Izit? Hoe lyk hulle? Kom ons ǂXoa –

A South African Khoe-San narrative

Thesis submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

at Rhodes University

by

SHARON GABIE

December 2022

Supervisor: Prof Joy Owen

Abstract

The foundation of the South African narrative is framed by identity politics; a politics instituted at the intersection of race and class to exclude all people considered non-White concerning the socioeconomic and political landscape of the country. The preamble of the Freedom Charter signed in 1955 declared that the country belongs to all who live in it: Black and White people. The dominant constructivist narratives of addressing the racial dichotomy obliterate the injustice suffered by the Khoe-San people whose identity was overshadowed under the homogeneous term, Coloured people. Following the first democratic elections, at the negotiations of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) in 1996, Khoe-San people were once again excluded and played no significant role in deciding the future of the new South Africa. The epistemic injustice suffered by the Khoe-San people, the loss of land, language, and cultural heritage were glanced over in the new democratic dispensation. In this thesis, I hone into the identity politics and identity formation of the Khoe-San people, after 1994. The self-identifying Khoe-San people became visible to the democratic state through various forms of activism and networking across provinces foregrounding the concept of indigeneity to address issues of exclusion and marginalisation. The phenomenon of indigeneity, bestowed on Khoe-San people by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP) created a path for the Khoe-San people to be in conversation with state organs to address their plight of the loss of land linked to identity, language, culture, heritage, and other social ills experienced in their communities. The thesis illustrates the vagueness of Coloured identity under the Apartheid state, and the preconceived narrative that Coloured people were a privileged group; precludes and obliterates the epistemic injustice suffered by Khoe-San people. The transnational conceptualisation and global politics of indigenous peoples; the particularity of indigeneity in relation to First Nation Status, in the South African context, destabilises identity politics and the four-tier racial categorisation system used by the Apartheid state carried through by the national government under democracy. The conceptualisation of this global discourse on indigeneity brought a new consciousness in sections of the Coloured community where self-identifying Khoe-San people question their place in the democratic dispensation.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to Rhodes University, Eastern Cape, South Africa. The thesis has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other university. The thesis does not contain, to the best of my knowledge and belief, any material published or written by another person except as acknowledged in the text.

Signed at: Rhodes University

Place: Makhanda

Date: 5 December 2022

Declaration of Professional Editing

Sonja Bräsler
Member of the Professional Editors' Guild South Africa

(27) 071 365 4495
sonjabrasler@gmail.com

12 Mons Avenue
Claremont
Cape Town
7708
15 December 2021

Department of Anthropology: Khoe-San Politics and Indigenous Claims
Faculty of Humanities
Rhodes University
Makhanda
6140

To whom it may concern

Professional Grammar and Language Edit

I hereby certify that I, Sonja Bräsler, tended to the professional language-editing, proofreading and presentation of the thesis of Sharon Gabie to the best of my professional knowledge and ability, without compromising the integrity of her research, or the style in which it was presented. This also serves to also indemnify me from any issues relating to plagiarism as I did not have access to the student's resource material.

The thesis was called *Izit? Hoe lyk hulle? Kom ons ǂXoa– A South African Khoe-San narrative* and this was submitted in fulfilment of the degree Doctor of Philosophy at Rhodes University.

Yours faithfully

Sonja Bräsler

Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
BC	Black Consciousness
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
DBE	Department of Basic Education
DRDLR	Department of Rural Development and Land Reform
FC	Freedom Charter
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ILO	International Labour Organisation
LCC	Land Claims Commission
NHTL	National House of Traditional Leaders
NP	National Party
PanSALB	Pan South African Language Board
SACOD	South African Congress of Democrats
SACPO	South African Coloured People's Organisation
SAIC	South African Indians Congress
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TKLB	Traditional Khoe-San Leadership Bill
UN	United Nations
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
USA	Union of South Africa
USA	United States of America

Acknowledgements

The topic I chose to research necessitated me to take an unconventional research approach for which I needed a constant flow of resources. I am thankful for the financial assistance of the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences (NIHSS), in collaboration with the South African Humanities Deans Association (SAHUDA) towards this research and I hereby acknowledge their contribution. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at are those of the author and are not necessarily attributed to the NIHSS or SAHUDA.

I would like to thank Rhodes University for awarding me the Deans Discretionary fund for editing the thesis.

Doing fieldwork was filled with many good memories, laughter, deep discussions on societal issues, and meeting kind and caring people as I crisscrossed parts of four different provinces in the country. I met with and talked to artists, radio and TV presenters who gave me the brief opportunity to get their views on the topic that I am researching. Saying thank you does not begin to describe the impact their words had on my life, nor can it express my gratitude to each one who contributed to making this thesis a success deepening my knowledge of the state of identity politics in South Africa. Wherever I went, I was met with enthusiastic people, full of life and hope for a better tomorrow and a better future for their children and family, no matter what their circumstances were. I am forever grateful to all the people whom I met and had conversations with, who let me into their lives, opening their hearts and homes to speak of issues of identity and sharing both the good and bad parts of their lives with me.

However, I do feel the urge to note down a few names and briefly discuss the role that these individuals played during my continuous fieldwork. Ms Letitia Petersen, from the day we met in 2011, our friendship grew, and you have been central to my research journey. The endless talks we had over the phone and our meeting in person when I was in Johannesburg was tremendously helpful. You always ensured that I get to pass the gatekeepers and informing me of all planned activities for the Khoe-San groups made you invaluable to the research.

Mr Mapanka, a.k.a. Kai Meester, oh! Kai Meester, you are a gentle giant, soft-spoken yet firm and assertive. Thank you for making sure I received numerous invitations to the many meetings where the issues of language for the Khoe-San groups were discussed. When I look at my passport, seeing the first stamp of international travel, I attach your bright smile to that stamp.

The road trip to Namibia and the memories will forever be inscribed in my mind and on my body.

To the late Chief Mathysen, my mentor, my friend, your spirit will forever dwell in my heart. You shared your dreams and visions with me. I can only hope that the people who took the baton after your passing will make those visions come to fruition.

To Katrina Esau a.k.a. Ouma Geelmeid, *aio*[1] for your kindness and openness to allow me into your home where I could observe the difficulties faced of reviving the N/uulanguage and your desire to find a space in a whirl wind of daily challenges.

To Khadijah Heeger and Kiersten Chace, *Aio*! You helped me grasp the complexities of dealing with identity politics by allowing me access to your work.

To David van Wyk, *Aio*! You helped me grapple with the complexities of dealing with different structures in the endeavours for recognition of the San group you affiliate to under the House of N‖ngǂe to and the larger struggle of recognition of Khoe-San people.

To Charles Tieties, Ma Sensi, Ma Gooi, Linah Sigeni, Paul Swartbooi, Petrus Vaalbooi (a.k.a. Oom Fallie), the late Chief Steenkamp, Erica Dawids, Lionel Dawids, Leonard Gewers also known as Boetles, Immaculata Uwuses also known as Blaartjie, Phillip Williams, Gordon Cassim, Chief White, John Van Rooyen, Jerome Lottering, Chief Taaibosch, the late Dr Leonard Martin, Dee Martin, the late Chief Glen Bennett, Blossie Ojo, Christian Martin, Crawford Frazer, Pastor Bekkies, //Ohore (Mogammed) Blouw and the many other people whom I encountered in the field, *Aio*! for sharing your stories with me. All of your contributions made the thesis and the arguments herein rich; without each of you and the many people I met, formulating such elaborate ways of thinking about the human condition would not have been possible, *Aio*!

To Chief Jean Burgess, King Khoisan SA, Sylvia Kleintjies and Regine Trigardt, *Aio*! as you agreed to be guest speakers addressing the first year Anthropology students in 2017. My opportunity to lecture coincided with the tenth anniversary since the signing of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Your presence in the first year

[1] Aio is spelled with a lowercase a without an exclamation mark (aio) in the N/uu language means thank you. In Khoekhoegowab the same word is written with a capital letter and an exclamation mark: Aio! which means thank you and Kai aios! means thank you very much.

Anthropology class in was invaluable. You painted a picture to the students making them aware of the struggles faced by the descendants of the first indigenous people in South Africa and also globally. The issues you addressed of inequality and injustices done to the indigenous people of the country surely left an indelible mark on the first-year students of 2017. As a class we were honoured to listen to you speak; a seed of consciousness and mindfulness was planted in me and the students on that day. Sylvia and Regine, speaking as young women to students about your challenges placed a spotlight on the struggles that indigenous youth face in the country that is not a discussion on the table for indigenous youth development in South Africa is a non-factor. During colonialism and Apartheid, the system of education was structured to favour the agenda of the different governments of the time. In the post-Apartheid era, as a result of the non-recognition of the indigenous Khoe-San people no provision is made to accommodate the education of the indigenous people, as the approach to basic education and secondary education in the public sector is a one size fits all approach. No provision is made for any kind of accommodation of indigenous education in the country.

To Ms Nichole de Vos in the postgraduate office and Karen Kouari in the Faculty of Humanities, I am forever grateful for all your help with the administrative forms I had to complete and submit to the NIHSS.

To the NIHSS mentors, Professor Hendricks, Professor Maylam and Professor Kishor Raga, ***Kai aios***! for all your advice and guidance at the writing retreats, workshops and conferences arranged to help Doctoral candidates.

To my fellow PhD students, Dr Joy Joseph, Dr Cecilia Nedziwe, Dr Robert Maseko, Dr Brilliant Xaba, Dr Fernand Mbwangi and all the other NIHSS Doctoral candidates with whom I shared intense intellectual conversations, I say thank you for being there to listen, unpack and work through pressing arguments as I formulated my understanding about the subject.

To the staff in the Department of Anthropology, *Aio*! Des Bekker, you are the lifeblood of the department. I remember when I first made enquiries about doing a PhD at Rhodes, your friendly voice was my first introduction to life in Grahamstown. We conversed in Afrikaans and I could brush up on speaking Afrikaans, which seldom happened in the spaces I found myself. We laughed together, I could speak about personal and family issues to you, and you were there to give motherly advice. Thank you for being the person that you are, warm and friendly.

To Professor de Wet, Professor Cocks, Professor Aswani, Dr Hayward, Dr Santos, and Ms Shaik, *Aio*! for your presence in my journey, for the intellectual discussions over a cup of coffee and for offering words of encouragement.

To Dr Henderson, you played such a critical role in developing my thinking around issues of politics and performance of identity in contemporary South Africa. Thank you for the books you gifted me to build my small library and for always listening to me as I rambled on about the thesis while I tried to make sense of it all, in your office, over a cup of coffee, away from the office, or just in passing.

Maya Angelou said, "I come as one, but I stand as 10 000". I stand on the shoulders of giants seen and unseen, known and unknown. I drew strength from prayers my mother prayed to intercede and make my journey safe as I travelled across the provinces. Although by her own admission she did not always understand what I was talking about, she nevertheless prayed for my body to carry me through whatever had I put my mind to.

To my family and friends, near and far, Mamokoena Mokoena a.k.a. Meme, the Gabie clan, Bessie, Jennifer, Delano, Nazli and Bianca, Dr Ivo Ngade, Andrea Johnson, Charles Human, Johnny Mouers, , Sipho Mdanda, Joshua Matanzima, Advocate Thulani Nkosi, Professor Hlanganani Tutu, the late Professor Alexius Amtaika, Shaun Dunn, Suzette Swartz, Goldi Samuels, Remona Klaas, Zimasa Burns-Ncamashe, Pinkie Manneville, you all kept me strong by sending messages of encouragement, a quick phone call to find out about my wellbeing, and positive affirmations when I felt drained and tired, you kept me strong. For that, I thank you ever so graciously.

As a PhD candidate, without the support of people, you are a lost soul. The journey is not easy. Not by a long stretch of the imagination. Kobby Sogbaka, I appreciate you. When things started to unravel and I was displaced and had no money to pay for accommodation in the last three months before submitting the thesis, you came through for me in my hour of need. I will forever be grateful for all you did for me, Kai aios!

To my editor, Sonja Bräsler, you left me speechless with your open-handedness and compassion for the craft of editing. I will forever be grateful for all you have done for me, ***Kai aios!*** Sonja.

To my supervisor, Professor Joy Owen, the journey of doing the PhD would not have materialised had you not been a part of it. There were times that I felt that I just want to give

up. In 2015, I returned to Grahamstown determined to deregister from the programme after my health had suffered a blow. I was ready to revert to my old life, to go back to the company that had offered me a permanent job and what looked like an attractive salary at the time. I stopped believing in myself and what I can do and achieve. But you, Professor Joy Owen, in your role as my supervisor and mentor, saw potential in me. You gently pushed me to be the best I can be. Just as I thought I was crossing the finish line, I suffered another blow to my health and there you were, ready to make it all better in so many ways, always encouraging me, "we are almost there, we are almost crossing the finish line". Looking back and reflecting on my journey, I must admit that it has been exhausting on all levels, physically, mentally, and spiritually but to have a person of your character and calibre in my corner, Professor Owen, made the road ahead seem much clearer and brighter. You kept pointing to the light that is ahead, shining brightly as your contagious laughter lit the room to make any sad situation bearable. Today, I can proudly say, ***Kai aios*****!** for not allowing me to quit. ***Kai aios*****!** for your words of encouragement, kindness and inspiration, for taking time to laugh with me, while your schedule was hectically busy, to reassure me everything will be fine. ***Kai aios*****!** for everything that you have done for me and by extension for my family. Their lives will be richer because you encouraged me to be the best I can be, ***Kai aios*****!** Professor Owen**.**

Table of Contents

Abstract ..... **i**

Declaration ..... **ii**

Declaration of Professional Editing ..... **iii**

Abbreviations ..... **iv**

Acknowledgements ..... **v**

Table of Contents ..... **x**

Preface ..... **xv**

Introduction and Overview **1**

Part I: **15**

Identity Politics, Global Indigenous Movement and Khoe-San people **15**

Chapter ONE **15**

Background and Setting the Scene *15*

Rationale for the study 15

Dichotomies are Blurry 17

Negotiating Identity 20

Research Questions 23

Conclusion 23

Chapter TWO **25**

Historical background of contact with colonisers: The San and Khoe people **25**

Deprived and dispossessed *25*

Khoe-San encounters with colonialists: Categorising and labelling people *27*

These oppressions won't cease *29*

Conclusion 43

Chapter THREE **45**

Fieldwork and Research Reflections **45**

Fieldwork *45*

Research Setting 45

Research Methods and Techniques 48

Ethics in indigenous research 61

Challenges and limitations of multi-sited fieldwork 64

Positionality, Reflection and Reflexivity *66*

Positionality of the researcher 66

Reflexivity and Reflection – My family story *68*

Conclusion 77

Part II: **78**

Khoe-San Winds of Change post-1994 ..... **78**

Introduction *78*

Chapter FOUR **81**

Conceptual Framework – Identity politics and indigeneity **81**

Indigeneity: A contested concept *81*

Breathing life into indigenous issues 85

An attempt at defining indigeneity 86

Constructing an Indigenous Identity – Self-Identification? 90

Recognition and belonging 94

The South African Human Rights Commission 96

Conclusion 103

Chapter FIVE **105**

Becoming Indigenous in a Time of Precarity **105**

ǂXuu-nology: The ǂxuu – Katrina Esau, aka Ouma Geelmeid *105*

The ǂxuu making her wishes known for the Khoe-San movement 122

The first-year anniversary: Celebrations in the presence of officials 125

Language in Action *132*

Language Revivalism – A global perspective 132
Language as a Marker of Social Difference 138
Language as a tool of Communication 144
Language and Identity 145
The Language Project *149*
The N/uu language - Toxoba huia si #xoaki 149
Can indigenous languages be revived in South Africa? 152
NIuu language – A fifteen-year project 154
The Language Conference, Networking and Technology *162*
The Road to Namibia 165
All initiatives leading to language revivalism 168
Growing pains and 'Baby Mamma Drama' 174
Conclusion 175
Part III: 178
Toa Tama !Khams ge – The Struggle Continues 178
Introduction *178*
Chapter SIX 179
A March for Freedom: A call for Recognition – Contesting a precarious identity 179
Contesting the Coloured identity: We are Khoe-San not Coloured *179*
The shackles of a precarious category *196*
The Negotiations 199
The Indigenous Women in South Africa: The Indigenous Women's Conference *204*
The Discussions 205
Conclusion 210
Chapter SEVEN 212
Indigeneity through mapping belonging and identity politics on animal skin: The process of *brei-ing* 212
A short history of the fur trade *212*
Preparing animal skin – A skillful art *216*
The Kalahari Desert Festival 216

The process of the *brei* of the animal skin 218
The Skirt – The product of a skillful art 221
Fur Trade – A timeless economic industry *225*
Conclusion 229

Chapter EIGHT 231

The Elusive Struggle – Land and Belonging 231

Land a Common Hunger – Whose Land is it Anyway? *231*
The Liberation Struggle 235
A Metaphor: Recognition and Belonging 236
Rights in Land *237*
Funerial practices among the Khoe-San people 247
Experiencing 'loss' in the field 248
A sad return to the Kalahari 249
Chief Mathysen – A dream deferred *250*
The Burial 252
Conclusion 255

Part IV: 257

The Future of Indigeneity in South Africa? 257

Introduction *257*

Chapter NINE 261

Indigeneity in South Africa: What is at stake? 261

The South African Constitution and Traditional Leaders *261*
Redefining Identity Politics: A Sense of Belonging *263*
The South African Government and the Four-tier Classification System *264*
Indigeneity and Visibility *264*
Conclusion 266

Chapter 10 267

Conclusion and Research Findings 267

Research Findings *270*
Shortcomings of the Study 273
Contribution to Academic Theory 273

Bibliography 274

Appendices 289

Appendix A: Statistical Table *289*

Appendix B - Statistical Table *290*

Appendix C *291*

Appendix D *292*

Preface

The title of the thesis, '*Izit, Hoe lyk hulle? Kom ons* ǂXoa – A South African Khoe-San Narrative' is a play on words. It invites the reader into the use of language and is meant to evoke a response to the current debates in South Africa about identity politics of the groups self-identifying as Khoe-San. The playful use of words from the Afrikaans[2] and English languages illustrates the neglect of developing Khoe-San languages during colonialism and Apartheid that shaped and changed the lives of Khoe-San people, linguistically. These two languages also brought together a spectrum of people across the racial divide. By incorporating the word "ǂXoa", a San/Bushmen word in the N/uu language meaning to talk/speak in the title of the thesis, I foreground the revival of one of the San/Bushmen languages, one of the oldest languages, where there is only one fluent speaker by the name of Katrina Esau. The study highlights the challenges of language revivalism between the N/uu and the Nama languages. The Nama people are a branch under the Khoe groups as discussed in the introduction of the thesis (Shah and Brenzinger, 2016:109).

The title has a threefold connotation. The word *Izit* is a colloquial expression, loosely translated meaning 'really?', that Coloured Afrikaans speakers adapted and made part of their localised speech. The meaning of the word as used here asks, are you sure of what you are saying about people, about us (concerning self-identification of Khoe-San people)? The word *Izit* is also indicative of the intra-conversations Khoe-San members have with each other, the conversations with other members engaged by this study across the four provinces, and the various conversations and debates with people from different backgrounds as well as the government.

Hoe lyk hulle? Individuals who affiliate as Khoe-San members speaking the hybridised Afrikaans language[3] use this phrase to ask about each other's wellbeing. It is a short phrase that opens a conversation allowing the person responding to share any information about their life or the state they find themself in or to say anything that sits heavily on their mind.

---

[2] The Afrikaans language is not only spoken by the Afrikaner community in South Africa. It is also spoken by the people legally classified as Coloured people and this includes those who now self-identify as Khoe-San. Historically, Afrikaans and English were the dominant languages, therefore many South African Black people also speak or understand Afrikaans.

[3] Many of those who identify as Khoe-San people from the Coloured community, who speak the Afrikaans language, would probably understand the lingo.

Kom ons ǂXoa is a phrase that uses Afrikaans and Bushmen words. The word *ǂXoa* is a Bushmen word meaning to talk, to speak, to have the conversation. The Afrikaans phrases *Kom ons* acts as an invitation with *Kom* meaning 'come' and *ons* meaning 'we' in English. The phrase *Kom ons ǂXoa* therefore invites the government to have the conversation, bringing them in 'proximity' to the people, where the Khoe-San people can raise the issues of their exclusion and invisibilisation from the South African narrative. The word *ǂXoa* is also representative of the 'illusive symbolism' of the */Xam* language, one of the many dialects of the San/Bushmen people, that is found imprinted on the coat of arms, on many official documents and in government buildings. Ironically, this language is proclaimed as extinct; according to Ellis (2019:300) the language no longer exists except in "doculects" which are texts in written form and in archives; with no speakers of the language. The paradox is that, although this language is used on the coat of arms in the democratic dispensation and transcends national and international boundaries as a symbol representing the country and its diversity, its very descendants are not recognized as a people in South Africa. This symbol is seen on individual passports, identity documents, official letterheads, and the monetary system of the country.

The last part of the title refers to the global phenomenon of indigeneity and the meaning thereof in the context of southern Africa, with a focus on South Africa, post-1994. The use of the terms 'indigenous peoples', 'indigeneity' or 'autochthonous people' refers to a 'particular people' who were found in a certain locale at the point of contact when colonisation occurred. The colonial encounter was an onslaught on indigenous peoples' daily existence and their lives, invading their ancestral land and stripping them of other forms of generating sustainable livelihoods, their wealth creation, their dignity, and their well-being (Lee, 2003; Uddin, Gerharz and Chakkarath, 2018).

The South African debate among the Khoe-San people and some government departments on the meaning of indigeneity entered the public sphere in the early 1990s after the transition from Apartheid to democracy (Oomen, 2005; De Wet, 2006). The definition of the term 'indigenous person or peoples' is a challenge and, although it is a useful concept, its application, concerning the first point of contact with colonisers varies contextually (Igoe, 2006; Kuper, 2003; Niezen, 2003; Robins, 2001*b*). Therefore, the context in which indigenous claims are made is central to these claims succeeding. In this thesis, I look at the claims to indigeneity post-1994, in South

Africa. The term 'indigenous' or 'indigeneity'[4] is a new phenomenon in the context of many African states, including South Africa. The concept entered the political space as an already established concept used by indigenous scholars, human rights lawyers and activists addressing claims made by indigenous peoples globally.

[4] There are many discussions and debates about the meaning and relevance of the term of indigenous people and in the context of southern Africa and South Africa, those who self-identify as descendants of the Khoe-San people are claiming this ethnic identity and status. I deal at length with this concept of indigeneity in chapter four.

Introduction and Overview

Pityana (2006) writes of his thoughts at the opening of parliament on the 8th May 1996, listening to the *I am African Speech* delivered by the then Deputy President, Thabo Mbeki, reflecting on the poem as he listened to it sitting in the gallery in parliament, stating

> As I observed the Statement [it made no] moral judgment on the past; it did not dwell on the history of oppression since a succession of European coloni[s]ers and settlers set foot on our shores; it did not rage against some 50 years of atrocious apartheid minority rule in our country … It made no statement about the circumstances for the near total extermination of the indigenous San and Kho[e] people, and the subsequent relentless campaign to rob them of any kind of national identity. (Pityana, 2006:2–3)

Pityana (2006) aptly observed that since colonisation under the Dutch and British governments where a unique settler state was formed, the Khoe-San resisted colonial encroachment and defended the land. In the abstract to this thesis, I referred to San and Khoe people to acknowledge the place of the San people as the first people to roam the southern tip of Africa before the Khoe people. The San/Bushmen groups in South Africa are inclusive of the Khomani San, the Khung and the Khwe groups (the latter two groups live in Platfontein in the Northern Cape).

The Khoe groups are inclusive of the Griqua, Nama, Korana and Cape Khoe groupings and various other names used in the context of South Africa. In other parts of the continent like Namibia, Botswana and parts of Angola, the San/Bushmen groups call themselves by various other names. The term Khoisan was coined in the 1920s by Leonard Schultze, a German Anthropologist, as a unilateral expression that boxes the San and Khoe as a homogenous group of people. This was taken up in the work of Isaac Schapera in the 1930s, from where the term Khoisan circulated in academia. However, the use of the term Khoe-San indicates that these are in fact two separate groups of people and not a homogenous group of people. The term refers to both the pastoralist Khoikhoi (Khoekhoe) and the hunter-gatherer San whom the colonialists called Bushmen (Legassick, 1989). Various authors use different spelling rules to refer to this group of people. For example, Besten (2006) uses the spelling of Khoe-San, using a hyphen and replacing the ‘i’ with an ‘e’. In the works of Ulrich (2016) and Ross (2017) the

term Khoesan is used, another form which suggests lumping the two groups together. The hyphen, as used by Besten, represents the space in-between that separates the two terms to indicate that these are two different peoples.

According to Aoki (1996), writing in relation to the insider-outsider binary, the role of the hyphen is to conjoin words representing "a dwelling space for people" where the "hyphen acts as a third space, a space between, a space of paradox, ambiguity, and ambivalence, as well as conjunction and disjunction" (Aoki, 1996, cited in Dwyer and Buckle, 2009:60). Using Aoki's conceptualisation of the hyphen as suggestive of the inner operations of those who self-identify as Khoe-San, the hyphen represents that space that cannot be filled with certainty, particularly where the conceptualisation of identity and the reality of identity politics are concerned. The hyphen allows for 'play' and constructive engagement of the concept of indigeneity in relation to the Khoe-San people. The hyphen is also indicative of the many relations Khoe-San had with other ethnic groups through intermarriages, where the middle ground of familial relations is neither debated, nor publicly discussed when one speaks of the concept of 'indigeneity' in the context of South Africa. The 'third space' becomes part of the narrative that people may or may not speak about as the concept of 'indigeneity' is attached to individual rules and interpretations.

Throughout this thesis, except in the Abstract where I use the terminology as San and Khoe, I refer to the groups as Khoe-San. The South African debate on indigeneity took shape post-1994. I align my work with Besten (2006) and the contemporary use of the term Khoe-San, to indicate the separation of the groups where the Khoe groups refer to the Cape Khoe, the Griqua, the Nama, and the Korana people (subdivided into many other lineages); and the San/Bushman people refer to a separate group of people (also subdivided into many different lineages) in the respective places where they reside. However, when issues of Khoe-San are addressed in the country, on a global and national or local platform, the groups named above are called Khoe-San making up five groups as noted in chapter four. As individuals self-identify, members in the Khoe-San revivalist movement identify as belonging to either one of these groups.

As stated above the Khoe-San resisted colonial encroachment and defended the land. However, their role in the building of the current South African state, formed after 1994, is ignored, as to their presence (McKaiser (2017) and Tafira (2016). McKaiser (2017) states that those who experienced the onslaught of colonialism are no longer part of society. McKaiser (2017) argues that, in modern-day South Africa, those people responsible for the suffering of South Africans

under Apartheid are in proximity and can therefore be held accountable for what happened during this era. An example of this accountability is demonstrated by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) that was held in the country where family members could find closure by listening to testimonies of perpetrators of hideous Apartheid crimes. Imagining the same example of a TRC for the descendants of the Khoe-San people is highly unlikely and near impossible as the colonisers, the Dutch and the British, have left the shores of southern Africa and are in their respective countries (Khoisan, 2001). There are however attempts to bring back the remains of Khoe-San people who were taken from the country as exhibits in human zoos or as specimens for scientific research as in the case of Sarah Baartman (Abrahams, 2003). The human remains of Sarah Baartman were repatriated; "she is home now, and buried on August 9, 2002, with due honours and respect" after centuries of exhibition in a museum that ended in France (Abrahams, 2003:24). There was also the case of the repatriation of Dawid Stuurman, a Khoe man who died in Austria over 200 years ago. In his case a 'spiritual repatriation' was completed and he [was] buried in the Eastern Cape" in 2017 (Communication with the ex-Member of Parliament Christian Martin, a Khoe-San activist, 2017). In both instances of repatriation, the negotiations were between sovereign independent states and not between the descendants of the Khoe-San people, unlike in the Apartheid TRC process, where families could come face to face with the offenders of Apartheid crimes.

With the inability to have a TRC-like forum for Khoe-San one can ask, "who is held accountable for the epistemic injustice, a complete denial of the atrocities suffered by the Khoe-San people in relation to the loss of their languages, their identity, and a legal standing in society? Currently Khoe and San peoples are not recognized in South Africa's census, literally marginalising their existence even further in the 'new' South Africa. The country is still in the grips of an archaic colonial system of labelling and classification imported to South Africa with the colonial powers.

Following the democratic election in 1994, the old race classification systems of the Apartheid government remained in place. The newly elected government under the rule of the African National Congress (ANC) did not think anew of identity politics in the country which the Apartheid government used to legally subdue and prescribe to people who they are, stratifying the socio-economic lives of whole communities according to the racial stratification system (Maré, 2014). For example, a leading unionist, Tony Ehrenreich, former leader of the Congress of South African Trade Union (Cosatu) in the Western Cape came out strongly in 2018, writing

an open letter to President Ramaphosa, in his personal capacity. In the letter he requested for the removal of the term Coloured, and for it to be replaced with the term Camissa. According to the newspaper report and various other social media outlets, Mr Ehrenreich addressed issues of the "de-Africanisation of Coloured people" who experienced the same suffering as wrought through the African experience of colonialism and Apartheid. Mr Ehrenreich continues saying that "the effect of this marginalisation is leading to the fragmentation of the Coloured Community, and [a] host of societal and political challenges that [they] have seen [referring to his time in office at Cosatu]"[5]. A similar example is that of a teacher from Oudtshoorn, in the Western Cape, who completed an application for work and ticked on the form that he is an African. The man nearly lost his livelihood. He was charged with fraud as he was accused of misrepresenting himself as an 'African' and not as a Coloured person.[6] The stratification of society along racial lines of White, Indian, Coloured and African people, where the latter three groups were considered as non-Whites created a deep socio-psychological rift that continues into contemporary society in South Africa. South Africans still see each other through the prism of the four-tier racial classification system, obscuring the familial relations between Khoe-San people and South African Black people as shown in the work of Legassick (2016) and Laband (2020).

An interesting observation of the current South African state is the question of decolonisation of identity politics. Will identity politics in South Africa ever be able to decolonise? If so, what will this process look like? The debate on indigeneity is currently concentrated in the Khoe-San circles. However, some members in the Khoe-San groups have familial relations with South African Black[7] people who claim their lineage to Khoe-San people. This ancestry was

[5] J Boud, 2018. Tony Ehrenreich wants the term '[C]oloured' be replaced with 'Camisa'. https://www.iol.co.za/news/ehrenreich-to-ramaphosa-stop-calling-us-coloureds-17160559.

[6] F Villette. 2020. Teacher charged over 'African' claims on CV picking up pieces of 'difficult journey'. https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/news/teacher-charged-over-african-claims-on-cv-picking-up-pieces-of-difficult-journey-8446c008-0a2b-4adc-90e2-eb227b47297d. The debate on classification has gained traction through the activism of this teacher and there is the possibility that the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) will discuss the issue of Coloured identity on a national level. At the time of completing the amendments to the thesis the NCOP discussion is on the table.

[7] I intentionally avoid the use of the term Black African. The term is loaded with many connotations and beliefs. The term Black African is an exclusionary term. It creates dualism, especially in South Africa, where the term tends to be very specific when there is a reference to Black in general and African in particular (Turok, 2014).

not previously acknowledged and this forms part of the crux of a decolonised thinking of social relations between individuals in the South African populace as discussed in this thesis.

The legality and implementation of the classification system used by the Apartheid government successfully managed to conceal and deny people the opportunity to explore their identity. The denial of individual identity through stratification and the classification system affected the group of people known in the country as the Coloured people in particular. In concealing the identity of a heterogenous group of people, Mellet (2020) notes that "Africans with over 195 roots of origin … were labelled 'Coloured'" (Mellet, 2020:271). The homogenous classification Coloured not only denied this group of people a chance to explore their roots linked to the Khoe and San people, but it also robbed those so classified of their connection to the land, language, and cultural heritage. The colonial and Apartheid governments' 'cookie cutter' ideology of identity politics successfully concealed other forms of familial relations between groups of people in South Africa.

In the new dispensation, Coloured people who claim Khoe and San ancestry are simultaneously claiming indigeneity raising questions to the current state about their place in South African society. Like with the predecessors of the current state, the issue of identity politics of the people who became known as Coloured people has been ignored. Through affiliating with and claiming an indigenous identity, which was made possible through the transnational global politics on indigenous issues, those self-identifying as Khoe-San challenge the Apartheid classification system while simultaneously advocating for an alternative classification. For Ellis (2019) this claim to indigeneity reinforces the problematic state-induced Apartheid style categories in a democratic state. How then does society deal with the notion of categories and classification?

According to Elphick and Giliomee (1989), the South African racial question, addressed in chapter six of this thesis can be attributed to two main schools of thought. The liberal school of thought, which argues that the "racial dominance was born in South Africa, not imported", is the product of the frontier clashes between Europeans and the indigenous peoples. The second school of thought consists of the revisionist historians emphasising "post-1867 industrial capitalism" and deemphasising the influence of the pre-industrial period (Elphick and Giliomee, 1989:521-522). The race/class debate positioned historians as liberals versus revisionists. The former supported race ideology and the latter the class ideology when analysing the social structure of the early Cape (Elphick and Giliomee, 1989). The authors

oppose the approaches of both the liberal and revisionist historians, arguing that scholars should not start their analysis by looking at race or class, but that they should rather concern themselves with the situation on issues of the law in the Cape at the outset (Elphick and Giliomee, 1989; Visagie, 2022 [2014]). On the point of legality Ngcukaitobi notes that during late colonialism the law was used in "defining and regulating the legal relationship between people and land (2021:41). For example, the Native Administration Act of 1875 placed Africans under the European formal system of colonial justice to live in regulated native areas (Ngcukaitobi, 2021). At the point of contact the legal system through various laws fostered a social structure where race and class were intertwined (Elphick and Giliomee, 1989; de Villiers, 2022 [2014]; Shell, 2022 [2014]). Through law the social structure continuously grouped people in clusters of structured ethnic identities and economic demographics to service the colonial state.

In the view of Elphick and Giliomee, this "original Cape racial order is one of the antecedents of the modern South African racial order". Throughout colonial society the Europeans were the dominant group, calling themselves not only "Europeans" but also "colonists", "inhabitants", "Afrikaners", "Christians" or "whites" (Elphick and Giliomee, 1989:523). Irrespective of their diversity in relation to the language they spoke, the lineage and heritage of each European group, they were seen as White people and distinct from other groups in the colony (slaves, free Blacks, Khoe-San, Negros and Xhosa). This classification had implications for how society was structured. Europeans were on top and all other non-Europeans on the lower rung of society (Elphick, 1977). This was also the case with the use of language under the two successive periods of Dutch and British rule where first the Dutch made their language superior to other spoken languages, followed by English becoming the superior language during British rule.

When the Apartheid government came to power in 1948, they embellished the existing social order of racial segregation, further imposing, legalising, and legislating the creation of Bantustans to entrench their superiority over groups of people. Like their colonial predecessors, the Apartheid government made the Afrikaans language superior, forcing the language on the populace of South Africa. Jansen (2017: 337) notes that Afrikaans is the only language of "Germanic family that originated outside of Europe and that is primarily spoken in Africa". This aspect of the Afrikaans language gave the rulers their sense of superiority. Those people who legally became known as Coloured people were forced to learn the Afrikaans language,

as the language of their forebears had no place in the dominant narrative of the settler society[8] between those who spoke English, and Afrikaans. The Coloured people were left wanting, occupying a precarious space concerning land and language use.

In these segregated spaces, the Nationalist government distributed a small percentage of the land surface to accommodate the numerically large Black population[9]. The homelands, according to Piper, represented "territoriali[s]e[d] racial segregation", where the "[B]antustans" were conceived of as "self-governing territories" comprising 13 percent of the total land mass of South Africa. The remaining 87 percent of the country – urban and farmland – was defined as "[W]hite South Africa" governed by "democratic institutions and European law" (Piper 2002, cited in Buthelezi and Skosana, 2018:111–114). The Black majority who stayed in these spaces were ruled by traditional authorities under "customary law" and "native authority" (Mamdani, 2020:30).

The Coloured people, as they were now legally classified under this category, did not have a homeland[10], at least not in the same way that the Bantustan policy was envisioned by the Apartheid state. The work of Fairweather (2006) and Legassick (2016) allude to the fact that in some places in the Northern Cape in South Africa, the Apartheid state tried to create Coloured Reserves, for example in Namaqualand (Fairweather, 2006:105-111). However, these spaces did not take the shape and feel of the Bantustans[11].

---

[8] As much as there are regional differences in Afrikaans, the language is still viewed by a large majority of South African Black populace as the language of the oppressor. I can also make the argument that never in my life have I been an oppressor nor my family, yet we speak the language and understand it in all its nuances as our home language. The language section is not about the Afrikaans language, although one needs to note its role. In this thesis, I am showing that the neglect to officially recognize and pay attention to the languages of the Khoe-San people under the colonial and Apartheid government led to its disintegration as a language. Hence the comparison with the development of the Namibian Khoekhoegowab at independence from South Africa.

[9] The Apartheid government practiced racial segregation policies as seen in chapter 10 of this thesis where the Land Claims Commission (LCC) in the early 1990s turned down a land claim lodged by the Nama people, one of the Khoe groups of the Richtersveld in Namaqualand in the Northern Cape. The LCC based their argument on the perceived notion that the Nama people did not suffer 'racial segregation'.

[10] Many of the Khoe-San activists claim the Western Cape in the contemporary state as their homeland. However, these claims are subjected to national and local government structures that are in place.

[11] The Bantustans were reserved for African people linked to their ethnic affiliations mostly linked to the languages people spoke. For example, in the Eastern Cape the amaXhosa people speak isiXhosa. In KwaZulu Natal the amaZulu people speak isiZulu. The languages of these ethnic groups were incorporated as part of the eleven official languages recognized in the new South African Constitution of 1996.

The Coloured people were treated as the buffer people, the inbetweeners in a precarious state of being where a narrative developed of a preconceived notion of being treated better than the South African Black people while not being fully accepted into either community of White or Black people (Turok, 2014). People of the Coloured population started to theorise and realise their socio-economic exclusion, with the notion "first we were not [W]hite enough and now we are not [B]lack enough" reverberating in the Coloured communities post-1994 in terms of social upward mobility (Adhikari, 2009:xvi). According to Adhikari,

> the postcolonial situation seems to have intensified [C]oloured [peoples] perceptions of their marginality and they see themselves as occupying the lowest rung in the social pecking order and as [defenceless] victims of unscrupulous governments that favour their own racial and ethnic constituencies. (2009:xv–xvi)

The feeling of marginalisation has been compounded by landlessness by individuals in the Coloured community who actively engage in the discussions on land claims to establish a cultural connection and belongingness to the land to practice rituals (consider chapter five and chapter eight). The self-identification as indigenous Khoe-San people brings hope for a better life. Although there are factions within the Khoe-San groups, the issues raised converge. For example, claims on the right to land, the revival of indigenous Khoe-San languages, the revival of culture and heritage, and issues around housing and education are common concerns.

The work of Njwambe (2018) shows that [South African] Black people who live and work in urban spaces do not consider the space that they are living and working in as home. According to Njwambe (2018), home is the rural space to which many have ties, either through ownership or tilling the land (homesteads), childhood socialisation, or grandparents and parents living in these spaces (Njwambe, Cocks and Vetter, 2019). Although the idea of Bantustans was dismantled after 1994, individual families still own tracks of land as their property, meaning that "the rural areas of the former Bantustans remain home not only to the landholders but also to a number of residents who are unemployed and do not have access to land" (Hendricks, Ntebeza and Helliker, 2013:11).

Njwambe explains that having access to this land, also referred to as the family home (*ekhayeni*), means that:

> The rural area as a geographical entity [is] embodied with social and cultural/spiritual components [that] continue to supply and satisfy human needs. [These areas are] seen as crucial for psychological, mental and spiritual well-being. (Njwambe, 2018:1)

The *ekhayeni* also provides those who no longer wish to reside in urban spaces with a piece of land they can call home, and which stays in the family for generations. A typical example of this attachment to 'home' was seen in the burial of the late President Nelson Mandela and my participation in the burial of Chief Mathysen as discussed in chapter eight. Although the late President lived the latter part of his life in an urban setting in Houghton, in Johannesburg, his human remains were buried on the land of his birth, in Qunu in the Eastern Cape Province. The family illustrated and performed their attachment to the land and the traditions they practised on the land which had been passed down from generation to generation.

The reclamation of land lost through the imposition of colonialism is important to groups claiming indigeneity on the African continent where I focus on the claims to indigeneity in South Africa.

The thesis is divided into four parts. Part I of the thesis is titled 'General Introduction and Setting the Scene'. This introduction gives the reader a glimpse of the themes discussed throughout the thesis regarding the links between identity politics and the debates on land and belonging, and the social significance attached to land by groups self-identifying as Khoe-San people in South Africa. In the discussion of belonging, land and language are central concepts to understanding how the Khoe-San people lay claim to an alternative identity to the Coloured identity for which they had been known in the context of the four-tier racial classification system of the Apartheid state. The reclamation of a Khoe-San identity places self-identifying groups on a par with the global indigenous movement in terms of the quest for recognition of indigenous claims in the context of South Africa post-1994. These claims to indigeneity destabilise identity formation in South Africa where the dominant narrative of race relations has centred on a dichotomy of Black and White concerns for the South African state. The narrative of indigeneity does not fit either of these constructions. There is a dearth in the literature on familial relations among various groups of people in South Africa as a result of the rigid four tier racial classification system of the Apartheid state and the contemporary creation of self. The democratic state after 1994 persisted in using the four-tier racial

classification system overshadowing familial relations between people and hindering social cohesion in society.

The reality of the concept of indigeneity in the South African context addresses issues of exclusion in the democratic state. In chapter one, I consider the 1913 Native Land Act and its implications under British rule which reduced Khoe-San people to landless people. The Natives Land Act (No. 27 of 1913) in Section 25(7) became the pillar of redistribution of land for the democratic state. The term native referred to South African Black people who were classified as Bantu (Mamdani, 2020). The Khoe-San people were already excluded from the land debate when the Land Act of 1913 was promulgated under British rule. Thus, chapter one provides an overview of the contemporary debates in on identity politics (which is inclusive of whiteness and blackness) and the how the Khoe-San people, through many forms of activism, created a space to open a discussion on their place in a democratic South Africa.

Chapter two refers to the historical context of the founding of South Africa. In this chapter I outline some of the interactions between the settlers and the Khoe-San people. I pay particular attention to the interaction between the settlers and the indigenous Khoe-San people, the political thought of Khoe-San people who were also known as Hottentots. I also discuss the categories that were created as shown in the work of Legassick (2016) which were, and still are blurry.

