied research completed by Chris De Wet (refer to Chapter 1, p. 21). Although De Wet contributed significantly on a global scale related to

Worldbank policies, some of his work attempted to link resettlement expectations with the local displacement environment. My research stayed challenging because apart from Cernea and Colson, I could not identify specific displacement events to support my study.

Subsequently, I reverted to Breutz to investigate the history of the Batswana people to guide me in the process. The book on the History of the Batswana clarified some key questions I had regarding the origin of the Meetse-a-tala community, their ancestral background and previous settlement areas. It allowed me to develop a picture regarding the Meetse-a-tala peoples social-cultural characteristics when they reached Groenwater Location during 1850 (refer to Chapter 1, p. 31).

After the historical picture commenced to develop, I thought it best to find examples of South African displacements by reading the Forced Removals in South Africa Volume 3, which focused on the Western, Northern Cape and the Orange Free State. It allowed me to develop a greater understanding of the events that happened, and the political background related to these episodes (discussed in Chapter 1, p. 42). Another matter that became critical to recognise involved the analysis of the Tswana traditional groups and the way they were set-up during the pre-colonial as well as historical times. Many changes happened within the traditional authority structures because of political circumstances and the way follow up generations coped with new cultural landscapes. The movement of people to a foreign piece of land changed their perceptions related to their traditional customs and the practices associated with these structures.

The research study aimed at providing an insight into the lives of the displaced community and the aftermath of these resettlement events that changed people's lives permanently.

The geographical movements of the Meetse-a-tala people due to displacement provided visual understandings of the displacement impacts on the community.

It was therefore critical to gain a detailed understanding of the kinds of historical developments that may have influenced the decisions made by the Government to displace large groups of people, for example, the diamond or iron ore-mining sector. The role of the colonial government became critical to grasp and the reasons why they made displacement decisions. One of the core themes in the thesis related to land ownership, struggle to recover after displacement and tensions between the different cultural groups that had an impact on the Tswana-speaking settlements in the Northern Cape area.

## **6.2. Summary of the Research Methodology and Profile of the Area**

Returning to my research methodology, I focused on community displacement because of the concern that they feel marginalised since returning to Groenwater Location in 1999 (refer to Chapter 4, p. 108). The discussion points with the community kept on highlighting issues they experienced because of the lack of government support. They showed me all the different places from the grazing land, their living areas and the creche where they expect local government to provide them with funding to maintain their land.

Three key factors started to formalise regarding the challenges the Meetse-a-tala community faced since their return during 1999. The main question began to develop in my mind, and I asked, after all the displacement events experienced by the Meetse-a-tala community, what had changed since their return to Groenwater Location in 1999. I started focusing on the post-displacement characteristics identified during the fieldwork sessions I

undertook between 2010 and 2019, of which the first portion formed part of my career projects (refer to Chapter 4). My next question focused on the position of the post -1994 Government and the support they provided to historically displaced people. These questions guided me to identify a key objective I wanted to fulfil and included an understanding of Government involvement at displaced communities, the post-resettlement stress they experienced and the cultural changes because of it.

An overview of the geographical area presented an understanding of the Meetse-a-tala settlement pattern, which included the use of a 1:50 000 topographical map and Google Earth images. The purpose of the overview chapter was to provide an explanation of the Meetse-a-tala settlement outlook and to create a picture that would allow the reader to understand the ethnography captured during the study.

The understanding of the "old" and the "new" settlements became important to grasp concerning the landownership debates evident in the Northern Cape. The dynamics between the towns called Postmasburg, Kuruman and Danielskuil display an interesting cultural context associated with difficult economic circumstances, limited work and education availabilities. These towns formed part of the displacement events that happened during 1964. As part of the research study, I aimed to develop an understanding of the Metsimanzi settlement where the people from Groenwater Location resettled to during this time. It became important to develop a clear perception of the historical Groenwater Location area, Metsimanzi where the community lived between 1964 and 1999 and the outlook of Groenwater since their return to their ancestral land. These different geographical areas play a key role in understanding the impact of resettlement on the Meetse-a-tala community since 1964.

### **6.3. Summary of Fieldwork Sessions and Analysis Completed**

I used the fieldwork information that formed part of the impact assessments to orientate my research design and support my findings with a literature review. The section below summarises the steps I used to complete the study that allowed me to present my findings and analysis. The conclusion I presented in a format based on the chapter headings I used to plan the research thesis.