In chapter three I unpack how the research was done. I used a multi-sited ethnographic approach to collect data using the methods of participant observation, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and what I term 'spontaneous focus group' discussions. In the latter discussions I engaged Khoe-San people spontaneously at workshops, conferences or events arranged by Khoe-San groups or the government. The classic method of doing fieldwork in Anthropology is based on Malinowski's single site ethnographic approach which requires the researcher to immerse themselves in a single community and to write an ethnography of that community. In my research project I engaged in an interprovincial multi-sited ethnography. This method of collecting data moved away from the classic approach of doing fieldwork. The decision to use the interprovincial multi-sited ethnographic approach was based on what I conceptualised as the national question on identity politics which was imperative to the study in order to give a comparative analysis of the activities of Khoe-San people who engage in issues of identity formation. The national question of identity politics does not only include a single group of people or a specific community. Therefore, as the issues that Khoe-

San groups present are multi-layered and multi-faceted, the interprovincial multi-sited ethnographic approach provided a comparative analysis in order to understand the national identity politics of the Khoe-San people. The national question of identity politics goes beyond the issues raised by the Khoe-San people and shows how restrictive the Apartheid government was in their conception of the different identities of many South African people. I discuss the difficulties of researching a field site that is at home and being both an 'insider' and an 'outsider' to identity politics in the context of South Africa. The chapter is therefore reflective and reflexive of my family identity politics, also as a researcher in a space that has been familiar and strange and unfamiliar at times. The chapter discusses the limitations and advantages of being a native researcher. As a native researcher, classified as a Coloured person like my research participants, I studied people from my community, at home in South Africa. I did not go in search of the 'exotic other' in a faraway place to observe the other (Tsuda and Carrier, 2015).

Part II of the thesis is titled 'Khoe-San Winds of Change post-1994' and it consists of chapters four and five. In chapter four I discuss the conceptual framework of the thesis, unpacking the concept of indigeneity as seen through the eyes of several anthropologists who have grapple with this concept. The concept of indigeneity in the context of South Africa relates to land, belonging, and identity politics. Land and belonging, since the advent of colonisation, has played a central role in how people understand their socio-cultural, political, and economic environments. The concept of indigeneity remains a contested concept globally and locally that is politically charged and manifests in the everyday lives of people who self-identify as indigenous people. I address the concept of self-determination and its meaning for indigenous peoples locally and globally.

In chapter five I address the construction of identity through analysing the formation of identity through a ritualised performance of the crowning of Katrina Esau. I discuss why this ritualised performance of identity is a necessary concept when pondering the phenomenon of indigeneity in the context of identity politics in South Africa. I discuss how identity politics and recognition relate to the statutes of the United Nations who bestowed an indigenous status on Khoe-San people in South Africa. I also discuss the contestation of the term indigeneity from the view of the current government and how the Khoe-San people engage with this concept of indigeneity. I provide an ethnographic description of the activities of the Khoe-San people which include language revivalism and identity claims. In South Africa, since the arrival of the colonial

governments under Dutch and British rule, followed by the Apartheid state and through to the democratic government in 1994, identity politics became central to how society was ruled. The languages of the Khoe-San people were not developed as a spoken language in the broader context of South Africa. Many people in the Coloured community learned to speak either English or Afrikaans, the institutional languages which were the dominant languages of teaching and learning in the country. Now, through the process of self-identification as indigenous people, the Khoe-San people are engaging in a project of decolonising the four-tier racial classification system and Khoe-San people are demonstrating their agency: making their voices heard that they wish to be identified through language which is one aspect of identity formation.

In Part III of the thesis is titled 'Toa Tama !Khams ge – The Struggle Continues'. Chapters six, seven and eight illustrate how self-identifying Khoe-San people incorporate an indigenous persona in their lives.

In chapter six, as an endeavour to highlight the plight of the people known as Coloured but who self-identify as Khoe-San. I analyse a documentary shown at the United Nations in 2017. The documentary is titled: *Word of Honour - Reclaiming Mandela's Promise.* The documentary was made by activists in the Khoe-San community and human rights lawyers. It addresses the feeling of marginalisation among self-identifying Khoe-San people and Coloured people in terms of housing, recreational spaces and jobs, which give people a sense of dignity. I look at two different occasions where Khoe-San activists engaged government structures around issues of their claims to indigeneity: a walk by Khoe-San activists in 2015 in Johannesburg in the Gauteng province, and again in 2017 in the Eastern Cape province to demand that the 'access Coloured' identity be removed. In the discussion of the different forms of activism by Khoe-San groups, I hone in on why issues raised by the Khoe-San groups have escalated in recent years, as well as the continuous struggle against identity politics in South Africa for those who denounce the Coloured identity.

Chapter seven describes the process of *brei-ing* and briefly discusses how other groups use animal skin as an artefact for economic upliftment. Since the early 1990s, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP) declared two consecutive decades for the celebration of indigenous peoples. UNDRIP globally recognized the world's indigenous people through the UNDRIP proclamation and the signing of the UNDRIP declaration on the 13th September 2007. The signing of the UNDRIP declaration imposed many obligations on

member states concerning their dealings with the indigenous people within their borders. South Africa, as a signatory to the declaration, joined 144 member states belonging to UNDRIP. As a result of the acknowledgement through the UNDRIP declaration bestowing an indigenous status on Khoe-San people, the multi-layered process of 'becoming indigenous' started taking shape. One of these layers I highlight in this chapter is the mapping of an indigenous identity onto animal skin to visibilise the identity politics of the Khoe-San people and to create a sense of belonging to the group. The animal skin is sometimes with fur and sometimes without fur. When without fur, the skin is referred to as leather and used to create headpieces and clothing items to illustrate the performance of identity that has shaped the performativity of Khoe-Sanness post-1994.

Chapter eight is the final ethnographic chapter and here I discuss the land question in broad strokes, as the land question is an ongoing debate in South Africa. My focus in this chapter is on the symbolic recognition of two Khoe-San chiefs, the late Chief Steenkamp and the late Chief Mathysen. I discuss the symbolic recognition, through the ritual of death and dying, of a return to the land. The return to the land speaks to the 'elusive struggle' of land ownership where Khoe-San leaders become one with the land they were fighting for in death – as in the case of Chief Mathysen who was buried on the land of his birth, land that he struggled to claim back from the government as it was an intricate process. I argue in this chapter that the 'elusive struggle' is illuminated by the burial of Chief Mathysen as the government, through its structures, gave 'permission' for the Chief to be buried on this land in Jacksonsdrift in Johannesburg. I motivate that the case of the land on which the late Chief Mathysen was buried is similar to other cases, like the Richtersveld and District Six cases, where there could be no dispute as there is clear proof of forced removal from the land. This chapter explains the centrality of land to indigenous people, where the land has sacred significance for rituals. I refer to the inauguration of Katrina Esau where Khoe-San people made a symbolic connection to the land (as detailed in chapter five), although this connection to the land was temporary as the Khoe-San chiefs were landless.

Part IV looks at the future of indigeneity in the South African context. Due to the newness of the concept of indigeneity as bestowed onto the Khoe-San people, it is important to record the reaction and engagement of the current government at its different levels. As Gluckman (1952) looked at how social change was happening in the Zulu society, it should be recorded that the social change among the Khoe-San people is increasing daily as new members are finding ways

of joining the debate on indigeneity, realising that, through utilising the concept of indigenous people, they are bringing the government and its structures closer to their everyday struggles.

The small gains made by groups from various spaces point to the fact that the use of the concept "indigenous [indigeneity]" stays contested in international law (Muehlebach, 2003:244) and that, using the concept at a local level – as is the case in South Africa – has real implications for the lives of people who self-identify as Khoe-San. Following the post-1994 elections, the current government did not expect the Coloured people to rise and claim ancestral lineage on the scale that is happening in South Africa. The strength of the multi-sited methods used for data collection in this thesis informs the basis for the analogy on the future of indigeneity in South Africa.

In the final conclusion of the thesis, I weave the various threads of the chapters together. I show the importance of my work against global claims to indigeneity in comparison to the history of race relations in South Africa. I discuss the prospects of self-determination of the transnational concept of indigeneity should the government grant First Nation Status to Khoe-San people in South Africa. I delve into the achievements gained from the current government under the African National Congress (ANC) through different forms of activism of Khoe-San groups since 1994. I show what would be possible if the current government concedes to granting Khoe-San people their ancestral inheritance as descendants of people who fought for and was part of the liberation struggle to free the country of the colonists when they first arrived on the shores of South Africa. I show that, although the South African government is a signatory to the United Nation Declaration of Indigenous People (UNDRIP), there is a discrepancy between how the South African government portray themselves to international bodies like the United Nations and how they deal with their indigenous people in the country according to the statutes of UNDRIP. Thus, the Khoe-San debate has larger implications for what the current government is willing to concede to Khoe-San people. In this final chapter, I show that the South African government, because of the country's past, will not be lured down the same path as its predecessor where the rights of a small minority was foregrounded at the expense of a large majority of people. Thus, social justice for the descendants of the Khoe-San people remains 'elusive' and the small gains that is made through various forms of activism is important to note for the groups actively involved in self-identifying as Khoe-San people.

Part I:

Identity Politics, Global Indigenous Movement and Khoe-San people

Chapter ONE

Background and Setting the Scene

Rationale for the study

My interest in identity politics of the Khoe-San movement was sparked in 2011, when a fellow Honours student asked me, "Do we look like them?" after watching a documentary on television. Tertia, a fair-skinned young woman, self-identifying as a Durbanite Coloured asked this question in her Durbanite accent[12]. I wanted to know who she was referring to when she exclaimed, "The Bushmen people!" The idea of reading and objectifying the body through a certain lens had fascinated earlier conquerors, scientists and naturalists (Abrahams, 1996; 1997; 2003). However, the question raised by Tertia ignited a spark and since then I have been in conversation with Khoe-San people for several years. Tertia, in our conversation, made a distinction between her 'looks' and what she understood Colouredness to mean in terms of 'looks'. Tertia used Apartheid racial classification where phenotype and physical appearance were all markers of difference. Whether she realised this or not, at that moment she stripped the Bushmen people of their humanity. Erasmus (2017) engages with the conceptualisation of

[12] Many of the Coloured people from KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) speak English as their home language in most cases with an accent that is referred to as a Durban slang. At the time of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the province was known as Natal under British rule. In 1994, following the transition to democracy, KwaZulu the homeland of the amaZulu people was amalgamated and the province became known as KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). There are Afrikaans speaking Coloured people in KZN, and they speak English and Afrikaans with a heavy accent compared to the English and Afrikaans speaking Coloured people in Johannesburg, for example, or in the Western Cape. In the Northern Cape, the people predominantly speak Afrikaans and their accent also sounds different from the other three provinces. I raise the issue of accent here as I have personally encountered many instances where people attempted to categorise me upon first meeting me. If I do not utter a word, and just smile with people, it would be very difficult for them to place me based only on my phenotype and dread-locked hair. However, as soon as I say something, they situate and label me immediately in terms of the four-tier racial classification system in South Africa.

the ‘look’, unpacking how race is read from an individual’s body through the attachment of certain connotations to an individual’s person. In her work she uses the examples of the ‘Laing family’ and ‘Happy Sindane’, who are both misidentified based on their external appearance or phenotype and how they are situated and contextualised within specific social settings, to prove their identity to the society whose judgement is obscured by the persistent forms of racial classification.

In a similar vein, related to the quest for indigeneity, Heiss (2012) narrates her story of racial subjugation in her book *Am I Black Enough for You?* Heiss, like many indigenous people of mixed-parentage, is a fair-skinned Wiradjuri woman who writes of her experiences as an aboriginal person. Her mother is aboriginal and her father Austrian. Raised by a White father and an aboriginal mother with strong Christian values, she identified with her maternal identity as an aboriginal Wiradjuri. Heiss (2012:49) notes, “I have often been asked how [can I] be Aboriginal when my father [is] Austrian. My identity was in part shaped by my father – how could it not be?” Heiss identified as an aboriginal woman foregrounding her matrilineal heritage that is often silenced in a world where patriarchy is revered. She notes that her late father was not silenced from having an opinion and in their home “the sharing of values and living an honest life” were more important than their cultural background (Heiss, 2012:76). In her memoir Heiss addresses the extreme measures to which aboriginal/indigenous people have to perform their identity reaching back to the past to establish their identity in the present. She addresses the expectation of extreme performativity when the question of Aboriginal or indigenous identities are raised. Heiss notes:

> I feel that we as Blackfellas are still expected by many to remain static as Aboriginal people. That [to] be ‘authentically Aboriginal’, we must not evolve as a community ... moved from homelands and shafted onto missions and reserves under acts of protection and assimilation ... we are still regarded by many ... as only being really Aboriginal, or really Black, if we are desert-dwellers, poor, uneducated, at risk and dark-skinned. (Heiss, 2012:81)

Heiss further writes that “… no other group in Australia lived under the microscope [as] Aboriginal people do [...] no other group has to ‘prove’ their identity in the court of law” (Heiss, 2012:172). The Khoe-San people have not been subjected to such extreme measures of proving who they are in a court of law, but there is an expectation, based on the country’s history of placing people in enclaves, that the language that you speak is a marker of identity. Thus, in

the Khoe-San movement there is a huge drive to learn a Khoe or San language. The two languages on which I concentrate in this thesis are the N/uu and the Nama languages. After centuries of being enculturated into speaking a mixture of Dutch and Flemish that had morphed into the Afrikaans language in South Africa, the Khoe-San people through learning new words and basic greeting of the Khoe-San languages to perform an ethnic affiliation[13] as indigenous people. The performativity of identity is also seen through wearing clothing made of animal skin and headpieces.

My PhD study engages with the meaning and characteristics that self-identifying Khoe-San people attribute to Khoe-Sanness when they say, 'I am not a Coloured, I am Khoe, San, Khoekhoe' or when using different forms of classification relating to describing an indigenous identity. The Khoe-San groups are questioning and unsettling White supremacy that has stretched over centuries while at the same time raising concerns around Black dominance as espoused after 1994. The Apartheid government under auspices of the National Party (NP) inherited social separation and economic dominance from its colonial predecessors and used this already established social order to its advantage. To maintain the White status quo over all the African people in South Africa, necessitated the Apartheid government to legalise and employ these racial divisions in the most violent and humiliating manner.

Dichotomies are Blurry

The strategy of define-and-rule in the words of Mamdani (2013), following the Berlin Conference 1884–1885, was to grab African wealth, categorise people into race groups or tribes and rule over them. According to Mellet:

> Britain and its colonists prioritised a different form of subjugation and control over the indigenous African majority population by using a 'divide, conquer, rule and reconfigure' strategy to deal with what they called the 'Native Problem' … to separate indigenous Africans in South Africa from the rest of the continent through indoctrination that emphasised that South Africa was a European political entity … to reconfigure and re-identify 50 local African social formations … into groupings called 'Natives' … the constructed identity of 'Native' was subdivided

[13] In the context of South Africa, the groups that are claiming an indigenous identity are known as Coloured people and for almost four and a half decades, from 1948 to 1994 they lived as a race group in a racialised society.

> into nine linguistically based subdivisions that were elevated into national formations. (Mellet, 2020:271)

The creation of the Native identity and the creation of categories that followed that process all led to the de-Africanisation of Khoe-San people who later were called Coloured (Mellet, 2020). The Apartheid project was not thought of anew but was copied from earlier forms of colonial thinking which had consequences for the lives of people considered non-White Africans and South Africans. To maintain the status quo of divide and rule, continuing the idea of superiority and inferiority, using classifications and legalising divisive terms between African people in South Africa, allowed the Apartheid state to continuously benefit through employing these racial and economic divisions.

The practice of classification was a national project under Apartheid and had legal consequences. The social stratification of racial groups was central to the Apartheid project. In contemporary democratic South Africa, the country is still marred by racial classification, and the self-identifying Khoe-San groups are raising issues of identity politics as a national debate where the current government through many of its institutions engage with claims to indigeneity at a local, national and international level[14]. At these interactions, various questions are raised around what is at stake and what sort of concessions should be made for this group as indigenous peoples with a right to First Nation Status, who has been denied their identity by successive governments including in the current dispensation.

I refer to the question of identity politics as a national debate of labelling and categorising people as the issues raised by self-identifying Khoe-San groups affect the whole question of labelling of people, not merely of a single group of people or a small group of people. The UNDRIP declaration also refers to the self-determination of indigenous people in relation to their cultural, religious, and socio-economic well-being. The narrative of the Khoe-San has been repressed and excluded from all forms of social life to the extent that the narrative has overshadowed familial relations between Khoe-San and other groups for example the amaXhosa and Tswana people and other African groups as shown in the work of Mellet (2020). What has been foregrounded in relation to identity politics is the struggle of binary politics

[14] The South African Government is a signatory to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

between Black and White people. Those classified as Coloured are now reclaiming an ethnic identity as descendants of the Khoe-San the indigenous people of South Africa.

It is necessary to engage with and to unpack the intersection between different forms of identities that people perform. The work of Legassick (2016) addresses how various groups, known in contemporary terms as Khoe-San, intermarried with other groups and the fluidity of how the groups interacted with each other along the Orange River. He notes that the Orange River drew people to its banks like a "magnet" and that its first occupants were "hunter-gatherers (presumably ancestors of the Bushmen), who were supplemented from about 500AD by Kho[e] pastoralists dispersed along the Orange River" (Legassick, 2016:1). Through internal migration from one area to the next during pre-colonialism and colonialism, many of these groups encountered each other and intermarriages and cultural exchanges took place.

> The discourse of the day recognized other categories of brown people. 'Bastard-Hottentots' were strictly the progeny of slave-Khoe intercourse – though there was some blurring with the term 'Bastard'. 'Oorlams', a term originating with the colonised were 'Hottentots who come from the upper country and are born and bred with the farmers, most of whom understand and speak the low Dutch language'. In other words, Oorlam were Kho[e] who while in service with colonial masters acquired not merely Dutch but Western clothes, and skills in firearms, horse-riding […] who were seeking an existence outside colonial society. (Legassick, 2016:5).

According to Legassick, from the 18th century, stretching from north to south along the Orange River, a frontier zone was created: "a zone of mutual acculturation in which there was no single source of legitimate authority". Conditions for acculturation had existed before but, due to the process of colonisation, these interactions were intensified. In this context "acculturation involved the commoditisation of social relations, as trade with the Europeans supplemented subsistence existence" (Legassick, 2016:5). In their quest for survival, individuals used many ways to sidestep the rules that governing systems placed over them as people.

Field (2001) notes that, in the 20th century, during the Apartheid era, people strategically straddled the imaginary line of fixed identities to gain access to resources. There is the example of a clerk who used baptismal certificates to help several South African Black people to pass as Coloured people in order to evade forced removals from a certain area in Cape Town (Field,

2001). Those who successfully passed as Coloured people lived in the constraints of this identity. However, after the fall of Apartheid people could freely choose how they wished to identify and those who 'passed' the colour line experienced both worlds of identity politics. In contemporary South Africa, these racial categories created under Apartheid are still seen as static and pure categories creating a rift between people. These racial categories also affect issues of transformation in the country in terms of the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) and Affirmative Action (AA) policies, as these policies prohibit certain sections of the population from accessing certain type of resources for not fitting the static classification of what is referred to as 'Black African'[15] or 'African in particular'. Thus, the Khoe-San claim to the 'particularity of indigeneity' is a claim against these different forms of exclusion.

Negotiating Identity

In this thesis I show how Khoe-San engagement with various democratic institutions in post-Apartheid South Africa grew from a small group of people self-identifying as Khoe-San into a movement of Khoe-San activism around issues of identity. The boundary where information is exchanged as used in this thesis refers to the persistence of employing racial categories to define the South African populace in relation to the four-tier racial classification system legally entrenched by the Apartheid state. It is this boundary of entrenched racialisation that the Khoe-San are pushing up against, telling themselves different narratives while they present an alternative form of identification.

The Khoe-San people identify as First Nation people. The term First Nation people also refer to indigenous people of a locale. The concept of indigeneity as used by the Khoe-San groups is the creation of space. The concept of indigeneity has its roots in the statures of the United Nations who after 1945, following World War II, turned their attention to the plight of the indigenous people globally (Deas, 2011).

In South Africa, the segregationist rule of the British government was replaced by the implementation of Apartheid which was compounded by race relations and there was no mention of indigenous people in South Africa. The term native people were used in the 17th

[15] The word 'Bantu' is no longer permissible to use in academia when speaking about African people. I use the term South African Black people throughout the thesis. I do so, to indicate which Black African people I am referring to in my work, particularly if one considers a pan-African identity.

century and probably through the 18th century. Ngcukaitobi notes that the "legal definition of 'native' included the Damaras, Hottentots [also known as Khoekhoe], Bushmen and any aboriginal people in southern and central Africa" (2021:2-3). In a journal entry of Van Riebeeck in 1655, due to the Khoekhoe people having healthy herds of cattle and sheep, the Company wanted to control both "cattle and persons" (Ngcukaitobi, 2021:45). Thus, somewhere between the beginning of the 19th century into the 20th century the term native took on a different meaning excluding the Khoekhoe and San/Bushmen people from its discourse. In the case of South Africa, the term native was then misused to refer to South African Blacks who were also known as the Bantu people (Mamdani, 2020). Thus, the current government, unlike the earlier governmental systems, is forced to deal with specific challenges brought about by a group of people, otherwise known to them (the government and society) as Coloured people.

My study of the Khoe-San people in South Africa contributes to the global debate on indigenous peoples' claims with a localised understanding of how the Khoe-San use the concept of indigeneity to affect social change in South Africa[16]. The United Nations attempted to provide frameworks and to give guidelines on how governments should treat indigenous people. However, in South Africa with its absurd racial past of categorisation concerning the binary of the Black/White struggle, the voices of the Khoe-San people were silenced. The descendants of the Khoe-San experienced double erasure from the South African narrative; firstly, as Khoe-San people and secondly, as people legally classified as Coloured. In the latter instance, the idea of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) usurped the struggles of identity politics already faced by this group of people and covered it in the struggle of the majority Black population homogenising the struggle against the Apartheid state as the oppressed against the oppressors (Verbuyst, 2021:95-96). Thus, the racialised history of the country, the prior exclusion of Khoe-San people under previous governments and understanding how this process is currently unfolding at a micro and macro level highlights the importance of extending the current scholarship on indigeneity in the South African context. The specific issues raised by Khoe-San are the same as the social issues that many South

[16] The literature on the study of indigeneity in southern Africa, mostly concentrated their work on the San groups in places like Botswana, Namibia and Angola, countries that gained independence before South Africa. In the post-Apartheid era, there was a shift towards looking at indigenous claims in South Africa.

Africans are facing, like landlessness and the use of mother tongue language in schools and other spaces. However, by invoking the concept of indigeneity, the voices of the Khoe-San groups are being heard and the issues raised considered by the current government. As a result of transnational debates on indigeneity, the "sub-groups"[17] hidden under the overarching umbrella term of Coloured are now being given a space to raise concerns made possible by the statutes of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples that considers prior occupation of land territories, marginal status, and cultural distinctiveness (Adhikari, 2006:144). The provisions set up by UNDRIP for the indigenous groups relates to the territories they first occupied; and their marginalised socio-economic positions most indigenous groups find themselves under where they are living.

In summarising the above occurrences, it is imperative to this study to trace the current engagement and negotiations between the Khoe-San people and the ruling party through various state organs to unpack the newly established relationship between citizens and the state. The various discussions with state organs put the voices of the self-identifying Khoe-San groups on a trajectory of slow social transformation and changing the material conditions of the people in this community. Through many forms of activism, Khoe-San groups, although divided on their acceptance of the Traditional Khoisan[18] Leadership Bill[19] (some groups are for the Bill, and some are against the Bill) created a space where Khoe-San leaders are now 'recognized' where they were previously excluded from any type of recognition by the current government under auspices of the ANC.

---

[17] This refers to the Griquas', Namas' and Basters' identities now recognized by the statutes of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Adhikari, 2006:144).

[18] The spelling of the word Khoisan using an 'i' or an 'e', writing the word with a hyphen or not has not yet been clarified in academia. As mentioned before, I use a hyphen in this thesis, following the work of Besten (2006) to indicate that these are distinct groups of people that had been lumped together by the German Anthropologist, Leonard Schultze in 1928.

[19] This new Bill, although signed into law to recognize the Khoe-San leaders, is not accepted by many of the leaders from other faction groups in its current form. There are two camps in the Khoe-San groups; those that are for the acceptance of the Bill stating that it is a foot into the door and those who say that the Bill is another colonial instrument stripping them of their indigenous/First Nation Status by assimilating them into the majority. The argument raised by the detractors of the Bill, is that once you are part of the majority in relation to how indigenous groups are for the most part minority groups, you can no longer lay claim to an indigenous status. Another important issue that the detractors in the Khoe-San groups raise, centres around the issue of constitutional recognition and not only assimilation.

Research Questions

Thus, given the legalised alienation of ownership and usury rights of the land, where the Khoe-San do not have a recognized territory from which they can develop a sense of belonging, the primary research questions I pose, are: 'How do self-identifying Khoe-San people, both young and old, negotiate and navigate their identities in the current racialised political economy of South Africa? How do these identities relate to national and international debates vis-à-vis the rights of indigenous peoples?

The main research questions led to further sub-questions which informed the multi-sited, interprovincial, comparative ethnographic approach, across four provinces, namely parts of the Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Kwa-Zulu Natal and Gauteng, where ethnographic data was collected.

- How do Khoe-San people assert claims to indigeneity and how do they do so in their daily lives?

- How do Khoe-San people engage in contemporary dialogues of belonging in South Africa and how is Khoe-San ancestry used in these dialogues?

- With no recognisable territory or land, how do Khoe-San show an indigenous identity from which they can develop a sense of belonging?

Conclusion

In the above discussion, I provide the rationale for the study, and I explain why this study is important and relevant at this point in the South African narrative on identity politics. I wish to point out that the current government is still captured in the old four-tier racial classification system inherited from the Apartheid state. The Apartheid government used classificatory systems and labelling to divide and rule over the South African populace taken from the colonial system and improved to serve the benefit of the Apartheid government.

It is in this context that the Khoe-San people are negotiating an alternative form of classification as they too have been misidentified by previous governmental structures which they now wish to change. How they go about addressing this misidentification is through claiming an indigenous identity which their forefathers had at the time of contact with the colonisers. It is important to note that this current government has no measures in place to deal with the demands made by the groups who are claiming an indigenous identity and to restore what had

been lost to these groups over decades. The actions of the government have been haphazard and hesitant in relation to identity politics of the Khoe-San people and granting these groups indigenous or First Nation Status. Such a move to grant the indigenous Khoe-San people in South Africa this status would mean that the current government concedes to the real injustices and not just paying lip-service to the suffering of the Khoe-San people. The issue that is upper most in the minds of many officials and the South African populace at large is that, if the past and all forms of centralised rule over the people disintegrate, the indigenous groups in the country can demand to be included in the fiscus of the country where they have their own structures of parliament, schools, and social stratum.

Chapter TWO

Historical background of contact with colonisers: The San and Khoe people

Deprived and dispossessed

The San were the first people to be dispossessed. Zips-Mairitsch (2009) points out that the San were the first to live in southern Africa followed by the Khoekhoe. The San were hunter-gatherers who lived in "small groups" for the purposes of the hunt and close family relations and the "cattle rearing" Khoekhoe came to live in the same vicinity (2009:161). The Bantu people immigrated from the North or as Phillip Williams a Khoe-San activist say they like to say, they "drifted here". The arrival of the Europeans (the Dutch followed by the British) in southern Africa, particularly their settlement at the Cape had severe implications on the survival of the San and Khoekhoe communities. These communities became the casualties who suffered not only land dispossessions but loss of language, identity, and culture and who had to reorganise their social formations. They lost livestock, that we see in contemporary times as transferrable possessions that contribute to creating generational wealth, sustaining the descendants of the settler societies in modern South Africa.

Richards (2017) and Mellet (2020) write that, prior to contact with the Dutch and British, some Khoe groups fiercely defended their land against invasion. In 1510, a Khoe group from the Goringhaiqua, defeated the world-renowned Portuguese seafarer, Francisco de Almeida and more than sixty of his men. This victory against Francisco de Almeida served as a deterrent for European groups who considered permanent settlement at the Cape where almost 150 years passed without permanent occupation of the Cape (Mellet, 2020).

In 1652, the Dutch settled at the Cape and within years of their settlement the structure of society changed. The issue of language played a pivotal role in acculturation (Schoeman, 2009; Van Rensburg, 2018) as the Cape served as a trading post for livestock and fresh meat and a refreshment stop for fresh water supplies and other goods (Penn, 2005; Mellet, 2020).

Prior to 1652[20], when Bartholomeus Diaz and Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape, the people were already conversant in various forms of languages. The traditional date of 1652 regarding the settlement of the Dutch, was not the date of the first encounter between the indigenous people and the Europeans and language acquisition had already occurred in multiple forms of interaction and engagement in various types of trade relations with the travelers. When Jan van Riebeeck established the Dutch East India Company (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, VOC*) as a profitable route for economic activity between the Nederlands and Batavia, the indigenous Khoekhoe had already shown a flair for language acquisition (Schoeman, 2009; De Jongh, 2016). The fact that people could converse with each other using language, the highest form of communication among humans, is a reflection of the developed intellect of the indigenous peoples whom travellers and magazine writers chose to vilify in order to cloud and cover up their dehumanisation of these people. An example of this dehumanisation is in the writings of Hahn (1881), who described the language of the indigenous peoples he encountered as sounding like the chat of parrots, not human speech, and further described it as gibberish and challenging to understand. De Jongh, points out that "these accounts were often quite superficial and imaginative reports, reflecting the astonishment of the writers with the way of life of such 'strange people', whose language included a bewildering array of 'clicks', or 'palatal and dental plosives'" (2016:1). These palatal and dental sounds of the language of the indigenous people "…gave their language a distinctive character" (Schapera, 1930 as cited in De Jongh, 2016:3). However, the characteristics of these distinctive tongues of the people who spoke this language received no recognition. Their ability and capability to acquire and use their language to communicate around every day social interaction between themselves and the settlers and their ability to learn and understand the speech and tongue of the settlers reflects their intellect. Neither the language nor the people were taken seriously with regards to further development by either the colonial government or the Apartheid state, particularly in the latter period when language was used as a tool to subjugate the masses.

The people whom Van Riebeeck met had a flair for language and they adapted quickly, as referred to by Schoeman who quotes from Van Riebeeck's diary: "… brought up from childhood in our home [she] speaks the Dutch language with almost as much perfection as a Dutch girl" (Schoeman, 2009:14). Van Riebeeck referred to Krotoa, the Khoe woman who was

[20] Earlier contact between the Europeans and the indigenous peoples can be traced to as early as 1482.

baptised as Eva, who grew up in his household and later became a central figure, an influential woman and cultural broker between her people and the settlers (Schoeman, 2009). There were two others, Austhomao and Doman, who were used as interpreters at various points of negotiations between the settlers and the indigenous peoples (Van Rensburg, 2018). The local Khoekhoe people learned to speak the language of the invading settlers and many interpreters began to appear as important figures in relation trade negotiations creating a system of bartering with the settlers (Schoeman, 2009; Jansen, 2017). As said by Schoeman, other people from Khoekhoe groups were also "employed as interpreters from time to time, [but] this girl [referring to Krotoa] proved to be the most accurate and most dependable ... she soon held a position of especial trust" (Schoeman, 2009:15).

As the colony grew, so more slaves (people from Malay, Indonesia, Bengal, Madagascar, Portugal, and East and West Africa) were imported, and the Cape became a "melting pot" of languages and cultures (Jansen, 2017:337). Within this variety of tongues and cultural exchanges, the Dutch made it clear that their language was the "official language and that those who spoke it well [are] the masters", in this way placing themselves in a superior position (Jansen, 2017:337). In later years, the Dutch language evolved from high Dutch to Afrikaans through various processes in South Africa; perfected by some, adopted by others, and used as forced assimilation by the Apartheid government in the latter half of the twentieth century, which still causes controversy in contemporary South Africa. In this space, debates are arising in different sectors of the community concerning language transformation and the recognition of other spoken and written languages (Opperman Lewis, 2016).

Khoe-San encounters with colonialists: Categorising and labelling people

I now introduce a short historical background of identity politics and the political thoughts of people who refer to themselves as Hottentot.[21] With the arrival of Europeans on the African shore, the process of naming, labelling, and categorising became central to the colonial project. According to Legassick (2016), William Bleek and Lucy Lloyd began their ethnographic work in 1886. William Bleek was "among the first to classify the indigenous peoples of South Africa as 'Hottentot', 'Bushmen' and 'Bantu', primarily in terms of language but also within an

[21] The people in this narration referred to themselves as Hottentot, a word that became derogatory with time.

evolutionary framework" (Legassick, 2016:125–126). There were many name changes for the Hottentot people who in earlier centuries referred to themselves as the Hessequa, the Cochoqua, the Chainouqua, the Korana, the Griqua, and the Nama people (Barnard, 1992; Legassick, 2016). The San or Saan (also pronounced Sākhoen, Sonqua) known as Bushmen are a diverse group of people and, in terms of naming the groups and how they identify, Barnard lists the different San as:

> Non-Khoe speaking Bushmen include the !Khung of Botswana, Namibia, and Angola, the !Xõ of southern Botswana, the eastern ≠Hoã of southern Botswana, the /Xam of the Cape Province, and remnants of other Cape Bushman groups. All are, or were hunter-gatherers (1992:12)

According to Barnard, (1992) the word San gained "wide acceptance among non-specialists, several ethnographers who formerly used [the word] have now reverted to Bushman" (Barnard, 1992:8). He states that,

> another fashionable alternative, among anthropologists is 'Mosarwa' (plural Basarwa) a term borrowed from Setswana, the language of the Tswana people … The term 'Masarwa' (plural) has also been used incorrectly in some early twentieth century writings, including colonial service reports, to refer to various specific Bushman groups (Barnard, 1992:8–9).

This list is not aiming to be an exhaustive list about naming, neither and attempt to engage with the etymology of the word Khoe-San. I am merely pointing to the inconsistency in academia when addressing issues pertaining to the Khoe-San people.

It has become tolerable in academia and in society to use the words 'Khoikhoi', 'San' and 'Khoisan' as noted by Penn who advises that, whatever term one decides to use, one must be cognisant that "real people and real processes [were] involved" in the dispossession and humiliation of these groups of people (Penn, 2005:8).

These oppressions won't cease[22]

The struggle for an identity to be recognized as a people is an ongoing spectacle. At various times in history, did the Khoe-San people engage in counter claims against the colonial powers by directly making their grievances known. According to Ulrich, the Khoe-San actively challenged the anticolonial struggle against the British which is indicative of "their participation in broader forms of class-based resistance". With the expansion of the British colony in 1795 and the "Age of Revolutions" globally, Khoe-San people made demands from the British authorities as global changes in the labour market came into play. The British authorities incorporated Khoe-San as subjects with "rights and protections", laying the ground for further "political" engagements on issues of belonging as a people. The Khoe-San people were politically active and not merely passive subjects within the colonial state. They contributed to how the state was formed and it illustrates "the construction of political identities and [the] aspirations" the Khoe-San people had during this time (Ulrich, 2016:65–66, Verhoef, 2022[2014]).

These political aspirations are also noted in the work of Ross (2017) who are highlighting the political awareness of those who called themselves Hottentots[23], in the Eastern Cape region. The political awareness and social standing are captured by the lengthy quote that appeared in the South African Commercial Advertiser of 1834:

> … laws are made proposed by the advocates of those two nations, and for their particular advantage. Now I leave to judge what become of the other, that is to say, the Hottentot nation and the Slaves. From this I deduce that the others always be the suffering person, because Government cannot get acquainted with their circumstances. Sometimes a law may be well meant, but the circumstances may make it an instrument of oppression. Government may be well-meaning in issuing this law … suppose a father says he will bring up each of his children to an office,

[22] The heading is taken from the book of Robert Ross (2017), *These Oppressions Won't Cease – An Anthology of the Political Thought of the Cape Khoesan 1777-1879*. The author captures the voices of those who referred to themselves as Hottentot people speaking out against the unjust social treatment meted out against their person in the 18th century to early 19th century.

[23] The word Hottentot seldom appears in literature as a word of self-reference or self-identification as it is deemed as a derogatory term. The term Khoe-San is used which is also a colonial construct; however, it has become an acceptable term to use in academic writing.

> that they may not become vagrants. But we must suppose those children to consist of great and small ones; the old ones might be able, but the young ones would be unable. The father's intention was good, but the circumstances of the case render it difficult to give to it at a given time. That is exactly the case of the Hottentots. The Hottentots, you must know were in a worse position than the Slaves, they had lost the land of their fathers. In all their difficulties they had their own labour collected a few sheep and cattle … After the promulgation of the 50th Ordinance[24], we asked that the remainder of the land still in the Colony might be granted to the Hottentots, but this was not acceded to. If Government had done something for the Hottentots, by granting them land, not a vagrant would be found, nor any necessity for a Vagrant Law…. It is true Government has granted the Hottentots a small parcel of land at Kat River, for which we are always grateful; but it is calculated that the Hottentot nation counts 30,000 souls, and there are only 5, 000 at Kat River. What becomes of the 25,000? Must they all become vagrants? … But just this makes the circumstances of the Hottentots still in the Colony worse, as that law will apply solely to them. In the second place, the dislike of the farmers towards the Hottentots. (Ross, 2017:23)

The above quotation relates to the vagrancy law planned by colonial administrators and the responses of the people who classified themselves as Hottentot people speaking out against how this law will affect them as a people. The quotation points to identity formation and is illustrative of the distinction made between the Hottentots and slaves who lived in the colony. The promulgation of Ordinance 50, according to Dooling, was "hailed as the emancipation of the Hottentots" followed by the "abolition of chattel slavery in December 1834" (Dooling, 2007:59). Ordinance 50 provided a degree[25] of freedom to the Hottentot people and they saw the vagrancy law as a law that would curtail the advances made in relation to the treatment, they received in the colony prior to the proclamation of Ordinance 50.

In another testimony related to the social situation of receiving inhumane treatment and losing livestock in the process, Mr Magerman spoke about the suffering his family endured under the hands of the 'boor' people, as noted by Ross. Mr Magerman told of the humiliation of his

[24] The 50th Ordinance allowed a type of freedom to the Khoe people without being declared as a vagrant.
[25] Some of the settlers ignored this proclamation and still treated the Hottentot and Bushmen people with inhumane disdain and disregard.

mother to the point that she ran away from their place of abode; and the chastising of his father if he looked in the direction of his son whilst being beaten and dogs that were set loose on him. Mr Magerman spoke about the animals he lost to the 'boor'. Mr Magerman argued that if the vagrancy law was passed, the Hottentot people would suffer more than what they had already suffered:

> In Fischer's time I was 'ingeboeked'[26] for ten years, when I was so young (here showing his height at ten) to my 'Baas' David van der Mervel in the Camdeboo—my Baas promised then to bring me up and instruct me as his own children—but I had to be among the dogs and the ashes—I was many a time lifted out by the arm and flogged well so that when I ran from the fire hearth the ashes were strewed and the coals after me, and the dogs alarmed— pursue me—I got no instruction and no clothes—I know nothing—my Mother was obliged from bad treatment to run away and leave me—and my Father soon after—and when he would attempt to get sight of me—the dogs were sent after him —O! my poor Father! I got so little to eat from my 'Baas' that I had to steal to support life—yes my friends I became 'schelm'[27]—I was tied hand and foot and beat unmercifully—why do you not speak to this strain my friends? Why do you keep back? —yes I am 'bont geslagen'[28]—the fire is in me! (here he clapped his hands together and stood mute)—I had to leave all my cattle and my Father's cattle in the Baas's hand—I became a paardewagter[29], and after I had taken long charge of the horses I thought I would ask my Master for some wages … I [received nothing] I ran away again. (Ross, 2017:31–32)

The above quote is indicative of the suffering of the Hottentot people at the hands of the settlers who perpetrated violent acts against their person and acted with impunity. The Hottentot people, like Mr Magerman lost livestock which became the backbone of growing wealth in later years which the settler groups passed down from generation to generation. The act of perpetuating violence became a phenomenon of everyday occurrences. The Bushmen people

[26] Indentured into an apprenticeship.
[27] To become a rascal, stealing things.
[28] To be beaten so badly that the skin colour changes to shades of black and blue
[29] A person who grooms horses

according to Dooling suffered the same fate of violence being perpetuated against them, in relation to the dispossession of land and animals. For example, Dooling writes,

> One informant claimed to have taken part in forty-five expeditions between 1784 and 1825. By the end of this period no independent 'Bushm[e]n' settlement was found here [in the northern frontier]. Indeed, it was under British rule that the 'Bushmen' south of the Gariep were finally subdued. Between 1800 and 1824 trekboers occupied some 50 000 square miles of 'Bushman' country and destroyed vast quantities of game along the way. By 1832, except for those who lived with the settlers 'from infancy', the 'Bushmen' had all but 'disappeared'. (Dooling, 2007:61)

The effects of the proposed vagrancy law in the colony meant that the "leaders of the local farming society[30] – [could] arrest anyone found in their jurisdiction who was suspected of having no 'honest means of subsistence' or 'unable to give a satisfactory account of themselves'" (Ross, 2017:21). Those deemed as vagrant could be forced into the employ of the farming society. Mr Maurs Pretorius told the chairman conducting the enquiry when they went on trial, that they "wrought so hard in getting out of deep water courses, which no Boer would have [gotten] out [off] without the [assistance of the] Hottentots". (Ross, 2017:35). Out of loyalty to Captain Stockenström who sent his father as head of a party together with ten other men, all they had done as they did it was to "meet the wishes of [their] friend Stockenström". They "were promised – in fact [their] circumstances led [them] to expect – that [they] should not have to pay [*opgaaf*][31] for some years" (Ross, 2017:35). The Hottentot people who managed to own land and livestock risked being called a vagrant if they were not able to pay *opgaaf*.

Mr Maurs Pretorius asked:

> What do the people want from us? What shall we do to please them? What have the Hottentots done? One Ordinance come in their favour to raise them, another soon follows to degrade them … The Vagrant Law will certainly affect the Hottentot nation. You will perhaps think that we are speaking of old treatment,

[30] The leaders in the local farming society included the commandants, field-cornets and provisional field-cornets.
[31] *Opgaaf* is "the annual tax for agricultural produce" (Ross, 2017:201).

> but the Boers are not changed. They are daily breaking the Laws of the Government. … is it into the hands of such persons that our liberties are to be [en]trusted? I say if the Law passes, it will be a powerful weapon in the hands of the Colonists to oppress the Hottentots; they want to do away with the 50th Ordinance, which enables you to ride out barley and oats, and to make contracts for supplying the Troops. (Ross, 2017:35).

The issue for the Hottentot people during the 18th and early 19th century was the vagrancy law they had to contend with and the treatment they received at the hands of the Boers. For the Bushmen people, the settlers saw them as fit to be killed. According to Dooling, "in 1807 and 1808 settlers in the frontier regions in the northern districts of the Colony complained loudly of continued 'Bushmen incursions' and requested commandos to be set against them" (Dooling, 2007:60). At first, the settlers tried to pacify the Bushmen on the northern frontier by handing "livestock to certain *kraals* in the hope of putting an end to the pattern of raid and counter-raid" (Dooling, 2007:60). This strategy by the British proved to be unsuccessful and Major Collins was sent to go and assess and report on the conditions under which the Bushmen lived. Dooling notes the following about Major Collins' assessment about the social conditions of the Bushmen:

> for all his colonial prejudices, [Major Collins], admitted to the atrocities suffered by the 'Bushmen'. At the time he recognized that the policy of attempting to pacify them [the Bushmen people] with grants of livestock was doomed to failure – the transition from hunting and gathering to settled agriculture was not easily achieved. Contrary to the spirit of his instructions, Collins proposed that frontier trekboers be given a free hand – when attacked, he argued, settlers should be allowed follow their attackers 'as far as the borders of the colony and put the robbers to immediate death'. (Dooling, 2007:61)

In the area around the Northern Cape, between 1880 and 1887, the colonial government wished to force the Bushmen into a sedentary lifestyle to exercise control over them, specifically controlling their movement in relation to water resources on the Orange River. The magistrate then suggested that if the Bushmen is placed on Robben Island, where crossing the sea will be a challenge, it will force them to accept waged labour while being the subjects of "Bushman lore research" readily accessible to naturalists, scientists, and researchers (Legassick, 2016:123).

The search for cheap labour was the order of the day and "the Bushmen refused to become a part of the cheap [B]lack labour force required by the colony" (Legassick, 2016:124). Elphick and Malherbe note that "Bushmen were assiduously tamed to swell the labour force. Khoekhoe servants sometimes assisted in this [taming] by kidnapping 'Bushmen' and farmers came to rely upon distribution of child prisoners-of-war" (Elphick and Malherbe, 1989:31). For example, when Scott was appointed as the magistrate of the northern frontier in 1880, he was benevolent and liberal in his thinking towards the social circumstances of the Bushmen in the colony. His benevolence towards the Bushmen people soon changed. Scott thought it best to imprison Bushmen for breaching colonial law by refusing the conditions of work under colonial rule and to use them "as objects for ethnographic research and objects of exhibit and display" (Legassick, 2016:124). The misfortune of being displayed befell Sarah Baartman, a Khoe woman, who was exhibited in Europe as a freak show. The obsession with the "fascination [of] Kho[e]San women's most intimate parts was accompanied by an interest in a more accessible sexual characteristic … descriptions of Kho[e]San women's buttocks [became] *de rigeur* for [many] white traveller[s] in southern Africa" (Abrahams, 1997:41–42). In death she was dissected, and parts of her body kept in jars in a museum (Abrahams, 1997). In 1883, as noted by Legassick, Scott became "directly involved in selecting Bushmen for exhibition in Europe … living South Africans were marketed in a range of popular shows in 19th century Britain: Bushman children in 1845–7" (Legassick, 2016:135).

Scott retired as the magistrate from the northern frontier in 1902, he was admired for his work and achievements – "his superiors commended him for his success in almost entirely clearing the Northern Border Districts of marauding Bushmen" (Parkington, Morris & De Prada-Samper, 2019:742). The ill treatment of the San did not stop. They were seen as "vermin" ready to be exterminated and enslaved, working as farm hands utterly denied of their humanness, and "starved, dying of thirst, dispossessed of their land" (Ellis, 2019:318). This legacy followed the Bushmen people and those who identified as Bushmen people into the 20th century. This was a classification laced with shame throughout the centuries that drastically changed in the period post-1994. Reclaiming an identity related to a once- despised form of identification is the subject of chapter five. I elaborate on a ritual where members from the Khoe-San community take back this identity and shower it with beauty and acceptance.

McKaiser (2017), in his chapter on *Contemporary South Africa: The Reach of Apartheid History* draws the conclusion that colonial history, the basis of the brutish Apartheid system of

economic and labour exploitation, did not have the same impact and stronghold on people as that of the recent Apartheid history.

McKaiser (2017) compares the lived experiences of South African society saying that the "phenomenological" gap between colonialism and Apartheid is the reconstruction of people's lived reality. Colonialism is a fact with real consequences. It transformed and changed people's lives tremendously. However, colonialism and Apartheid do not share the same proximity. Many of those who lived through the Apartheid era are alive to narrate their daily lived experiences and challenges to their friends and family members. This retelling keeps the Apartheid past alive through narration. They are here to tell the story. It is not a reconstructed story precisely because people are here to tell the story and correct the narrative. While with colonialism stories are read about people who came before. These stories are written by revisionist or liberal historians. Another salient point raised by McKaiser (2017) is that the Apartheid government gave "legal and policy effect to its own racism. The [incredibly] detailed use of the law as a mechanism of oppression [became the] new frontier of oppression [marking the] difference from what had come before". (McKaiser, 2017:267).

Ulrich (2016) and McKaiser (2017) point to the difficult terrain of identity politics, especially for the Khoe-San people and their engagement with the South African government in post-Apartheid. Here at this intersection, between some South African citizens classified as Coloured people and the state, the current government, talks have emerged and are emerging in relation to identity politics. The issue of identity politics and the claim to indigeneity is unfolding only within the Coloured community and with those Coloured people who self-identify as Khoe-San people.

> There has been a veritable discursive explosion in recent years around the concept of 'identity', at the same moment as it has been subjected to a searching critique. How is this paradoxical development to be explained? And where does it leave us with respect to the concept? The deconstruction has been conducted within a variety of disciplinary areas, all of them, in one way or another critical of the notion of an integral, originary and unified identity. (Hall, 1996:1)

The case of identity politics in South Africa is exemplary of the above quote and calls for critical engagement in the post-Apartheid context. As noted by Hall "identification is constructed on the back of recognition" and influenced by notions of sameness or common

origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, where members of the group form a foundation of solidarity and allegiance. Hall further notes that a "discursive approach sees identification as a construction, a process never completed – always in process" (Hall, 1996:2). Where identification, includes the material and symbolic connotations and is "a process of articulation, a suturing, an over-determination not a subsumption", consisting of either "too much" or "too little" or a "lack" of something but never a "proper fit, a totality" signalling "play" and "*differance*" observing the "logic of more-than-one" (Hall, 1996:3). Thus, meaning that one can 'play' between different forms of identification, precisely because identity is seen as a fluid and nebulous concept. For example, foregrounding being an African, having South African citizenship, followed by one's profession and or one's religious affiliation, being a man or a woman amongst a host of distinct categories. An essentialist construction of identity does not allow the individual to see that his/her identity is like the flow of water, or that it can take on the form of the 'container'. Identity can therefore be a conscious and instrumental construction. I thus concur with Hall who says that identity

> [is] directly contrary to what appears to be its settled semantic career. [T]his concept of identity does not signal that stable core of the self, unfolding from beginning to end through all the vicissitudes of history without change, the bit of the self which remains always-ready 'the same' identical across time. (Hall, 1996:4)

Dabydeen notes the following about identity:

> I have … multiple identit[ies]. There is no crisis. There is a kind of delight as well as a kind of anguish in jumping from one identity to the next. It's like electrons which have their own energization circles. Sometimes they jump from one to the next and release an enormous amount of energy; then jump back to another circle: little electrons jumping. That is not a crisis. That is delight[ful] poignancy, and hopefully a release of energy. (Dabydeen in Birbasling, 1997, cited in Gqola, 2010:1)

The architects of Apartheid, however, could not fathom such multiplicity of identity and had strict constructs of identifying people into need little boxes, the "cookie cutter" concept (Vincent, 1974:376). They sized up everybody in the same way, chocolate cookies with chocolate cookies, vanilla cookies with vanilla cookies, they would not tolerate mixing of the

cookies. To illustrate this phenomenon of essentialising identities and classifying individuals for the purpose of economic subjugation and social destruction is seen in the Population Registration Act 30 of 1950 and the Group Areas Act (Erasmus, 2001; 2017; Richards, 2017; McKaiser, 2017). These Acts were operationalised based on a four-tier racial classification system dividing South African citizens into four race groups namely White, Indian, Coloured and South African Black people, and placed people into separate enclaves, to prevent people from interacting with each other. In this sense, the White identity (particularly that of the Afrikaners), their language and culture was made into an essential tool for communication, imposing their way of life at the risk of undermining other people.

Earlier forms of classification of people can be traced back to scientist like Carl von Linnaeus, in the 18th century, who pioneered the "taxonomic system" used today to classify life: kingdom, phylum, class, order, family, genus, species. Linnaeus used this system to note that people can be distinguished like all other living things (DeGruy, 2005:56; Erasmus, 2017). DeGruy argues that Linnaeus's system of categorisation of different species into various classifiable groups was an incredible and significant achievement in that era, however, he feels that Linnaeus went overboard when he attempted to classify "different types of humans" in a similar way as he went about classifying plant and animal species. "With this highly suspect effort to classify humans, Linnaeus began the science of [physical] anthropology and laid the foundation for 19th century beliefs about race that resulted in racism" (DeGruy, 2005:57). Race classification was underpinned by colour and Linnaeus also assigned intellectual capacities to each race, as posited by DeGruy who notes "none of his observations, other than perhaps humans have different skin pigmentation, have any basis in fact or truth" (DeGruy, 2005:5; Jablonski, 2015). Yet, the work of Fredrich Bluembach, further developed the system of classification based on the work of Linnaeus, creating a system of classification, where he used different categories like "Caucasian, Mongolian, American, Ethiopian, and Malayan races" creating a "belief in racial superiority", where the Caucasian (White) race was considered as superior and the rest of the races inferior that continues to exist to this day (DeGruy, 2005:59; Blum, 2015). DeGruy also notes that Africans "… were considered inferior. They were inferior, first because they were not European, and second because they were not Christian. Thus, Africans were viewed as impure, irreligious and uncivilized, fit to be slaves" (DeGruy, 2005:59).

The creation of superior and inferior human beings was not only a form of subjugation, but it was a struggle of conquest and power. As argued by Eriksen, "identity politics always entails

competition over scarce resources … [where] resources should be interpreted in the widest sense possible and could, in principle, be taken to mean economic wealth or political power, recognition or symbolic power" (2014[2007]:159). However, "recognition" of others and "meaningful social attachments where one is in command of one's own life to an acceptable degree" has been undervalued (ibid). A case in point is the Coloured identity in South Africa which has since its inception and use through the system of classification been marred to being less than and being othered. As noted by Erasmus, "being Coloured means being the privileged black and 'not quite white' person […] being Coloured is about living an identity that is clouded in sexualised shame and associated with drunkenness and jollity" (2001:14). To be Coloured "has always been understood as a residual, in-between or 'lesser' identity – characterized as 'lacking', supplementary, excessive, inferior or simply non-existent" (ibid: 16). The work of Hendricks (2001) explores the formation of Coloured identity that is linked to the colonial era, "emanat[ing] from 'scientific' theories formulated in Europe and the New World" when they encountered and colonised different peoples. Hendricks notes:

> … the representations of those of 'mixed' descent (which is a signifier for Coloured identity, a term mostly used in South Africa) are tied to racial and sexual politics. For, to conceive of people as of 'mixed' descent it is necessary to believe in the existence of separate 'races', 'racial purity' and, […] sexual intercourse between 'races' – 'miscegenation' – produces a hybrid group of people. (2001:29)

These hybrid groups are not merely found on the African shores like the Coloured people in Zambia (Milner-Thornton, 2009) and Coloured people in Zimbabwe (Muzondidya, 2009) but in places like Brazil, the Carribean and America. In relation to the two African examples, the Coloured population make up less than 0.4% in their respective countries unlike in South Africa where those classified as Coloured are almost 10% of the population. In Brazil, for example, the rate of miscegenation and manumission contributed to the rapid growth of the Brazilian "free black population rapidly multipl[ying] and the boundary between black and European ceased to correspond closely to the boundary between slave and free" (Elphick and Giliomee, 1989:537). In Brazil, the racial lines became blurred "by the emergence of many intermediate shades, because interracial marriages were common, and many mixed-race children retained the social status of their white fathers" (Elphick and Giliomee, 1989:537). However as noted by Young:

> The fear of portraying inter-racial sexual relationships contains within it implicit expressions of fears of purity and superiority of the White 'race' which, as they relate to 'miscegenation' and 'race-mixing', are evocative of earlier pseudoscientific racist discourse [… and] all related language is problematic: 'mulatto', 'half-caste', 'mixed-race', 'inter-racial'. (1990:197)

Although these categories might be problematic as stated by Young (1990), the work of Elphick and Giliomee (1989) shows that those born in Brazil use the status to secure a place in the socio-economic rung of society. They note that although the Europeans in Brazil "were prejudiced against the colour and culture of blacks, it became possible for mulattos to rise in society and for criteria other than race (especially wealth) to determine status" (1989:537).

Depending on the context of liaisons between people, the interracial progeny, the offspring of such relations could use this classification to advance their social mobility. Thus, in the context of South Africa, the Griquas, as they are known, were referred to as 'Bastaards' in the social system of the nineteenth century Cape Colony; this label referred to children of mixed parentage particularly of White men and Khoekhoe and slave and Khoekhoe people (Legassick, 1989). In this social system this identity denoted an "economic category as much as a social status of illegitimacy or colour" (Legassick, 1989:369–370). The Griqua became more civilised according to European standards through the acceptance of Christianity (Elphick, 1985) and those referred to as 'Bastaards' were later advised by the missionary Campbell to change their name from 'Bastaard' to 'Griqua' (Besten, 2006). While the name change created a sense of belonging, those identified as Griqua did not escape the socio-economic position of an underclass. Not like in the case of many of the Brazilians and in the case of America, the racial lines drew a stark difference to what opportunities were possible for people. In Northern Rhodesia for example, Milner-Thornton notes:

> According to the Northern Rhodesian[32] Marriage Ordinance of 1940, [C]oloured children born in a union of a 'native' mother and non-native father were illegitimate. They could not claim British ancestry [despite] being born of British fathers. Instead, they were deemed 'British Protected Persons'. They were designated with the same social status as their African mothers. African leaders

[32] The Northern Rhodesian Province now called Zambia.

> in Northern Rhodesia, and most especially Kenneth Kaunda, resisted being classified as a 'British Protected Person'. They argued that, first and foremost, they should be given the dignity of being permitted to be citizens of their own country, Northern Rhodesia. In this regard, Kaunda appeared unsympathetic to their plight, accusing Euro-Africans of being 'misled' by British 'propaganda'. He expected the sons and daughters of African women and European men to renounce their European fathers, and thereby their European ancestry and any political privileges this way [has] entailed. Kaunda implied that it was necessary for Euro-Africans to do this in order to demonstrate their commitment to the African nationalist movement. (Milner-Thornton, 2009:195)

In relation to identity politics Wallerstein notes the following:

> The 'Coloureds' were mostly persons who in other parts of the world have been called 'mulattos' and who in the United States were always considered part of the 'Negro race', in terms of the now-defunct laws governing racial segregation. (Wallerstein, 1991[1988]: 72)

In relation to South Africa and answering questions on who the Coloured people are and what their role has been in the struggle against Apartheid, those ANC members who constantly campaigned in the international arena to bring attention to Apartheid's atrocities to different international audiences found it cumbersome to explain identity politics to an international crowd. Due to the misnomer in defining Coloured people, their struggles are obfuscated and the issue of a "nationally oppressed Coloured national minority" is not readily explainable to a global meeting. Therefore, campaigners in the international arena, when asked questions about who the Coloured people are, found themselves resorting to using the term "so called" Coloured people, like saying "so-called Indians when referring to the original inhabitants of what is now the USA". (Selby, 1984, cited in Wallerstein, 1991[1988]:75).

The idea that Coloured people are not of the same standing as other groups is reflected in the utterances of the then-Apartheid President De Klerk's wife who noted the following:

> … they [Coloureds] are a negative group. The definition of a Coloured in the population register is someone that is not black and is not white and is also not an Indian, in other words a no-person. They are the leftovers. They are the people

> that were left after the nations were sorted out. They are the rest. (Adhikari 2006:480)

It is important to note that this group of people carry with them a colonial reality that stems from naming and categorising people by previous regimes. The speakers, political leaders of the time did not refer to Coloured people as the descendants of the Khoe-San. They (the Coloured) people were all classified as one race group. Neither did they consider Coloured people as Africans because the term African at the time also meant something quite different, referring to the South African Black people, who were known as Bantu people during that time.

The etymology of the term Coloured as used in the South African context has a much longer history than generally discussed in the academy. Long before the Apartheid government used the terminology and legislated the term to refer to a specific group of people to disown them of their birth right, the term was used in the Americas for referring to people who were imported as slaves from Africa under different guises. Erasmus (2017) and Proctor (2017) note that the category of Coloured, as used in the South African psyche, as compared to the more broadly used terminology in the international arena, speaks to two different lived realities. In the U.S. for example the word is spelled Colored, and as noted by Proctor in New Orleans, Louisiana, comparatively speaking,

> Colored identity in Westbury, South Africa, and Creole of Color identity in New Orleans, acquire complex and various meanings due to the unique racial histories of the respective nations in which they are constructed. Race-based identities built on Black - White binary placed limitations on those populations that fell "in-between" and outside the established norm. (Proctor, 2017:1)

In the context of African-Americans, the "one drop rule" significantly categorised and shaped the lives of African-American citizens, where one drop of Black blood would make you a Black person, feeding into the "hypodescent" rule that basically remained the same that "anyone with a known Black ancestor is considered Black" (Hickman, 1997:1163, Tewolde, 2019). Hickman argues that this rationale by the White supremacist states contributed to so much of what is seen in African American lives today "and it has defined not just the history of this race but a large part of the history of America" (Hickman, 1997:1163). The editors of *Beyond Racism – Race and Inequality in Brazil, South Africa, and the United States* in their forward the chapter,

describe the situation for the African Americans living in a country with such long established institutions of democracy:

> Americans seek to defend the access African Americans and other minorities only recently achieved against the assault from the conservative right… in South Africa and Brazil, it is about building institutions and access for black people and women; in the United States, about defending access recently obtained. (Hamilton, Huntley, Alexander, Guimarães and James, 2001:469)

In the South African context, the rigid categorisation system of the Apartheid state deliberately omits to shed light on the nuances and familial ties between diverse groups of people. Thus, as noted in the above quote, the binary of Black White is not as flawless as the Apartheid state and other colonial institutions impressed on the lives of people. The 'zebra debate', is a metaphor for addressing issues in the country in terms of Black and White people's concerns, as the Khoe-San activist and social commentator, the late Dr Martin called it, is "limited and short-sighted". It overlooks the depths of the making of South Africa. Seeing things through a Black and White prism 'casts a shadow' over the injustices of the past that the current government is yet to deal with and engage with in a meaningful manner. In the post-1994 era there is an embodied sense of marginalisation caused by the division of the populace where the classification system entrenches a breeding ground for racial hierarchy based on past experiences. As Pityana (2006) rightfully states, the Khoe-San people are in a relentless search for an identity, while everyone else in the country seemingly know who they are and where they belong, should the statements of the ex-President De Klerk's wife and Chief Albert Luthuli be weighed up against each other. The latter, Chief Albert Luthuli, a Nobel Prize winner, noted that Coloured people are divided into two camps. With the White people they find rejection, "at the same time they avoid identification with Africans. Their dilemma is pitiable; they cannot make up their minds which world to live in" (Bloom 1967: 139).

In relation to the Coloured people in South Africa, the issue to contend with, is that the current democratic dispensation has been holding onto these colonial and Apartheid categories where the ability to self-define has continually been the subject of contentious debates. To further illustrate the chaotic ideology used by the Apartheid state and its insidious laws that were forced down on people, is the fact that individuals regularly straddled and crossed these state-imposed boundaries and classification systems. For example, in South Africa and in the US there were many cases reported and unreported of instances where individuals crossed the

colour line and moulded their appearance to counter-act the system of exclusivity. Mattera (1987) notes that when the officials were busy conducting race classification and reclassification, the barbershop was full of men shaving their heads to avoid the pencil and match-stick test. After he enquired why all the men touched their hair and left the queue, one gentleman was quoted as saying:

> "Those bastards in there, those dogs are using matchsticks and pens to classify us."
> "Matchsticks? Pens?"
> "Matchsticks and fokken pens, which they run through our hair! And when the pen or matchstick gets stuck, the Boers shout: 'Go to room, 47 and get a pass!', like we are fokken natives." (Mattera, 1987:25)

It is not clear whether these were only Coloured men or if there were South African Black men in the crowd as well, but the important point to note is that people creatively found ways to counter the racist system.[33] The above narration by Mattera is also indicative of the different terms that were used to describe people and it shows that the term 'native' at the time had a very specific meaning, which had an impact on the lives of those people upon whom this classification was used. I elaborate with an ethnographic example how a term like native had an impact on people's lives in chapter six.

Conclusion

In conclusion, identity politics, the recognition of their personhood, and the strive for a better life for the group of people contemporarily known as Khoe-San people have always been a struggle. As noted in the above discussion, identity politics is a murky terrain and the use of

[33] The situation at the time was such that people could cross the colour line as noted in the work of Mattera (1987). The stratification was such that some Coloured folk could 'become' white based on their phenotype type and features and some South African Black people opted to 'become' Coloured. In relation to 'White' looking people, they never crossed the colour line and families shunned those who were a few shades darker than them. For example, a white lady by birth, turned Black because of a brain tumor and her family despised her to a point where she could not even attend her father's funeral because her family did not want to be seen with a Black person. For four years she lived and befriended Coloured and Black people who accepted her. (http://sthp.saha.org.za/memorial/articles/i_was_shunned_by_my_family.htm). In other parts of the Eastern Cape, in Port Elizabeth in the South End, and other areas people of all races lived together "Coloureds, Indians, Malays, Africans, Chinese (we're not sure of their colour classification anymore) [where they] and [the] Whites have lived together for over a hundred years in Port Elizabeth's South-End and lived together happily. But all that has got to stop. The Group Areas has put its imprint" https://www.baha.co.za/search/?keyword=classification&pagenum=1&ordering=original_name&per_page=50&searchtype=keyword.

classification systems on individuals' lives is not enough to describe the capabilities of people. The examples mentioned in this chapter have shown that individuals are always in search of finding ways to get the system to work in their favour as far as identity determines life chances. This strategic maneuver is what Dabydeen has described as little electrons jumping to embrace the multiplicity of an identity. However, the opposite is also true that, if an identity is boxed and framed for a particular purpose and fixed to a person's being, limitations would be placed on that person. These limitations on identity have propelled people to be creative human beings, and to find ways to work against a system that was set up to crush all those it considers as undesirable subjects. As noted by DeGruy (2005) and Eriksen (2014[2007]), human beings have pigmentation that gives a certain hue to their skins, but if that pigmentation is used to suppress people, to divide and rule them based on a false notion of superiority and inferiority, joined with power relations in the widest sense of the word, then that must be ruled out and fought against. If classification is used to subjugate people, it must be rooted out.

Chapter THREE
Fieldwork and Research Reflections

Fieldwork

Research Setting

In 1991, during the period of the coalition government, between the National Party (NP) and the incoming African National Congress (ANC), the then leader of the National Party, ex-President F.W. De Klerk repealed the category of Coloured[34]. De Klerk in his capacity as President scrapped the use of the term Coloured as it is the prerogative of governments to legally classify and categorise its citizens to comply with the different demands of the state. Many people, especially those classified as Coloured by the outgoing regime, saw themselves as Coloured people and lived a racialised life in the confines of this term (Richards, 2017; MacKaiser, 2017; Maré, 2014). The general population outside of this group, like the South African Black people from the different ethnic groups, knew and referred to this group of people as Coloured people. When De Klerk gave this instruction, one of the few pronouncements he could make as an outgoing President, the irony as noted by Marè (2014), was that racial classification, particularly for the Coloured people was abolished:

> The Population Registration Repeal Act provided for the abolition of race classification only for South Africans born after the enactment [the Population Registration Act of 1950]. People already classified in the population register

[34] According to Marè, "The Population Registration Act was finally abolished in full in June 1991, along with many other pieces of apartheid legislation. It was described, in parliament, as 'the mother of all apartheid laws', the 'cornerstone of apartheid' […] The Population Registration Repeal Act made provision for people born after 27 June 1991 …to no longer be classified in terms of race. However, the past race classifications would be retained on the population register (reflecting the already existing race entries). This was justified by De Klerk because a 'race-based' governmental system was still in place at the time, in the form of a tricameral parliament of separate white, Coloured and Indian chambers (2014:98).

> [based on] race would remain racially classified until the [old] racially based constitution was replaced by a non-racial constitution[35]. (Marè, 2014:99)

Ironically, the incoming ANC government retained the term for the same purposes as its predecessor did to keep the status quo of power relations, further denying Coloured people an identity by adopting terms like 'black in general' and 'African in particular' to refer to the South African populace (Turok, 2014; Mamdani, 2020). The creation of these two terms served as an indication of who suffered more at the hands of the Apartheid government where the notion of 'African in particular' referred to the South African Black people. The Coloured people were excluded from the term African.

A further reason for keeping the status quo, was the usurpation of land where the land debate was framed in terms of the Black and White peoples' concerns, with 87% of the land in the hands of White people and 13% of the land in the hands of South African Black people. The South African Black people were relegated to the Bantustans while the Coloured people floated between the two dominant narratives of not being White enough for the Apartheid government and not being Black enough either for the democratic government (Adhikari, 2006).

As a result of asserting that the term African refers to the South African Black people, and not to other groups in the country, the Coloured people were to a large extend excluded from the land claims processes in the country post-1994. Legislatively known as Coloured people, they lived in the confines of an imposed identity where different groups of Coloured people now openly denounce the term.

The denouncement of the imposed Coloured identity and claims to a Khoe-San identity resulted in questions being posed by self-identifying Khoe-San people of their place in a democratic South Africa. Reclaiming a Khoe-San identity lent itself to claims on the contentious land debate in the country. Land is not merely an immovable property; it is imbued with value; it

[35] The South African Constitution refers to non-racialism but on all official documentation, the four-tier racial classification system prevails on legal forms.

houses buildings and properties; land is linked to identity; land is linked to culture; and land is a sustainable form of wealth creation that can be passed down from generation to generation.

Firstly, the colonial and Apartheid government left a legacy of landless people[36], that severely affected the Khoe-San people and thereby their descendants. In this process of the usurpation of land, the Khoe-San people, who once had an attachment to land, lost huge tracks of land to the settlers and newcomers.

In the second instance, during the two stage negotiations of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA 1 and CODESA 2), the "platform [where] nineteen political groups [first] met from December 1991 to negotiate a new dispensation in South Africa" no political formation represented the interests of the descendants of the Khoe-San people. The Khoe-San people were thought of as extinct (Mandela and Langa, 2017:299). The Coloured Labour Party, who formed part of the nineteen political groups at the CODESA negotiations, did not represent the interests of the Khoe-San people like the other political parties present at the negotiations.

A section of the Coloured population felt marginalised and excluded from the changes that had taken place in the country. Rather than raising this pressing concern of marginalisation with the incoming government, the plight of marginalisation was addressed at an international level. In 1992, on Human Rights Day, the United Nations proclaimed an International Year of the World's Indigenous Peoples, followed by the proclamation of the Decade for Indigenous Peoples, 1995-2004 and a Forum of Indigenous Peoples was set up (Kuper, 2003). These international announcements followed on the heels of the CODESA negotiations, a watershed moment of the first democratic elections in South Africa. To escape the plague of 'exclusion' and 'invisibility' in yet a new government installed to rule over South Africa, when the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP), declared the first decade of indigenous people's rights, many activists, particularly among the Griqua people approached the United Nations with their claim as indigenous people (Oomen, 2005).

During the struggle against Apartheid, members of the ANC also approached the United Nations and the international community to garner support against the oppressive Apartheid system. Following the CODESA negotiations and the way forward for the country, political

[36] Legassick (2016:xix-xxiv) in his book the Hidden Histories of Gordonia – Land Dispossession and Resistance in the Northern Cape.

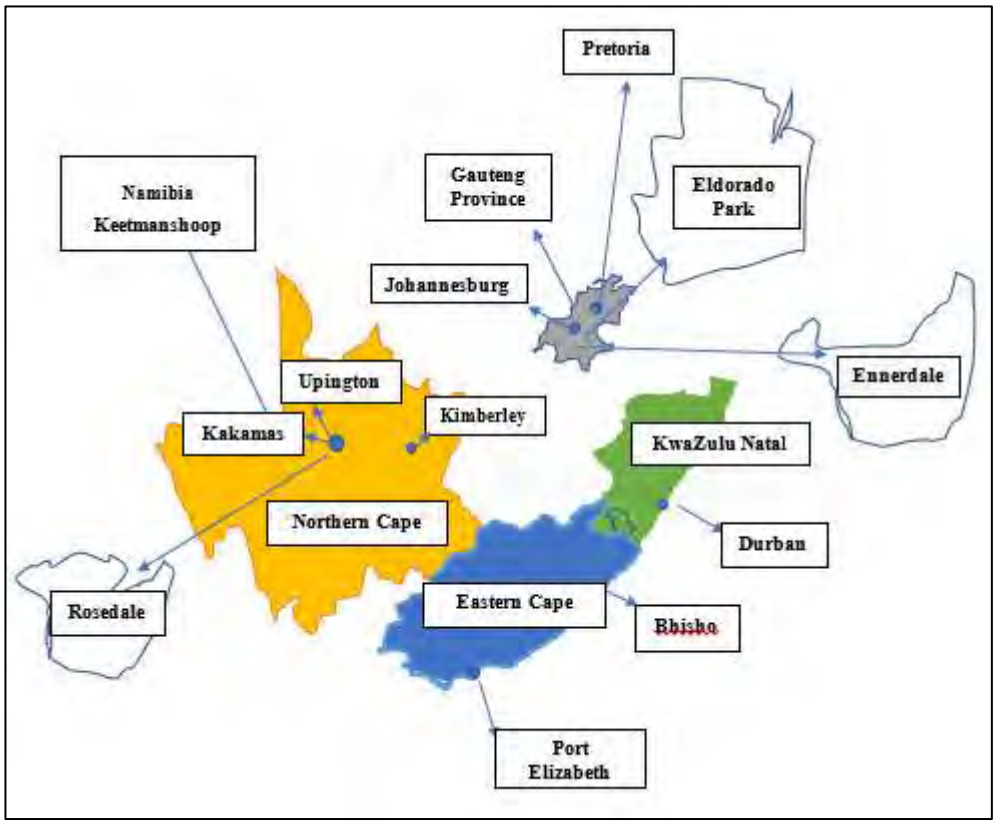
power shifted from minority rule to majority rule. Alongside this shift in power, the Khoe-San people started making their voices heard with the help of UNDRIP, which was recognizing the global movement of indigenous peoples. The claims to indigeneity post-1994 – coming from a group of people legislatively known as Coloured people since the onset of Apartheid in 1948 to its demise in the 1990s – is the contentious issue that this thesis engages with on a multitude of levels which necessitated the approach used to collect ethnographic data among Khoe-San people as they engage the current government (ANC) around issues of identity politics. The issue of identity politics of the Khoe-San groups also created a phenomenon where members of a minority group, the Coloured people in South Africa, have brought forth claims to indigeneity. The situation that has therefore arisen, is the identity politics of a minority group within a minority group claiming indigeneity.

Research Methods and Techniques

Research Design

The study was based on a qualitative ethnographic approach that seeks to understand people's views, experiences, and social interaction in their own words (Bryman, 2004, 2012; Bernard, 2006). Initially, I intended to follow the conventional method of gathering ethnographic data, employing the "single-site location" approach that Malinowski used in his ethnographic study (Marcus, 1995:95). Based on this method by Malinowski, I would complete an ethnographic study working with research participants in the Northern Cape, choosing a particular group, for example the San/Bushmen people.

However, I realised that my research did not fit this method of the single-site ethnographic approach. My potential research participants had a vast network across South Africa's provinces. It would thus be difficult to tell a single story. Following Marcus (1995), and the results from my preliminary engagements with the Khoe-San people towards the end of 2014 continuing to 2015, I adopted a multi-sited ethnographic approach which "move[d] from [a] conventional single-site location, contextualized by macro-constructions of a larger social order … to multiple sites of observation and participation [that] cross-cut dichotomies such as the 'local' and the 'global', the 'lifeworld' and the 'system' (Marcus, 1995:95). In order to engage with my participants' network across provinces as they raised different issues with the government, I needed to follow them and their stories.



Map 1: Partial map of South African provinces. Map redrawn by author to show the places in which the ethnographic fieldwork was conducted. The map points to the provinces where the research was conducted and the communities within these provinces that became part of the data collection process.

Through necessity the field became fluid. I followed the people, their engagements with each other and with government institutions in different settings like Eldorado Park and Ennerdale in Johannesburg in the Gauteng Province; Rosedale Upington in the Northern Cape; Durban in Kwa-Zulu Natal in the Wentworth area; and also, settings in the Eastern Cape. In addition to the multi-sited ethnographic approach, I triangulated my research observations where "triangulation [helped me to] add depth to the data that [I] collected" (Fusch, Fusch and Ness, 2018:19). Triangulation as a technique was used to cross verify the observations that I noted in the data, to mitigate the "researcher's bias/worldview" that is "present in all social research, both intentionally and unintentionally, which is why it is important to triangulate in qualitative research" (Fields and Kafai, 2009, cited in Fusch et al., 2018:21; Howe, 2012).

In October of 2014, I returned to Johannesburg, one of my primary sites for preliminary research. I attended community meetings that were primarily focused on issues of housing in the predominantly Coloured areas of Eldorado Park and Klipspruit West. My rationale for

continuing with the preliminary research was to stay in touch with community issues and to slowly establish a relationship with potential research participants. My presence at these meetings, I hoped, would not only confirm my status as a researcher, but also as someone who was interested in the community and Khoe-San issues[37].

According to Lewis (1973), anthropology was established through the expansion of Europe and the colonisation of non-Western subjects where the "methodological assumption" was to study the "primitive" people from the vantage point of the "Westerner or outsider" who is all-knowing (Lewis, 1973:582). The turn in social sciences to the study of decoloniality and the meaning thereof, has filtered through to ordinary citizens who are reflecting on their own conditions and lived realities, who are trying to make sense of these lived realities as they experience them. In the post-colonial moment, decoloniality can be viewed as a concept used by researchers where people are engaged in forming a movement, a think tank[38] that tries to imagine new 'ways of being' and 'new ways of seeing and becoming' in the post-colony (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, 2011). The turn to decolonisation as used in this study by self-identifying Khoe-San people, is a process that begun to delve deep into the psyche and mind of colonial thinking[39] by the state, while questioning the system of colonial classification and the condition of humanity.

Sampling and Doing Fieldwork

In the Northern Cape, in 2015 and on returning to the field in 2016, the decision on the sampling was dependent on what the research questions were and what the research objective entailed (Bryman, 2012). To answer the related questions posed in the introduction, "purposive sampling [as] a form of non-probability sampling" was used to select research participants in

[37] I officially entered the field after my proposal was approved.
[38] A think tank can consist of a group of people who work on specific issues like the economy and the effects of colonialism, or it can consist of a small group of people who engage a myriad of issues that are interlinked with the colonial project. Such is seen among the Khoe-San groups, who set up different structures to engage with several issues ranging from questioning the use of categories, to issues of land, language, and housing among other things.
[39] The South African government is still using old forms of classification that deprived the Khoe-San people of an identity and their descendants that came to be known as Coloured people – a homogenous classification that omits to engage the multiplicity of origins of these people.

the Northern Cape (Bryman, 2012:418). I strategically approached my research participants with specific research questions in mind.

The main research questions were: 'How do self-identifying Khoe-San people, both young and old, negotiate and navigate their identities in the current racialised political economy of South Africa? How do these identities relate to national and international debates vis-à-vis the rights of indigenous peoples? Relating to these questions, the issue of identity politics of the Khoe-San people does not merely relate to one specific group, but it speaks to the identity politics of a group of people who became invisible and opaque in the new dispensation.

In the Northern Cape, in Upington and the Rosedale area, the members affiliating to the House of N‖ngǂe[40], navigate their claims to indigeneity through efforts made to revive the N/uu language and through engaging in cultural dances and performances. In addition to multi-sited ethnography, the main research question and sub-questions allowed [me] to "decide [the] purpose" the sample can be used for to answer the research question/s (Bernard, 2006:189). Therefore, in Rosedale, I selected to engage and work with members affiliated to the House of N‖ngǂe, herein referred to as the House, a structure under the broader umbrella of the ǂKhomani San people[41]. The members affiliated to the House at the time of doing the research in Upington numbered twelve individuals ranging from 18 to 83 years old. These members included seven females of whom three where young adult women under thirty years, and five members were males of whom three were young adult men under the age of thirty-five. The main activity of this House is the revival of the N/uu language and young children are at the centre of the activities of this House. Since I did not have ethical clearance to work with children[42], I

[40] The House of N‖ngǂe means the House of People.
[41] In this thesis, I am not supplying any diagrams of representation as these will be inaccurate due to the different groups expanding and contracting as people become aware of issues of classification and the identity politics of Khoe-San groups. There are also instances where members affiliating to one group decide to break away and form their own group with a new following of members.
[42] Ethical clearance was conferred through departmental processes of presentation of the research proposal and subsequent submission of my proposal for research to the Research Ethics Committee at Rhodes University.

observed how the 'teacher'[43], Mr van Wyk, interacted with the children[44] who attended these afternoon classes.

As part of the method of multi-sited ethnography and data collection, in the Northern Cape, both in Upington and in Kimberley[45], I observed and bore witness to the 'politics of power' between various state officials and individuals in the Khoe-San movement. I was privy to the direct impact of a number of high-level decision-making processes from different state officials in relation to the Khoe-San people and the lack of consultation in terms of events planned to help the Khoe-San people engage in the process. I saw how different forms of relationships camouflage the larger structural issues of recognition and identity politics and how the 'voice of reason,' of a senior official was able to change the paradigm and ways of thinking[46] of an entire caucus of people[47].

In 2015, I spent three months in the field in the city of Johannesburg, in the Gauteng province. The city of Johannesburg is considered the economic hub of South Africa[48]. I spoke to and interviewed members of the Gauteng National Khoe-San Council (GNKC), Southern African Indigenous Peoples Association (SAIPA), and the Indigenous First Nation Association of Southern Africa (IFNASA) and engaged with the members of the Camissa Movement for

---

[43] The word 'teacher' is in inverted commas as the language taught is not an official language and the teacher, Mr van Wyk, is not remunerated for this teaching activity, nor is he recognized as a teacher by the Department of Basic Education (DBE).

[44] The children who attended these afternoon classes, at the time of doing research, numbered between six and ten and they were mostly family members. The numbers would vary daily, but they never exceeded more than fifteen children except when there were cultural activities and they needed to perform cultural dances as others would often join the group.

[45] In Upington I observed a meeting that was held to discuss the unveiling of the tombstone of the late Ouma Jantjies, one of the pioneers of the revival of the N/uu language project. At this meeting over ten government departments were represented totalling over twelve officials together with two family members of the late Ouma Jantjies, Mr Van Wyk and me. In Kimberley, I was part of a six-member delegation to discuss the management of large sums of money intended for the project of the revival efforts of the N/uu and Nama languages.

[46] Khoe-San people are constructing their identity in the presence of state officials, not in silos and separate or away from state invention. The making of Khoe-San identity has since the early-1990s morphed into a dialectic of sort, rather than a monologue that dictates who they are or how they wish to identify as with previous governments. It all forms part of the process of decolonisation of thinking and questioning of identity within the groups who self-identify as Khoe-San people. Self-identification forms part of the process of decolonisation as the act of self-identification breaks with the tradition of being confined to a category, i.e. the Coloured category, which people denounce.

[47] I return to this point in chapter six on how being in a position of power informs the outcome of an event.

[48] The Johannesburg Stock Exchange (one of the biggest financial institutions on the continent) previously located in the Central Business District (CBD) of Johannesburg, is now located in Sandton.

Equality[49]. I also followed the South African Human Rights Commission hearings held over different days in 2016 in Johannesburg, as well as in Upington and Kimberley (Northern Cape).

The Johannesburg field site provided an interesting contrast of how Khoe-San people engaged the current structures in the metro, directly dealing with the ruling party, like the minister of housing and the premier of the metro in Johannesburg. In contrast to the Northern Cape, a peri-urban area that is sparsely populated, mobilising groups of people was not a frequent appearance as mobilisation around Khoe-San activities happened in Johannesburg. I spent time with self-identifying Khoe-San members from all lifestyles and occupations[50] who engaged in the broader struggle for recognition of the rights of Khoe-San people.

The ethnographic data was collected through participant observation, conventional focus group discussions and what I term as 'spontaneous focus group' discussions. The technique of using spontaneous focus group discussions was applied with young adults at conferences and workshops arranged by government or at the various community meetings to listen to their views on the politics of identity. These spontaneous focus group discussions occurred during tea breaks, lunch breaks, or at dinner tables. The meetings organised by government would normally last for two or three days which was sufficient time to start general conversations with people and then ask the group around the table a specific question related to my research, prompting them for more views. The spontaneous focus group discussions allowed for many voices to be part of the conversation and it also shed light on opposing views from the different groups and among the different activists.

I interviewed the manager of the Dawid Kruiper municipality in the Northern Cape regarding the place of indigenous people in that region. I facilitated one focus group discussion with young adults who were learners of the N/uu language when the project of language revivalism started in the early 2000s in the Rosedale area to inform me of their experiences.

---

[49] In doing multi-sited ethnography, the meaning that the participants brought to the discussion in the different spaces became important. While I spoke to the leaders of these groups, the voices of those who followed them were equally important.

[50] The people in the Khoe-San movement are not only unemployed people who have time available to participate in different forms of activism. I met with Chiefs and activists in the movement who are employed in well-paid positions who use their annual leave to attend workshops and activities of the Khoe-San movement. They sacrificed time they could have spent with family to be part of Khoe-San activities. The question then arises, if this is the case – that some members are employed – why do they make these sacrifices to attend workshops?

Johannesburg is also the city where I grew up and completed my primary and high school education. I observed and participated in the activities of self-identifying Khoe-San people in this urban space. It was important to the study to see how self-identifying Khoe-San members negate this urban space concerning their claims to indigeneity. Urban spaces offer more opportunities in terms of socio-economic upward mobility compared to the peri-urban and rural spaces. It became crucial to see how these groupings try to unify and speak with one voice regarding the perception of them by the government as extinct. I therefore attended several meetings referred to as 'unity meetings' arranged by self-identifying Khoe-San members, a land summit, and many community meetings where the discussions revolved around housing, jobs, and education. The unity meetings also addressed the landlessness of Khoe-San people.

In Johannesburg, activists in the different groups engaged offices of the ruling party directly, like the minister of housing and the premier of the city. Transport is readily available, and people could easily mobilise and congregate for meetings or protests with large numbers of people, compared to the Northern Cape which is a large province and sparsely populated. In chapter six I discuss how, at the time of the research, a decision made from the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, affected the behaviour of many government officials in the Northern Cape, including that of the Premier of the province.

I attended the inauguration of Katrina Esau in 2015 and the first-year anniversary celebration in 2016 held in Rosedale Upington. The event was organised by the group with whom Katrina Esau was affiliated. The event was a ritual where Khoe-San people bestowed recognition on Katrina Esau as the matriarch of the House of N‖ngǂe[51].

Other forms of personal participation in the activities of Khoe-San people included walking with a group of activists in 2015 and 2017. In 2015, I joined a group of Khoe-San activists embarking on a 3km walk to three institutions namely the South African Human Rights Commission, the Commission for Gender Equality and the Constitutional Court to hand over a memorandum of grievances. In 2017, I joined a group of activists from Gqeberha (previously called Port Elizabeth) on the second day of their weeklong walk to Bhisho as they passed through Makhanda (previously called Grahamstown) in order to hand over a memorandum at the Eastern Cape legislature calling for the term Coloured to be scrapped.

[51] I elaborate on this ritual in chapter five.

I engaged these individuals in the field as an interpretive researcher. I was not interested in generalisations or representivity, but my interest was focused on how people make meaning of their social world. At any given point of these various meetings I attended in Johannesburg in places like Eldorado Park, Ennerdale and in Klipspruit West, more than forty members were present – male and female, young and old. Although I had a good relationship with many leaders in the Khoe-San circles, I chose my main informants strategically. Ms Letitia Petersen and the late Chief Mathysen became my main informants in Johannesburg. I made this choice based on their experiences in the Khoe-San movement and their relationships with Khoe-San leaders across the provinces as both worked closely with government departments since the early-1990s.