#### **a) Study Theme and Fieldwork**

The study theme focused on the displacement of communities within the South African context using the Meetse-a-tala community as a case study. My research started with asking a question of why I studied the Meetse-a-tala community and the objectives I aimed to reach in the research process. As part of my social impact assessment study, the community continued to take me to their ancestral cemetery and repeated to highlight the importance thereof.

Afterwards, when I formally started with the Master's study and I undertook my first fieldwork session, the community again asked me if they could show me the cemetery. During the follow-up fieldwork sessions, I realised that when I visit the settlement, the first step always starts with showing me the graves.

In my final fieldwork session, completed in 2019, I realised the importance lies with the place in which the Meetse-a-tala community feel they originated. During this time, I also realised that the role of the fountain in the close vicinity of the cemetery plays a more

significant part than expected. Subsequently, I commenced developing the Meetse-a-tala thesis around the existence of the fountain and the cemetery.

My 2019 fieldwork also provided me with further insight into the leadership concerns experienced between the traditional governance supporters and the CPA (refer to Chapters 4 and 5). The leadership issues presented a strong link between governance challenges experienced before and after 1964. Since the Meetse-a-tala community suffered displacement during 1964 and returned to Groenwater Location in 1999, the leadership challenges seemed to increase.

#### **b) The Elderly, Conflict between the CPA and the *Kgosi* supporters**

I allocated significant time to understand the role of the elderly in the community and their relationships with the younger generation who live at Groenwater Location. I wanted to understand the reasons the conflict between supporters of the *Kgosi* and the CPA played such an intrinsic role in the daily lives of the Meetse-a-tala community. I aimed to investigate the reasons why a portion of the settlement, mostly comprised of the elderly, broke away from the group who lives at new Groenwater (see Chapter 4, p. 105). I recorded the elders' stories aimed at providing evidence of their ancestral origins and during the fieldwork sessions. The ancestral cemetery became a key topic of discussion during the interviews, and the elders highlighted that their parents lived in the close vicinity of the graves. The fieldwork chapter also aimed to describe the different relationship dynamics between the people from Groenwater Location and the area I refer to as new Groenwater.

The issue between the *Kgosi* and the CPA continued to concern the research that guided me to schedule interviews with both parties. To allow for a real understanding of the conflict between the different groups, I needed to allocate significant time to interview both sides of the Groenwater Location settlement.

### **c) Availability of Informants**

The isolated geographic location of the scattered settlements in the area became complex during fieldwork logistical planning. The availability of key informants had required confirmation, especially with having the *Kgosi* and traditional leaders travelling to attend Government meetings in Kimberley, Postmasburg or Kuruman. The intensity of the land debate issue in the Northern Cape increased and as a result, the involvement of the *Kgosi* escalated. This had a negative impact negatively on his availability to assist me initially with the execution of the research.

The feelings, emotions, and expressions of the informants interviewed I needed to capture using a reasonable manner and describe appropriately. The fieldwork sessions became the core of the thesis and I spent significant time presenting the information in a detailed but ethical manner. Another phenomenon identified during the various field visits highlighted a divide between the old and new generations, which resulted in misunderstandings between the different age groups. As a result, the events of the past separated the two generations geographically and emotionally.

The Meetse-a-tala people always presented a welcoming atmosphere that assisted me in completing the thesis and sharing their experiences as well as frustrations. The Meetse-a-

tala people allowed me to understand the reasons for their continuous struggle to ensure they sustain respect for their cultural traditions, and why they keep fighting for their land. The background of the historical struggles between the different cultural groups played an important role during the shaping of the Meetse-a-tala people's lives and the reasons they struggled to reach an identity of their own.

#### **d) Timeline, Leadership, Key Human Characteristics, Memories**

The Meetse-a-tala displacement events happened in different stages that I needed to logically present and therefore, I developed a specific timeline. The timeline started prior to 1964, 1964, the years between 1964 and 1999, and afterwards. In the timeline, different experiences and events happened that I aimed to group into specific topics inclusive of care for elders, youth study opportunities, employment, the pressure to uphold traditional leadership, motherhood challenges, isolation and lack of integrated leadership.