Ms Petersen and I met through a mutual friend. We discovered that we belonged to the same church albeit in different districts. Since our first introduction in 2011 our friendship has been mutually constituted.

I met Mr. James Mapanka, also known to me as Kai Meester, in Kimberley in 2016 when I was invited by the Department of Arts and Culture to attend a meeting that discussed the language issue among other things. Mr Mapanka became my main informant in the Northern Cape as he was an ex-teacher well versed in how the system of basic education works, as well as being a language activist.

The PanSALB Conference

In 2017, the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB)[52] arranged a two-day language conference on 28–29 June at the University of the Free State, in Bloemfontein. This conference was organised under the theme 'Indigenous Peoples Language # Language First'. The conference was attended by the organisers, language experts and researchers, government officials and self-identifying Khoe-San members from the Northern Cape, Western Cape, Johannesburg, Kwa-Zulu Natal and the Free State.

As with many of the other conferences where the government is host, the number of delegates often totals more than two hundred members. Different government institutions host these

[52] Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) was established in 1995 to help preserve all South African languages. The organisation is a state institution with a mandate promulgated according to the new constitution of South Africa of 1996.

events, including transportation from the various provinces and accommodation for the duration of the event.[53] The procedure of attending such huge events catered for by government would sometimes follow that the organisers would give a limit to the number of delegates that can be invited[54]. This conference was important to attend, particularly as it was themed 'Indigenous Peoples Language Conference' by the PanSALB. The conference only dealt with Khoe-San languages issues. I managed to briefly speak to the Director of the PanSALB, asking why the conference was themed the Indigenous Peoples Language Conference? I also mentioned to the Director the argument by Robins (2001) and Igoe (2006) that, in the African and Asian debate, governments claim that everybody is indigenous, not only certain groups of people.[55] Who are the organisers referring to and what is meant when this institution partly gives 'recognition' to the importance of language, particularly that of the Khoe-San people?

Mr James Mapanka was at the Bloemfontein conference. Mr Mapanka was instrumental in the activism and motivation processes of re-negotiating the Twinning Agreement[56] between the Northern Cape Province and the ||Kharas *(*Karas) region in relation to the revival of the

[53] It has become the norm for government departments who host workshops and conferences to include the transportation and accommodation for delegates to attend the planned events. These arrangements help to facilitate attendance at the workshops and conferences, without which many of the interested parties in the Khoe-San movement would not be able to afford the costs involved in attending such events. I have also encountered situations where Khoe-San people arranged their own conferences and get-together events where members who wished to attend a Khoe-San gathering would pay for their own accommodation and travelling. In chapter six, I discuss the ritualised inauguration of Katrina Esau. At this event Khoe-San leaders travelled from different provinces across the country and paid their own way to attend the inauguration.

[54] In many instances, I depended on my main informants, especially Ms Petersen, to add my name on the various lists going out from the government offices if I had been unsuccessful in my own attempts to get onto these lists for attending the conference or workshop. The lists, as they are structured in the government statures, refer to the five groupings namely the Griqua, Nama, Korana, Cape Khoe and San. Through the help of Ms Petersen, I would get onto these lists as a member of one of these groups. I therefore allowed members of the groups to identify me externally as per these categories so as to attend the events. The government has no verification measures in place as self-identification is a primary aspect recognized by UNDRIP.

[55] See my email and questions posed to the Director of PanSALB. Although the Director handed me his business card to email him with my questions, I have not received a response from that office. Another problem that Khoe-San people are faced with, is the change in leadership. Every time there is a change in leadership at these government institutions, the incoming governmental official does not continue the preceding work of the Khoe-San story. A new cycle of talks and negotiations start. A delaying tactic.

[56] The first attempt at bilateral agreements between South Africa and Namibia to strengthen the ties between the two countries with reference to trade relations and closer ties in education with specific reference to language was in 1999. The first attempt was unsuccessful and almost a decade and a half passed before sections of this agreement could be revisited.

Khoekhoegowab language. In Namibia the language spoken and used as a conversational language is referred to as Khoekhoegowab.

At the language conference Mr Mapanka mentioned to me that the Department of Basic Education in the Northern Cape had arranged a trip to Namibia with ex-teachers from Khuboes (Kuboes) and Riemvasmaak in the Northern Cape. When he mentioned the Namibian trip with ex-language teachers, my first reaction was to ask if I could go with the delegation. Excited at the prospect of travelling to Namibia, I motivated why it was necessary for me to be part of the delegation in order to look comparatively at the issue of language revivalism in South Africa. The Khoekhoegowab language in Namibia is used as a conversational language while, in South Africa, the Khoe-San people are mostly conversant in Afrikaans and English. On a personal level, the Namibian trip was my first international visit and stamp in my passport.

Mr Mapanka consulted with his colleagues, and I received the go-ahead to join the delegation on condition that I had my passport ready and could meet the team in Kakamas in the Northern Cape to go on the road trip to Namibia on the Sunday following the conference. In chapter five, I elaborate extensively on this trip as it provides the basis for the comparative analysis in terms of the revival of the Nama and N/uu language project.[57]

Entry into the field-sites: Relationships matter – Building and sustaining rapport

Marcus (2001:519) quotes Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte (1999) who define "building rapport [as] developing good personal relationships with people in the research setting that facilitate access to activities and information necessary for conducting the study". In her work on social psychology, Harrington notes that the goal of a researcher and a research project is to gain "access" into your field-site that is granted by prospective research participants. To gain access is the ultimate "social scientific goal of ethnography" (Harrington, 2003:599). Harrington makes a distinction between gaining access and establishing rapport. She cites the work of Glense and Peshkin who noted the following:

> Access is a process. It refers to your acquisition of consent to go where you want, observe what you want, talk to whomever you want, obtain and read whatever

[57] The chapter also takes a more in-depth look at the role of the Department of Basic Education in language revivalism and the 'politics of identity'.

> documents you require, and do all of this for whatever period of time you need to satisfy your research purposes. (Harrington, 2003:599)

The importance of establishing rapport with research participants was core to my study and aided me in entering many of the spaces mentioned in this thesis. Harrington further posits that "rapport […] refers to the quality of the researcher-participant relationship itself and is most often likened to friendship" (Harrington, 2003:599). I established several research-participant relationships with many research participants over many years, and I also joined some of the WhatsApp platforms that the various groups established.

These relationships with my research-participants became more important as I progressed in the study. In 2016, while I was in the field in the Northern Cape, one of the newly 'birthed members', or 'Johnny come lately'[58], had a problem with my presence at meetings as I was not affiliated to the group[59]. Firstly, Willem[60] insisted that I sign a memorandum of agreement that stated that any monetary proceeds[61] that resulted from the study would be shared with them. I explained that I could not sign such a memorandum of agreement on behalf of the university to which I am affiliated, but that I would gladly sign such a form in my own capacity as a researcher. Willem was flabbergasted. One of the other members of the group, Rickus[62], a teacher by profession, stepped in to explain to Willem what research entailed and he became

[58] This is how those who self-identify as Khoe-San who have been with the struggle since the early days in the 1990s refer to members who have a newfound consciousness. There seems to be a growing number of people who are either interested in the Khoe-San story or who join these groups as Khoe-San allies.
[59] With the establishment of different groups comes the aspect of loyalty to one group as sensitive issues are discussed about that specific group and people do not normally want the other groups to know what they are doing or discussing.
[60] In parts of the thesis, I use pseudonyms, as I highlight the internal factions that are happening in the groups and I use the names of people who wish to be known as Khoe-San people and activists in their respective groupings. All the photographs used in this thesis were taken by me with the consent of the people. Where the photographs involve members outside of Khoe-San circles, I blur their faces to protect their anonymity. I also blur the faces of young people who became part of the study for being part of the activities of the Khoe-San groups.
[61] There is a general sense that Khoe-San groups are exploited and over-researched as a group of people who do not benefit from being studied, especially the San/Bushmen groups. So, Willem's demand was not the first mention of it. I have heard such stories in the field around the role of researchers in indigenous communities and what they plough back into the community after doing their field work. Willem was being frank and direct with me about his personal views.
[62] Pseudonym

very agitated. He ordered me to leave the meeting, which I did. Afterwards some of the other members came to apologise for his behaviour.

This incident transpired after I had done preliminary research between 2014 and 2015. During this preliminary period, I became acquainted with most Khoe-San groups, a fact that Willem underestimated. Willem was a new member to the group.

In April 2014, I arrived in Grahamstown (now called Makhanda) in the Eastern Cape, a month before the second National Dialogue was to take place between Khoe-San members and the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR) in Kimberley, in the Northern Cape. The first National Dialogue had been held in 2013 and it was referred to as Kimberley 1 (K1), which I attended. This next event in 2014 was called Kimberley 2 (K2).

As a new environment Grahamstown was alien to me. I had to figure out how the public transport system worked in and around the Eastern Cape. Before arriving in Grahamstown, my main informant, Ms Petersen, had arranged with one of the Chiefs living in Port Elizabeth (now known as Gqeberha) to add my name to their delegates list. Adding my name to the list of attendees for the K2 event was a troublesome because of limited space and the restrictions placed on the number of Khoe-San members allowed to attend. My name was eventually added to the list of delegates and I was put in touch with the daughter of the Chief who shares my name, Sharon. Coincidence? Maybe! We corresponded and she requested all my contact details in order to forward them to the East London Department of Rural Development and Land Reform who, in turn, would contact me to arrange for a pick-up in Grahamstown. The arrangements were made with a tour operating company and I was assured of my attendance in Kimberley for the follow-up event in 2014. I never made it to the conference due to logistical arrangements that went wrong with the tour operating company. The question I pondered at the time was, how would government officials know or make the distinction between who are Khoe-San and who are not Khoe-San? Are these different departments only creating a paper trail, so that they have data and numbers when the government needs to submit country reports to the United Nations to show they are complying with some of the guidelines set out at the United Nations in relation to indigenous people?[63] For this specific event that never materialised, I was placed on the list of the San delegation from the Eastern Cape. On another

[63] I return to this point in chapter four.

occasion in Johannesburg, before relocating to Grahamstown, I was placed on the list of the Korana delegation. I allowed the groups to put me in a box for the purposes of attending these events[64] and I was generally considered to be one of them as I am classified as a Coloured person. I later learnt differently about the messiness of my own preconceived notion of my identity. I discuss my identity politics and that of my family in the session on positionality of the researcher under reflexivity and reflection discussed in this chapter.

In keeping with Gluckman's (1952) approach, and tracking change as it happens over time, it was essential to compare the 2013 event with the 2014 event. Unable to attend K2, I relied on the pictures and audio I collected from a Khoe activist, Charles Human, who resided in Bloemfontein in the Free State. Charles was introduced to me in 2012 by one of the High Commissioners of the Griqua Royal House. We have stayed in contact since this meeting as Charles is actively involved in community issues of the Griqua and Korana people of the Free State. The information I collected from Charles assisted me in formulating the research design and the approach to the research in terms of doing multi-sited research as opposed to the classical single-sited ethnographic approach.

According to Dwyer and Buckle, the process of doing qualitative research is different from doing quantitative research, and all aspects of the research process become important. Qualitative researchers are not separate from the study but linked to the research participants whom "[they] carry […] as [they] work with the transcripts. The words, representing experiences, are clear and lasting" (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009:61). The result of qualitative research is thus embroiled:

> [in] our personhood [and] affects the analysis, so, too, the analysis affects our personhood. Within this circle of impact is the space between. The intimacy of qualitative research no longer allow[ed] [me] to remain [a] true outsider to the experience under study and, because of [my] role as researcher, it does not qualify [me] as [a] complete insider. [I] now occupy the space between, with the costs and benefits this status affords. (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009:61)

[64] I personally do not subscribe to categories. This will become clearer in the section on reflexivity. I am on a journey of discovering myself in this morass called identity politics and identity formation, particularly in relation to how classification is used in the space of South Africa.

Dwyer and Buckle rightly point out that the intimacy of qualitative research did not allow me to remain an outsider to the experience of the study. I am affected by the research process. I have questions of my family and how I was socialised and brought up in a Coloured community. The way this experience shaped my worldview impacted on how I write about identity politics of the Khoe-San people.

Ethics in indigenous research

Smith (2005) notes that ethical research in indigenous and other marginalised communities must be grounded in respect. Ethical research is about "establishing, maintaining and nurturing reciprocal and respectful relationships, not just among people as individuals but also with people as individuals, as collectives and as members of communities" (Smith, 2005:97). As noted in the guidelines of Anthropology Southern Africa, "[the] primary responsibility is to the research participants", and to ensure that research participants have consented to the research[65]. The research participants can refuse to take part in the research and withdraw their participation. If consent had previously been granted for the research, participants can withdraw that consent at any time too. My conduct throughout the research process was also guided by the Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee (2014) and by the ethical guidelines of Anthropology Southern Africa, which simply says that no harm should come to the research participants.

Before beginning fieldwork officially, I engaged in preliminary fieldwork from September 2014 to August 2015[66]. I informed the prospective participants that my interest was to look at the Khoe-San politics holistically as a national question in South Africa and not necessarily in the individual groups per se. During this time, while I was waiting for the approval of my research proposal, I started having informal discussions and I explained the research project and my research interest to individuals and groups in the Khoe-San movement. When I officially entered the field in September 2015, I again explained my research project and sought

[65] https://www.asnahome.org/about-the-asna/ethical-guidelines.

[66] I previously mentioned that I arrived in Makhanda, then Grahamstown, in April 2014; the year the second largest gathering was held between the government and Khoe-San groups. Over 1 000 Khoe-San members from across the nine provinces attended this event. I could not make it to this event due to logistics and unfamiliarity with public transport system in Grahamstown. When I started my preliminary fieldwork, I based it on audio recordings I received from a Khoe-San activist, and I began to speak to Khoe-San individuals who attended this event.

verbal consent from the research participants. As new members are constantly joining the Khoe-San circles, keeping track of all the new members became a challenging exercise.

Although I was familiar with many of the research participants, this did not mean that I was absolved from the responsibility of behaving ethically or adhering to and practising ethical research methods while doing participant observation or conducting interviews. Some of the ethical encounters, for example obtaining consent and informing individuals or groups about one's research can be predicted before the research commences, but many of the ethical problems that arise during the process of research must be managed in the field as research proceeds. The dilemmas that emerge and how they are managed are specific to the research context and the researcher's moral and ethical framework.

The slippery slope of ethics

I met with a few of these unforeseen ethical dilemmas. Firstly, because Khoe-San narratives are in flux and new members join different groups, I had to explain my presence to the new members. This means that as a researcher I had to manage the ethical issues that appear in a considered and reflexive way that enabled me to conduct research that would produce valid findings while at the same time treating research participants with respect.

When Willem chased me out of the meeting, I obliged to his request. Although other members wanted to make a case for me to stay in the meeting, I left the meeting and waited outside for them to finish the meeting. I did not leave the venue because that would have given the wrong impression and it would have reflected poorly on my conduct as a researcher.

In the Northern Cape field site, children formed part of the activities of the group, and while I did not have ethical clearance to work with children, I observed the teacher's engagement with them. Thus, as Mr van Wyk engaged with the children, I was therefore directly involved with the process of teaching and observing the interaction between Mr Van Wyk and the children. On another occasion, when the members of the House of N‖ngǂe, from the Rosedale community in Upington were invited to a function, and the children too were invited to perform their cultural dancing, Mr Van Wyk requested that I assist the young girls in getting dressed. In that moment, while I reasoned through an answer, it was clear that I was expected to help. I was part of their space saying no was not an option.

As I engaged with people, chatting, interviewing and participating in activities, or taking photographs, people observed me as much as I observed them. On the 19th of July 2017, I

travelled to Johannesburg to attend the funeral service of the late Chief Mathysen which was held on the 22nd of July 2017. Here I found that there was an expectation, especially from family members, that I would have my camera and document the funeral.

While I was preparing for the trip to Johannesburg, I made a conscious decision to leave all research equipment at home out of respect for a leader and a person whom I saw as a mentor. The late Chief Mathysen would take the time to phone me to talk, share his thoughts, and ask about my wellbeing. When I was in Johannesburg for fieldwork, I would inform the Chief who worked in the Johannesburg CBD, and we would take the same bus home in the afternoon. Sometimes, I would go to town so that I could take the afternoon bus and have conversations with the Chief.

I always sat on a two-seater, by the window, to draw his attention. It was like an unwritten rule. Nobody sat next to me in the bus. It was as if people knew the seat was reserved. For the duration of the trip, sometimes an hour or more, depending on afternoon traffic, we would talk about Khoe-San issues, until he disembarked in Eldorado Park, where he stayed before moving back to the land of his birth, Jacksondrift in the Eikenhof area, south of Johannesburg. Smith notes that, when doing research in indigenous communities:

> The ability to enter preexisting relationships; to build, maintain, and nurture relationships; and to strengthen connectivity are important research skills in the indigenous arena. [It] require[s] critical sensitivity and reciprocity of spirit by [the] researcher. (Smith, 2005:97)

On the day of the funeral, when I was asked about my camera, and taking pictures, I obliged to the request. I used my phone to discretely take pictures. Taking pictures of the funeral was against my better judgement but people saw me as the researcher, although I was at the funeral to pay my last respects like everybody else. Bishop and Glynn argue that:

> … relationships are not simply about making friends … that researchers must be self-aware of their position within the relationship and aware of their need for engagement in power-sharing processes. (Bishop and Glynn 1992, cited in Smith, 2005:97)

The rules on ethical guidelines do not prepare nor stipulate how one deals with situations in the field should a matter such as death arise. When the family of the late Chief Mathysen requested me to take pictures of the burial, we engaged in the power-sharing process of decision making

at that point. Although I decided in my capacity as the researcher not to be, or act, as the researcher on the day of the funeral, the expectation of me by my research participants dictated that I oblige to their request.

Regarding the people and individuals of a community and their interactions, Smith notes:

> The community and individuals assess people from the first time they see them, hear them, and engage with them. They assess them by the tone of a letter that is sent, as well as by the way they eat, dress, and speak. These are applied to strangers as well as insiders … different cultures, societies, and groups have ways of masking, revealing, and managing how much of the assessment is actually conveyed to the other person and, when it is communicated, in what form and for what purpose. (Smith, 2005:97)

The need for careful consideration, evaluation and justification of ethical choices is central to good ethical decision making, because there are no written guidelines for researchers to follow when experiencing loss in the field, while doing research. The people with whom I conducted my research became more than merely research participants from whom I collected information; they became part of my existence as much as I was part of their existence. Ethical committees have not factored the experience of loss in the field into ethical guidelines. To appear at a funeral, or any other personal event, creates stronger bonds of trust between yourself and the research participants.

Challenges and limitations of multi-sited fieldwork

The Khoe-San activists and groups of people from the Coloured community started the process of speaking to the democratic government on identity politics in the early 1990s on questions of indigeneity. My interest in the study was to retrace these first conversations of the early 1990s under the Mandela government and the contemporary debates on what has been achieved for Khoe-San groups since the dawn of democracy. For this reason, choosing one group of people to do research with was not applicable in my project as my interest was also to look at how the current government deals with the issues raised by the indigenous groups and the identity politics of indigeneity. Multi-sited fieldwork across provinces implies that the narratives are layered, like peeling an onion, and telling a single story of a single group of people, especially in the Khoe-San circles, would be extremely challenging. The multi-sited fieldwork I engaged in across provinces limited my ability to look in-depth into individual

narratives of single groups or persons. I strived to look holistically at the Khoe-San narrative and the unfolding of the relationship between citizens and the state.

Doing multi-sited ethnography is demanding. It is physically, mentally, and emotionally tiring as the researcher is not concentrating only on one group of people in one community, listening to a limited number of issues that they raise. When doing multi-sited fieldwork, the voices and concerns of the people are multi-layered and complex. According to Smith (2012) the years of imperialism and colonial rule when indigenous people and other minority groups were used for scientific research purposes, left indigenous people distrustful of researchers. She notes that indigenous people and other minority groups have mostly been portrayed "as the powerless victims of research" (Smith, 2012:180). My encounter with William as narrated earlier spoke clearly of this distrust when he asked for a memorandum of agreement so that the group can share in the successes of the research, or any monetary value attached to the research. Smith notes that many of the Māori people "believe that researchers are simply intent on stealing knowledge in a non-reciprocal and often underhanded way (Smith, 2012:180). She posits that people wish to see change saying, "years of research have frequently failed to improve the conditions of the people who are researched" (Smith, 2012:180). My encounter with William, together with remarks I had heard at conferences and in corridors, implying that people earn degrees and move away from the community they have researched, cuts through my flesh like a knife. Although these remarks were not directed straight at me, by gesturing the utterance, I was implicated because I am a researcher under an institution with rules and regulations. The remarks also made me question what change I would be bringing to the community in the future once my thesis was submitted to the university. How would I be able to help the people of the community where I grew up, where people see me as one of them although I personally do not subscribe to categories, labels or being boxed? These are questions I am still grappling with.

Travelling across provinces as a female in public transport has its own set of risks. To circumvent potential danger, I used to start conversations with people in public transport. When one starts conversations with people, they do not only grow an instant attachment to you, but they warn you of dangerous places in their communities. Although it is easy to use technology to google addresses of people, or to search street names, my telephone is not capable of warning me of the eminent danger in certain streets in communities. Multi-sited fieldwork, as I embarked on my research journey across provinces, became awfully expensive and it required a constant flow of funds.

Positionality, Reflection and Reflexivity

Positionality of the researcher

According to Salo, "the research process and the importance of positionality, recognizes that the production of knowledge is always partial and situated. Such positionality also insists that knowledge production has material affect" (2016:19).

I positioned myself as an indigenous researcher and activist who does not ascribe to groupism or group mentality, although the people I worked with preferred to be divided into groups and to mobilise or engage fellow groups or members of other groups on the basis of groupism. I position myself as an African woman who grew up in a Coloured community. I embrace all my descent lines which come through my paternal grandfather's side with roots in neighbouring Zimbabwe and my maternal grandmother's descent that runs through the Griqua lineage. As a result of my background, growing up in a Coloured community, my worldview was shaped for me. I embrace all the experiences I have: cultural, social, economic, and as recent as 2007, the political awareness gained on how to position myself in a racialised landscape like South Africa.

I have a long-established relationship with my main informant, Ms Petersen (since 2011), as well as with many other leaders in the Khoe-San movement. Ms Petersen and many members of the Khoe-San circles are actively struggling against the state to reidentify and reclassify them. They struggle against the state to remove the glasses of seeing Khoe-San people as extinct. They tell the government who they are, that they are not Coloured, that they denounce the classification called Coloured. The term was imposed on them through colonialism and Apartheid. The self-identifying Khoe-San members engage in decolonising the colonial imposition of Coloured identity. According to Smith, "decolonization must offer a language of possibility, a way out of colonialism" (2012:204). The self-identifying Khoe-San people are in a process of renaming and reclassifying, to deconstruct the colonial prism that labelled them and robbed them of an identity.

Ms Petersen was very influential in making entry into spaces possible, especially where I was unsuccessful in getting past the gatekeepers during my research. In government, particularly logistically, attendance to workshop and conference depends on the numbers they allow. It was important to the study to observe the engagement between Khoe-San members and the

government officials. Therefore, if I could not get onto a list of invitees, Ms Petersen stepped in and made sure I got a pass.

The late Chief Mathysen, who worked closely with government officials in Johannesburg, also played a significant role in informing me about the state of Khoe-San claims. Over time, my relationship with many people in the groups became reciprocal as I would also share information with the members in diverse groups. For example, in 2016, de Graaff, a historian and journalist and his colleague, Snoeijer, a photographer from the Netherlands, launched a book on the Korana people[67], and a photo exhibition of indigenous portraits.[68] The book launch and photo exhibition were held in Bloemfontein at the National Museum. On the morning of the exhibition, we[69] attended a meeting on land claims in Johannesburg and travelled to Bloemfontein straight after this meeting.

The photo exhibition, called *Vèrlander*, consisted of stories and portraits of indigenous faces across Indonesia, Australia, South Africa and Namibia. I shared the information about the launch of the exhibition with the late Chief Mathysen. My intension was to bring the South African quest for indigeneity into conversation with the global movement on indigeneity as expressed through the work of de Graaff and Snoeijer. I wanted to create a platform for collaboration for myself as a researcher and for the individual members interested in future visual art projects, and also for the members to personally meet with de Graaff and Snoeijer.

In 2015, Mr Marvin, a keen observer, asked me at the inauguration of ǂxuu Katrina Esau, the matriarch of the House of N‖ngǂe, in Rosedale in the Northern Cape, "You are everywhere! How do you do it?" I gently smiled and responded, "Whatever self-identifying Khoe-San

---

[67] The exhibition created a space where the descendants of the first indigenous people could rub shoulders with the ambassador of the Netherlands. It is not an everyday phenomenon for ordinary citizens to meet and greet an ambassador and attempt to address their struggles of reclaiming their identity.

[68] https://scholar.ufs.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11660/10163/culna_v71_n1_a13.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

[69] On the morning of the book launch and photo exhibition, Ms Petersen, the late Chief Mathysen, his two sons, his brother, cousin and myself first attended a meeting at Emperors Palace in Johannesburg together with other Khoe-San groups and affected landowners, landlords and property agents of the greater southern region of Johannesburg. The meeting was held by the office of the Regional Land Claims Commissioner in Gauteng to inform all affected parties of the massive land claim lodged by the Bakwena Ba Mare Phogole people. Following this meeting we travelled to Bloemfontein by road to attend the book launch and exhibition.

members are doing and say is important to me and my research project. I was asked to attend, and if I have the necessary resources at my disposal, I attend these events." I continued my conversation with Mr Marvin, informing him that it is important to stay as close as possible to the lives of the research participants with whom I share conversations over a lengthy period of time. My decision to respond to Mr Marvin in the above manner was to solidify my interest in what Khoe-San groups are doing, not only as the researcher, but as someone who is from the same community, who has an interest in what the people are doing, why they are engaging in identity politics at this point, and what is driving them to engage in identity politics of a special type. My conversation with Mr Marvin also made me realise that people are observers of what I do as a person as much as I was observing them. The community and the group of people I chose to study, is a marginalised group in society. I grew up in one of these marginalised communities. Smith posits that researchers who choose to do research in the margins, "see their intellectual purpose as being [a] scholar who will work for, with and alongside communities who occupy the margins of society" (Smith, 2012:205).

Reflexivity and Reflection – My family story

> As I progressed through the research reflexivity allowed me to use different lenses to look at the phenomenon of identity politics I deal with in this thesis, where my own identity is a constant factor that provided me with various lenses during the research period. (Gerharz, 2018)

When digging deep down, one might find a pot of gold or skeletons in the closet that can potentially unsettle you – or you can choose to ignore what you found. As I set out to do the research project, I did not question my assigned identity as a Coloured person. The Coloured identity is an identity I had known all my life, until recently, when small pieces of my identity puzzle started popping like popcorn. Those pieces of the puzzle are the story of my family history which I will briefly reflect on, that shaped my understanding as a Coloured person in a Coloured community in Johannesburg in recent years. What I reflect on in this section, are pieces of a scattered story of how my family became Coloured people, which had an impact on how I was socialised growing up in Johannesburg.

Davies (2008:4) explains that reflexivity is "a turning back on oneself, a process of self-reference" that affects the research from start to finish. In my research project the process of data collection required continuous conversation and interaction between myself and my

participants[70], which shaped my thought processes and the direction of how I engage and write about the Khoe-San narratives[71]. Smith (2005:102) points out that "indigenous research offers access to a range of epistemic alternatives". So, as I was researching young people reclaiming their ethnic identity, 'pieces of the jigsaw puzzle' about my own identity surfaced and unsettled my own identity politics and what I knew about myself and my family.

Salzman (2002) comments on the definitions of reflexivity by the social psychologist George Herbert Mead and the researcher Bob Scholte. According to Salzman, Mead emphasizes the "social nature of being human, the formation of the individual resulting from constant interaction with others [research participants]" (2002:805). It is from this constant interaction with the research participants that Mead says the process of reflexivity becomes possible. Salzman notes that for Mead:

> Reflexiveness – the turning-back of the experience of the individual upon himself [herself] – that [brings] the whole social process … into the experiences of the individuals involved in it; it is by such means, which enable the individual to take the attitude of the other toward himself [herself], that the individual is consciously to adjust himself [herself] to that process, and to modify [their behaviour] in any given social act in terms of his [her] adjustment to it. Reflexiveness, then, is the essential condition, within the social process, for the development of mind. (Strauss, 1956, cited in Salzman, 2002:805)

Whereas Scholte in his work, *Toward Reflexive and Critical Anthropology*, postulates:

> Anthropological activity is never only scientific. … it is expressive or symptomatic of a presupposed cultural world of which it is itself an integral part. As anthropologists, we cannot simply take this Lebenswelt[72] and its attendant scientific traditions for granted. We must subject them to further reflexive understanding, hermeneutic mediation, and philosophical critique. (Scholte, cited in Salzman, 2002:805)

---

[70] In this instance, I am not merely referring to the research participants that were selected as part of the research sample but also those people who were interested in stating their opinion about the Khoe-San movement.

[71] These narratives speak to issues of language, education, housing, employment and access to land.

[72] The word life-world or *Lebenswelt* refers to the sum total of that which constitutes individual daily lived experiences. Accessed from https://www.britannica.com/topic/life-world, 06 June 2021.

Salzman furthers Scholte's idea by noting the following:

> Every procedural step in the constitution of anthropological knowledge [must be] accompanied by radical reflection and epistemological exposition … We cannot and should not avoid the 'hermeneutic circle' . . . but must explicate, as part of our activities, the intentional processes of constitutive reasoning which make both encounter and understanding possible. (Scholte, cited in Salzman, 2002:805–806)

These three quotes on reflexivity relate to the multi-sited ethnographic approach I applied to the study. With every engagement with my research participants, I critically engaged with my own identity as a Coloured person and how the research impacts on my own life, the research participants and my family. I was reflexive and mindful with every conversation or interaction I had with my research participants regarding the conditions of how the everyday life are structured by outside forces for myself and my research participants. I thus constantly reflected on my role as a researcher too. I started peeling back the layers of my own identity through my upbringing in the Coloured community and my research.

The above discussion thus implies that I, as the ethnographer, rather than speaking as an accomplished onlooker by depicting and translating the actions of the research participants, should incorporate self-reflection indicating a familiarity with individual subjectivity. I reflected on how this subjectivity is affected by a wide scope of issues – political, epistemological, and existential factors – which have a bearing on the ethnographic account. Reflexivity in my research became crucial. As noted by Smith, doing research:

> … in the insider frame [has] known mythological risks [which] are seen from one perspective to be about the potential for bias, lack of distance and lack of objectivity … from another perspective [it is] about the potential to see the trees but not the forest. (Smith, 2012:206)

These methodological risks as mentioned by Smith (2012) have real potential for biased reporting, but through the constant process of reflexivity the element of bias is reduced.

Towards the end of 2018 my maternal aunt, who was staying in Muizenburg, Cape Town, told my mother that we are part of the Nguni groups in South Africa. She speaks isiXhosa fluently and did not grow up with the rest of the fourteen children fathered by my maternal grandfather. My mother and her siblings had different mothers and were raised by my grandfather living in the same house, except for this aunt from Muizenburg. According to my aunt, my grandfather

had a Xhosa name, Lifa Lovicka, that was changed to Liefie Lewieka. There are different stories as to which ethnic group my maternal grandfather belonged to, but the consensus with all the stories is that my grandfather was from the Nguni group. But on whether he was isiXhosa or Ndebele there is no certainty, yet! My mother is the eldest daughter and was named Kedibone. My other aunts were called Kenosi, Khumo, and Moradi. When they were young adults, the sisters all changed their names and my mother became Margaret and my aunts Mona, Lizzy and the other Sarah, taking on names that sound more 'Coloured-like'.

In earlier years, stories circulated that my late maternal grandfather had family in Rhodesia. My mother and aunts did not know that Rhodesia was renamed to Zimbabwe. So, when they talked among themselves, they used the word Rhodesia and to them Rhodesia was a country overseas. When they wanted to have a good laugh or poke fun of my research, they would say that I must go and look for my family overseas. Although they made fun of my research, it was an uneasy joke. I always had the distinct feeling that they were not willing to talk about their identities as this would expose that they were not really Coloured people.

My family story is a "meshworks" as noted by Erasmus (2017) citing Tim Ingold (2007) who borrowed the word from Henri Lebebvre (2017:2). The story told is that my maternal grandfather came to South Africa in his adolescent years. Whether he was from a Shona or Ndebele family is not sure. My mother and her sisters had names they felt uncomfortable with and they changed it. In our family, two of my aunts went through the Griqua ritual of die hok meisie[73] as young girls when they entered puberty. My mother had no relations with my maternal grandmother, but we know that she stayed in Griekwastad[74] in the Northern Cape. The area was first called Klaarwater, and later renamed to Griquatown (Legassick, 2016:8).

[73] Die '*hok-meisie*' is a ritual practiced by Khoe-San groups. It is a ritual performed when a young girl reaches puberty and starts her menstrual cycle. She is placed inside '*die hok*' for a few weeks and the elderly ladies in the community sit with her for the duration of the ritual giving her guidance on life. The work of Linda Waldman (2003) discusses this ritual. I have not encountered this ritual during my fieldwork. The story of this ritual was told to me by family members who remembered the ceremony that they attended. When I asked my aunt if she let her daughters do the ritual, her response was that "*daar is nie meer groot mense om die ritueel te doen nie*" (there are no more elderly/adult people to do the ritual). Although my aunt went through this ritual, and her nieces could remember the ritual, she did not think it necessary to let her daughters go through the ritual as she saw it as a task for the elderly people in the community. There might be groups still practicing this ritual or reviving it. More research is needed on this ritual.

[74] The English is Griquatown.

We know very little of my late father's family due to family politics at the time and in later years. However, my mother recalls my paternal grandfather as a 'strict old White man' with straight grey hair' sitting on a rocking chair. Could he have been White, or did he just 'look' White and could therefore pass as a White person? None of us are any the wiser. I saw pictures of those identified as my nieces and nephews and they have the 'look' (Erasmus, 2017). Whether they might have passed as White under the old system of Apartheid I do not know as we have an estranged relationship. My mother never allowed us close to my father's side of the family. After all this time, she is still not ready to speak about them and her relationship with the rest of the Gabie family even after the passing of my biological father in April 2019.

Whenever the family now talks using the name Rhodesia I chuckle, compose myself and explain to them the history of Zimbabwe. I told my mother and my aunts that if it's true that my grandfather was from there, he reinvented himself years ago when he migrated to South Africa. I explained to my mother and her sisters, that it is possible that when my grandfather reached South Africa in search of a better life, he saw how the Apartheid government treated the South African Black people and that he chose a reclassification for himself. I explained to them that the Group Areas Act of 1950 separated people to stay in different spatial locations (Van der Ross, 2015). My grandfather probably observed the situation, maybe realizing at the time that if he said that he was not from South Africa, that he would not have received the three-bedroom house for his family in Macassar, Western Cape, from the government. My late grandfather also has a house in Douglas in the Northern Cape. He moved between houses as he was a businessman and a pastor.

Currently, my aunt in Cape Town is the only person with some information on the family history. She holds oral accounts of my late grandfather, stories told to her by her mother. As I engaged my research participants I constantly reflected on my own identity as noted by Smith (2012:138) that "the critical issue with insider research is the constant need for reflexivity". If I consider all the stories about my family and I weigh that up against the four-tier racial classification system, who are we as a family?

Erasmus (2017) quoting Ingold notes the following about lines and entanglement:

> [We] launched upon the tides of history, … cling[ing] to things, hoping that the friction of [our] contact will somehow suffice and countervail the currents that would otherwise sweep us to oblivion … in holding on to one another lies the

> very essence of sociality … Nothing can hold on unless it puts out a line, and unless that line can tangle with others. When everything tangles with everything else, the result is what [is] call[ed] a meshwork. To describe the meshwork is to start from the premise that every living being is a line or, better, a bundle of lines [a knot]. (Ingold, 2015:3, cited in Erasmus, 2017:2)

My family history is a 'meshwork'. I, like my brothers and sisters, were enculturated into the Coloured community and lived according to the norms and values of this community. Everything about my being in earlier years was seen through the prism of Colouredness. For example, when we were younger (my sisters and I) my mother paid someone to 'poke'[75] our hair to make it straight. This 'poking' of our hair was a Friday night ritual just like the 'castor oil and brook lax' on a Saturday morning to 'clean out' our anatomical system. In retrospect, she hired someone to comb out the Africanness from our hair as this type of hair was associated with being Black and we were not Black, we were Coloured children and because we stayed in a Coloured community, we had to fit that frame of living our everyday lives.

The primary and high schools that I attended were for Coloured children. The friends I kept in church and in our community were Coloured children. I did not know about Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress (ANC) or any other political party because the country's politics were not part of my frame of reference, or every day talk with friends or family. Politics was a taboo subject both in the house and church. In church we were taught that 'we are in this world but not from this world, or part of it, we are spiritual people'.

The life I remember was going to school and church and spending time with friends after the chores were done at home. I matriculated in 1994 and started working shortly thereafter. My routine did not change drastically as school was replaced with work. Church activities and the friends I kept stayed constant, as did our conversations. In retrospect, there was a euphoria in the country in 1994. All South Africans could vote for the first time. Things were changing in the country, but we were oblivious to all that was happening. I was nineteen years old and

[75] Today people use a hair straightening iron, but when I was young, a steel comb was placed onto a hot surface and our hair was combed with that hot instrument. The person doing our hair used to use a lot of Vaseline Blue Seal to make sure she does not burn us where your hair was '*korreltjies*' making lots of spirals (coarse).

eligible to vote, which I did. I was told to vote for the ANC which I did because I was not politically inclined, and my friends and I did not understand all the hype around voting.

My mother used to have a ritual on a Friday afternoon when she came from work. She wanted to see her house squeaky clean reflecting her image as she looked down at the floor. To clean the house, the way my mother wanted it, required my sister and I to be on all fours, scrubbing, polishing, and shining the floors; and polishing furniture, ornaments and little things placed on the big display unit that stood in the sitting room. The other two children were still too young for chores. My mother was admired by all who visited our home for the cleanliness of her home, raising four children as a single parent and having an impeccable work ethic. There was a great emphasis on the awareness of others' perceptions, a phenomenon that Salo (2016:24) refers to as "ordentlikheid".[76] This "old-fashioned respectability" (Salo, 2016:31) is revered in the Coloured communities in terms of physical appearance, your manners and how well you look after the surroundings and your house (Erasmus, 2017).

In 2015, my mother again showed some of these tendencies when one of my younger siblings got married. She changed everything she could in the house making it look new, saying "what will people think of me living in Johannesburg such a big city, and see what my house looks like, oh no … that can never happen". I responded that she is spending money unnecessarily because people are coming to the wedding and she responded, "you will never understand this thing, Sharon!".

At the age of 69 years, my mother now receives a state pension. To make ends meet she still kneads dough the previous night and wakes up at 04:00 in the morning, Monday to Friday, to fry 'vetkoek'.[77] When formally employed, she did the same thing to substitute her income. This extra work was also undertaken to secure our residence with her, and in hindsight to restrict our interaction with my paternal family. Thus, Klipspruit-West is my memory bank of childhood dreams, my teenage life through to early adulthood. How I was enculturated, the different aspects and teenage pressures of being a young Coloured[78] girl is rooted in this area. It is from this location that I question the world around me after being accepted to study at the University of the Witwatersrand in 2007.

---

[76] This is an Afrikaans word described by Salo in a footnote as "old-fashioned respectability" (2016:31).
[77] Knead dough fried in oil.
[78] I carry with me an arbitrary identity.

In anthropological terms, I am a native anthropologist writing from an emic and etic perspective[79], a "halfie anthropologist"[80] who as an anthropologist is positioned with "reference to two communities [and] because [I] present the 'Other' [I am] [re]presenting [myself] and ... speak with a complex awareness ... [as] both halfie and feminist anthropologist [I am] forced to confront squarely the politics and ethics of [my] representations" (Abu-Lughod, 1991: 469).

My family history and how I came to know myself is etched in the meshwork around my attempt to understand identity politics of myself and secondly of those stories of people I engaged with reclaiming their ethnic identities as descendants of the Khoe-San people represented in this thesis. My aunt had thrown one of these lines in the meshwork of our family history. My grandfather and his daughters changed their names, to fit a certain frame of reading the body. I am neither here nor there, meaning that I am neither a Zimbabwean in terms of citizenship, nor in terms of the everyday lived experiences in South Africa. I do not fit comfortably in the racial classification system that defines Coloured people as neither Black nor White nor Asian (Adhikari, 2009; Erasmus, 2017; Richards, 2017).

The Apartheid system decided the life chances for every individual in South Africa. My grandfather came here, seeking a better life and, in the process, molded himself to fit the system. My mother changed her name, taking on a different persona and teaching her children how to be as Coloured people are in South Africa.

Marcus highlights the role anthropology plays in the life of the researcher and the researched, stating that:

> … through being reflexive of my position as researcher and by analysing the data which resulted from the multi-sited methodological approach the researcher becomes a 'circumstantial activist'. (Marcus, 1995:95)

[79] The phenomenon of conducting ethnographic studies in one's own cultural background at home and not in a foreign country, coming from the same community as the people under study.
[80] To study anthropology is to know that cultures are not static, that they evolve over time. However, as I reflect on the meshwork of family, I cannot help but to question which cultural boundary do I belong to? Do I wish to belong to a cultural boundary? The beauty of anomalies are that one can fit any situation, "electrons jumping […] that is delight[ful] poignancy, and hopefully a release of energy" (Dabydeen in Birbasling, 1997, cited in Gqola, 2010:1).

Ollis (2008:1) describes a "circumstantial activist" as an individual "who through a series of life circumstances pursue[s] social change of some significance". As a person classified as a Coloured woman, I share similar life experiences as my research participants. It was only in 2007, when I decided on a career in academia that some people classed me differently. Thus, I am engaged in activism as a circumstantial activist and have established rapport and an ongoing commitment to engagement in social issues which will extend beyond my initial research in this PhD research.

In this thesis I use a decolonial framework that permits me to look at the claims to indigeneity and identity politics using various angles in relation to my main research question and sub-questions, connecting the research design and methods used for data collection. Smith (2012) posits that "decolonisation must offer a language of possibility, a way out of colonialism [to] imagine a connection suggests a resistance to being classified according to the definitions of a dominant group" (2012:204). The project of decolonisation is a project steeped in critical ethnography. Critical ethnography is defined as "a type of ethnographic research in which the [researcher] advocates for the emancipation of groups marginalized in society" (Thomas, 1993, cited in Creswell, 2007:70; Foley 2002). Through being a critical ethnographer, Creswell (2007:70) notes that the researcher is typically political minded [and] seeks through research "to speak out against inequality and domination". Critical ethnographers study a range of issues related to power and as posited by Creswell, this type of research has an aspect that is of "value-laden orientation, empowering people by giving them more authority, challenging the status quo, and addressing concerns about power and control" (2007:70). Therefore, as posited by Salo:

> … feminist epistemology insists on examining power relations implicit in the research process and the position from which researchers and their 'subjects' speak from within communities … [the] partial and mutually constituted nature of knowledge production that critical ethnography renders visible … critical anthropology foregrounds finely grained, grounded ethnographic research that takes account of the historicity of societies as reflected in the everyday contemporary social practices. (2016:18–19)

My encounter with myself and the ascribed identity I hold is indicative of the historical formation of identity politics in the South African context where identities are fluid and not static as reflected in the four-tier racial classification system of the Apartheid state.

Conclusion

Through using the multi-sited methodological approach and by analysing the data resulting from this method of doing fieldwork, I take on the role of a "circumstantial activist" (Marcus, 1995:95). As a circumstantial activist engaged in critical ethnography my interest in power relations, internal factions in the Khoe-San groups and the role of governmental structures grew. The method of multi-sited ethnography provided me with different lenses to unpack the multilayered chapters that follow.

As noted in the above discussion, critical ethnography is a way of doing research where I report the research findings to "advocate for the emancipation of groups marginalized in society" (Thomas, 1993, cited in Creswell, 2007:70). The result of engaging in multi-sited ethnography, triangulating the narrative of the self-identifying Khoe-San people across parts of four different provinces aided in constructing the narrative that looked at different issues raised by Khoe-San people.

My position as a researcher was informed by a complex line of questioning and interpreting the data due to my insider/outsider perspective as a Coloured woman. Triangulation was therefore essential to the study. Through the preliminary findings I made a conscious choice not to follow the conventional method of the single-site ethnographic approach. My decision to do multi-sited ethnography was also informed by the fact that Khoe-San people interact with each other across provinces as the claim to indigeneity does not affect only one group of people. The claim to indigeneity in South Africa has morphed into a national question around issues of identity politics and the recognition of Khoe-San people across the country, not merely a single group of people in the Khoe-San movement. The purpose of this chapter was to outline and motivate research methods that are multi-sited because one can get to the depth of the issue being researched. The research methods used in this thesis unearthed the interconnectedness of many South Africans, but the four-tier classifications system obliterated this connection between people. In the section on reflection and reflexivity my own assumptions of the four-tier racial classification system were unearthed.

Part II:
Khoe-San Winds of Change post-1994

Introduction

This section of the thesis consists of chapters four and five. In chapter four, I sketch the conceptual framework that centers on identity politics and the concept of indigeneity. The first concept, identity politics, particularly that of the people classified as Coloured people in South Africa, has a long history of contestation. As will be seen in chapter six, in the 1960s leading up to the 1980s, politically active Coloured people participated and identified with the struggle for emancipation, and many saw themselves as Black people as promoted by the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). The First Indigenous Peoples of South Africa, whose identity was legislated under the Apartheid regime as Coloured people, struggled alongside the BCM who espoused for Blackness as a consciousness of the oppressed against the oppressors. They did not struggle as First Indigenous Peoples, nor as Khoe-San people, but as a collective under BCM.

Following the democratic elections in 1994, these activists in the Coloured community who struggled as a part of the collective for emancipation had a shift in consciousness. Many of these activists classified as Coloured people realised that there is a change in consciousness and political administration. The change in political administration also meant a shift in consciousness of what Blackness meant pre-1994 as opposed to the meaning of Blackness post-1994. Blackness post-1994 became a rhetoric of phenotype where skin colour was foregrounded and not consciousness as espoused under BCM. As a result of this drastic shift in the understanding of BCM, many activists realised,

> the shift in the concept of Blackness is now going to be a shift in the position of the First Indigenous Peoples. The shift in the position of the First Indigenous Peoples led to where [they] are today [raising issues of indigeneity and/or First Nation

> Status with the current government]. (Chief Jean Burgess[81] addressing the first-year students at Rhodes University, 2017)

The shift in consciousness and position of the First Indigenous Peoples, as Chief Burgess refers to the task at hand, coincided with the global movement of indigenous people where the General Assembly of the United Nations declared 1995–2004 as the first decade for the celebration of the world's Indigenous Peoples (Kuper, 2003).

It is against this backdrop that chapter four, the conceptual framework, grapples with the varied interpretations of the concept of indigeneity and indigenous peoples, globally, nationally, and locally, with a specific interest in South Africa post-1994. The concept of indigeneity is in many ways a European foreign invention. It attempts to define indigenous people globally and locally and it has become a creative political tool that has helped many marginalised minority groups who found a voice using this concept of indigeneity in their respective nation states. It has helped to create spaces where the minority people can speak to governments as indigenous people of a particular region and place. Thus, in the context of Africa and Asia, the governments maintain that there are no indigenous peoples in their countries (Lee, 2006; Pelican, 2018), while the United Nations, under the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP) contend that there are indigenous people in the different countries. Ironically, South Africa as a country is a signatory to the UNDRIP declaration, together with 144 other countries, but the indigenous people are invisible in the country. Although widely discussed that the concept of indigeneity is a non-binding agreement as far as statehood is concerned where states are sovereign entities, Dahl (2012) draws our attention to the fact that it is the indigenous people themselves who created space within the structures of the UN. It thus becomes imperative to understand how the concept is used, how this concept is operationalised by indigenous people globally and how it is valorised and used in the work of Anthropologists and other scholars.

Who, according to the South African government, are the indigenous people? This invisible tension between local sovereign politics of a country and the international stance on indigenous people opens a platform where the question can be asked: What is the future of indigeneity,

[81] Chief Jean Burgess is from the Gonaqua tribe of the First Indigenous Peoples of South Africa. The word tribe has particular connotations in Anthropology and on the African continent at large, and as an Anthropologist I prefer to refrain from the word tribe, but to honour and acknowledge how Chief Burgess introduced herself to the class, the word tribe is used where Chief Burgess speaks.

both from an Anthropological perspective and from a rights base perspective as seen in the South African context? The South African situation is marred by centuries of race-based politics where people in the country struggled against issues of exclusion founded on racial politics under the White minority ruled Apartheid state.

Chapter five illustrates how identities are constructed to imbibe the concept of indigeneity while Khoe-San individuals attach meaning to the concept of indigeneity. In this chapter I outline how Khoe-San members are incorporating an indigenous persona into their daily lives by narrating the inauguration of Katrina Esau, also known as Ouma Geelmeid, crowned as the ǂxuu[82]. Katrina Esau, the matriarch of the Western N||ngǂe group affiliated to the House of N||ngǂe, was crowned as ǂxuu by the members in her group and by Chiefs from other provinces and supported by the community[83] where she lived. In addition to the construction of an indigenous identity, there is the question of language and language revivalism which is discussed in this chapter.

[82] *ǂXuu* means 'queen' according to Mr. van Wyk, as signed in the reader I purchased from the House.
[83] 'Community' here means those who self-identify as Khoe-San peoples and affiliate to the ideology of indigenous peoples or First Nation Status. At the inauguration, many different Chiefs (men and women) from different provinces were present. The phenomenon of Chiefs in the Khoe-San circles is a contentious issue in the South African context, where previously the use of the word Chief referred to the Chiefs in the Bantustans, who during Apartheid ruled over a people in their villages in the different provinces where they resided. Hence, the institution of the traditional leaders is a recognized phenomenon in two instances, namely Recognition and Role of traditional leaders in Chapter 12 of the constitution. The constitution notes the following about traditional leaders: Concerning the former, Recognition *211(1) The institution, status and role of traditional leadership, according to customary law, are recognized, subject to the Constitution. (2) A traditional authority that observes a system of customary law may function subject to any applicable legislation and customs, which includes amendments to, or repeal of, that or those customs. (3) The courts must apply customary law when that law is applicable, subject to the Constitution and any legislation that specifically deals with customary law.* In terms of the latter, the Role of traditional leaders 212(1) National legislation may support the role of traditional leadership as an institution at local level on matters affecting local communities. (2) To deal with matters relating to traditional leadership, the role of traditional leaders, customary law and the customs of communities observing a system of customary law – (a) national and provincial legislation may provide for the establishment of houses of traditional leaders; and (b) national legislation may establish a council of traditional leaders.

Chapter FOUR

Conceptual Framework – Identity politics and indigeneity

Indigeneity: A contested concept

The concept of indigeneity or indigenous identities as a conceptual frame to discuss indigenous issues is contested, on a global, national, and local level. Indigenous movements are spearheading rights to land, demanding the restoration of indigenous people's dignity, fundamental freedoms, and human rights in the different nation-states they live in. These include places like Australia, Canada, India, Mexico, Brazil, and the United States (Mallon, 1992; Howard, 2003; Fairweather, 2006; Lee, 2006; Heiss, 2012). The quest for indigeneity took root in post-colonial Africa in many countries that received their independence from colonial rule from the early 1960s onwards. These countries include Botswana, Cameroon and Tanzania (Robins, 2001*a*; Hitchcock, 2002; Sylvain, 2005; Igoe, 2006; Hitchcock, Sapignoli and Babchuk, 2011; Pelican and Maruyama, 2015; Pelican, 2018).

The call to recognize indigenous peoples, pioneered by indigenous groups themselves, started in the global North. This led to a debate on the status of other indigenous groups like those living on the African continent. In the African context, as postulated by Kuppe (1990), how to define indigeneity can be unpacked in various ways. Kuppe (1990) notes that lifestyles (this includes aspects like culture and language) that were not on par with that of European settler standards were called "indigenous" where "indigenous as native or aboriginal" typically meant those "born in the country" with a connection to the "region or country" (Kuppe, 1990 cited in Zips-Mairitsch, 2009:88). Thus, in the 1960s/1970s when pioneers of the indigenous movement elsewhere on the globe advocated for indigenous rights, those on the African continent were not responsive. The understanding of indigenous and indigeneity continued to be a bone of contention, while indigenous people, for example the San of southern Africa, experienced hardship under the yoke of their new colonial masters, the Botswanan government (Zips-Mairitsch, 2009).

In the case of South Africa, the concept of indigeneity as adopted by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP) and popularised by the indigenous themselves as noted above is a recent phenomenon that actively entered the South African landscape post-1994.

'Indigenous peoples' is a contested concept, with socioeconomic and political connotations. Some critics of the concept argue that those who claim an indigenous status wish to be treated in a special way or consider themselves different from other people. In Asia and Africa, it is argued that everybody is indigenous (Merlan, 2009; Trigger and Dalley, 2010). In this chapter I look at the contested and varied understanding of the concept of indigeneity by scholars and organisations who represent indigenous peoples. Dahl (2012) notes that there is also a debate on whether one should say indigenous people or indigenous peoples. In my work, I will use the latter term, indigenous peoples.

According to Tsing the idea and reality of "indigenous peoples" are contested because it covers a wide range of populations living in different regional and national contexts, in which the "traveling models of indigeneity" assume an ambiguous and often contradictory meaning (Tsing, 2007:38, cited in Zehmisch, 2018:287). In a 2006 discussion document among anthropologists responding to a paper written by Alan Barnard in response to Kuper's (2003) *Return of the Native*, on the concept of indigeneity and its workings, Trond Thuen in his reply to the discussion agrees with Alan Barnard that the term 'indigenous' is a politically constructed term and not an anthropological term. Another respondent, Zips is concerned with the legality of the concept of indigeneity noting that the first decade 1995 – 2004 "opened a window of opportunity to promote their [indigenous peoples] political and legal recognition under the law of nations". In his defence, Zips (2006) tends to agree with Kuper that in most instances the redefinition of an indigenous identity is cast in "pure, authentic and primitive indigenous" plethora. However, Zips cautions that one must never let out of sight the fact that it's the indigenous people themselves who are at the negotiating tables and driving the process of indigeneity (Zips, 2006:27). Kenrick's (2006) response to the debate hinges on self-determination – a process that is central to how indigenous people engage their challenges. He notes that under European governance indigenous people were denied the right to decide their own form of identity (Kenrick, 2006). In reflecting on a twenty plus year study and working with indigenous issues at the United Nations, Dahl (2012) is of the view that indigenous people themselves made space for their voices to be heard in global structures like the United Nations,

internationally and locally in their individual countries. Dahl (2012) asserts that while other scholars are obsessed with wanting to discuss definitions of indigeneity, for him the discussion is devoid of the fact that indigenousness is a real thing. That "indigenous social practices [is] a struggle for rights being denied [to] them … [where] the definitional debate [is] devoid of consideration that global and national economic and political changes may have implications for identity constructions" (Dahl, 2012:189).

Thus, the concept of indigeneity has a range of aspects that it covers. Included are the rights to self-determination, language revivalism, land, and self-identification. More importantly for Kingsbury (1998) it is the process of using the concept of indigeneity which is crucial to understanding the quest for indigeneity. Kingsbury (1998) contends that indigeneity is "a continuous process in which claims and practices … are abstracted in the wider institutions of international society" and repackaged for the local processes in each country where the indigenous groups are (Kingsbury, 1998 cited in Dahl, 2012:190).

In this chapter I look at the concept of indigeneity or indigenous peoples based on the earlier discussions of indigeneity that led to the signing of the UNDRIP declaration on the 13th of September 2007 (Deas, 2011). The concept of indigeneity in my work was thus used based on the processes of the UNDRIP declaration and not on an Afrocentric understanding of indigeneity pitting everybody as indigenous. I revert to the point on power, context, and the politics of indigeneity in Chapter Five where Chief Burgess paints the picture to students on the challenges faced by Khoe-San languages. As a result of the stance by African leaders as will be discussed, that everybody is indigenous, when one considers the South African claim to indigeneity two things are clear. Firstly, the claim to indigeneity is only self-identifying Khoe-San members who openly lay claim to this ethnic identity. Secondly, the identity politics of the claimants become central to group dynamics on the level of the individual, the organisation and the state. Each constructs indigeneity differently for various purposes, resulting in different meanings. For example, the use of the word indigenous in the new South African constitution issued in 1996, list eleven languages as indigenous languages to the exclusion of Khoe-San languages. I discuss the debate of indigeneity as it unfolds in Anthropology and how Anthropologists engage with the concept of indigeneity as an intellectual frame to discuss issues of marginalisation of minority groups. My focus in this chapter is on indigeneity as a *global* phenomenon highlighting the *localised understanding and*

use of indigeneity in the context of South Africa among groups that self-identify as Khoe-San people.

In southern Africa, the Namibian and South African paths to independence were different as Namibia was under

> South African occupation from 1915 to March 1990, [and] Namibia featured prominently in the foreign policy of the occupying power, South Africa, and many South African diplomats and Ministers of Foreign Affairs spent much of their time in diplomatic activity relating to the question of the future of South West Africa/Namibia. (Saunders, 2014:27)

In Namibia like in South Africa, the issue of the indigenous people never truly took centre-stage, although the two countries have indigenous people like the San and Nama people living in both countries. In the 1990s, in South Africa, power changed hands from White minority rule under the system of Apartheid to a democratically elected government led by the African National Congress (ANC)[84]. During the transition from 1990 to 1994, South Africa was led by a government of national unity: Apartheid government officials and the incoming leaders of the ANC.

The history of the liberation struggle and the fight for freedom from an oppressive state under Apartheid puts a different slant on the South African case of indigenous claims compared that of the Canadian or New Zealand cases of indigeneity. Both Canada and New Zealand were colonised through treaties (Maaka and Fleras, 2006; Mutu, 2019).

The claims to indigeneity in South Africa occurred after the negotiations at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) and the systematic handing over of power from the

[84] In the case of southern Africa, particularly in South Africa, the reason why the dates of independence are important will become clearer in the thesis. The Apartheid government succeeded the British government and embellished existing laws like the Native Land Act of 1913, to keep the status quo of access to land skewed. The Native Affairs Department was another department setup to deal with the Native Question as noted by Mellet (2020). The Native Question, since its inception in the statutes of the Union government of 1910, referred to the South African Black people as native people. Hence in the work of Mamdani (2020) it is important to understand how the settlers created the native by crafting different laws to govern the settler and other laws to govern the 'Native'. The native was governed by customary law and the settler under civil law. The question of law falls outside of the scope of this thesis. In chapter five I look at the social impact of using the term native and how certain Coloured people understood the use of the term and the impact it had on their daily lived experiences.

Apartheid government to the African National Congress (ANC). The latter government was democratically elected on 27 April 1994. During these elections, as with the subsequent census taking in the new South Africa, no political party campaigned for Khoe-San issues, nor was any provision made to account for how many indigenous people were living in the country as the notion that everybody is indigenous was propelled.

Breathing life into indigenous issues

The concept of indigenism (indigeneity) is now a much debated, challenged and disputed concept. Niezen (2003) and Crawhall (2011) states that the origins of this concept of indigeneity can be attributed to the plight of one man, Levi General Deskaheh. Deskaheh was the chief of the Younger Bear Clan of the Cayuga Nation and spokesman of the Six Nations[85] of the Grand River Land near Brantford, Ontario, who started lobbying the members of the League of Nations with the assistance of a lawyer, George P. Docker, on his arrival in Geneva in 1923. The issue that plagued many Aboriginal groups[86], as Deskaheh sought to resolve as the spokesperson for the Six Nations, was the political turmoil and loss of sovereignty resulting from tribal governance in lieu of the Indian Act and laws under the Indian government[87].

On the African continent, in southern Africa, Namibia and South Africa were the second last countries to gain independence. Saunders (2009) notes that during the Second World War, Winston Churchill, the British Prime Minister suggested to Jan Smuts, the South African Prime Minister, to annex South West Africa to South Africa. Jan Smuts took the plan to the United Nations who voted against the move of annexation. In 1978, "the UN Security Council passed Resolution 435" (Saunders, 2009:442). This resolution paved the way for Namibian independence, and, although it was delayed by 13 years, they became an independent country from South Africa. Saunders (2014) states that the Rehoboth Basters in Namibia complained to the League of Nations about treatment meted out by South Africa as early as the 1920s.

[85] The State of the Six Nations of the Iroquois consists of the Mohawk, the Oneida, the Onondaga, the Cayuga, the Seneca and the Tuscarora.
[86] The terms or phrased 'Aboriginal, First Nation Status, First people, and indigenous people' are all used interchangeably and refers to a particular group of people who occupied and was found in a certain place at the time of colonisation.
[87] The Indians in reference to the Native-Americans.

After the League of Nations fragmented and the new body, the United Nations, was established, discussions and debates in relation to the indigenous question escalated. Niezen raises the following point:

> It is true that every U.N. entity now recognizes indigenous peoples as a distinct category of human populations in need of urgent intervention and support. But there is a dissonance between the way this support has been expressed by the United Nations and the expectations of indigenous representatives. (Niezen, 2003:197)

While it is factually true that the United Nations recognizes indigenous peoples globally, the institutions in the various nations-states who need to 'accommodate' the issues of indigenous peoples in their borders are struggling with 'defining' who the indigenous peoples are whom they need to assist (Kuper, 2003, 2018). To other scholars like Jens Dahl (2012) who followed the inside processes of indigenous people at the United Nations for over twenty years, definitions of who is and who is not indigenous is neither here nor there, as indigenous people themselves created who created and held the space of engagement at the United Nations and they leverage those international gains in their individual countries of origin.

An attempt at defining indigeneity

In 1948, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in which it states amongst other things that "human rights should be protected by the rule of law"[88]. The first article notes that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" (Howard, 2003:104). Following many drafts and amendments to the declaration, based on listening to and overseeing the complaints from indigenous peoples and their rights, the Declaration was finally signed on 13 September 2007 (Daes, 2011:11).

If one considers the argument that Kingsbury (1998) raised as cited by Dhal (2012) that in relation to the legal understanding of engaging with and alongside indigenous people "instead of [the] inflexible categories of who should or should not be recogni[s]ed as indigenous peoples … using criteria as indicia or indicators" might be helpful to analyse how people show and tell who they are. Mentioning several criteria that might be present in the circle of indigenous

[88] Rule of Law Drives Promotion, Protection of Human Rights, Deputy Secretary-General. Available on https://www.un.org/press/en/2014/dsgsm750.doc.htm [Accessed 27 December 2021]

claims, Kingsbury says “first of all self-identification”, followed by the other processes like historical continuity as a people, and connection to the region might be present when dealing in indigenous issues (Kingsbury, 1998 cited in Dahl, 2012:190).

Thus, while there is no clear definition for the concept of indigeneity and the notion of indigeneity is furthermore contested and contextually applicable to various groups claiming this status, a report on the website of the United Nations on Indigenous Peoples at the UN frames indigeneity as follows:

> Indigenous peoples are inheritors and practitioners of unique cultures and ways of relating to people and the environment. They have retained social, cultural, economic, and political characteristics that are distinct from those of the dominant societies in which they live. Despite their cultural differences, indigenous peoples from around the world share common problems related to the protection of their rights as distinct peoples[89].

The report on the UN website further notes that the indigenous question hinges on the fact that:

> Indigenous peoples [seek] recognition of their identities, [their] way of life and their right to traditional lands, territories and natural resources for years, yet throughout history, their rights have always been violated. Indigenous peoples today, are arguably among the most disadvantaged and vulnerable groups of people in the world. The international community now recognizes that special measures are required to protect their rights and maintain their distinct cultures[90] and way of life[91].

---

[89] United Nations: Department of Economic and Social Affairs - Indigenous Peoples at the United Nations. Available at: https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/about-us.html [Accessed on 20 August 2020]

[90] Culture is a nebulous concept to work with especially given the way that ‘culture’ was used in the formation of the race groups in Apartheid South Africa. Further it adaptable and relative, and no one person can claim a culture to be pure or as belonging to him/her.

[91] United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs: Indigenous Peoples - Indigenous Peoples at the United Nations. Accessed from https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/about-us.html [Accessed 28 January 2019]

Throughout the past decades, there have been several attempts to set a definition for indigenous people and in 1989, the International Labour Organization (ILO) defined indigenous peoples as:

> peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the population which inhabited the country, or geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of colonization or conquest or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions. (ILO 1989, cited in Sylvain, 2002:1075)

Lee (2006) appraises the use of the concept of indigeneity, but also cautions against the pitfalls of using the concept of indigeneity, saying that:

> After centuries of denigration, being recognized as indigenous [peoples] has become an avenue for entitlement, enfranchisement, and empowerment … it has provided for formerly oppressed peoples a proverbial 'seat at the table'… but indigenism has a disturbing underside: for some it is a cloak for separatism, chauvinism, and reverse racism. (2006:458)

Although the concept of indigeneity has these pitfalls as mentioned above, the important thing to note is that the use of the concept of indigeneity created a space for people to engage their governments on everyday issues which are affecting their lives and livelihoods. (Lee, 2006). Rodolfo Stavenhagen, a former UN Special Rapporteur wrote in a report in 1994 that "indigenousness, independently of biological or cultural continuity, frequently is the outcome of governmental policies imposed from above and from the outside" (Stavenhagen, 1994:14–15, cited in Muehlebach, 2003:244). In 2005, the South African government invited Rodolfo Stavenhagen to assess the state of indigeneity in South Africa[92]. Stavenhagen's report noted the Khoe-San groups across the provinces as the indigenous people in the country.

Herein lies the contested nature of contextuality where the concept of indigeneity becomes unstuck and, in many cases, an impossible concept to apply as though it is a blanket term that

[92] Rodolfo Stavenhagen, 'Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous peoples: Mission to South Africa' (2005) E/CN.4/2006/78/Add.2 Available at https://www.hr-dp.org/contents/1075 [Accessed 12/12/2021]

applies to all peoples in all spaces. As is the case with the use of the concepts of "self-determination" and "peoples," the concept of "indigenous" remains contested in international law (Muehlebach, 2003:244).

What started as a noble form of recognition when President Wilson promised self-determination for nations after World War 1, according to Niezen (2003), became the "first real opportunity for international consideration of the rights of indigenous peoples" (2003:31). While the notion of original peoples, referring to those who first socialised the land, or arrived first to a specific geographical location is seen as indigenous, Kuper (2018) disagrees with this way of dealing with the indigenous question. According to Kuper, the European nativist movement has "nothing to do" with the indigenous issues, further noting that the category of hunter-gatherers does not suffice as a placeholder to identify indigenous peoples "since we are all descended from hunter-gatherers" (Kuper, 2018:ix).

The question as posited by Kuper is, "at what stage, after how many centuries, is the status of former hunter-gatherers lost? (Kuper, 2018:ix). Does the status of hunter-gatherer disintegrate into modern societal life? Kuper writes in the preface to the book *Indigeneity on the Move – Varying Manifestations of a Contested Concept*, that some of the most ardent scholars insist on representing the "Maori or Inuit, or descendants of the Aztecs and Incas, who ceased to be hunter-gatherers hundreds or even thousands of years ago" as indigenous although they do not represent this way of life anymore.

In the context of southern Africa, for example in Namibia, the San (Bushmen) in many instances has since lost this way of life as they do not have land, nor do they have control over the natural environment or the animal habitat. As noted by Sylvain "the San (Bushmen) have been increasingly exposed to the effects of liberalizing trade markets, the global flows of capital and people associated with a booming tourism industry" (Sylvain, 2005:354). The San (Bushmen) of Namibia, like many other indigenous groups on the continent, are "engaged in rights-based activism as indigenous peoples … participat[ing] in international indigenous peoples' rights forums and are organizing as a vocal and sophisticated political community" (Sylvain, 2005:354). The San people, like many other indigenous Khoe groups, are voicing their dissatisfaction with the way they are treated.

International organisations like the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA), and the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR) and

the Indigenous Peoples of Africa Coordinating Committee (IPACC), Crawhall (2011) are assisting the indigenous people on the African continent in their quest to indigeneity (Sylvian, 2005; Crawhall, 2011). While these international organisations exist to assist with the claims of indigenous peoples in Africa, "the current integration of the San [and the Khoe people] into the new global order introduces important opportunities for empowerment and 'development' but is also fraught with contradictions and challenges inherent to local identity politics and global indigenous activism" (Sylvain, 2005:354).

The claims to indigeneity in the South African context illuminate these contradictions, where history is invoked, and mobilisation occurs in service of addressing contemporary social issues like language revivalism, housing, education and access to land. In South Africa the indigenous peoples, the Khoe-San are also further subjugated to the long history of structural inequality of race and class divisions that stem from colonialism and Apartheid (Legassick, 2016; De Jongh, 2016).

Constructing an Indigenous Identity – Self-Identification?

The dilemma that Coloured people have faced for years, according to Du Pré (1994) is directly linked to racial classification, centuries of discrimination and racial stereotyping. Du Pré advances the idea that Coloured people should no longer see themselves as 'Coloureds' and engage and take on a strategic position which speaks to the notion of *Coloured Consciousness*[93] (Du Pré, 1994:81). The newly found consciousness can be interpreted as noted in the statement by De Wet:

> within the designation of '[C]oloured', there are now a group of people referring to themselves as [the] Indigenous First Nation of South Africa. This is a direct response to the empowering new dispensation with its human rights enshrined

[93] The words *Coloured Consciousness* are italicised because sections in the Coloured community are realising a new consciousness by claiming and self-identifying as descendants of the Khoe-San people. The movement of the Khoe-San is growing daily with new people joining the movement, including sympathisers, interested parties and undecided onlookers; the latter convinced by members of the Khoe-San to join the movement. I have encountered many people who attended Khoe-San gatherings out of interest in what the members were doing, only to find them at our next encounter to be 'baptised' as fully-fledged members of the movement. The incident is also described in chapter five where I was invited as a speaker to participate in the Khoe-San Women's League Conference in Kwa-Zulu Natal.

> constitution and the ratification of most of the United Nations Conventions. (2006:8)

Since indigeneity is such a contested concept locally and globally and African and Asian governments maintain that everybody is indigenous, De Wet (2006) notes that in South Africa, many of the Khoe-San groups who are participating in the movement claim indigeneity and "the words, 'First Nation' are included to differentiate between the indigenous peoples and those who came into South Africa after the Khoe-San peoples as all Black people were regarded as indigenous in Africa. This is also the terminology used by the Khoe-San activists and leaders". De Wet notes "that the term indigenous does not only refer to historical connection and continuity with the land *but also a relational one*, seeking equality and restitution of justice from the nation state" (2006:8 my emphasis). The work by Zips-Mairitsch (2009) and Sapignoli (2018) posit the same argument that indigeneity is relational. In describing what is meant by relational, I am noting that indigeneity and the claim to it do not operate in a vacuum. Indigeneity operates subject to politics, subject to time and context as well as subject to power relations. In the case of South Africa who oversees making and approving policies to include indigenous peoples becomes a part of indigenous claims, representation and expression. The signing of various conventions in recognition of indigenous peoples at the United Nations, like UNDRIP, a myriad of contestations like access to land and cultural reclamation has occurred in the Coloured community among those whose self-identify as Khoe-San people. Their self-identification as Khoe-San people is linked to the global movement on claims to indigeneity or claims to First Nation status. The terms are used interchangeably.

Firstly, the activism around the movement of indigenous peoples is seen in groups where individuals are legally classified as Coloured people and openly denounce the Coloured identity. Those who self-identify as Khoe-San are becoming indigenous, taking on a new persona by adorning their bodies with animal skin clothing or skin overthrows, symbolising an indigenous identity (discussed in chapter seven). Secondly, becoming an indigenous person in the context of South Africa, destabilises the four-tier racial classification system as used in the country (addressed in chapter six).

The topic of indigeneity or indigenous identities is a concept that is not easily pinned down. The South African government participated in the signing of the UNDRIP declaration. Within the population of the country, those who are currently classified as Coloured people, but who self-identify as Khoe-San people, are the only group of people discussing with the current

government structures on a myriad of issues pertaining to the recognition of an indigenous identity. No other group in South Africa is as invested in identity politics as the Coloured people who self-identify as Khoe-San people. Although there are other groups of people in the country who share the same Khoe-San ancestors, they are not necessarily claiming an indigenous identity.

This fact is evident in a television show called *So where do we come from?* The show was aired on Carte Blanche in the early 2000s and it featured local celebrities, politicians, businesspeople and TV presenters. These include people like Hannelie De Beer, the late Baby Jake Matlala (the boxer), Patricia de Lille (politician), Irvin Khoza (soccer boss), Wendy Lehube (Vodacom Director), Elana Afrika (TV presenter) and the open secret ancestry of the late President Nelson Mandela. All these people had one thing in common: a Khoe-San [Khoisan] woman referred to as 'Khoisan moederlyn' in the Afrikaans language.[94] They all have mixed ancestry. However, Patricia de Lille was the only one classified as a Coloured person based on the Population Registration Act No 30 of 1950.

The reason for mentioning the show here was not to dwell on DNA testing of individuals, but to highlight the problem of several issues pertaining to identity politics and indigeneity. First, the four-tier racial classification system of the Apartheid state arbitrarily assigned identities to people. Secondly, the current government's stance and insistence on using the four-tier racial classification system to address injustices of the past and the policies which flows from there, stratified the African identity into different shades of Blackness (discussed in chapter six). Lastly, I look critically at the attempted definitions of the concept of indigeneity as espoused through the UNDRIP declaration. I will illustrate that identities are fluid and that the four-tier racial classification system used by the Apartheid government had no basis for dividing the South African populace into the stark four-tier racial categories, except for their need to maintain power and to keep the status quo of White dominance.

In chapter six, I expand on Alexander's (2001) conceptualization of the streams-into-rivers concept as a lens to unpack identity politics in South Africa and how the use of the four-tier racial classification system has molded and continues to be the prism through which people

---

[94] While I was doing fieldwork in Upington, I came across this article that was printed in the *Beeld* newspaper, reported by Neels Jackson. The copy in the library in Upington had no date and page number on it. I tried get the original printed version but was only helped with a website link to the article. Available at http://gesellig.co.za/t/16339%20Julle_is_almal_familie/ [Accessed on 31 February 2018]

engage with each other in the South African landscape. In the early 1990s, Oomen (2005) notes, a group of Afrikaners approached the United Nations with claims that they were also indigenous. Although South Africa is a signatory to the UNDRIP declaration it must be noted that South Africa is a sovereign state, a constitutional democracy and that it has a constitutional court which is the highest law and decision-making body of the land.

The above scenarios illustrate the messiness of the concept of indigeneity and brings us to the question posed by Muehlebach:

> Who, today, can claim 'indigeneity'? The malleability of the concept of 'indigenous' is part of a muddy, but productive, and an ambivalent, but creative, terrain through which and with which indigenous delegates act to make radical claims to culture and territory at the UN. (2003:244)

Muehlebach points to the central problem that, in a context like South Africa with its entrenched racial past and inequality disparities, the use of the concept of indigeneity is 'ambivalent' and yet 'creative' at the same time (Muehlebach, 2003:244). Thus, in keeping with the ideology of *Coloured Consciousness*, as espoused by Du Pré (1994), it can be inferred metaphorically that the vehicle driving this *Coloured Consciousness*, is the rebirth and reclamation of a Khoe-San ancestry that is addressing issues of socio-economic exclusion and which is engaging government at various levels. Therefore, indigeneity or claiming an indigenous identity arises as a political claim and it continues to be a political claim globally (Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo, 2001; Tsing, 2007; Corntassel, 2008).

I have argued that contemporary Khoe-San identity claims are born of a movement of growing *consciousnesses*; the multiplicity and layering of these diverse types of 'awakenings' have been triggered by and through various forms of discussions and debates around identity politics. This necessitates a nuanced discussion of identity in the context of South Africa and, more widely, in other spaces.

The use of labelling and categorising people into different forms of identity has a long history which the social sciences have been investigating and assessing how labelling and categorisation affect people. It is important to be cognisant of the use of labelling and classification and its consequences. In many instances labelling and categorising are twofold: people can and do apply labels and categories to themselves with no qualms, but once the state steps in to make such classifications legal, the consequences are dire for the individuals

involved. For example, in South Africa, the 'k-word' had been declared derogatory, but in the early 1990s a popular Kwaito star, Arthur Mafokate used the k-word in a song called 'Nee baas don't call me a K'[95] which irked some South African Black people and other people to sing and dance happily to the lyrics of the song, oblivious of the politics the song invoked. To label and categorise people goes under the many guises like labelling and categorising people for aid, to stigmatise a person, to keep people enslaved as economic fodder for a capitalist system, to create divisions of superiority and inferiority in society through the ambit of the law and by subjecting people to various unequal structures to define and rule those who are classified for such purposes (Wood, 2007; Mamdani, 2012; Marè, 2014; Tafira, 2016).

Recognition and belonging

The recognition of one's identity I argue is two-pronged; recognition occurs at the individual or group level where the "struggle for recognition is a conflict generated by disrespected or structurally excluded individuals, who want to be acknowledged as morally accountable, independent, self-respecting human beings" (Chari, 2004:112) and at the macro-level of the state. According to Westermark (1997:220) an "[i]ndigenous identity is partly a question of belonging to the country itself, imbibing the local waters and ingesting the foods that spring from the local soil". Marginalised and oppressed by their integration into larger societies indigenous people are using their agency to redefine who they are, their origins and thus their sense of belonging. Williams (1995:10) postulates that "when people of some minority cease trying to assimilate and opt for a culturally distinct identity, they seek to affirm an *origin*".

[95] The chorus of the song says 'Nee baas don't call me a Kaffir'

In 2015, at the march where Khoe-San activists walked to three Chapter nine institutions. Two of the activists carried telling placards that illustrate the notion of being 'invisible' and feeling

Photograph 1: An activist with a placard illustrating feelings of 'invisibility', as well as exclusion.

'excluded' from the economy in South Africa, as result of categories imposed on people and the notion of understanding the self in terms of phenotype and pigmentation.

Melvin, carrying the placard that reads "Stop ignoring us, we not going anywhere!!! We demand employment equity!!!" is illustrative of ill feelings of marginalisation in the period post-1994. Van der Ross informs us on the election results after the first democratic elections in the in South Africa and describes a scenario of Coloured identity politics. Van der Ross states:

> The 1994 elections [were] essentially an election to put an end to White domination and minority rule. An interesting corollary to this is the question of whether the Coloured people are now part of a minority. Among the feelings of the country's new rulers, the black Africans, is an attitude that 'now it is our turn', that the interests of the black population must now be placed first. If Coloured people constituted the minority, they must accept that they will be treated as the oppressors of the past and remain second class citizens. They have the vote, but they won't get the jobs. (2015:179)

In the plea against 'invisibility', the messages such as "Affirmative Action is net vir Swartes!!!" (Affirmative Action is only for Blacks!!!), reverberates in conversations between self-identifying Khoe-San members. They speak of their embodied experience of marginalisation and frame their discussions in relation to socio-economic exclusion in terms of job opportunities, education and a myriad of other social ills.

Photograph 2: Mario a Khoe-San activist protesting against socio-economic marginalisation.

The South African Human Rights Commission

In 2016, the South African Human Rights Commission sought to get a response from government officials on how they understand the concept of indigeneity. The meeting in January 2016, followed a series of meetings that were held in 2015. These officials are representatives of the state and the relationship between the state and the people claiming an indigenous identity is important to unpack. Indigeneity in South Africa is not happening in a vacuum. It is not a phenomenon that only affects a small group of people. While there are no authorised statistics to account for the total number of people claiming indigeneity in the country, Lee (2006) gives an estimation that half of the population of about 4.8 million Coloured people would self-identify as Khoe-San people. It must be noted that it is not only a matter of saying that you are an indigenous person without you being recognized as an indigenous person. There are complicated processes involved in claiming an indigenous identity. The significance of the issues that Khoe-San descendants are raising is captured in an interview with Obed Bapela, the then Deputy Minister of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs. In an interview the minister pronounces "Let's not go into the temptation of giving them the first-nation status ... if we go that route, it's unsustainable … because they

would then want their own government within the government system that we have". Another government official in the position of Director-General of Traditional Affairs, Muzamani Charles Nwaila, said that "… first-nation status has got benefits attached to it … those that [have] first-nation status [are entitled] to have their own government, own schools, own economic system and own set-up"[96]. Thus, the relationship between the state and the citizens as articulated by the representatives of the government during the sitting with the Human Rights Commission is important to consider what is at stake should the current government make concessions to allow Khoe-San people self-determination in South Africa.

The following extract is taken from a presentation made by a senior official of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, to a panel of officials from the South African Human Rights Commission in January 2016. The Commission scheduled a second round of hearings in Johannesburg to seek clarity on several issues raised by the descendants of the Khoe-San people after engaging them in various meetings covering the three provinces to listen to the issues raised by various members of this community. The Commission also heard a presentation from the Director of PanSALB, concerning the issues of the language of the Khoe-San people. The gathering commenced in a formal fashion with the introductions of five members of the Commission, three male panel members, a male Human Rights lawyer observing the proceedings and a woman, the secretary to the Commission. At the sitting in Johannesburg, in the audience, listening to the presentations were over thirty members of the Khoe-San community and activists in the movement, men and women, young and old. The respective departments introduced themselves and in both cases the presenters were asked if they had any objections to taking an Oath. The two presenters responded that they had no objection to taking the Oath and the Commissioner read the Oath to the respective presenters before they started their presentations.

> Commissioner: Do you swear that the evidence that you shall give shall be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help me God. (Commissioner, 2016)

[96] Andisiwe Makinana. 2016. City Press First-nation status for Khoe-San 'unsustainable'. Available at https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/first-nation-status-for-khoisan-unsustainable-20161126. [Accessed on 26 December 2021]

The presenters individually responded with an affirmative “I do” to the Oath and proceeded with their individual presentations. These were followed by a question-and-answer session by the panel members used here as a prelude to the discussion on the contested nature of the concept of indigeneity that followed the presentation of the official from the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform.

Commissioner: Your understanding of Indigenous?

Official: Phew (sigh) The um … in the government as a whole … government as a whole that question um … is going to be answered very soon … I do know that there is a process that is let by the Department of Traditional Affairs um … about the issue they call it indi-gen-eity, now they are finalising the process which we understand it's going to cabinet and then cabinet will then pronounce on the government's position insofar as indi-gen-eity is concerned. To us our Department um… we … our starting point as we say in our presentation is that by 19 June 1913, the Khoe-San and other indigenous Africans have long been dispossessed of land. So, to us we are not introducing interventions because of who is indigenous or who is not … or … um… the issue of First Nation Status. To us we leave that to the Department of Traditional Affairs and to the government to clarify. We base our interventions on the historical facts. It is a historical fact that after Jan van Riebeeck and his crew arrived at the Cape the first wars … um… the people that defended the land first were the Khoe-San, it's a historical fact. Whether that makes them indigenous or not, to us it is not that important. To us, if that is a fact it has … it means for you to defend something there is a lot that …that would tell you and that is what you are trying to address. We always say, even in our interaction with the Khoe-San that it is a very important thing … that um… it is a very important thing that has to be resolved but for us to have an equitable distribution of land, it's not a requirement that that question must be answered.

Commissioner: So, when Foreign Affairs or the Department of International Relations and Cooperation go to the United Nations on the Permanent Forum of Indigenous issues to the United Nations and they say indigenous peoples are the Khoe, the San, the Nama and the Griqua, the Cape Khoe or the Korana, you don’t agree with that?

Official: We do not have an objection to it. In fact, one of the things that always puzzled us and we would share this with the leaders that we work with, is how in our observations every time government departments gather around the table to prepare for the United Nations Summit … these um … the reporting requirements and errr … we must report around indigenous people it's always the Khoe and the San. We never talk about anyone else and the Khoe and the San to be inclusive of the five main groups[97]. We would then continue saying the other thing that again puzzles us is that when you are interacting with the Khoe-San um … the issue of the five groups is not acceptable to everyone because there are other um … there are other groupings there are other tribes etc … etc … but when you come in when you say 'I am government, I have R5, how do I distribute it?' The answer would be in terms of the five subgroups. So, there are these things that really require clarity, and we think, and we are really hoping that the work that Traditional Affairs is doing on the issue of indi-ge-neity can be finalised as soon as possible so that we are also able to focus. When we deal with the Khoe-San communities they have issues and I have listed them here in my summary there are ten; land is one of those, one of them, we come to deal with the land issue BUT we cannot deal with it until all the others, all the other issues have been dealt with um … with land goes issues of water, with land comes the issues of mineral resources, with land comes the issues of culture which is linked to language so it makes it very, very difficult. Issues of First Nation Status making it very, very difficult to then focus the leaders in the communities to deal with one land issue out of all these others. So, but what is important is that to us, our interventions are not premised on indigenous, but they are premised on historical facts. We are trying to correct what was done to people; whether they are indigenous or not is not important for the purposes of our interventions.

Commissioner: We will have to express ourselves very clearly as a Commission in our hearings or the report around the hearings because as you know government and also on the continent there is the approach that we are all indigenous. There is also the tension with some ministries, where

[97] The five main groups referred to includes the Griqua, Nama, Korana, Cape Khoe and San (Bushmen).

> some ministries are saying that um … we have enough resources and we will be able to take this matters to court and delay you for quite a long time. These are the negative reports that we are receiving um … the real basic issue [that] people are saying also around First Nation Status, yes, we may all be indigenous, but we are First! Those are the things that we need to clarify ourselves on and I am glad to refer to the Traditional Affairs Department they will hear … I am also quite positive about the relevance and importance about the indigeneity of the Khoe-San peoples, but those kinds of conflicts [are] something that we need to clarify, and it is good as you say focus… only on the facts, historical facts. That is when people are asking again on the basis of history who were here First? (South African Human Rights Commission, January 2016)

The above exchange between the Commissioner and official in Rural Development and Land Reform is indicative of the macroeconomic uncertainties around identity politics as it is unfolding at a micro level of everyday contestation and the use of the concept of indigeneity. As noted in the above conversation while there are some efforts made by the South African government to 'address the claims' and concerns raised by the descendants of the Khoe-San, it should also be noted that the government is offering the Khoe-San people piece meal offerings and they lack genuine interaction to wholeheartedly accommodate the Khoe-San people fully into many structures. The Khoe-San groups are assimilated and co-opted into existing structures in the country, for example into the National House of Traditional Leaders.