I decided to analyse data further within the topics mentioned above leadership styles, landownership, geographical locations, gender divide and the Meetse-a-tala community's relation with local government. I needed to determine the specific post-resettlement stresses that people experienced on the ground level, and identified challenges with water, food availability, rail transport, private sector handouts and road transport issues.

The study allowed for the comprehension of the key human attributes with a focus on the Meeste-a-tala people. Some characteristics related to the government structure, traditional authority make-up and meeting places, as well as the role of the elders in the village. The role of the elders became increasingly important because of their cultural-political



influences and decision-making authority during the event of key decisions. The search for identity and symbolism became increasingly critical when the elders attempted to fight for their land and to convince the local authorities of their relevance.

I attempted to record events remembered by people who lived in Groenwater Location during and before 1964. The approach aligned with recording experiences related to cultural beliefs, for example, the water snake and the women at the tree. I also needed to identify any core experiences that reached the heart of the Meetse-a-tala people related to the impacts on their daily lives. To ensure I captured these key emotions I allocated significant time to gain insight by interviewing some of the oldest individuals who lived in the community.

The interviews as described in Chapter 4m provide an insightful storyline related to the memories of the 1964 displacement and the real-life experiences they had. The fieldwork allowed me to reach the meaning of key natural features in the vicinity and the impacts of displacement at the Groenwater Location.

The interviews provided key data in terms of displacement experiences, especially by the older generations, and the memories transferred from the old to the new. The memories created insightful emotions experienced by the Meetse-a-tala community during their return to Groenwater and explained the manner in which the older people associate themselves with the symbolic values. The layout and activities at the settlements presented insightful information as well as understandings of the key issues highlighted in the fieldwork chapter. The comprehensions included experiences remembered during childhood days, storytelling memories, oral history, changes remembered, frustrations and

new challenges developed. The interviews revealed the levels of poverty, land-challenges, government struggles and conflicts between the different cultural groups.

The successful delivery of the thesis focused on the execution of various interviews based on community experiences, emotions and challenges they experience. The community took part actively by providing ongoing opportunities to visit key sites of significant symbolic values. The visits to these various sites opened the door to an understanding of the historical events that played a vital role in the day-to-day lives of the displaced community.

#### **e) Genealogies, Marotobolo Family, CPA**

I apportioned time to develop genealogies of key individuals who aligned with the key historical families that relate to Kgosi Galeshewe, who took part in the Langeberg Rebellion (refer to Chapter 1, p. 35). The link of the current Marotobolo family with the historical traditional leaders played a key role in interpreting the influence of displacement on the traditional leadership at Groenwater Location.

The Meetse-a-tala people feel they must protect their ancestral land after their parents and grandparents suffered extensively to reclaim their properties. The alignment between the traditional supporters and the historical *kgosis* became important to understand.

Subsequently, I moved on to understand the frustrations experienced by the CPA and the increased conflict evident in the area (Refer to Chapter 4, p. 124). The role of the CPA became a key factor in the lives of the Meetse-a-tala people, and one cannot understand the cultural dynamics without interpreting their role. The CPA played a key part, in my

understanding, in the reasons why certain events occurred after the return to Groenwater Location during 1999. The CPA continues to play a key role in the leadership dynamics at Groenwater, especially with the fear that they may lose their administrative role.

#### **f) Emotions of Neglect by the Elderly, Young Generation and the CPA**

The interviews highlighted emotions of neglect by the older generations, especially after the local government indicated their preference to focus on the development of new Groenwater. These emotions resulted in the elderly especially presenting emotions of diverse frustrations regarding the way they receive treatment from local government. Subsequently, they started to oppose visiting the new Groenwater area to attend any meetings scheduled to take place at the community centre. Besides this, the elderly felt particularly deserted because of limited support provided by the Government to assist them with basic living needs, for example food and transport.

The younger generation, as mentioned earlier in the thesis, showed their frustrations with challenges related to employment, education and availability of recreational opportunities to keep them motivated (refer to Chapter 4, p. 110). Their frustrations revert to the limited support they feel should come from Government.

Finally, the CPA feels frustrated because they attempt to manage Groenwater according to rules set out during their return in 1999. When a portion of the community broke away from their leadership, this began creating additional challenges for them. The divide between the Meetse-a-tala people because of leadership challenges became one of the key points in developing the thesis (refer to Chapters 4 and 5).