The South African government and many officials dealing with the issues of Khoe-San people are acutely aware of the implications of granting full recognition to the Khoe-San and what such an acknowledgment and recognition would mean to these communities clearly told in the words of Obed Bapela, Deputy Minister of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs. At the Human Rights hearings held in Kimberley Chief Berend Van Wyk noted that,

> dit lyk vir my dat die Khoe-San issue is regtig n *tameletjie*[98], of dit raak vir die government n verleentheid om na ons mense te kyk, of na ons mense om te sien. (Kimberley, April 2016)[99]

The talks between various Khoe-San members and the government under the auspices of the ANC, started in the early 1990s and it continues to gain momentum. However, as noted in the above discussion between the commissioner and the governmental representative, when the South African government is invited to the United Nations to give a country report on the state of the indigenous peoples and their achievements in relation to what has been done for the indigenous peoples, the debate only revolves around Khoe-San issues and not the whole population. The observation by the official highlights the paradox between the macro and the micro engagements of identity politics as captured in the words of the late Chief Mathysen when he states that,

> Die goewerment weet met wat ons en hul besig is. Om te praat van Khoe-San mense is om te praat van die sogenaamde Kleurling of Bruinmense mense. Ons storie is soos die *jam* wat die twee snye brood bymekaar bring (Personal communication, February 2016).[100]

The late Chief Mathysen and Chief Berend van Wyk both use metaphors that refer to a sticky situation. A 'tamaletjie' like 'jam' are sweet items but can also be very messy if squeezed between two surfaces. The notion of addressing the needs of the Khoe-San people, as indigenous people, goes against the democratic state and the ideals of nation building. The state equates the notion of indigeneity to be reminiscent of an Apartheid state policy where the Apartheid government wanted the former Bantustans to be independent countries. As noted by the Director-General of Traditional Affairs, Mr Nwaila, the benefits of self-governance attached to the notion of First Nation Status is not something that the current government is willing to entertain by any stretch of the imagination, hence the reluctance to fully engage the issues of the Khoe-San people. Since the turn to democracy, the paradox exists, that in these spaces, and in the global arena the 'Khoe-San people' get symbolic recognition and

---

[98] A *tameletjie* is an Afrikaans word and expression that refers to a sticky toffee or something that is very messy when one attempts to eat it. It messes all over.

[99] It seems to me that the Khoe-San issue is truly a sticky situation, or it is an embarrassment for the government to look at our people, or to look after our people.

[100] The government knows what we and they are busy with. To speak of Khoe-San people is to speak of the so-called Coloured or Brown people. Our story is like the jam between two slices of bread bringing it together.

representation by the government but inside the country and in the daily interaction between citizens and the state many of the issues that Khoe-San has been raising since the dawn of democracy are not fully entertained.

Kuper (2018) notes that in some institutions "such as the International Labour Organization (ILO), suggest that 'indigenous' peoples should be defined rather with reference to a political identity" because they "are minority groups, marked out by cultural difference and subjected to discrimination … regulated wholly or partially by their own customs and traditions or by special laws or regulations" (2018:ix). Should the criteria or placeholder for indigeneity be "cultural", "racial" or by "descent" the latter Kuper notes, particularly for North American groups, "grandparents" – trumps "culture", language or way of life" (Kuper, 2018:ix). The latter point made by Kuper (2018) on a specified number of grandparents has the potential to reveal the interconnectedness of different societies that transcends 'culture' and 'language' to show the constructedness of affiliations bandied about with reference to the idea of nation states and nationalities. Kuper notes that "the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous issues simply sidestepped the whole question of definition … [that] the case of the concept of 'indigenous peoples', the prevailing view is that no formal definition of the term is necessary" (Kuper, 2018:x). Kuper is of the view that a set definition is necessary if the "goal is to do something to help the "indigenous peoples", who the people are and what one is talking about (Kuper, 2018:x).

As the concept of indigeneity[101] is relatively recent in its usage in anthropology and many other sciences, Kuper states that "if ethnographers report only on what is politically convenient and refrain from analysing intellectual confusions, then our ethnographies will lose their credibility" (Kuper, 2018:xi). Considering all the movement's machinery[102], the question of the future of indigenous people must be raised and discussed, especially in the South African context. Kuper posits that it is vital to have a definition for indigenous people if the goal is to do good for them. If Kuper's assertion, the notion of 'descent', is brought into the context of

[101] The word 'indigeneity' appears in many texts but since World War ll, the creation of the United Nations and the subsequent declaration of the United Nation Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP), the word had taken on new a meaning to refer to those minority groups who were displaced from their land, their livelihoods and way of life through colonisation and imperialism.
[102] This includes identity politics, self-identification as an indigenous person in South Africa, in particular, issues of language revivalism, Khoe-San people raise a plethora of issues that is seen as the machinery.

Africa before the Berlin Conference in 1884-1885 which divided Africa, then the assertion that all Africans are indigenous holds true. However, this does not address the question of familial relations in a place like South Africa where clear racial and ethnic boundaries were drawn by the colonial and Apartheid governments foregrounding the idea of 'pureness' and stratified identities along racial and ethnic differences. Legassick writes:

> The obsession in the historiography of South Africa with the analysis of society in 'racial' terms produces endless attempts to differentiate Bantu-speakers from Khoisan, Khoikhoi and 'San'[103], Sotho from Nguni, and, within each, sub-tribes from sub-tribes and so on. (1989:365)

Legassick (1989) posits that an analysis that begins to look at the social relations of production and the similarities between groups potentially can inform more about societies than researching about them as single enclaves. In this thesis, I maintain and place great emphasis on the recognition and place of the descendants of Khoe-San people who have been written out of the narrative of the making of the South African society. As recognition of Khoe-San people remains my central argument, it is therefore also important to analyse as Legassick (1989) suggests, and to take into cognisance the similarities between groups and also subgroups in particular, which problematises the concept of indigeneity in a space like South Africa.

In this thesis, I argue that in the South African context with its peculiar partitions of race, ethnicity and class divisions, the importance of 'how' the concept of indigeneity is used to open new avenues for nuanced epistemologies and ontologies of identity politics is crucial to unpacking the notion of indigeneity and to point to the impediments of the concept.

Conclusion

Khoe-San members and activists in the groups are well versed with the United Nations proclamations on the state of indigenous people around the world, as noted by Chief Cháchara. However, these individuals are members of a nation state and citizens of the country in which they reside. The United Nations state that people can self-identify, and that they have certain rights accrued to them. Like the right to be taught in your own language (the subject of chapter five), the right to land, housing, education and all these things that are also afforded to other

[103] The use of the word San is placed in inverted commas by the author because some individuals prefer to use the term San, while others use the term Bushman.

citizens of the country. Thus, when Kuper (2018) asserts that one must be clear on how scholars define indigeneity or how they look at the future of the concept of indigeneity, I propose that scholars must look at how the concept of indigeneity could be used to create a space where minority groups could win small battles using and accessing all possible resources.

As seen in the above discussion, that there is an uncertainty over the use of the concept of indigeneity, however, in the context of South Africa this concept forces the government to deal with a group of people who were for decades only known as 'Coloured people', operating under the assumption that the Khoe-San people were an extinct group. While it may be appropriate for North American groups to claim their indigenous status where "grandparents" – trumps "culture, language or way of life" (Kuper, 2018:ix), on the continent of Africa, especially in South Africa, the case for indigeneity is more complicated. This is especially due to the successful efforts of the Apartheid government that created divisions between people with their four-tier racial classification system that is still used in the current democratic system. Thus, in applying the concept of indigeneity in South Africa, it is far more compelling to follow the gains made by these groups, and to look at the interconnectedness of the various groups as noted by Legassick (1989), than to continuously point to divisions in society.

Following what Legassick (1989, 2016) proposes in no way implies that the issues raised by self-identifying Khoe-San members are not important, but rather that what people are saying is critically important, because these are their experiences and, as seen in this above chapter, the Khoe-San members are using different avenues and methods to achieve a better life for themselves and their community.

Chapter FIVE

Becoming Indigenous in a Time of Precarity

ǂXuu-nology: The ǂxuu[104] – Katrina Esau, aka[105] *Ouma Geelmeid*

Katrina Esau, also known as Ouma Geelmeid, the matriarch of the Western N‖ng‡egroup, became the ǂxuu of this group of San people on the 30th of May 2015. The inauguration and symbolic crowning of Ouma Geelmeid as the ǂxuu pertains only to the group of people affiliated to the House of N‖ng‡e, herein referred to as the House. The ǂxuu Katrina Esau is the ǂxuu of the House, and not the entire San (Bushmen) groupings found in southern Africa.

My main informant, Ms Letitia Petersen invited me to attend this event. As mentioned earlier, she has been dealing with Khoe-San issues since the early 1990s and has close links with many members in the Khoe-San movement. She also serves as the secretary for the National Reference Group that was established after the first National Khoe-San dialogue held in Kimberley in 2013. The National Reference Group is an established body consisting of forty-five members across the nine provinces. The selection is made up of one member from each of the five groups, five members per province, as per the explanation of the groups in the footnote on page two. The purpose of these groups is to report to their members who are part of their group, concerning the progress made between government and the Khoe-San leaders. It seldom happened in this fashion as it was envisioned at the formation of the National Reference Group.

I travelled on the 29th of May, from Port Elizabeth (now known as Gqeberha) to Upington to attend this event. In the taxi going to Upington, I met Chief Douw, Chief Coetzee and another man whom I addressed only as Pastor travelling together. The transport left Port Elizabeth (Gqeberha) around 14h00 and we arrived in Upington the following morning at 03h30. When

[104] The word ǂxuu means queen as noted by Mr van Wyk and as signed in the reader I bought from the House.
[105] Abbreviation for 'also known as'

we arrived there, the small three-bedroom house of Ouma Geelmeid was filled with other Chiefs and leaders[106] who had travelled from other provinces to attend this event.

There was no time to rest. The children living in the house with Ouma Geelmeid offered us a warm cup of coffee and we quickly refreshed and got ready for the big day. The weather was very cold as we were nearing winter. Chief Douw changed into his traditional garb wearing only a loincloth that looked like a short skirt and sandals made of animal skin, his upper body not covered. I felt the chills running down my spine as I observed him getting ready. I was wearing a thick jacket, jeans and *tekkies*[107]. With our initial meeting in the minibus taxi, he wore a shirt and a pair of trousers, while Chief Coetzee wore ordinary cloths with a headpiece, but she too changed for the occasion wearing a long leopard print jacket.

The initial plans for this ritual were to use the community sports grounds, but as Mr van Wyk informed me, there were last minute complications and cancellations, and they were forced to seek another venue. When their attempts failed, they opted to use the piece of land that was occupied by Piet Barends and other leaders. The land is located on the side of the highway leading to Namibia. It served as a tourist attraction as one could see the straw huts from the road. I will revert to this point on the issue of 'landlessness of the Khoe-San people' in chapter eight.

The South African Broadcasting Services (SABC) were there to film the ritual. Due to the presence of the broadcasting services and the live streaming, the event reached Luthuli House, the headquarters of the African National Congress (ANC), who summarily entered the discussion in a magnificent way. There was a drastic change in how 'the indigenous people', the self-identifying Khoe-San people, particularly in and around the Northern Cape, were treated. I will revert to this point in chapter eight, to illustrate the power and influence of state officials and what can be 'possible' for indigenous peoples should there be 'true and full recognition' afforded to the people and how one reads the body and what it represents.

The attendees drove by car to the event. When we arrived on the land that was fifteen minutes away from where Ouma Geelmeid stays, there was a huge round *kraal*[108] made of tall sticks.

---

[106] There is a tendency among the Khoe-San that if one is not called a Chief you are addressed as a leader or leadership.
[107] *Tekkies* refers to sneakers or running shoes.
[108] A makeshift structure made with sticks.

Inside the *kraal* was a hut in which Ouma Geelmeid was being prepared for the ritual that was about to take place. This was a sacred ritual, and nobody was allowed near the hut. We were standing around a fire that was made not too far from the hut inside the *kraal*. Ouma Geelmeid was in this hut with her guide, Ma Gooi[109].

Photograph 3: Around the fire, Chief Douw (Eastern Cape), Chief Deelie (Ennerdale, Johannesburg) and Piet Barendse (Upington, Northern Cape) embrace each other, David van Wyk (Upington, Northern Cape) is wrapped in the blanket.

[109] Due to confidentiality, trust and the sacredness of the ritual I am not at liberty to discuss what happened from the house to the hut.

Photograph 4: Outside the hut Daan Soentjies and Chief Douw, dressed in loincloth, stood guard before Ouma Geelmeid came out of the hut.

Photograph 5: Chief Douw, Piet Barendse and Chief Jan Deelie with Sharon Gabie.

Before the event started, Chief Coetzee sprinkled the inside of the *kraal* with buchu water and took his position behind Daan Soentjies holding the horn in which they burned the *hotnotskooigoed* (incense).

Photograph 6: Daan Soentjies carrying the Elands horn, burning 'Hotnotskooigoed', a symbol to welcome the ancestors. Behind him is Chief Coetzee with her walking stick, inside the hut is Ma Gooi and, seated next to her, is Ouma Geelmeid.

Ouma Geelmeid came out of the hut with a blanket draped around her head and shoulders so that no one could see her face, with Ma Gooi guiding her, walking and stopping at each of the straw huts that were on the land outside of the big *kraal*. It looked like Ma Gooi explained to Ouma Geelmeid where they are stopping in front of each hut on the land. Daan Soentjies, carrying the horn with the burning incense, walked in front of them throughout the proceedings, followed by Chief Coetzee, a few of the other Chiefs, then Ouma Geelmeid and Ma Gooi and then the rest of the attendees. They walked slowly across the land, as if to establish a connection with the land. This slow and intentional 'walking of the land' continued for about two hours with stops and goes, every step taken thoughtfully as the feet touched on the ground.

Photograph 7: The Walking of the Land

Now back inside the *kraal* Chief Paul Swartbooi, who lives in Namaqualand in the Northern Cape, recited a poem to Ouma Geelmeid, with the blanket still draped over her head. The poem was called *Die hart van 'n skone Boesmanvrou* (The heart of a beautiful Bushman woman).

> Die hart van 'n skone Boesmanvrou moet wees soos die helder poele water,
>
> Wat wanneer die wilde diere drink, dan trap hulle dit tot modderpoele.
>
> Maar môre dan, dan is dit weer helder blink.
>
> Geen regeringstelsel moet sy modderspore kan agterlaat, aan die hart
>
> Van 'n skone Boesmanvrou. (Paul Swartbooi, 2015)[110]

[110] The heart of a beautiful Bushmen woman should be like the bright pool of water, when the wild animals drink, then they trample it into mud pools. But tomorrow, it is bright again. No government system should leave its mud traces behind, on the heart of a beautiful Bushmen woman.

Photograph 8: Chief Paul Swaartbooi reciting the poem 'Die hart van 'n skone Boesman vrou' in Afrikaans to Ouma Geelmeid.

Photograph 9: Petrus Vaalbooi standing to the right of Barry, speaking to Ouma Geelmeid

The various travellers, authors and government structures hurt the people, they hurt her forefathers and yet, like water in the early morning dew, she erased those hurtful feelings. She did not wither away, neither did she allow them to break her spirit, she kept the N/uu language safe in her heart. It is important to note how the narrative changes, to a positive story that contemporary Khoe-San people tell each other.

Skotnes (2004) and Legassick (2016) note that the Bushmen people were referred to as vermin. Legassick says that "originally, the Bushmen were constructed in discourse by South African colonists as inveterate stock-thieves, vermin deserving only to be hunted down and exterminated" (2016:125). In 1925, according to Skotnes (2004:45), General Jan Smuts described the San or Bushmen as "physically distinct and scientifically important for the

understanding of racial difference". Adhikari wrote that "the marginality of the San is painfully apparent in popular attitudes that range from intensely negative racial stereotyping through indifference to condescendingly regarding them as quaint relics of humanity's primitive past 'living fossils' being a common designation" (2010:21). During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Kho[e] and San were seen as having "inferior intellect and culture", "a dull, stupid, lazy, stinking nation" characterised as "bold, thievish and not to be trusted" (Marks, 1972:55). These negative stereotypes were recorded and penned down, but the people are transforming it into positive narratives of dignity, strength and forgiveness as noted in the poem of Chief Swartbooi. The narrative of the Khoe-San people can be seen through another metaphor, the story of Cinderella, as the neglected young girl, a stepchild to the rest of the family in the house, turns into a beautiful ǂxuu admired by all. Unlike the fairy tale of Cinderella, the story of the Khoe-San people does not end here. The narrative of the Khoe-San people is gaining momentum and the movement is growing daily as people awake from the 'slumber' that engulfed their lives by rediscovering themselves and reclassifying themselves in terms that they find acceptable to use.

Although Chief Swartbooi's poem is narrated in the Afrikaans language, it speaks to the *Xhi*[111] and hurt and endurance of the forefathers of the Khoe-San people, but yet, their descendants stand ready with open arms and an open heart to forgive the atrocities committed against them: "*wanneer die wilde diere drink, dan trap hulle dit tot modder poele. Maar môre dan is dit weer helder blink*" (when the wild animals drink, they trample it into mud pools. But tomorrow, it is bright again).

Chief Swartbooi called upon Petrus Vaalbooi[112] to bless Ouma Geelmeid and crown her as the ǂxuu of the Western N‖ng‡e, a ǂKhomani San group. The symbolic crowning done by Petrus Vaalbooi gestured an act of putting the Khoe and Bushmen people on the road to unity. It was also part of 'symbolically' acknowledging the role of women in the Khoe-San movement. Petrus Vaalbooi tapped a walking stick he had used throughout the proceedings of walking the land on the shoulders of Ouma Geelmeid, first on the left and then on the right side. This crowning by Oom Vallie (as Petrus is affectionately known) was symbolic of a knight being ordained by the monarch. Her guide lifts the blanket unveiling her face, not taking the blanket

[111] A Khoe word that refers to pain that manifests in different ways.
[112] Petrus Vaalbooi is also known as Oom Vallie.

off completely. Oom Vallie spoke to Ouma Geelmeid and thanked her for her efforts of preserving the language of their forebears, and he then gave her a firm handshake. He handed over the same stick as her 'staff of honour'. Ouma Geelmeid was then asked to stand up and turn around and look towards the people while Oom Vallie removed the blanket (symbolising the lifting of a veil like a bride who gets ready to embrace her husband with a kiss on their wedding day) completely lifting the blanket from her head. Everybody applauded her in recognition of the ceremony that unfolded.

In the distance to the kraal a group of young adults came walking and dancing singing in English, "we are ready for Ouma Geelmeid, on your marks, get set; we are ready for Ouma Geelmeid". The tune of the lyrics sounded like the songs used in church mixed with the symbolism of running a race "on your marks, get set" normally used at a sporting event before runners move out of the starting blocks. A group of young children performed cultural dances.

When I returned to the Northern Cape in 2016 for the first year anniversary and to stay in the community for four months, I learned that this had been the same group of children who attended the *taal skool*, only now there were less than fifteen children in the class.

All the festivities happened on this piece of open *veld*[113] where the *kraal* stood. There was a large tent set up to provide shade from the blazing sun as it was now mid-afternoon, and the weather had cleared since the morning's cold chill.

The time had come to reintroduce Ouma Geelmeid to the community as the ǂxuu of the Western N‖ngǂe of the ǂKhomani San. At this point, she walked down the street where she was staying, symbolically transitioned from being Ouma Geelmeid to the matriarch and ǂxuu of the Western N‖ngǂe ǂKhomani San group. She went through a rite of passage marked by a three-phase process as noted in the work of Van Gennep, as cited by Turner (1987:5): "separation, margin (or limen), and aggregation". In the first phase, as noted by Turner (1987), there is the symbolic detachment of the individual from a fixed social structure, in this case referring to the Coloured identity which is a fixed social structure. While the detachment from this identity is occurring – that liminal space between 'being Katrina' and 'becoming ǂ*xuu'* – walking the land consummated the process of 'becoming indigenous'. Turner (1987:5) observes: "The ritual subject … is in a relatively stable state once more and, by virtue of this, has rights and

[113] A *veld* is an open piece of land.

obligations [and a] clearly defined … 'structural' type, and is expected to behave in accordance with certain customary norms and ethical standards."

The transition of moving through a liminal space, going through a 'rite of passage' ritual, brings about change. Although one sees the same body, Ouma Geelmeid's social status has changed not only through the cloths, the traditional garb with which she is adorning her body, but her presence now commands more respect from individuals and government officials in the Northern Cape.

When the ritual started and she entered the *kraal*, she was Katrina Esau, her Christiaan birth names as per the legal registration system. She transitioned through the liminal space and emerged as the ǂ*xuu.*

I mentioned that a representative from Luthuli House, the headquarters of the ANC, phoned to find out why the Premier of the province was not at this event. The premier is likened to the security guard in a prison who sits in an elevated office above all watching the prisoners, ensuring that nobody steps out of line or breaks the rules, a concept referred to as the panopticon as theorised by Foucault (1975). As the Premier of the province, she is expected to know what is happening in her constituency. Although not everybody votes for the ANC, the party won most of the seats and she represents them. She was not there on the day of the inauguration and, like an attempted 'prison break', the 'prisoners' ran amok and speaker after speaker raised their dissatisfaction with the current government: the state of affairs and how the descendants of the Khoe-San people are treated in the land of their birth. These speakers ceased this opportune moment as they knew the event was being broadcasted as a live event. As Eriksen (2014[2007]) notes, society finds itself in a *glocalised* world meaning *that*, while issues are addressed at a global scale, like that of the concept of indigeneity, the concept creates spaces and engagement for local struggles.

The global and the local impact on each other in various ways and the role of technology is central to people's daily struggles. When Luthuli House phoned, they had no idea how many people around the world had tuned in to watch this 'ritual' as it was unfolding. How many people are listening to the plight of the descendants of the Khoe-San people through various platforms of social media? Like 'prison wardens' are called to control the 'prisoners', some form of control of the subjects was needed. At the first year anniversary of the inauguration, the crowning of the ǂ*xuu*, in 2016, the 'prison wardens' were there to make sure nobody said

anything out of the ordinary and that everything proceeded smoothly even if they had to wait for hours for the event to start.

After the ritualised event at the *kraal*, a second round of introducing the ǂ*xuu* to the community was initiated and this time those with cars drove in a convoy, sounding their hooters as people often do when there is a wedding or a huge soccer match, to draw people's attention. The convoy drove up and down the streets. The people from other sections of the Rosedale community came out to participate in the festivities. Ouma Geelmeid was dropped off on the corner of the street where she lives, and people got out of their cars and followed the procession in the direction of her house.

Ouma Geelmeid was surrounded by a number of male Chiefs. The people were jovial, some singing and others enjoying each other's company as they slowly walked behind the procession. Inside the yard, the Chiefs from the various houses posed with Ouma Geelmeid for a 'Kodak moment' as everybody took out their cell phone cameras to capture the memorable moment.

Photograph 10: Various Chiefs and guests posing for photos after the ceremony.

Someone signalled that the event was moving back to the *kraal* and again people drove in a convoy, sounding hooters and playing Nama music from their vehicles. The crowd grew bigger. Some people walked back to the veld where lunch was prepared and served and everyone at the *kraal* and those who 'stopped by' were served a plate of food. Some people

were sitting under a huge white tent engaging in various conversations. The Chiefs from the different Khoe-San houses discussed their struggles in the various communities they come from and shared jokes with each other, speaking in the Afrikaans language, their daily language of communication.

Photograph 11: Lunch and conversation after the ceremony.

At the inauguration, two women who were part of the proceedings interested me; their dress code prompted me to approach them. I wanted to know what their interests were in the event. They responded that they were from the Ekurhuleni Traditional Offices and that they had come to observe the event. They stated that they were "happy with what we are seeing" as, all along they had thought the Khoe-San people were dead. Sheila,[114] the woman in the red skirt, revealed what Alexander had metaphorically conceptualised of the South African society, as a diverse group of people and not a rainbow. According to Alexander one should use metaphors that are related to the circumstances of a people and not import what he calls "foreign colour-centred image[s] of co-existing racial groups" (Alexander, 2001:486).

Alexander further qualifies his stance on the use of political metaphors noting:

> It is axiomatic that metaphors born out of one set of conditions are not automatically appropriate to a different set of conditions. It is, therefore, problematical, to put it mildly, that so many South Africans are so ready to imitate other countries' jargon and discourse in order to describe the very different reality in which we are living. I cannot, for example, judge in any more than superficial

[114] A pseudonym

> ways the appropriateness of the rainbow metaphor in the context of the United States, but there is little doubt in my mind that it is arguably the worst metaphor with which to symbolise the destiny of the Republic of South Africa. (2001:485–486)

Alexander is pointing to a few central issues here that were not been addressed as the country entered democracy. Firstly, there is the idea of the physical separation of people as stratified by the Apartheid state. Many individuals had quite different views about each other's lives although there were instances where people used creative ways to push the boundaries of the repressive state by what McKaiser (2017:265) describes as the "National Party's brutal intensification of the colonial project with its Apartheid-era ideology and policies". Not only did the Apartheid government manage to separate people physically, but it created a deep rift in the South African psyche, and in contemporary South Africa, where this racial division is continued and compounded by the persistent use of the four-tier racial classification system that impacts on people's lives economically and socially. I will revert to this point in chapter six.

To Alexander, a most fitting metaphor to use for describing the South African society, is to use the Gariep dam. The word Gariep is the "indigenous" name meaning "the great river", the name the Khoe used for the "Orange River with its many tributaries that have their catchment areas in all parts of the country" (Alexander, 2001:486).

> The essential notion behind this suggestion is that we have to conceive of the social categories in a more dynamic manner; we have to underline the process of identity formation rather than the reified notions of existing and inherited identities… In this conception, settler-colonial societies such as South Africa have been constituted, culturally speaking, by the confluence of different tributaries… In South Africa, these are, very crudely, the African, the European, the Asian, and the modern "American". The tributaries are never washed away as in the assimilationist model… While they obviously affect the common cultural area in different ways, they are themselves influenced… by backwash effects from the mainstream. (Alexander, 2001:486)

The above quote relates to a conversation I had with Shiela, who is classified as a South African Black Woman, who told me that her "mother was a Griqua woman, short in stature and fair-skinned" (personal communication, 2015). Shiela's response is indicative of the metaphor of the Gariep dam that Alexander uses. Shiela's admission, her acknowledging her mother and

who she was, reflects the fact that the contemporary phenomenon of claims to indigeneity is not merely a debate for those who self-identify as Khoe-San, but that, structurally, in contemporary South Africa, post-1994, the stratification of people in relation to the old Apartheid four-tier racial classification system keeps this divisive thinking alive. I have come across similar statements during the process of my engagement with many South Africans from all walks of life where South African Black people are admitting their 'relatedness and connectedness' to the Khoe-San people. In many discussions, just like my encounter with Sheila, the foregrounding of Khoe-San women alluded to the intermingling of people before the putative racial categories came into existence, especially under the Apartheid state.

However, the interrelatedness of people is obscured as the influences of structures that govern people's lives using categories and classification has caused division between individuals that eventually resulted in different forms of mobilisation in various communities in relation to forms of identity discussed in chapter six. De Graaff notes in a conversation between Irene Williams and himself, that Irene, is a woman who sees herself as a proud Griqua, "not[ing] that she has Tswana- and Xhosa-blood flowing in her veins".[115] (De Graaff, 2019:10). Irene, like Sheila, acknowledges her familial relations and interconnectedness, but Sheila is classified as a South African Black woman while Irene, although she identifies as a person of Griqua descent, is legally classified as a Coloured person according to the framework used in South Africa. Biologically, Shiela is of mixed race descent' but according to her upbringing and the racial classification used as a yardstick for classification, Shiela is a South African Black woman.[116] Although both Shiela and Irene have mixed ancestry, they are classified under different racial groups.

[115] "Irene Williams [,] sy noem haarself n trotse Griekwa, maar benadruk dat daar ook Tswana- en Xhosabloed in haar are vloei". Jerome Lottering, the leader of Camissa Movement for Equality and Khoe activist, acknowledged his Tswana family, and in the same breath he said that they have their "own struggles with land and the Khoe-San struggle is the Khoe-San struggle", drawing clear lines between 'us and them' (Eldorado Park, 2015).

[116] I deliberately refrain from using the word Black African. The word Black African is politically loaded and when used in a context like South Africa, the word becomes exclusionary of other people who identify as African (Turok, 2014:138-139).

Photograph 11: Sheila and Irene – across lineages

It should also be noted, and I will revert back to this point in chapter six, that their utterances, although anecdotal, pose broader questions: What is meant by being an African and what does it mean to be labelled as a Black person in contemporary South Africa? However, the obliteration and stratification to make one identity or ethnicity more relevant than the other is prevailing in the period post-1994[117].

The constructed identity for Sheila is that of a Native and for Irene that of a Coloured. Mellet (2020) sheds light on the dualism of identity constructions:

> Britain and its colonists prioritized a different form of subjugation and control over indigenous African majority population by using a 'divide, conquer, rule and reconfigure' strategy to deal with what they called the 'Native Problem'. Priority one was to separate indigenous Africans in South Africa from the rest of the continent through indoctrination that emphasized that South Africa was a European political entity not part of the rest of Africa … The second priority was to reconfigure and re-identify over 50 local African social formations firstly into groupings called 'Natives'. Then those Africans with over 195 roots of origin that were mainly African-Asian social identities were labelled 'Coloured' … the

[117] I revert back to this particular point when writing on Khoe-San identity politics, the look, and ways of knowing.

> constructed identity of the 'Native' was sub-divided into nine linguistically based subdivisions that were elevated into national formations. All Africans who had a mix of 195 diverse roots of origin, including Africans across the continent and its islands, mixed with Asians and some European admixture, were labelled 'Coloured' … after 1910 Africans of various San and Khoe societies were also assimilated the 'Coloured' categorization. (Mellet, 2020:271–272)

The classification and what came to be conceptualised as the Native Problem from which laws like the Native Land Act of 1913 and the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 was promulgated. (Walker. 2008; Mamdani, 2013). The categorisation of people resulted in creating a rift between people where they saw each other as different human beings. In 1956, the Drum Social Histories reported a case where a Coloured person, Ernest Thomas Holyoake, whom the system classified as 'Native' contested the reclassification from Coloured to Native and won his appeal[118]. The caption of the article, *A Native by Mistake*:

> to be reclassified as an African […], everybody understood only too well, mean[t] a whole new [terrain] of daily embarrassments and disabilities [people were subjected to the] comb and pencil tests, nose and ear inspections and of people being summarily classified as African[119].

These arbitrary classifications impacted on individuals' life chances, affecting their whole social world: it determined the sort of work one was allowed to do, where you could attend school and how your life was structured (McKaiser, 2017). The thoughts around who is Coloured, what is Coloured, and the perceived advantages Coloured people enjoyed under Apartheid are still prevalent in the psyche of many South African people. This is evident from the recent case reported in 2016 when prison wardens in Cape Town were denied promotion because of the belief that Coloured people had benefitted more under Apartheid. The case was argued in the Labour Court and High Court where the same conclusion was reached, that the Coloured people benefitted under Apartheid. When the case went to the Constitutional Court, the outcome of the two lower courts was overruled, and a judgement was made that the prison

[118] South African Black people under the system of Apartheid were referred to as Native, where Native also meant a Black person or a Bantu person.
[119]Drum Social Histories / Baileys African History Archive / Africa Media Online. Available at https://www.baha.co.za/item-detail/?q=69_616 Accessed on 13/12/2021.

wardens suffered discrimination based on their race[120]. The case that came before the Constitutional Court is indicative of the struggle many Coloured people face as a result of feeling excluded from the system in relation to finding employment.

To expand on Alexanders Gariep's metaphor in my work, I see this phenomenon of interrelatedness as 'streams-into-rivers-into-the-ocean', where all the different streams and rivers lead into the ocean, and the ocean is representative of humanity. The triple challenge of unemployment, poverty and inequality is faced by more than three-quarters of the South African population. If the metaphor of the ocean (which represents humanity) is used, these challenges thus become shared challenges and shared solutions need to be found to overcome these challenges in an equitable manner.

What follows next, is a short reflection and narration of my experiences at an institute of higher learning where I worked and why it is important to address the identity question mainly with the primary research participants while also taking into account the views of secondary voices to critically analyse the 'indigenous question and contextuality' in South Africa.

While I was employed at this institution, working in the student enrolment centre, the manager at the time took a keen interest in my studies and told me that she is a direct descendant of Sarah Baartman[121]. Now, according to the racial structure in South Africa, she is classified as a South African Black woman (I will omit her ethnic affiliation for now) therefore, in terms of 'Blackness'[122] she belongs to this category. Thus, for the purpose of illustrating the 'disconnection' that exists in racial or ethnic classifications, she raised a critical point in the South African discourse of arbitrary classifications. At the time I was exposed to this

---

[120]The judgement by the South African Constitutional Court (http://www.saflii.org/za/cases/ZACC/2016/18.html) is imperative to mention here as it speaks to the strive for social justice for a people who feel marginalised based on the perceived notion of having been treated better than the South African Black people. The argument here is twofold, as some Coloured people had access to better opportunities, but the suffering under Apartheid was brutal to everybody it considered as non-White people. There is no measurement for suffering. The might of the Apartheid laws cut through both communities, and as McKaiser (2017) notes that the proximity of the Apartheid struggle is within reach compared to the colonial struggle and the atrocities committed against people the government eventually through law classified as Coloured people.

[121] Sarah Baartman was a Khoekhoe woman who lived in the 19th century, and she was exhibited as a freak show in Europe until her death. Her remains returned to South Africa after two hundred years.

[122] In the period post-1994, Blackness is stratified as 'Blacks in general' and 'African in particular'. The African in particular refers to people classified as South African Black people who lived in the Bantustans and were severely oppressed by the Apartheid state in comparison to other groups classified as 'the Coloured people' and 'the Indian people'.

information, I was nearing the completion of my MA thesis and was not able to explore this notion of 'relatedness and connectedness' which now forms part of my analysis of the South African quest for indigeneity, nor did I know about the many more South African Black people I would still meet people who were admitting their familial kin relations, laying claim to their Khoe-San ancestry. These claims are very likely as noted by the work of Legassick in the context of Gordonia (now Z.W. Mgcawu district in the Northern Cape Province, together with parts of the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park). He found that "… in earlie[r] times there appears to have been extreme ethnic fluidity, with intermarriage and other forms of social mixing among Bushmen, Kho[e] and even Sotho-Tswana" (Legassick, 2016:xxii; Mellet, 2020). In the 19th century 'Oorlamisation'[123] continued, with further merging and mixing of identities into multi-ethnic communities, as well as disappearance of identities (the Einiqua) – though perhaps their identity merely continued hidden (Legassick, 2016:xxiii). However, the debate on identity claims and identity politics only affects those who self-identify as Khoe-San as recognized by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, reports emanating from discussions on indigenous peoples, and in recommendation reports by special rapporteurs visiting southern Africa.

The ǂxuu making her wishes known for the Khoe-San movement

The following is an extract of the speech made by Katrina Esau to the crowd in the Afrikaans language:[124]

> Ek wil hê my kinners en my mense, ons moet n nuwe lewe lewe.
>
> Ek wil hê hier moet n nuwe lewe kom. Ek is op.en ek is moeg. Ek het swaar gekry in my dae, toet nou toe.
>
> So ek sien nie meer om swaar te kry nie. Ek verlank nie meer om swaar te kry nie. Of mense in die wêreld is nog wat vir my eet! My vleis eet, dan wil ek sê innie winkel is tandstokkies. Ma ek wil sê jy moet vir djou n tandstokkie loop kry, loop kry vir djou n dik tandstokkie en kom steek my vleise of aan iemand

[123] The word 'Oorlams' as noted by Legassick "is a term originating with the colonized, were 'Hottentots' who come from the upper country and are born and bred with the farmers, most of whom understand and speak the low Dutch language" (2016:5).
[124] Although Katrina Esau is the face for the revival of the N/uu language, her home language is Afrikaans.

> anners, steek djou sister of djou broer sé vleise uit djou tanne uit en kom laat ons ee vorum vorum. Laat ons broers en susters word en ons forum 'n een forum. Ek kry swaar. Ek sê vanmirrag sê ek dankie vir ons government. Ek sê dankie vir hom, dat hy baie vir my leë beloftes getjee het. Maar ek sê dankie vir hom. Ek het leë beloftes gekry. Daai beloftes het nooit gewerk nie. Ek het grond gesoek, maar het nooit daai grond gekry nie. Dis ek sê vanmirrag ... nou moet ons nie nog ... ons familie moet nie nog uitmekaar uitskreur nie. Moenie sê ek is daai een nie, en ek is daai een nie. Kom dat ons kry ons identiteit reg. So laat ons kan op die punt kom. Ons is een nasie. Ons is 'n een familie. Kom ons vat hanne mekaar. Ek sê ek staan hier vanmirrag. Ek wil nie gehoorsaam geword het nie, maar God het my gehoorsaam gemaak. Ek wil my arems om djulle slaan. Maar djulle moet net saam met my staan. Bly onder my vlerke, en ons stry die goeie stryd[125].

The new life the ǂxuu wish upon for Khoe-San people is one where people would not struggle anymore, including herself. The issues of struggles are seen when she utters the words "*So ek sien nie meer om swaar te kry nie. Ek verlank nie meer om swaar te kry nie."* The struggle for recognition is multi-layered as noted by the ǂxuu. There is a difference between recognition and acknowledgement as Chief Maarman[126] says, "*ons erken mekaar in ons sirkels*"[127], *maar die taak van government is om ons te herken".*[128] As a people, self-identifying Khoe-San people acknowledge each other as seen by the effort made by the other Chiefs in different provinces to travel to the Northern Cape for the event. The Chiefs do not call each other by their first

---

[125] I want my children and my people, we must live a new life. I want a new life to come here. I'm tired. I suffered in my days, until now.
So, I no longer see myself suffering. I do not wish to suffer anymore. If people in the world are still eating my flesh! Eat my flesh, but then I want to say to you the shop sells toothpicks. I want to say you have to go and get a toothpick for yourself, get a thick toothpick for yourself and come poke my flesh or to someone else's, poke your sister or your brother's flesh, take it out of your teeth and come let's let us create one entity. Let us become brothers and sisters and form one entity. I suffered. Today I want to say thank you to our government. I say thank you to him, for giving me many empty promises. But I say thank you to him. I got empty promises. Those promises never worked. I wanted land but never got the land. That's what I'm saying today ... now we should not let … our family should not be torn apart. Don't say I'm that one, and I'm that one. Let's get our identity right. So, let's get to a point. We are one nation. We are one family. Let's take each other's hands. Today I'm standing here, I did not want to be obedient, but God made me obedient. I want to wrap my arms around you. But you just must stand with me. Stay under my wings, and we fight the good fight.

[126] My conversation with Chief Maarman on the difference between recognition and acknowledgement in 2018.

[127] We acknowledge each other in the Khoe-San movement.

[128] The task of government is to recognize us.

names and, using self-referent titles like Chief or ǂxuu, followed by the person's surname is a form of salutation that portrays dignity and respect for each other. In her speech ǂ*xuu* Esau refers to the countless calls by leaders in different groups for unity among Khoe-San people. ǂxuu Esau says,

> … [Ons] moet ons nie nog ... ons familie moet nie nog uitmekaar uitskreur nie. Moenie sê ek is daai een nie, en ek is daai een nie. Kom dat ons kry ons identiteit reg. So laat ons kan op die punt kom. Ons is een nasie. Ons is 'n een familie. Kom ons vat hanne mekaar.[129]

The problems alluded to in the speech of ǂxuu Katrina Esau is a contentious problem in the Khoe-San movement. The analogy that the ǂxuu uses regarding people eating her flesh is indicative of the fact that there are people in the Khoe-San movement who thrive on creating factions and fighting each other. The wishes of the ǂxuu is that this behaviour must be stopped. She is pleading with those who self-identify as Khoe-San be like brothers and sisters: to take hands and move forward. The ǂxuu speaks about the empty promises the government made to her, yet she thanks them for the lies she is addressing the issue of invisibility. The issue of 'invisibility' has plagued the indigenous people since time immemorial. The colonisers came to make a living on the lands of indigenous people; they took land and resources from the indigenous people because they were considered sub-human and not worthy of consulting; the indigenous people became an opaque people that could easily be manipulated. The ǂxuu sees Khoe-San people as one nation, "*ons is een nasie"* (we are one nation), *"ons is 'n een familie"* (we are a one family). She urges the leaders who were present at the event to stop causing division among themselves by saying, I am this one and I am that one: "*Moenie sê ek is daai een nie, en ek is daai een nie".* She further notes that in unity there is strength by saying "*Kom ons vat hanne mekaar … ek wil my arems om djulle slaan. Maar djulle moet net saam met my staan. Bly onder my vlerke, en ons stry die goeie stryd."* As an icon, and the custodian of the N/uu language recognized by UNESCO as an endangered language, the ǂxuu is aware of the powerful position she can play in the Khoe-San movement if there is unity and the groups stand together and speak with one voice. In the section on language in this chapter, I elaborate further

[129] See the English translation, footnote number 103.

on type of 'recognition'[130] bestowed on the ǂxuu by the ex-President Jacob Zuma and how this partial recognition forms part of the broader struggle of indigeneity in South Africa.

The first-year anniversary: Celebrations in the presence of officials

It is the end of June 2016, a year later since the inauguration and I am travelling back to Upington, this time to attend the first-year anniversary and to stay in the community for four months. I decided to combine three approaches: the extended case study methodological approach (Gluckman, 1952); combined with the multi-sited ethnographic approach of following the 'rhythm and heartbeat' of the Khoe-San movement in order to keep abreast with the changes in the community[131]; as well as the classical method of single sited ethnographic approach accredited to Malinowski. I constantly compared what was happening in these different sites in my endeavour to answer the questions posed in the introduction of the thesis.

Prior to my departure to Upington, I arranged with a family member to stay at her house for the duration of my fieldwork. As mentioned previously, although I am familiar with many of the leaders in the Khoe-San movement, I still followed ethical procedures in approaching my research participants.

Thus, after the 2015 visit for the inauguration, I established rapport and sought permission from members of the House of N‖ng‡eto stay in constant contact with them in order to find out about the progress regarding the land claim, they had made to the municipality to erect the language school for teaching of the N/uu language. When I returned to Upington for the anniversary, I had an opportunity to access the living situation of the family of Ouma Geelmeid. In the days when Malinowski and other anthropologists embarked on fieldwork, they could set up tent close to their research participants and do their field work in an unperturbed manner, as they were studying the 'other'. In the 21st century, families are big and houses are small. One cannot live with families like the classical anthropologists had done without disrupting the lives of people, making their living arrangements uncomfortable. The closest option that, as I did, was to rent a space as near as possible to the participants without them having to make special arrangements to accommodate me. Although I caused somewhat of a disruption to the everyday

[130] The word recognition is written in italics to indicate that although the language spoken by Katrina Esau is classified as an endangered language by UNESCO, as a language on the verge of extinction the Department of Basic Education and the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) lacked and lacks the political will to help revive this language.
[131] Community is herein defined as anyone who self-identifies as descendants of the Khoe-San.

living routine of my cousin's household, she was family, and that changed the dynamics of accommodation.

My cousin stays in Pabalello which is less than five minutes' drive away from Rosedale when using your own transport, and just over twenty minutes away by public transport which would involve four tax trips – two taxi trips going and two tax trips returning, between Rosedale and Pabalello. I soon discovered that if one leaves early in the morning, the trip takes less than twenty minutes. However, this was not of much use as the households I visited tended to start their day only around 10h00.