#### **6.4. Study Limitation**

My studies encountered various limitations, which I would like to highlight in this section. My initial research pertaining to the Meetse-a-tala community started with my primary involvement as a social and heritage practitioner to provide support to the Groenwater Location Solar Farm development during 2010. During this time, I also received a permanent appointment to assist with a resettlement project located in Kathu, Northern Cape.

The distances between Groenwater and my project location in Kathu involved an average distance of 60km. Due to the intensity of the resettlement project in which I became involved, I struggled to find additional time to travel to Kuruman, which involved another 60km to reach the site. Travel distances and time between my project responsibilities offered me limited opportunities to include Metsimanzi as part of my field sessions.

Another limitation I struggled with was financial availability to include additional travelling and stayover accommodation in my fieldwork sessions. I therefore focused on Groenwater Location and the neighbouring municipal area to undertake my study. During my research, I worked as a permanent employee between 2010 and 2018, which affected my ability to find additional time to allocate extended site visits. I worked as a social and heritage practitioner as part of diverse smaller impact assessment projects, provided input into community sustainable development programmes, undertook the role as a social scientist and assisted with social impact assessments. These diverse roles had an impact on my ability to allocate extended time to travel to Mothibistad or Northern Kuruman and I aimed to focus on key informant or community meeting availabilities.

Another limitation related to the availability of some members of the Meetse-a-tala community. Key informants travel to Postmasburg, Kimberley and Kuruman on a regular basis for work or community meeting attendance purposes. During some circumstances even after confirmation of a site visit, individuals could not attend the interviews.

## **6.5. Conclusion**

In summary, the research I completed at Groenwater allowed me to develop an intense understanding of the replacement events that affected the lives of the Meetse-a-tala people. Historically, the Meetse-a-tala people originated in the time of Headman Kweetsane at Groenwater Location located next to a fountain. The meaning of Groenwater, which literally means green, allowed for the development of a unique cultural and symbolic environment that formed the lives of the Meetse-a-tala people.

The original Groenwater Location before 1964 presented a place where the community could keep their cattle, plant and live in an environment surrounded by resources. The diamond prospectors, the discovery of diamonds and the development of the surrounding mines changed their lives forever. The community were forced to pack their goods and be transported in Government trucks to an unknown environment they called Metsimanzi. These challenging experiences the community faced, losing their ancestral land, the suffering of their animals and arrival at a settlement not conducive to human living created memories they cannot forget.

The subsequent return to their ancestral land and the shock they experienced with the shattering of their dreams when they realised that the return presented other challenges.

These challenges aligned with smaller land, limited living areas, inadequate grazing areas for their animals, broken infrastructure and limited water access created emotions of dismay. The community cried for the land they originally had and displayed emotions of frustrations. The friction that developed between themselves and the Government increased their frustrations of being placed aside without any assistance. The increased leadership challenges, the divide between support to traditional leadership, youth challenges and daily living issues affected the Meetse-a-tala community's wellbeing.

Looking at the current circumstance of the Meetse-a-tala people, it reminds me of the Cernea resettlement model discussed in Chapter 1. The community felt marginalised, landless, morbid and disarrayed (Cernea, 2000: 3662). In summary, the Government's lack of interest to assist displaced communities has resulted in diverse cultural and survival concerns that keep growing. The post-resettlement stress as experienced by the people from Groenwater increases daily and escalates to concerns within the community. Besides the continuous frustrations within the Meetse-a-tala community, they experienced a geographic divide that made them lose their original identity.

To allow the community to return to a sense of worth and wellbeing, assistance is needed to support them in terms of land availability, leadership challenges, employment, transport, infrastructure support, youth development and elderly care. Cohesion between the different groups located at Groenwater Location and new Groenwater can only amend with intervention from the Government.

Some key support factors relate to the agreement of land use in terms of agricultural and living land, improved relations between the CPA and the traditional leadership supporters.

Improved assistance to people who have no housing, or limited water access and no schooling. Continuous support is required for the young people from Groenwater to enable them reach their life goals and develop careers for themselves.

I conclude this thesis by saying that the displacement experiences of 1964 reached a much higher impact than originally thought, and can only be rectified with the assistance from local government as well as the industries situated in the area.

## CHAPTER 7: BIBLIOGRAPHY

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