On the morning of the first-year anniversary, I woke up around 07h00 to get ready to attend the event. I phoned Charles (the son of Ouma Geelmeid) to find out if I could be at the house to see Ouma Geelmeid exit the house before going to the sports grounds. He agreed and said that they were leaving around 09h00. I arrived around 8h30, and there was already a lot of hype around the event. I went and sat inside the house, hoping to get a glimpse of 'the ǂxuu' being dressed up in her royal regalia, headpieces made with animal skin and porcupine quills. I could hear the excitement in the voices of the women who were with her in the room. I moved closer to the edge of the couch. One of the women came out from the room and left the door ajar. I peeked in – my curiosity got the better of me. Then I heard Ouma Geelmeid saying, "Sharon can't see me. She must wait outside." When Ouma Geelmeid said that I should wait 'outside', in that moment, I realised that although I am an insider to what is known as 'Coloured lifestyles', I became an outsider because I needed to learn about a new aspect of her life. The life in which she is the ǂxuu, the title which the 2015 event bestowed on her person; she is now a person of standing, having to traverse the life of a person with tremendous recognition bestowed on her by the 'people' (those in the Khoe-San movement and those affiliated to the House of N‖ngǂe), in contrast to only being known as Ouma Geelmeid.

Before they could open the door again, I stood up and went to wait outside in the Wendy house. Another possible reason why I was told to go outside, could have been how ǂxuu's (queens) and kings are treated the world over, even with Chiefs in the Nguni groups, in that their subjects are not allowed to be in the same space as them. When you want to see the Chief, you must wait for him to invite you in as a sign of observing protocol and paying respect to their titles.

I went into the Wendy house, the large wooden structure in front of the house, observing men who travelled from Johannesburg, ironing their shirts and polishing their shoes for the occasion

that was about to take place. What caught my attention was the precision with which the one man was ironing his trousers. I paid them a compliment on the meticulousness of ironing their clothes and Mr Dames remarked saying that he would rather iron his own clothes the way he likes it, than to have someone iron his clothes half-heartedly. The compliment led me to ask another question relating it to the occupation and line of his work. Mr Dames responded that he had spent fifteen years working in structures of law, drafting policies in the security and policing sector. He also mentioned that Chief Fick invited him to attend. Mr Dames, like many other people to whom I had spoken to before, is in search of his identity and in discovering himself.

I then turned my attention to Ma Beth, also known as Khoeses or Ma Gooi. Her Christian names are Francinah Regine Gooi. Ma Gooi, a dressmaker and seamstress, was telling me about her vision for the second celebrations and continued to draw a diagram on the ground explaining the outline of a cloak for this second anniversary of Ouma Geelmeid, and that she would use gold in it to symbolise the truth. She said that God placed this vision in her heart of how to design the dress. Ma Gooi was responsible for making the attire they would be wearing on the day of the celebrations.

Christianity as a religious aspect plays a big role in the lives of self-identifying Khoe-San members. Boezak, a Khoe-San activist noted in a statement to the '*Challenge*' magazine that:

> Khoe-San godsdiens is die oudste in Suid-Afrika, en dit is so. Meer nog, dis van die oudstes ter wêreld – duisende jare voordat Christene na ons land gekom het. Is dit nie wonderlik om dit te weet nie? (2016:81)[132].

Boezak continues to say that many different denominations have different names for the same supreme being. He notes that Muslims refer to God as Allah, while the San (Bushmen) people have many names like N!adima, Hishe, Thora, and while the KhoeKhoen use the Tsui//Goab also pronounced as Thuickwe, Tshu//Goam or Tshu 'Koab (Boezak, 2016:81–82).

Ma Gooi only used the word God in her speech. I draw on Boezak in this text as countless members whom I engaged with while doing my fieldwork, read the work of Boezak, and many people had sent the electronic copy of the book to one another. The fact that people quoted

[132] Khoe-San religion is the oldest in South Africa, and it is so. More so, it is of the oldest in the world – thousands of years before Christians came to our country. Is it not wonderful to know this?

from Boezak and other authors in the Khoe-San movement like Dr Langeveldt, reflects their desire to know more about themselves and their need to equip themselves with knowledge to draw on in public discussions and other spaces. James Scott (1985) conceptualises this use of knowledge as weapons of the weak, where minority groups make themselves visible in spaces previously unbeknown to them, constantly drawing on narratives they tell themselves, and changing those into a form of activism to gain support for their cause from a sympathetic public or group of people.[133]

After a while, the young children who were the cultural dancers, arrived to get dressed. By this time, most of the men were dressed and busy shining their shoes. David and Ma Sensi helped the children to get dressed. Ma Sensi is a member of the Council of Elders in the San Council and also a member of the Executive Council of the House of N||ngǂe. David is Head of Protocol and the teacher of the N/uu language at the *taal skool* (language school).

The sixteen square meter Wendy house was abuzz with little voices screaming and shouting with excitement. These cultural dancers were the same children who attended the *taal skool.* They were used to being in this space and on this specific day the classroom space was transformed into a dressing room space. I was asked to assist, which I did. David asked me to take a few pictures for their portfolio, and the children enjoyed the 'Kodak moment'. As mentioned before, the room started to empty out and the elderly guests moved outside for a cup of tea.

Ouma Geelmeid came out of the house dressed in her 'royal regalia' – I noticed that it was the same attire as what Ma Gooi was wearing, except for the animal skin on Ouma Geelmeid's shoulders and the beads around her neck. David rushed to her side. He pulled a few of the beads to its correct position. I reached for my camera and got my 'ahaa ... I was there!' photo.

Princess Lena[134] was dressed in an orange/brownish dress with a blue jersey underneath. She also wore headpieces with no beads. All three women rode in the same vehicle to the venue where the celebrations took place. Recently, since the dawn of democracy and the start of the claims to indigeneity by Khoe-San groups, wearing headpieces has become an important symbol and marker of your Khoe-Sanness and an identity marker of your affiliation to the

[133] I revert to this point – *Onse Mense (Our people).*
[134] The daughter of Ouma Geelmeid.

group, although at times the headpieces has resembled that which is worn by the Zulu people and other ethnic groups.

The clothes worn by the three women on that day were specially made for the occasion. On all the other days, as I was observing my surroundings, Ouma Geelmeid and others would be dressed in ordinary clothing. But, when guests came to see Ouma Geelmeid, depending on who they were, she would either change into her San regalia, referring to the beads around her neck, or sometimes the shoulder piece would be brought out and her body would be transformed so one can see and be aware of her status as a ǂxuu.

The community members and other people who attended the event were given a lift by the people who arrived with their own cars. Charles, the son of Ouma Geelmeid, drove in front of the convoy playing loud Nama music. People came out of their houses to see what the hype was about as the cars drove by. They waved and some of the little children ran behind the vehicles screaming and shouting. One of the neighbours offered me a ride at the back of his bakkie which had a canopy and said I could otherwise wait for someone to come back and pick me up. I opted to get inside the bakkie and I observed all the excitement, peeping through the small windows of the canopy, to get a sense of the atmosphere as I did not want to miss the start of the proceedings at the sports grounds.

When we arrived at the entrance to the sports grounds two hours later, the scene was electrifying. Soldiers were standing on guard. A woman in a white cloak marched forward, rhythmically, one foot in front of the other, to the gate where Ouma Geelmeid and her entourage were standing. She gestured a salute to Ouma Geelmeid and then went to stand next to her. Chief Swartbooi, the Khoe-San poet, recited a poem and then continued to recite his poem from the previous year on the heart of a bushman woman. He spoke about the Northern Cape, its beautiful people and vast open spaces, and people still finding time to be with each other. The procession then slowly walked in the middle, between two rows of soldiers who stood in a salute pose.

At first, I thought this was the army from the South African National Defence Force (SANDF). Their uniform looked the same as that of the national army. I thought, wow, how interesting! The procession walked to the stage. A few steps from the stage were a large white marquee tent where people had been waiting since around 10h00. The government officials who attended the event arrived there at around the same time. They were waiting with everyone else

for the guests of honour. At this point my reflection wandered back to the initial inauguration that had been well received by the community the previous year, however, with the ivory towers of Luthuli House, the important decision-making headquarters of the ANC in Johannesburg looming in the background. I felt sceptical that the premier would have been watching the proceedings that had been unfolding since the early morning, or the subsequent live coverage by the SABC. I heard the rumours and people talking about the phone call that was received from Luthuli House and the questions that were asked about the Premier of the Province's absence at the inauguration in 2015. However, I was careful not to indulge in rumours until I was sure of the facts.

Eventually the admission emerged directly from the source, that indeed Luthuli House had phoned and given the Premier a disciplinary talk. She acknowledged at an ANC rally in 2016 that *"hulle het haar oor die knakels getrek"*[135] for not having been present at the inauguration. It can be assumed that the phone call in 2015 bestowed 'recognition' on Ouma Geelmeid and the House of N‖ngǂe and the disregard for what people had done created interest and tolerance, in many ways controlling behaviour. Hence, the government officials persevered and waited so long for the people to arrive to go ahead with their event. Under any other circumstances these officials would have left the scene, but because 'big brother' (Luthuli House) had spoken, everybody listened.

At the ANC rally before the 2016 local elections, those members in the House of N‖ngǂe crossed the floor[136] from being Democratic Alliance (DA) members to becoming ANC members. Ouma Geelmeid was not present at this event; she travelled to Johannesburg, and one ANC official noted that the 'prodigal children' had returned home. The mood and atmosphere at the rally were jovial, people were singing and dancing and the blue DA t-shirts the members of the House were wearing, were replaced by bright yellow ANC t-shirts.

Returning to the first year celebrations, David was dressed in his *!Xae*[137] and he went to the stage burning *Hotnotskooigoed* (Helchrysum petiolare), a medicinal plant that is burned for relaxation and it is used in ceremonial rituals to call upon the ancestors. Other ethnic groups like the isiXhosa and isiZulu people call this plant *imphepho*. At this celebration the

[135] The ANC had harsh words to her regarding this inauguration.
[136] The political symbolism of changing political allegiance one political party to the other.
[137] The !Xae is made of animal skin and it looks similar to the Scottish kilt, except it is much shorter.

hotnotskooigoed burned from the horns of an eland to call on the ancestors before everyone sat down and the speeches started, with the now famous saying 'all protocol observed'[138]. The eland is the sacred animal of Khoe-San. The event was opened in prayer[139] and the Afrikaans language was used to accommodate most of the community members who attended[140]. The National Anthem of South Africa was sung, as well as the anthem of the African Union.

The officials of //Khara Hais Municipality and the ZF Mgcawu District in the Upington region, started their speeches and promptly mentioned that they had to be at another event. Before the officials left, the Mayor thanked Ouma Geelmeid for keeping the culture alive through teaching the children the N/uu language. She mentioned in that in her house, culture played a significant role and that she knew the importance of culture in South African lives. Speaker after speaker praised Ouma Geelmeid for her hard work in the community to the revive the language project.

In addition to all their praises to Ouma Geelmeid, the officials of both municipalities made another important announcement that, after the 3rd of August 2016 elections, the //Khara Hais and Mier municipalities will be amalgamated under a new name. It had been decided that the municipality will be renamed the Dawid Kruiper[141] municipality. This announcement was preceded by the officials campaigning enthusiastically for the upcoming local elections.

After all the formalities it was time for the cultural dancers to perform. The first group to perform, were the young children taught by David, followed by another group of young adults doing the Nama Stap. The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) captured the event that lasted until late in the afternoon.

---

[138] 'All protocol observed' acknowledges the presence of everyone at a function, from government officials to leaders of different political parties and foreign dignitaries if they are present to ordinary citizens. The words 'all protocol observed' are normally used at government gatherings. At this event, unlike the 2015 inauguration, government officials were present after the Premier of the province of the Northern Cape had received a telephone call from the then-President, Jacob Zuma in 2015.

[139] Khoe-San people were Christianised by missionaries they encountered at the point of contact. Religion through Christianity is a big part of Khoe-San spiritual life.

[140] In Upington, many of the isiXhosa speakers use Afrikaans as a language of communication, unlike in other provinces where there is an insistence on speaking a particular vernacular language. The majority of people staying in the Northern Cape are Afrikaans speakers (see Appendix A).

[141] The late Dawid Kruiper was the leader of the Khomani San group.

As the Mayor and Councillor left the stadium, I approached them and asked if I could meet them after the elections as I realised that they were quite busy. They agreed to my suggestion and said that I should set up an appointment at their offices after this time.

After all the speeches and dance performances, it was time to cross over for a late afternoon lunch prepared at the kitchens at the college dining hall. Inside the hall a few tables were set up for Ouma Geelmeid and the soldiers, and the rest of the people were given food in take away containers. This is where I realised that the soldiers were not from the SANDF, but from the Khoe-San National Guard. However, all of them were ex-SANDF members (some ex-Cape Corps members) who were not reintegrated into the new structures of SANDF[142].

Language in Action

Language Revivalism – A global perspective

The revival of indigenous languages as a global occurrence mainly involves debates and strategies employed by indigenous peoples living in various parts of the world in their quest to restore their culture and identity. The revivalist project of indigenous language is seen in places like Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, North America, Hawaii, Honduras, Nicaragua and many other places (Hinton, 2001; Hale, 2001; Tsunoda, 2005; Grenoble and Whaley, 2006).

The revival and reinvigoration of indigenous languages are at the core of various debates between different actors, language activists, communities and individuals as part of a global and local phenomenon. Hinton (2001:3) notes that:

> In a world of around 250 nations, there are over 6000 languages. This means that there are very few languages with a country of their own. A language that is not a language of government, nor a language of education, nor a language of commerce or of wider communication is a language whose very existence is threatened in the modern world. Michael Krauss (1992) estimates that at the rate things are going, over half the languages of the world could be extinct within a

[142] I mention their presence as they were part of the proceedings in performing the guard of honour. I do not engage further with their role in the thesis because the issue of soldiers falls outside of the scope of this thesis.

> hundred years. These imperiled tongues [came] to be known [and classified] as 'endangered languages'.

This quote illustrates the need to capture and retain indigenous languages as some authors argue that with the loss of language comes a loss of a rich culture and heritage (Hinton, 2001; Kale, 2001; Tsunoda, 2005; Brenzinger 2007). Krauss (1992:4), in his writings on endangered languages, paints a bleak picture on the state of some of the indigenous languages in other parts of the world noting for example that the "Eyak language of Alaska now has two aged speakers; Mandan has six, Osage five, Abenaki-Penobscot twenty, while Iowa has five fluent speakers".

In South Africa, Katrina Esau is the only fluent speaker[143] of the N/uu language, which is more than 25 000 years old and contains more than 114 click sounds (Shah and Brenzinger, 2016). According to Krauss, in 1977[144] many activists started documenting the dwindling numbers of speakers noting that "Coeur d'Alene had fewer than 20, Tuscarora fewer than 30, Menomini fewer than 50, Yokutus fewer than 10" speakers of indigenous languages, indicating that the world's indigenous languages were declining rapidly (Krauss, 1992:4[145]; Ash, Fermino and Hale, 2001). It is noted by Krauss (1992) that if children do not speak or learn their mother-tongue language, that that language would soon reach a point of extinction. However, in some cases, a language is 'revivable', like the Hebrew language (Krauss, 1992:4). To speak of extinct languages is worrisome, which is important to note as the author asks the question, "how many [indigenous] languages … spoken today are no longer being learned by children?" (Krauss, 1992:4). The answer to this question is a double-edged sword depending on how one looks at it. There are success stories concerning the revitalisation of indigenous languages. One such example is the Hawaiian indigenous language described as the "most developed movement in indigenous language – medium education in the United States" (Wilson and Kamanā, 2001:147). The success of the case study of the Hawaiian language is cited by many authors,

---

[143] As of May 2020, only two elderly people from the ǂKhomani community still speak N/uu. http://www.sheenashah.co.uk/publications.html

[144] The year 1977 is an important date to note looking at it comparatively. In South Africa, the student uprising against being taught in the Afrikaans language took place in 1976, while internationally, language activists were already concerned with the dwindling numbers of indigenous speakers on a global scale.

[145] The author notes that some statistics might not be accurate, but one should not detract from the shocking significance that the world is at a loss and is becoming linguistically poorer if nothing is done to safeguard these languages.

for example Hale (2001), Wilson and Kamanā (2001), Hinton (2001), and Greymorning (2001).

The Hawaiian revivalist project of indigenous languages used the model of 'immersion schools' (Brenzinger, 2007). The argument I posit is that the Hawaiian method of immersion schools could be adopted in South Africa to urgently address the language matters of the Khoe-San people where the Department of Basic Education would be an actor in language revivalism together with the language activists and the remaining speakers of indigenous languages.

The author, Greymorning (2001) used the method of immersion schools to help with reviving the Arapaho language. According to Haviland, Prince, Walrath and McBride (2013) Greymorning worked on a case study on the preservation and revitalisation of the Arapaho language in the Wind River Reservation, in central Wyoming (United States of America) where he was also a central figure in putting together a dictionary in the Arapaho language. The Arapaho language had been introduced in public schools in the Wind River Reservation from the late 1970s (Greymorning, 2001). In 1993, Greymorning was invited to direct the language and culture program in the reserve. In assessing the state of preservation of the language, Greymorning concluded that "although Arapaho was taught from kindergarten to high school ... students were only able to say a few basic phrases and vocabulary words having to do with food, animals, colours, and numbers – nothing near fluency and the goal of keeping Arapaho alive" (Haviland et al., 2013:185; Greymorning, 2001). In recognition of this challenge, Dr. Greymorning established the first full-day language immersion preschools on the reserve where the aim was for language "providers" to speak only Arapaho while teaching (Haviland et al., 2013:185). The goal was also to use a multifaceted approach that included not only word and phrase acquisition but also response exercises, observed association, and interaction with songs on videos and audio cassettes (Haviland et al., 2013). This attempt at preserving the Arapaho language also included collaboration with Disney Studios to translate the animated children's story Bambi into the Arapaho (Haviland et al., 2013). However, despite all these attempts at preserving the Arapaho language, the desired outcome was far from satisfactory in terms of producing fluent speakers. Greymorning commented on the loss of language:

> "… Arapaho […] was among the healthiest Native languages of the American Indian languages in the United States. To lose a language is to lose aspects of how people make sense of themselves and the world they live in, and the values that culturally and

> psychologically bind a people together shaping their identity. (Greymorning, cited in Haviland et al., 2013:184).

Greymorning then designed and tested the Accelerated Second Language Acquisition (ASLA) on his own pupils. This method of teaching helped to "re-tune the brain, so people learn to visuali[s]e the language rather than continually translate back and forth in their minds between the language they know and the one they're learning" (Haviland et al., 2013:185). In this regard, I observed a similar instance during my fieldwork in Rosedale, Upington, in the Northern Cape (South Africa) where the young children tended to speak Afrikaans as their home language while trying to learn another language after school.

According to Greymorning, the language teachers in the Wind River Reservation were encouraged to adopt the teaching methodology of only conversing in the Arapaho language with the learners to aid and preserve the indigenous language. However, he found that instructors were often still speaking in English and he felt that, even though the instructors were versed in the goals of the project, that they were not sufficiently committed to the method of language immersion. He "constantly tried to convince the instructors of the absolute necessity of not speaking English to the children" (Greymorning, 2001:295). The teachers on the other hand argued that it was because they mixed English with Arapaho in their teaching that the children became speakers of the language. The teachers heard the children use the Arapaho language in conversation and assumed that it was because they mixed English with the Arapaho in their teaching that the children somehow became speakers of the language. However, in an interconnected globalising world, teaching in controlled environments like the Reserves where external influences are minimised, aids the development of indigenous languages in a positive manner.

In a reflection piece, Greymorning acknowledged that at the end of the project, through many different attempts at reviving the Arapaho language, young adults and children could only remember a handful of words, not merely enough to have a proper conversation in the Arapaho language (Haviland et al., 2013). The success rate that the Hawaiian language and the immersion schools achieved was because of the use of the Hawaiian language as a method of communication from kindergarden (creche) through to University studies, which highlights the role of 'proper education' systems and community buy-in to revive the language. The fact that Hawaii is an island might have been a contributing factor to the successful revitalisation of the Hawaiian language. The establishment of immersion schools highlights two important things:

(1) the will of the people; (2) the role of education in society irrespective of the size of the population and the number of indigenous speakers interested in reviving their language.

Hale (2001) notes that Māori is a Polynesian language, and that it is closely related to the Hawaiian language(s). In New Zealand, the government created an enabling environment for the Māori peoples by recognizing their *existence*[146] as Māori speaking peoples, which gave traction to the use of their indigenous language. According to Heiss, the recognition by the government of the Aotearoa/New Zealand indigenous people opened a space where "Māori [is] spoken widely, and the government recognizes the role their First Peoples[147] have to play in policymaking by having designated seats for them in Parliament" (2012:159)[148].

In Nicaragua, the Sandinista government incorporated the Rama language into the Nicaraguan Constitution, resulting in Hale et al. observing the following:

> It occasionally happens that a responsible government, responding to the legitimate demands of its indigenous and ethnic populations, accepts as a proper part of its program the establishment of instruments and institutions designed to promote the development and use of the local languages under its authority (1992:3).

While it is true that the democratic government in South Africa 'included' a few clauses in the new South African Constitution concerning the languages of the Khoe-San people, not much has resulted over the past two and a half decades in terms of language revivalism for these groups. The authors of the work *Endangered Languages* point out that while constitutional measures do not guarantee the safeguard of linguistic heritage of local communities, 'proper' constitutional recognition of a language can result in the language being protected "even in time of war" (Hale et al., 1992:3).

It can be deduced that since the inception of the new constitution in South Africa, recognition has merely been 'symbolic', and that the major obstacle is the 'political will' of officials deputised to implement various policies in different departments working together with indigenous communities. This 'symbolism' is also reflected for the world to see, printed on the

---

[146] Existence as a form of recognition is crucial to identity politics.
[147] First peoples also refer to indigenous groups living in various nation states.
[148] I will revert to this point when comparing the South African case with the steps taken by the New Zealand government to include indigenous people in their discourse of nationality.

currency of the country, however, as Kuper (2003) mentions, the test is to see how the country deal with the indigenous groups.

I argue that 'proper' constitutional recognition and a substantial budget will go a long way in establishing the language of the Khoe-San people as an official language and to create an enabling environment for the language to thrive to its fullest potential. A case in point is the 'political will' that drove the Apartheid government to take extreme measures to ensure that their language received recognition, however, prejudicing the advancement and promotion of other language groups.

I now return to my previous discussion to highlight how the 'Aha Pūnana Leo language and other surrounding languages of the island communities in Hawaii became a success story. Notwithstanding the partnership on language revitalisation between the 'Aha Pūnana Leo peoples and the government working with a non-profit organisation, the 'Aha Pūnana Leo people had a philosophy they adhered to and inculcated in their lives (Wilson and Kamanā, 2001). They called it the "'i-'ini – the dream", a heartfelt desire for language revitalisation (Wilson, 2001:147). This heartfelt desire, according to Wilson and Kamanā (2001), is familiar to many indigenous people; however, what is often unfamiliar to them are the specific actions needed by groups to turn the dream into actual language revitalisation. In most cases, activities around the revitalisation of indigenous languages consist of people who are unpaid volunteers who fulfil the role of indigenous language teachers (Wilson and Kamanā, 2001). These volunteers set a philosophy that people can buy into, to sustain and strengthen the 'Aha Pūnana Leo project on language revitalisation.

The "Hawaiian mauli, or force of life" is one such philosophy that allowed for the continued existence of the Hawaiian people's language (Wilson and Kamanā, 2001:147). Trust in this philosophy resulted in the fact that the 'Aha Pūnana Leo enjoyed great academic achievement, particularly where it related to the dominant society, as an important tool in reaching priority goals, to ease the rift that exists between academic parity and the community. For example, in South Africa, as a provincial project, if there were dedicated schools where indigenous subjects, inclusive of language and culture were taught, the indigenous people young and old could begin to craft their own philosophy. This philosophy will then be marketed to the Khoe-San communities in different provinces. What we can learn from Hawaii, is the result that the Hawaiian language now has equal value to that of the dominant language, which is in many cases English. The dominant society in this case viewed the Hawaiian language and culture as

that of a "poor performing minority group" (Wilson and Kamanā, 2001:147). However, as stated by Wilson and Kamanā, high academic achievement in and of itself is not a goal; the results achieved by the 'Aha Pūnana Leo lies in the "development, organization and strengthening of what [is] referred [to as] *honua* – environments where only Hawaiian is used, and the Hawaiian mauli is fostered" (2001:147). The honua includes tangible and intangible items, which makes the continuation of the "'i-'ini" – the dream of language revitalisation – of indigenous Hawaiian language possible. The *honua* include tangibles like schools and offices and intangibles like a personal relationship or the connection to home spaces where the language is spoken. Thus, for 'Aha Pūnana Leo, the honua is essential for the continuation of communities who want to foster a shared identity that reaches into the past and paves the way into the future (Wilson and Kamanā, 2001:147).

Language as a Marker of Social Difference

Rudmin (2009:109) notes that acculturation is concerned with "culture" which is a difficult idea to outline and define. However, Clyde Kluckhohn as cited by Geertz (1973:4) provides a guideline for the concept of culture by noting that culture encompasses (but does not solely consist of):

(1) the total way of life of a people

(2) the social legacy the individual acquires from his group

(3) a way of thinking, feeling, and believing

(4) an abstraction from behaviour

(5) a theory on the part of the anthropologist about the way in which a group of people in fact behave

(6) a store house of pooled learning

(7) a set of standardized orientations to recurrent problems

(8) learned behaviour

(9) a mechanism for the normative regulation of behaviour

(10) a set of techniques for adjusting both to the external environment and to other men.

Considering these variations in the notion of culture, Rudmin (2009) postulates that the essential component of cultures is the ability to be transferred from one generation to the next. The point of concern in this chapter on language hinges on what Rudmin describes as the "continuous contact during childhood [first contact] with one's first-culture which results in enculturation. Such socialization involves natural processes such as imitation, but also involves schooling, laws, and other forms of overt training" (Rudmin, 2009:109). According to Rudmin, enculturation is a life-long process of learning and a way of becoming where people continually encounter or come across new components of their 'culture' as they take on new social or vocational roles, when entering new establishments or moving to new geographic areas. Viewing culture in this way illustrates that cultures are dynamic; they are always changing through innovation and cultural diffusion (MacLachlan et al., 2004, cited in Rudmin, 2009:109).

The role of language in society is captured by Strang (2009) who poses the question how people "show and tell who they are?" She argues that "language itself is a key 'plank' of identity, containing [specific] cultural categories, concepts, and values, [that] is why retaining traditional languages is often seen as central to the ability of minority groups to 'hold their own' in larger multicultural societies" (Strang, 2009:143). Language as a form of communication used by humans, becomes central to how one identifies and how one self-identifies within a group, or in the larger society. The role of language is related to how one belongs or positions oneself in society 'from cradle to the grave' while influencing insights to the particularity of different worldviews. The use of language as a marker of culture and identity has an impact on education and social mobility which interplays with one another, and mother tongue language in the first phases of identity formation is crucial.

The constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No. 108 of 1996) is the highest law of the land that "guarantees that the government will promote and protect the languages of the Khoe-San" (Crawhall, 1999:323). The new constitution replaced the old constitution that curbed individual freedoms and recognized only two official languages, namely English and Afrikaans where the former enjoyed more advantages than the latter. The new South African constitution, promulgated in 1996, sets out to address the injustices of the past and enshrines a myriad of rights addressing human dignity, freedom of association, religion and language. The latter aspect, the right to the protection and promotion of the languages of the Khoe-San, is the core issue that this chapter engages with exploring the question of language development of

the Khoe-San peoples of southern Africa with a focus on language development in South Africa. In this chapter, I argue that the lack of political will from the Department of Basic Education is one among many reasons why there have not been significant strides made to develop the languages of the Khoe-San people.

The Department of Basic Education is the state entity responsible for educating the nation in the public realm. The Department of Basic Education is responsible for curriculum planning, printing of books and the distribution of books in public schools, as well as teacher training and development. Like its predecessors, the current government invests in this process of national education for the advancement of society. The question I pose here is, if the South African constitution 'recognized' the language of the Khoe-San people, logical dictates that there should have been more qualified teachers in the profession to teach the language of the Khoe-San. This never happened, and the language of the Khoe-San never received the necessary consideration for development. The languages of the Khoe-San in its current form are fractured and not examinable as a legitimate subject, whichever language the people together with the state decided to promote as there are various dialects and the languages of the Khoe-San people. However, since the promulgation of the new constitution, a mere mention is made in Section 6(5a) (ii) of the constitution concerning the Kho[e], San and Nama languages placed under the auspices of the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) for development. The languages which were spoken in the now defunct Bantustans received official status, including the Afrikaans and English language which were already well-established, as part of the eleven official languages. The non-recognition and reluctance by the state to develop (or have developed) the language of the Khoe-San people is indicative of what Crawhall refers to as "language death" (1999:323).

The ethnographic examples from here onwards are drawn from Namibia and the House of N‖ngǂe, hereafter referred to as the House, to illustrate the desire and the people s political will within the Khoe-San circles to 'revive' and 'breed new life 'into the language of their forebears. The desire to connect with a cultural identity through language is analysed through the vignette of the well-known case study of the House of N‖ngǂe, a branch of the ǂKhomani San, attempting to revive the N/uu language.

The N/uu language spoken by Katrina Esau, also known as Ouma Geelmeid, who lived in Rosedale, Upington (Northern Cape) is an example of a language that is on the brink of extinction with only four surviving speakers: three elderly sisters and a brother (Shah and

Brenzinger, 2016). The efforts made by the people within these communities to revive the languages are meagre and most people attempt to re-establish these languages from their own resources. Thus, reflecting a desire and the 'the will of the people' to revive what is left of their mother tongue language.

In the Northern Cape for example, from 2005 to 2010, the Department of Basic Education attempted to reintroduce the Nama language – known as Khoekhoegowab in Namibia – in schools, but this effort was not successful, and the project was suspended. In early 2018, another attempt was launched to re-introduce the Nama language in two primary schools in Riemvasmaak and Kuboes. The relaunch of the Nama language is partly due to activism from various actors in the Khoe-San circles and the revaluation of a Twinning Agreement. Revisiting this regional agreement gave new life to the movement after two decades had passed: when talks started on how to deal with the issue of languages as raised by the Khoe-San activists and self-identifying members in the movement.

Namibia, previously known as South West Africa, was a colony of Germany, placed under South African administration after World War 1 (WWI), which then gained independence from South Africa in 1990 (Pűtz, 1995, Haacke, 2005). The Namibian population consists of less than three million citizens and a significant section of the population speaks Khoekhoegowab. In Namibia unlike in South Africa, "Khoekhoegowab is the second largest language group" coming in under 12 per cent of the Namibian population with a fully-fledged orthography used as a medium of instruction in schools. After independence, the Namibian government made the language of the people central to their education and social life, although there were other languages like Afrikaans, German and the English language in the midst of the development of the Khoekhoegowab language. Attempts that are made at standardising the language and the assistance of outside philanthropists and linguists plays a role in "literary development" of the language. This helps with the "language planning purposes" that aids in keeping the language on par of development, albeit slow but steady. All these efforts made to support the tongue of Nama speakers yields positive outcomes and the language is offered as a field of study at undergraduate level (Haacke, 2018:133-134). In South Africa through constant activism, we start to see Khoe-San languages being spoken and many efforts are made by the people to learn a Khoe-San language. There are also universities which are coming to the fore to offer language courses in *Khoekhoegowab*, for which they must be applauded. However, the route to

successful revival of the language is two-fold: the will of the people to learn aided and supported by their governments and language institutions (Fredericks, 2020).

Language, as noted by Delaney, plays an important role in society because only human beings are adapted to this phenomenon, as "… speech is what makes us human; no other species speak" (Delaney with Kaspin, 2011:115). Opperman Lewis makes the statement, "…insult my language – and you insult me…" (2016:322). Language does not just occur in a vacuum, it is a learned behaviour and a learned form of speech, and it is transferred through individuals in societies and through the educational systems (Haviland et al., 2013). The role that language plays in each society is important. Concepts such as mother tongue education becomes central to educating a people, a nation, and a country, where diverse groups of people are interacting with each other and speak different languages. Within this realm of diversity, the struggle for language use is still a contested issue. Language as a medium of communication is a tool that influences power relations, and the dominant groups are always able to exercise their power. For example, the struggle between the British English-speaking public and the Dutch Afrikaners with the development of language in the period prior to 1994 was a contest over which language is more superior (Opperman Lewis, 2016). The contest between these two settler communities over the use of language resulted in the neglect of other spoken languages, particularly the language of the Khoe-San people who were assimilated and co-opted into other groups and speech communities. The result is that the language of the Khoe-San disintegrated into other speech communities like the clicks found in the isiXhosa and isiZulu languages (Boezak, 2016; Shah and Brenzinger, 2016).

Although the Afrikaans language was made a dominant language when the Afrikaner Nationalist party came to power in 1948, the Afrikaans language was riddled with words and phrases of the Khoe-San dialect and other speech communities (Adhikari, 1996; Boezak, 2016; Van Rensburg, 2018[2017]). The language of the Khoe-San gave birth to various of these speech communities; however, their role 'in language use' has never enjoyed the same acknowledgment. It was neglected and feared by the then Apartheid state in terms of acknowledging the contribution of other languages to the development of Afrikaans. The failure to note the Khoe-San languages as a contributor to other languages resulted in stark differentiations and categorizations between language groups. In the period post-1994, the newly adopted constitution of South Africa recognizes eleven official languages taught in

schools around the nine provinces with the exclusion of the Khoe-San languages[149].The 'symbolic acknowledgement' of the Khoe-San languages constitutionally, as well as the 'non-development' of these languages are tantamount to the exclusionary processes of denialism of the existence of these peoples by the previous and current government.

The use of language in the post-Apartheid era has become a central issue and the language debate occupies extensive discussions in various circles, particularly when invoking the 'decolonial' debate around the use of language in schools and university curricula. In these chapters, I argue that the acquisition of language and the mastery of language in a cultural community, for example the German[150] society, has the potential to ground individuals in an identity while acknowledging that both language and identity are fluid categories and can be adopted and changed, learned and unlearned over time.

It is important to note that the battle for recognition of personhood does not merely concern language, but it also related to culture, identity and the use of land in particular, for the revivalist groups of the descendants of the Khoe-San (Bushmen) people. The revival of the indigenous languages of the Khoe-San people are indebted to the global movement of indigeneity, where various groups of indigenous peoples are making their voices heard by 'demanding' recognition from their respective governments.

To illustrate my argument, I frame the discussion in terms of 'desire', 'the people's effort' and 'the lack of political will' to develop the language of the Khoe-San people. The young adults who were active in the to the House of N||ngǂe had the willingness to learn a new language when the revival process started in 2002. After several years of treating the language as a project with no real backing for its revival in terms of published books, their interest in learning

[149] In the context of South Africa, unlike in Botswana and Namibia, many of the descendants of the Khoe-San people have been enculturated into the Afrikaner speech community. Although Khoe-San languages are mentioned in the constitution it has never enjoyed the same status of being an officially recognized language. There are efforts made to 'entertain' the issue of Khoe-San languages, but the implications would mean a constitutional amendment that recognizes Khoe-San languages as official languages, not merely to be promoted as one or other project of Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB).

[150] As English was recognized as an international lingua franca, because of American political domination, many individuals have felt that conversing in English (a colonial language) is sufficient. However, in many European, Arabic, Asian and African countries conversing in one's mother tongue is expected given the strong attachment to language and what it 'carries'. I experienced this in Namibia and in Muenster (Germany). Speaking their own language, gives them a sense of ease, as they can express themselves more clearly in their own language.

a new language waned. I draw on ethnographic examples from the field and use national and international case studies to illustrate what is possible with the right amount of resources and government intervention through 'political will' to engage its citizens in the nation building process. In these examples, I look at the methods used that account for some of the successes and the failures in reviving the indigenous languages of specific geographical locations. I also address the challenges faced by the self-identifying Khoe-San speech communities concerning language revivalism.

Language as a tool of Communication

The expression of speech is a process of socialisation and occurs in many different places like the home space, the playground, the classroom and various other spaces where people, children in particular, get in contact with one another. In this process of communication aspects of your identity are formed.

> Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached. (Sapir, cited in Delaney, 2011:115)

The use of language as a tool of communication plays a critical role in the everyday life of individuals and their social interaction with one another (Holland, 2014). The use of language is more than merely an act of verbal or written communication, the formation of words, sentences or phrases, as "… language is essential for socialisation of human being(s) since participation is [essential] to constitute a common sense of society" (Holland, 2014:121). Language identifies who you are, language is expressive, and it ties one to a particular group, culture, and identity building, a scientific reality in society (Holland, 2014). As noted by Opperman Lewis, the author of the book *Apartheid Britain's Bastard Child,* "the crucial importance of one's language or mother tongue is considered central to ethnic identity and in

forming a sense of self across cultures" (2016:322). The author sites a survey conducted in 1987 by Professor JC Steyn with young people in Quebec, Wales, Brussels and Friesland where the study showed "... that language was considered the core aspect around which people saw their own and other's ethnicity" (Opperman Lewis, 2016:322). According to the author, the above states have strong language consciousness, notwithstanding identity issues. Various studies into the language question have confirmed: "the importance of speaking a mother tongue language, particularly in early education" is crucial for language development (Opperman Lewis, 2016:322). Language can ground one in certain belief systems whether they are cultural, religious or otherwise.

Language and Identity

Delaney notes the following fundamental point about language "We are what we speak in more ways than one" (Delaney with Kaspin, 2011:115).

The practice of socialisation is defined as a "process by which people, especially children, acquire knowledge of how to live in society" (Barnard, 2000:211). Individuals are born into a society that dictates how that person will grow up and how that person's behaviour, identity, culture and language will shape their worldview. Language then is one of those aspects that serves as a marker of difference in the formation of identity. Language connects individuals to their social surroundings and acts as a conduit to transfer information (Rudmin, 2009).

In 2016, scholars from Lapland University in Finland crisscrossed the country holding workshops on youth empowerment with indigenous youth in South Africa, Namibia, and Botswana. I met the researchers at the home of Ouma Geelmeid[151] while I was doing my fieldwork. At the beginning of the three-day workshop, I saw my role as an observer but that soon changed to being a participant when I was asked to translate the consent forms from English to Afrikaans for the youth to understand what consent meant and why the researchers were asking them to sign the forms. The group of young people consisted mainly of Afrikaans speakers. On the second day of the workshop, there were some technicalities with the caretaker of the building and the research team arrived slightly later than usual. We stood outside the venue waiting for them to come when Annemarie, one young woman, said "my tong raak moeg

[151] Katrina Esau is one of three surviving NIuu speakers in South Africa. She is affectionately known by kith and kin as Ouma Geelmeid

van die Engels gepratery"[152]. I asked if she knew any other language and the answer was "*nee ek praat net een taal: en dis Afrikaans"*[153] (personal communication, 2016). This raised a critical point in how language shaped her worldview and how she experienced the world through the lens of the Afrikaans language, culture and cultural appropriation referring to the researchers as speaking the *rooi nek taal*[154]. To her the phenotype of the researchers as she saw them was White and therefore, they 'were White' in her frame of reference. This young lady uttered a statement that can be construed as racist talk or hate speech and she could not see the researchers as being or embodying an indigenous identity, which they certainly were in terms of their cultural and ethnic identities and affiliation in Finland and their way of life in that space.

Language carries particular connotations and that is meaning in how people use a language. Take for example the Afrikaans word 'doos' which has a double meaning depending on which Afrikaans speaking person you address. The word 'doos' has a has a double meaning and when translated to English it refer to a box, but when one Afrikaans speaker uses the word 'doos' to refer to another it is appropriated as a swear word with serious consequences[155] of a fight breaking out.

As I was navigating the streets in Upington, I constantly heard people say "*loep naai*"[156]. Here the word *loep* means to walk which is the same word as Afrikaans word 'loop' when written in formal standardised Afrikaans language. There are other Afrikaans words with the double meaning like *jol* and 'jol'. In the former, *jol*, on the lips of many Afrikaans speakers from the Coloured community refers to a romantic relationship with someone, while the latter version of 'jol' is an Afrikaans word that refers to someone having a good time or going to party. In the N/uu language for example the word koro according to Shah and Brenzinger as per the orthography of Ouma Geelmeid refers to a "rooijakkals" in Afrikaans and black-backed jackal in English (2016:88). In the Khoekhoegowab language koro refers to the number five. The

[152] My tongue gets tired of speaking English all the time.
[153] No, I speak only one language: and that's Afrikaans.
[154] A term used by the Afrikaners to mock the English speakers.
[155] Swear words are used across language groups.
[156] In everyday conversation using the word 'naai' is seen as a swear word. In what is referred to as proper Afrikaans the word 'naai as in naaimasjien' references a sewing machine. The meaning attributed to 'naai' is thus to sew something.

above illustrate how people appropriate language differently in their everyday lives as forms of communication.

Throughout the world people attach meaning to their identity and language is the vehicle they use to measure and to position themselves in the world. The inception of Afrikaner nationalism restored the Afrikaner identity to a people who felt that the European English-speaking public had maltreated and humiliated them. When the National Party came to power in 1948, they used extreme measures to cement and promote their language to the exclusion of other languages and treating the language of the indigenous people with contempt and dismay. Many of the participants I spoke to during my fieldwork trips recalled heart-breaking stories of the loss of their mother tongue language. A well-known poet and Khoe-San activist, Chief Paul Swaartbooi, describes the loss of language "as die versnipperde tong" (the shredded tongue), defining the loss of mother tongue language as something cut into small pieces, destroyed and difficult to put together (personal conversation, August 2017).

Mr Watson uttered the following words describing how he lost his mother tongue:

> Ons ore was gedraai as die ou miesis gehoor het ons praat ons moeder taal as kinders. Sy het gesê dis n skinder taal. Dis n vieslike taal en sy wil my nie meer hoor dat ons daai vieslike taal praat nie. By die skool het ons in Afrikaans geleer. Dis hoe ons, ons moeder taal verleer het en ons al hoe meer in Afrikaans gekommunikeer het as kinders. (Personal conversation, 25 July 2017)[157]

As noted from this quote, the education system plays an important role in shaping the language a people use as a means of communication. When the National Party came to power, people were still able to speak the indigenous languages, or it can be said that they still had an inclination and desire to speak the indigenous languages of the Khoe-San peoples. In this case, language development is a national issue, and the advancement of a language requires resources where education is central to the promotion of language that links to culture and identity.

[157] Our ears were twisted when the old madam heard us speak our mother tongue as children. She said it was a gossip language. It's a disgusting language, and she does not want to hear us speak in that disgusting language. At the school, we learned in Afrikaans. That's how we lost our mother tongue and communicated more and more in the Afrikaans language as children.

In 1976, students came in uprise against the Apartheid state for the use of the Afrikaans language as the medium of instruction while excluding other languages from the curriculum (Opperman Lewis, 2016). At the time of this struggle to bring other languages into the space of education, the Khoe-San languages in South Africa were not part of the discussion as the language had been made obsolete and the struggle was then against the use of the Afrikaans language in schools among other things.

During Apartheid, the regime advanced Afrikaner nationalism and a massive political and social approach was used, together with the allocation of substantial state funding to turn the Afrikaans language into a language that could compete with the English language at a national level. However, when one compares the current situation on the revival of Khoe-San languages, it can be deduced that there is minimum commitment and real political will, interest or desire to develop the indigenous languages of the Khoe-San at a level where it could be a fully-fledged language. A former volunteer teacher of the Nama language, Mr Loots notes that previous efforts made to introduce the Nama language in schools in the Northern Cape by the Department of Basic Education was unsuccessful because there was not enough interest and political will to develop the Nama language. Mr Loots provides the following reasons:

> I started [teaching] in 2005, and it went very well for the following two years. In 2008, the department started with letters that the time taken from other teachers must be given back to them. So, the other flop […] they were saying that the Nama language must be taught as an extramural activity. When that plan did not work out, they changed and said the project [would] stop in 2010. The reasons the department gave us was that there is no syllabus; it is not an official language, unauthorised expenses, and unqualified teachers. The different school managers did not help us much; instead, they gave us additional subjects to teach which contributed to the decline of the Nama project. (Personal communication, 28 August 2017)

The Department of Basic Education is lauded for attempting to introduce the Nama language in schools but due to the lack of 'strong political will' within the structures, these attempts proved unsuccessful. In this case two central reasons can be stated for the failure:

(1) the languages of the Khoe-San people are not recognized as an official language therefore there are no proper budget allocations for its development, and

(2) the languages are regarded as an extra mural activity and there is a vacuum of qualified teachers (Personal communication, 25 October 2017).

Regardless of the many attempts made by community members, activists and 'sympathetic government officials', these efforts have been slow to materialise into tangible outcomes. In 2018, the process of reintroducing the Nama language was piloted in Riemvasmaak and Kuboes in the Northern Cape to grade R learners. But due to the unofficial status of this language, only measly fifteen-minute time slots are allocated for the revival of this language. It is also important to note here, while in Namibia Khoekhoegowab is a spoken and written language of communication, in South Africa, the Nama people predominantly speak Afrikaans and are classified as Coloured people.[158] Another important point to note, which I will revert to, is the error made in the constitution, the highest law of the country. In the constitution, the Nama people and the language mentioned is noted as a standalone category, a phenomenon that should have been the case for all the groupings. For example, all the South African ethnic languages are noted in the South African constitution as official languages. They are also taught in schools in the different provinces and are foregrounded depending on the dominant language in the province and the speakers thereof who reside in that area. For Khoe-San languages no such provision was factored into the Basic Education system after 1994, except for Nama, who are part of the Khoe-San groupings[159].

The Language Project

The N/uu language - Toxoba huia si #xoaki[160]

> Language is one manifestation of cultural diversity. Each language reflects a unique worldview and culture complex, mirroring the [way] a speech community has resolved its problems in dealing with the world, and has formulated its

[158] I revert back to this point when I discuss the effects of classification on the indigenous groups in South Africa.
[159] The Nama people like the Griqua people are then recognized as separate groupings. For example, in 1980, according to a newspaper article, the United Nations recognized the Griqua people as an indigenous group, adding to the classification of Khoe-San. There are no clear records of this definition as by the United Nations other than the newspaper report and many other Khoe groupings contest this notion. However, the work of Oomen (2005) alludes to this recognition of the Griqua people as the third group of indigenous people in South Africa. This phenomenon separates the groups into various entities contesting recognition as indigenous people in the country.
[160] In the N/uu language the meaning, of drivers from before- please help save our language.

> thinking, its system of philosophy and understanding of the world around it. With each vanishing language, an irreplaceable element of human thought in its multiform variations is lost forever.[161]

As noted by Delaney with Kaspin (2011), the spoken language is a uniquely human characteristic due to the human genetics and brain capacity that structures and that creates language. Human beings are the most evolved species as Homo sapiens, and their intelligence allows them to use various kinds of vocabularies to articulate various messages (Harari, 2011).

In 2016, I spent three and a half months in Upington, from July to mid-October, with members of the House of N‖ngǂe of which Katrina Esau, affectionately known as Ouma Geelmeid[162] is the matriarch together with her family. She is the face of the NIuu language and is acknowledged as the custodian of the San/Bushmen culture of the House of N‖ngǂe. In 2014, she received the Order of Baobab from President Jacob Zuma for her role in preserving culture and heritage, the language, which becomes central to one's identity.[163]

According to Shah and Brenzinger (2016), the N/uu language stands outside the "non-Bantu click languages" and is one of the most endangered languages on the African continent (2016:7). This language, thought to be extinct several decades ago, is still spoken by Ouma Geelmeid. The N/uu language, according to Shah and Brenzinger, has one of the "largest speech sound inventories in the world. There are 114 speech sounds in the practical N/uu orthography ... includes 45 click phonemes, 30 non-click consonants and 39 vowels" (Shah and Brenzinger, 2016:9). The authors note that the "phonetic feature of N[/]uu is [a] set of bilabial clicks, also known as 'kiss clicks'" (Shah and Brenzinger, 2016:10). There are other San/Bushman dialects studied by linguists like Anthony Traill. According to Barnard, in citing the work of Traill, the !Xõ language is much more complicated than the Kung (!Xun) and Khwe language. The !Xõ dialect studied by Traill "has eighty clicks, thirty-nine non-click

---

[161] UNESCO definition of the uniqueness of each language http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=29863&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html, Accessed on 17/05/2018

[162] The word Ouma refers to grandmother when translated into English and is used among Afrikaans speakers as a sign of respect to refer to elderly people who are not necessarily biologically related.

[163] The Order of the Baobab is awarded to South African citizens for distinguished services in many different fields including community service. The Baobab tree, according to the website of the presidency, symbolises one of the oldest life forms in Africa; rooted in the landscape with a colossal wide trunk supported by strong protruding roots known as a place for meetings, shelter from the sun or rain. Its fruit can be eaten, and the bark of the tree is used to make things like mats and hats. http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/national-orders/order-baobab-0

consonants, and at least forty-four vowels (excluding diphthongs and tone contrasts) … !Xõ possesses the bilabial click series Θ, Θ', Θ *w*, … which is not found in any Kung or Khoe dialect" (Traill, as cited in Barnard, 1992:63).

Now, at the tender age of being over eighty years old, Ouma Geelmeid started dedicating her life since 2002 to revive remnants of her mother tongue language. Many senior language speakers before Ouma Geelmeid – people like Elsie Vaalbooi and Ouma Jantjies – tried to capture bits and pieces of the N/uu language, using their own income to offer classes to young children in the areas where they lived (Crawhall, 1999). Many of these elderly mother tongue speakers of this indigenous language have since passed on, which complicates the quest for the revival of indigenous languages[164], from the time Ms Petersen and the research team met with some of the speakers.

At the time I was in the field, Ouma Geelmeid was using a Wendy house in front of her small three-bedroom house as a temporary classroom to teach the N/uu language to interested parties, mostly young children. This versatile structure was used as a classroom for after-school language classes, and also as a place to hold their meetings with other people visiting the House. The after-school classes were offered from Mondays to Wednesdays from 16h30 to 17h30 and it consisted of about twelve young children from the Rosedale community, varying in attendance. There used to be more children who attended these classes when the project started but the numbers have since dwindled. When the project on the revival of the N/uu language started, Ouma Geelmeid facilitated these classes with the assistance of her granddaughter and the classes were open to anybody who wanted to learn how to speak the N/uu language.

The lessons offered at the *taal skool*[165] are free of charge and the focus of teaching the N/uu language involves young children although, at one point, young adults also showed a 'desire' and interest in learning the N/uu language. The situation has changed slightly as the

[164] I attended hearings held by the South African Human Rights Commission where officials were told by various members self-identifying as descendants of the Khoe-San of the loss of language and dying of elderly speakers during an enquiry held in 2015 and 2016. These members also spoke of issues of marginalisation of Khoe-San communities.

165 This is not a proper school where teaching and learning is legislated in policy and students write regular exams to test their knowledge on a certain subject before moving to the next grade. The 'language school' represents an attempt to inculcate identity, heritage and culture to young people.

municipality, through various governmental processes, has now made a small container on a small piece of land available for use as a teaching hub.

However, as argued in the thesis, there are no official records in relation to statistics of indigenous peoples in South Africa. The languages of the Khoe-San are not legitimately recognized, and the government has not allocated sufficient resources for the development of these languages, aside from the efforts of the people to revive these languages out of pocket.

Photograph 13: Identifying facial features in the N/uu language with Afrikaans translations. The poster is part of teaching and learning material produced by the Centre for African Language Diversity (CALDi) at the University of Cape Town.

Can indigenous languages be revived in South Africa?

Research on early childhood development shows that children learn the language/s that their family are converse in by mimicking the adults around them. When children are placed in formal processes of schooling, mother tongue language is inculcated in the child by the speech community they live in and through the schooling structures. Here I wish to state the case of Happy Sindane to illustrate one of the arguments I made in the thesis about ‘ways of knowing' and ‘ways of seeing’, arguing that language is not only a marker of identity, but that it shapes one’s understanding of socio-cultural environment and individual ways of ‘seeing and knowing’ and interaction with individuals. According to the writings of Erasmus, Sindane was a ‘white' looking boy who grew up in a Ndebele speaking community. He was acculturated into that speech community which formed his identity, but because he was ‘white' looking (ways of seeing) his body occupied an uncomfortable space, even though he spoke the local

dialect he was not fully accepted into the community (ways of knowing). The people read Happy's body as a "white boy in a black world" (2017:51).

The question of language revivalism is a double-edged sword, meaning there are factors that are in favour of reviving the language and there are factors that are against the revival process. For example, the political will of the state to satisfy a desire and request made by a minority community to have their language revived and what purpose it will serve in society. While the issue of language revivalism is crucial and relevant to contemporary debates about identity politics and language use in South Africa, some of the languages of the Khoe-San are no longer viable and are potentially moribund if something does not change drastically. In South Africa, the challenge is not to determine how many people can speak the Nguni languages (that include isiXhosa, isiZulu, Swati, and Ndebele) and other South African languages (like Sotho and Tswana) but rather how many people are still conversant in the languages of the Khoe-San peoples. Another critical point is the demographic challenge resulting from 'miscounting' in the census process. Many of the Khoe-San descendants are not accounted for and no clear statistic exists of their presence in South Africa to give an indication of how many speakers there are of each language as per the census results of 2011 (see Appendix A and B).[166]

The statistic tables reflect the eleven official languages that are constitutionally recognized but they do not indicate how many people speak the languages of the Khoe-San peoples. The tongue spoken by a large section of the self-identifying Khoe-San members are 'disguised' and 'hidden' in the Afrikaans dialect referred to in this chapter. While South Africa is a melting pot of languages and cultures, people from the various other countries residing in South Africa speak their languages from their home countries. These are minority languages, and they don't ask government to recognize their languages. However, languages like French and German are international languages originating in First World countries and developed with fully fledged orthographies and can be taught in any country. This same history and now 'privilege' are not accorded to Khoe-San groupings. Where I stay there are people from various countries in Africa speaking various languages, they call their mother tongue. They tell each other jokes and laugh in these languages. This same familiarity and belonging are what Khoe-San people are after. To be able to speak what they consider their language.

[166] Appendix A – Population by first language spoken in province. Appendix B – Population by first language and population group.

When one considers the lack of statistical non-compliance and the 'denial' of the existence of the descendants of Khoe-San people by previous governments and the current rulers, it could be deduced that these groups of people have always occupied a precarious space in society. A case in point is the classification of the Kung and Khwe people, a group of San people who speak a language called Khwedam. In 1994, when South Africa transitioned to democracy, this group of San people were taken from the Caprivi Strip in Namibia and resettled in South Africa by the Mandela government. They were first settled on the Schmidtsdrift military base in the Northern Cape and then moved again and resettled on Platfontein in the Northern Cape, South Africa (Van Wyk, 2014). It is important to note that while the groups were taken from the Caprivi Strip as Kung and Khwe groups, in the first census conducted by the democratic government in 1996, the census forms did not make provision for the recognition and the existence of this group of people, together with the language they speak. They were made to fit 'the 'cookie cutter' classification of the contentious Coloured identity.

While in the Northern Cape, I received an invitation to attend a meeting with a high-level delegation of government officials from the Department of Arts and Culture in Kimberley. At this meeting, I first learned about the Twinning Agreement under discussion. The meeting addressed, among other issues, the role of the Khoe-San languages in society, the challenges faced by the Khoe-San community, and the interventions planned to re-introduce the Nama language, as the first attempt had failed dismally. Krauss (1992), explains a few potential reasons for the difficulty in establishing statistical data on languages in some parts of the world. The author argues that it could be that in some parts of the world people do not know which languages are spoken and their viability; that it could be that the government favours a particular language over others; or that, if they do provide statistics, it could potentially be skewed or inaccurate (Krauss, 1992). Whatever the reasons in the South African context, the language of the Khoe-San peoples has never reached a stage where it has received the necessary attention for developing it into a spoken and taught language, compared to the situation in Namibia where the Khoekhoegowab language is being developed and taught in schools and has a traceable orthography.

NIuu language – A fifteen-year project

According to Shah and Brenzinger (2016), Levi Namaseb from the University of Namibia and other authors had worked with the NIuu language project for over 15 years. In Upington, while engaging a number of people on the language issue, I met young people who were part of this

project that Levi Namaseb and others had conducted in the area. Some of these young adults started with the project in 2002 when Ouma Geelmeid worked with the research team to revive the NIuu language. When I caught up with these ex-learners of the NIuu language[167], they reported that they enjoyed working with Levi Namaseb. However, the biggest problem for them had been the time lapse between the different projects. The project ran during school holidays. One ex-NIuu learner said, "Okay the project is done during the school holidays. So much time goes by in-between school and doing the project again one forgets what was taught before."[168] The ex-learner points to a critical factor that refers to a lack of funds available to assist in learning or keeping abreast with what was learned in the 'cooling off' period while they wait for the next vacation to come around. The learner also raises the point that, because of the non-recognition of these languages, the issue becomes problematic. The result is that the language is not taught in a school environment where one would engage with the language on a continual basis. A fifteen-year project, according to many of the research participants, should have had the potential to provide a small database of fluent to semi-fluent speakers of both the N/uu and Nama languages if enough time and resources were invested in it.

The young adults who were part of the research project, when I encountered them in the field, could hardly hold a two-minute conversation in the N/uu language. They were, however, able to say a few phrases – a similar outcome to that of the Greymorning case study mentioned earlier regarding a global perspective of language revivalism. The young adults were able to greet and sing along to some lyrics and songs they had learned in the N/uu language. Shah and Brenzinger (2016) captured the songs and the orthography of Ouma Geelmeid and created alphabet charts as teaching aids. When the Department of Arts and Culture organised the children's writer's festival in 2016, these books were displayed there at a price of R500 per book[169]. The Department of Arts and Culture bought a few copies of these books to distribute to libraries in the area. I too bought a copy of the book in my attempt to learn the language. It is a hardcover book with glossy paper, printed in colour, and hence it was quite expensive and considered a steep price by many people. The limitation of the book is that it does not come

[167] See Appendix C.
[168] Willem, a young man in his mid-twenties, is responding to the question of why he thinks the revival of the language project was unsuccessful.
[169] A soft copy of this reader is available at https://open.uct.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11427/17432/Shah_N%C7%80uu%20_CALDi_2016.pdf?sequence=5

with an audio CD in order to listen to the pronunciation of the words to practice the language on your own when you are not near the few speakers. Therefore, practising on one's own in learning this new language, one runs the risk of potentially mispronouncing the words if you omit a click sound or say it wrong.

Over recent years, since his affiliation to the House of N‖ngǂe in 2014, Mr. van Wyk spent most of his time with Ouma Geelmeid learning the language directly from her tongue. Mr. van Wyk is a self-appointed teacher/facilitator for the afternoon classes. Mr. van Wyk, like so many indigenous language activists abroad, volunteer his time in the quest to revive the indigenous languages, against the harsh realities of unemployment, in the face of adversity, not receiving any remuneration for their efforts, finding solace in the daily tasks of teaching the young children. Mr van Wyk is able to have a conversation with Ouma Geelmeid for a few minutes and, although he is not yet absolutely fluent in the language, he managed to achieve that which many language activists like Dr Greymorning have perfected through trial and error over a number of years. Mr. van Wyk created an environment where the conversation between him and Ouma Geelmeid over the years has become mostly in the N/uu language and, as he notes, he "encouraged her close family members living in the house with her to greet each other every day using the N/uu language" (Personal communication, 2016).

The incident that highlighted the paradox of mispronouncing words occurred at a community gathering where Ouma Geelmeid was invited to attend a function together with the dancers (these were the young adults who attended this function not the children who are part of the *taal skool*). Mr Van Wyk, who is also conversant in praise poetry learnt directly from Ouma Geelmeid, said a word wrong during his praises and when the event was over Ouma Geelmeid reprimanded him and brought to his attention that he had said *"jy moet vrek"* (you must die). Nobody knew this because people did not understand the language. In other instances, where people are conversant in a language, when somebody says something out of the ordinary it would be picked up at once and someone would try to correct them (or worse, they might use it as satire). If this mispronunciation happened to him, how many more people, in their attempt to perform their indigenous identity, would mispronounce words which they are not able to self-correct because only a few people have a command in the language? The same thing happened to Bradley van Sitters, a Khoe-San activist from Cape Town who, during the State of the Nation Address (SONA) of 2019, welcomed President Ramaphosa by speaking in the Nama language, in a surprise twist to the usual praise poet that would speak at the opening of

the SONA. While there was a lot of backlashes of this attempt at doing praise poetry by people not understanding the Nama (Khoekhoegowab) language, Bradley responded to his critiques that he is a third language speaker, a fact that people should not overlook, that Nama is the third language that he is learning.

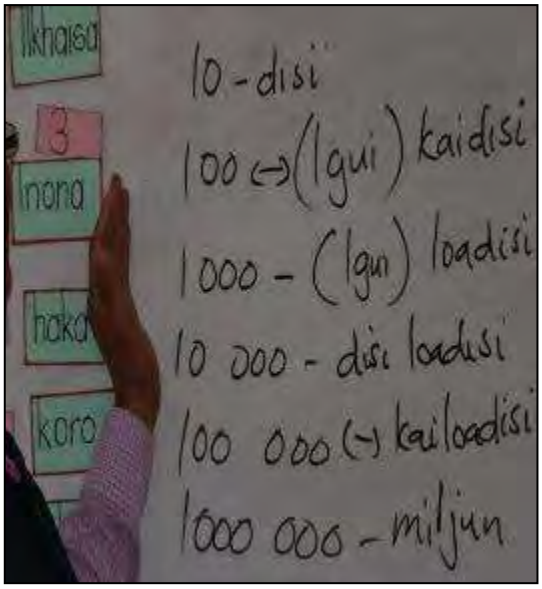
The process of learning these indigenous languages is made easier through the use of music by adapting the indigenous words to a musical tune that the people can remember from their childhood days singing in either Afrikaans or English which are the languages that most people in the Khoe-San movement use as a form of communication. One such example of learning how to count in the Nama language is found in the popular lyrics of the Afrikaans children's song *Vader Jakob*.

Afrikaans	Khoekhoegowab
Vader Jakob	ǀgui ǀgam !nona[170]
Vader Jakob	ǀgui ǀgam !nona
Slaap jy nog	Haka koro
Slaap jy nog	Haka koro
Hoor hoe lui die kerk klok	!nona haka koro
Hoor hoe lui die kerk klok	!nona haka koro
Ding dong dell	ǀgui ǀgam !nona
Ding dong dell	ǀgui ǀgam !nona

[170] Counting from one to five in the Nama language to the beat of the Vader Jakob tune where ǀgui is 1, ǀgam is 2, !nona is 3, haka is 4 and koro is 5. The Afrikaans tune to the Vader Jakob can be listened to on YouTube at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PdA_yimRyGQ

Afrikaans	**Dutch**
Een, twee, drie	Vader Jacob
Een, twee, drie	Vader Jacob
Vier, vyf	Slaapt gij nog?
Vier, vyf	Slaapt gij nog?
Drie, vier, vyf	Alle klokken luiden
Drie, vier, vyf	Alle klokken luiden
Een, twee, drie	Bim, bam, bom[171]
Een, twee, drie	Bim, bam, bom

[171] On Kings Day on the 29 April 2019, I was fortunate to visit a colleague in Middelburg in the Netherlands when most people celebrated the birthday of the King. It is held as a public event and on this day, people trade for free on the streets, coffee shops are filled to capacity, and orange clothing is seen everywhere as young and old are adorned in the colour. Part of the celebrations included a children's puppet theatre of song and dance. One of the items, Vader Jakob, was sung when they showed the theatre show. I could happily sing along with the crowd and my host noted, "you are really at home here in the Netherlands". At this point, like an epiphany, I realised the similarities in the everyday use of language. When I travelled back from the Netherlands to Germany, the announcements made on the train were first in German and secondly in Dutch. I made recordings of the announcements and sent it to my friends in the Eastern Cape who are isiXhosa speakers, and they immediately recognized the language saying that it is Afrikaans. This raised a question for me, also something tweeted by the finance minister Tito Mboweni, on the phasing out of Afrikaans at the University of Pretoria and University of Stellenbosch when he noted in his personal capacity "I publicly, […], DISAGREE, with the phasing out of Afrikaans as one of the mediums of teaching at the University of Pretoria. As a country, you are shooting yourselves down. You will regret it in 30 years' time" (https://twitter.com/tito_mboweni/status/1088523433082843143?lang=en).
The Dutch language is the language of the colonisers which the Apartheid government turned into a language that suppressed people but if one travels, like the opportunity I was granted, you discover that so many people speak Afrikaans or a dialect of Afrikaans not only a section of the Coloured people and the Afrikaners, but also people living in Europe, in Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium, Sweden to name a few countries on the Eurpean continent. During the short visit to Germany, I could pick up on the language and what people were saying so much so that when I met a lady who was originally from America and had relocated to Germany where she had to learn the German language for everyday social interaction, as I heard her speak, I noted that she was using many Afrikaans sounding words, with a different grammatical structure. I told her she was speaking an Afrikaans dialect with a twist to which



Photograph 14: A teacher illustrating counting and writing in large numbers at the workshop in Keetmanshoop, Namibia.

During my field research in the Northern Cape in 2016, the young adults of the House remembered the church songs taught and recorded in the CALDi reader (Shah and Brenzinger, 2016:77–78). They performed rhythmic dances by clapping their hands while singing these songs in the N/uu language.

LIED: SIA A U SU‖OA

Sia a u Su‖oa.
Kom na Jesus toe.

Sia a u Su‖oa.
Kom na Jesus toe.

Huniki ni n|ubua, huniki ni n|ubua
Almal wat bemoeid is, almal wat belas is.

she laughed. We had never met before, and on our first encounter we could understand each other based on the grammatical structure and similarities in the language. In the Netherlands, reading from a menu was not so difficult, bringing to mind the theory by Eriksen (1991, 2007, 2014) that the world is expanding at the same time contracting to bring people and cultures together While culture and language are localised and practiced as such, 'glocalisation' impacts on everyday encounters.

LIED !URIA ǁA KA JOOKE

!Uria ǁa ka joke.
Witter as sneeu.

ǁXam nǀa ǀxauke
Was my met die bloed.

LIED: !HARIKE ǁXAA SA HOO NG !UUKE

!Harike ǁxaa sa hoo ng !uuke
Jesus voor ons agter na

!Harike ǁxaa sa hoo ng !uuke
Jesus voor ons agter na

!Harike ǁxaa.
Jesus voor

!Harike ǁxaa
Jesus voor

It is important to note that music, like modern technology, plays a huge role in the preservation of indigenous languages. The project with the NIuu language since its start in the early 2000s has been indicative of the obstacles that hamper the growth of this 'invisible' language into a 'viable language'.

In the case of the N/uu language, the orthography of Ouma Geelmeid is the only surviving knowledge base of this language and they constitute a small language group as opposed to the Nama speakers who live in Riemvasmaak and Khuboes (Kuboes) in the Northern Cape where people use the Nama language as a conversational language. The Nama language (Khoekhoegowab) has a workable orthography, and the language is taught in schools in Namibia which elevates the language as it is an examinable subject. In South Africa, although

there is the Twinning Agreement in place to collaborate with the //Kharas (Karas) region, the issue concerning the 'official recognition' of the revival of the indigenous languages of the Khoe-San remains unresolved. In relation to statistics as recorded every decade in South Africa, no clear record exists to indicate how many Nama speakers there are in the country who are still able to speak the language (see Appendix A & B), how many speakers there are in each province, and which language is the dominant language that people speak except the Afrikaans language. Work done by Du Plessis (2019) estimates that despite the lack of clear records that there are less than 5 000 elderly speakers in the northern Cape. It is imperative to note that although the Khoe-San languages are mentioned in the constitution and structures have been set up to address the language issue when the PanSALB was tasked with the revival of these languages, not much had been done since then, except for the new 'deal that is on the table'. The government has not yet acknowledged who the indigenous peoples are so that provision could be made for 'proper constitutional' accommodation. Chief Jean Burgess notes to the class:

> The first right that the constitution of South Africa violates is the right to our language. There are eleven official languages in South Africa. One of the official languages is the language of Botswana, the other one is the language of Swaziland, the other one is the language of Lesotho, the other one is the language of Europe. The languages of those four countries are accepted as official languages in South Africa, but the language of the First Indigenous Peoples [is] not an official language. So, that is the first right that our constitution violates. (Chief Jean Burgess addressing the first-year students at Rhodes University, 2017)

The issue of constitutional recognition of the Khoe-San people is non-existent. Although the constitution makes mention of Khoe-San languages, that is where it ends. The Department of Basic Education, universities, colleges and other language institutions need a massive injection of capital and political will in order to see the project through to fruition and to create a large complement of qualified teachers to assist in schools and other institutions with the development of these Khoe-San languages. There are community efforts as was the case of Katrina Esau, however, individuals and groups engage in language revivalism with their own money which are insufficient for a gigantic task such as trying to revive a language. The state, through the Department of Basic Education, must get involved in these processes.

In relation to the N/uu language, the reader produced by the Centre for African Language Diversity (CALDi) at the University of Cape Town is a monolithic orthography of Ouma Geelmeid (Shah and Brenzinger, 2016) and the reader called *Ouma Geelmeid ke kx'u IIxaIIxa N/uu (Ouma Geelmeid gee NIuu; Ouma Geelmeid teaches NIuu)* is not standardised. The orthography is a combination of previously researched works by various linguistic writers and Ouma Geelmeid's pronunciation of the words (Shah and Brenzinger, 2016). The orthography used in Namibian schools for teaching and learning is standardised and has been operational over an extended period. Many Namibians use the language as a conversational language with the rare occasion of switching to Afrikaans to accommodate other people who do not understand the language.

The Language Conference, Networking and Technology

The Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) hosted a three-day conference, 28–29 June 2017, at the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein under the theme *Indigenous Peoples Language Conference.* I read about the conference on a social media platform (one of the many WhatsApp groups) that I joined which is administered by self-identifying Khoe-San groups to keep people informed about gatherings and events planned either by themselves or by government. These chat groups also serve as a platform where many pressing issues affecting the Khoe-San groups are discussed, as well as the role of their presence in society. The establishment of these groups through using technology also creates a platform where conversations do not only happen in cyber space, but people also meet each other face to face. This allows for an opportunity to match the ideology of the person with their personality. The memberships to these groups are growing every day and people are free to join and leave as they wish. The recent trend of establishing groups on the WhatsApp platform has become a popular mode of communication. Some platforms use a closed group strategy where only the administrator can add people – usually people with expertise in a certain field – to further the discussion on solutions to the challenges raised on these platforms. Joining these groups is a sign of mobilisation, although not on a large scale. It can also be deduced that people want to belong to a group and, in the case of the Khoe-San movement, it is a matter of resonance that, when something resonates with an individual, they seek to be with people who have the same ideologies as them. The slogan used by various groups is "Nothing for Us Without Us" and the use of technology helps to spread information and messages instantaneously. Since the early 1990s, the government, under the auspices of the ANC has been actively engaging and

speaking with various members of the Khoe-San formations (De Wet, 2006). I will return to this point in chapter nine, the concluding chapter on Khoe-San politics, but for now, it suffices to say that the government has been 'entertaining'[172] various issues raised by the Khoe-San people in multiple spaces.

The Indigenous Peoples Language Conference is one of many such events where members of different affiliations within the Khoe-San groups have been invited to in order to give their input to the PanSALB on the issues related to language revivalism. There are five different groups that make up Khoe-San. These include the Griqua, Korana, Nama, Cape Khoe and the San (Bushmen). The San/Bushman group have eight different language dialects. There are three groupings found in South Africa namely the ǂKhomani San (the N/uu language is one of the dialects spoken by this group of San people), the Khung and the Khwe people. Outside of these five groupings people identify as different tribes but they all fall into either a Khoe group or a San (Bushmen) group present at the gathering. The conference was also scheduled to inform delegates and Khoe-San members of the regional integration project that the government embarked on with the Namibian government.

Leading up to this particular language conference, I liaised with the organisers of PanSALB and, because I knew that there were members in the Eastern Cape who were also interested in the language issue, I forwarded the email to Chief Khoe-San SA[173]. It turned out that some of the members were invited while others did not know about the invitation due to power relations and factions within the different groups. Although I emailed the information to the Chief, there was a specific request to include young women. Elsewhere in the thesis I have mentioned that the movement is still very patriarchal, but that is slowly changing. The Chief was asked to include young women from the set of names he forwarded to me so I could pass it on to the organisers of the conference.

Chief Khoi-San SA could select ten people from his group which happened to be an all-male selection, as emailed to me. After much talk and debate with the Chief, he added the names of

[172] There had been many engagements with the government since the early 1990s under the Mandela government. The issues raised by Khoe-San people are heard and it is in the public domain, but the government, as a legal entity reneges to acknowledge Khoe-San people as indigenous people or to confer First Nation Status to the Khoe-San people.
[173] Chief Khoe-San SA uses the spelling of the name using an 'i'.

three women to his list, Regine, the daughter of Chief Khoi-San SA, Sylvia whom I met during the walk in 2017, and one other woman whom I did not know at the time.

The transport arrangements turned out to be cumbersome as the departure point was in Port Elizabeth (now known as Gqeberha) and I was the only one from Grahamstown (now known as Makhanda) going to the conference. I arranged with a friend to sleep over at her place and to meet with the group in the morning. The following morning, I relied on people in the taxi to give me information on where to disembark. One of the strong points I learnt on this journey was to ask for directions and always speak about my work and the topic that I am researching. This technique works very well, especially in public transport. I found that when one starts a conversation in a taxi (if the driver is not playing loud ear deafening music) you get to learn a lot from people and what they think about everyday life from various perspectives, especially the topic which interests me: the Khoe-San people in South Africa. If you are lucky, the debate is interethnic, depending on who is in the taxi. It is also helpful to have conversations in public transport to avoid getting the wrong information from sinister characters.

When I arrived at the shopping complex in Clari Park, many of the members were surprised to see me, as I did not appear on any of their lists and the driver of the mini-bus immediately realised that I was the woman from Grahamstown. Therefore, when he confirmed that I was the woman from Grahamstown, he treated me ‘with kid gloves’.

Brief context to the driver’s behaviour towards me would be helpful at this point. In 2014, just as I arrived in Grahamstown, Kimberley 2 (K2) took place in the Northern Cape. This was a follow-up gathering from Kimberley 1 (K1) that took place in 2013. As my research project follows the Khoe-San story, using Gluckmans’s (1952) method of the extended case study, I made arrangements with my main informant, Ms Petersen, to attend this follow-up gathering that would be attended by more than 1000 Khoe-San delegates from the nine provinces. However, there was miscommunication with the transport arrangements out of Grahamstown and I never made it to the event.

Later that afternoon, the organisers apologised profusely for what transpired, and I was contacted by the tour operating company with an apology. When the same tour operating company was used to transport the delegation of Khoe-San members to the 2017 language conference, the 2014 incident influenced the driver’s attitude towards me. I realised the power

dynamic at play between the driver and myself and tried to erase any uncomfortableness by assuring him that the 2014 incident was unfortunate, but that there was no need to be concerned.

The Road to Namibia

In 2017, at the language conference in Bloemfontein I heard the delegates talk about the trip to Namibia. I approached Mr Mapanka who was also at the language conference. Once I had established that a delegation of ex-Nama teachers was going to Namibia for a weeklong training workshop at the Teacher's Resource Centre in Keetmanshoop, I tried to convince Mr Mapanka that it was important for me to be part of the delegation that travelled to Namibia. I was excited at the prospect of travelling to Namibia – it was going to be my first international trip and stamp in my passports. It was important for my study to see how the Namibians engage their learners and how teaching and learning takes place. It was also crucial to the study to comparatively understand what challenges the schools in South Africa would possibly face in relation to the revival of the Nama (Khoekhoegowab) language. I liaised continuously with Mr. Mapanka throughout this conference as this trip had already been planned and all the arrangements were already in place. Mr. Mapanka consulted with his colleagues and I got the go-ahead to accompany the delegation on condition that I had my passport ready, and that I was able to meet them in Kakamas in the Northern Cape on the Sunday morning after the conference for the road trip to Namibia.

After the conference my mission was clear: travel back to Grahamstown with the delegation from Port Elizabeth; wait for the sun to rise; travel back to Port Elizabeth (now known as Gqeberha)to catch the long distance taxi leaving for Upington at two o'clock the Friday afternoon, arriving at four o'clock the Saturday morning in Upington. I have travelled this route to Upington before but I arrived slightly later than the scheduled time of departure. Realising that I will not make it in time to Port Elizabeth, I contacted the taxi owner, and asked for the pickup point to be changed to Colchester garage, which is about 30 km outside of Port Elizabeth. The pick-up point at Colchester poses its own challenges in that the passengers who board the taxi at the depot take all the comfortable seats and when the taxi arrives at Colchester, one must be satisfied with sitting in any seat available. This is not ideal for such a long distance ride, however, things do not always go according to how it is planned.

On route to Upington, I contacted my cousin with whom I stayed while doing my fieldwork in Rosedale in 2016, and asked if I could spend the day at her house before travelling early the Sunday morning to Kakamas to meet with the delegation as arranged. Although there are taxi's

going to Kakamas from Upington (which is about 90 km apart), the fact that it was a Sunday morning was a problem, as most of the taxi drivers attended church.

My uncle works for the Dawid Kruiper municipality and he contacted his immediate superior to ask for permission to drop me off at the hiking spot with the municipal vehicle. In Upington, in Pabalello and Rosedale, if people see you use state property for their own personal gain you could lose your job, as the place is relatively small and almost everybody knows who works in which office. This fact also makes the competition for employment and resources, especially government jobs, very competitive and precarious. My uncle received permission to use the vehicle and took me to the hiking place that passes through to Kakamas.

Travelling from Upington to Kakamas was an experience. I received a lift from a long distance truck driver. The route he normally travels is between Namibia and Upington, the latter not far from the Namibian border, dividing the two countries from each other, also causing a regional divide in kith and kin relations. The truck driver, a man in his early forties was a friendly and warm person. We immediately clicked and had a conversation from the time I got into the truck to the time he dropped me in Kakamas. We spoke about his work, the conditions of employment for truck drivers. At the time, the issue was widely discussed: we talked about his family life, how his work schedule sometimes affects his role as a father, not being around enough to see his children grow up because he is always on the road sometimes needing to drive as far as Malawi. We discussed my study and he raised an interesting point about the Namibians always making the sign of the cross before they do anything of significance, saying that they are very spiritual and religious people. The trip to Kakamas was my initial introduction to some of the religious aspects of the Namibians by an observer of their culture.

We arrived in Kakamas after 9h00. The delegation from Riemvasmaak had been waiting for me at the Shell garage for more than an hour. I recognized some faces from the language conference. Among them was Willem Damarah,[174] a teacher by profession and a Khoe language activist, whom I met on a previous occasion at the children's writers' festival held in Kimberley in 2016.

As an anthropologist, one must be well versed in establishing rapport, not just to break the awkward silences that occur when one travels with a group of people who are each other's

[174] Member of the National Language Board.

friends and neighbours, while being an outsider oneself. At first, the silence was awful and the delegation conversed with each other in the Nama. I found their using of the Nama language as a conversational language very interesting but I had to devise a plan to be part of the conversation. Not that they had not acknowledged my presence in the taxi, but they did enjoy each other's company as neighbours, staying in Riemvasmaak, a small community with just over a thousand families residing on the land.

My plan was then to get their jaws moving by passing a packet of sweets for everyone to partake in the act of sharing. All along, while I was observing the delegation in the taxi, they were observing me, an important point noted by Smith (2012) about the positioning of the self in the field in relation to your participants.

We drove from Kakamas to Steinkopf to meet with the group of delegates from Kuboes. This stop was treated as a meet-and-greet and to purchase refreshments before heading for the highway leading to Namibia. Around two o'clock in the afternoon, we stopped on the side of the road observing the beautiful mountainous landscape and people took out their lunch tins and started sharing food with each other. I was offered to eat from different lunch tins prepared for the trip but I felt a bit uncomfortable to indulge in *padkos*[175] specifically prepared to be enjoyed on the road. In my subconscious mind, I knew I had to prepare something for the trip, as this is what most travellers do, but I did not have enough time at my disposal to do that and I also hate carrying a huge tin around as my bags are normally very heavy. Other than my own reservations, I obliged and took the food that was offered to me. One of the men offered me a piece of meat that looked darker than normal red meat when cooked. I took a substantial portion of the meat and chewed the meat under scrutiny and watchful eyes. After I had swallowed, still under scrutiny, they told me I had just eaten a huge chunk of donkey meat. I had immediate flashbacks to Grahamstown where the donkeys are part of the landscape and you can see them on every corner… and now I was eating their flesh. The thought disgusted me but I had to keep a straight face and smiled.

By the time we reached the Namibian border, I was fully integrated into the taxi conversations; the people spoke in Afrikaans, except for using the odd Nama word here and there, to better express themselves. When we reached Keetmanshoop, we headed for the backpackers lodge

[175] Meals prepared to consume on the road.

that was booked for the delegation. Mr Mapanka informed me that I would sleep at a family member's house because I was not 'officially' on the program and therefore not included in the budget of the delegation. Again, I needed a strategy to make sure that I stay close to the group and not in some far off location away from the people. As we entered the backpackers, the helpers told us how the rooms were divided sleeping two people, except for the rooms that were pre-booked as single sleepers for senior officials like the principal of the primary school Mr. Steenkamp and for individuals who requested single rooms. After she mentioned these sleeping arrangements my heart fell to my feet. As if she could read my mind, she said that they do have a room that can sleep three people for those who don't mind sharing space. I looked in the direction of Erica and Blaartjie, hoping they would say yes, let us take that room. It seemed that people had already decided who will share a room with whom as the pairs started moving to their respective rooms to go and unwind. Mr Mapanka was not present to oversee the sleeping arrangements; he was attending to other matters and when he returned Erica and Blaartjie had decided that I may share the room with them. Mr. Mapanka ended up sleeping at his family home. He drove to and from the backpackers every morning and evening because he was the designated driver for the trip. I was relieved and happy that the women made the decision for me to stay with them. How was I going to observe group dynamics if I am transported back and forth every day? The one-week workshop was to prepare the group for the re-introduction of the Nama language in the two primary schools in the Northern Cape.

I will now elaborate on my observations, give a comparative ethnographic account of the revival of the two languages under discussion, and list some of the challenges and obstacles observed from the field site.

All initiatives leading to language revivalism

As already mentioned, the Teacher's Resource Centre in Keetmanshoop hosted the workshop. The first visit on day one of the training was a trip to Snyfontein, a primary school in a remote area about 40km outside of Keetmanshoop. Here the students are taught in Khoekhoegowab from grade R to high school when a switchover is made from mother tongue language to English. This early childhood development phase is crucial for cognitive development of children. The language policy at Snyfontein school is Khoekhoegowab and Afrikaans. The method the school uses can be compared to language revival projects in other parts of the world as mentioned in earlier case studies, especially the Hawaiian and Arapaho language where the learners are immersed in mother tongue education with minimal interference from other

languages. Snyfontein – like the Hawaiian Islands and the Wyoming reserve where Dr Greymorning initiated the revival of the Arapaho language – is located in a space that is far removed from the urban hustle and bustle. These remote locations are ideal locations for immersion schools or language nests offering a chance for language growth.

In the case of the N/uu language, the children who attend these afternoon classes use the Afrikaans language and then switch over to learn phrases and sentences in the N/uu language. This poses the same challenge as experienced by the young adults who showed an interest to learn the N/uu language: when the language is not in use as a conversational language it becomes difficult to learn.

The primary school in Riemvasmaak in the Northern Cape (where I visited for the launch of the Nama language project in January 2018) has similar conditions of remoteness. The primary school is located on what looks like a reserve, which borders on isolation, with a community of little more than a thousand people. At the launch, the grade R class consisted of seven girls and three boys. These learners have an advantage over the many other learners in places where there is an earnest attempt made to revive the language: they have access to fluent speakers of the Nama language at home. The language is used as conversational language in their everyday life and their families are able to assist the children in the learning process.

In the two spaces, Riemvasmaak and Rosedale, the learners at the primary school in Riemvasmaak are taught in the Khoekhoegowab (in South Africa Namagowab).[176] The children in Riemvasmaak have access to parents and family members, a community who are conversant in the language that they are being taught in. Although the parents are Afrikaans speakers, they can do translations from Afrikaans to Khoekhoegowab (Namagowab). At Rosedale, Ouma Geelmeid is the only person who is the expert speaker of the N/uu language. Although Mr van Wyk learns from her, he is not yet proficient in the language. The learners at the *taal skool* (the N/uu speakers) are disadvantaged in their situations, as, when they go home, they engage in code switching, meaning that they converse in the Afrikaans language. Although the current initiative by the Department of Basic Education, in conjunction with PanSALB, can be lauded for its effort, allocating a fifteen to twenty-minute time slot per week for relearning and reviving the Khoekhoegowab language is outrageous by any stretch of the imagination.

[176] The term Namagowab is not yet an official term but in the mouths of the people, they say the language in South Africa must be Namagowab.

The Khoekhoegowab language in Riemvasmaak gets fifteen minutes, the N/uu language has not reached that stage where it is taught in a public institution to grade R learners.

The process of colonisation and Apartheid caused people to lose significant parts of their indigenous language for many reasons. Some of these reasons include the fact that missionaries brought their teachings to people whom they saw as 'heathen' and the 'savage other' who needed to learn new ways of doing things (Le Roux and White 2004; Vollenhoven 2016). While the people had a language and an understanding of their socio-cultural environment, their understanding of the social environment was overlooked and made 'invisible', a 'non-factor' which did not fit the kinds of teaching envisaged for them in the various systems throughout. Hence, the need for contemporary processes of decolonisation to try to revive indigenous languages (Smith, 2012; Heiss, 2012). Due to Christianisation of Khoe-San peoples (Boezak, 2016), many people found a way to merge Christian teachings with their religious beliefs and kept remnants of their language alive although it never formed part of the formal education system under both periods of colonisation and Apartheid. The indigenous Khoe-San people had a language in which they expressed their spirituality and worldview. Mr Dawids, one of the participants, reflects on the 'Our Father' prayer he had learnt as a child in the Nama language noting that his parents wanted to ensure he worships to God using his language.

Sida Itse
Sida Itse /homgu !na hâtse
Sa /onsa as khaihe re
Sa Gaosiba an ha re
Sa #âisa as I re, /homi !has ta is //has khemi,
//nati !khub ai on ai, netse Sida di tsegorobe pereba mada
I Sida /hawina /ûbata, Sida /hawixa na Tara /ûbas khemi.
I ta !âitsab !na #gai #uida, I #hawaba xu ore da.
Gasib tsi /kheib tsi #kheisib tsigu sa /amosib !na hâ xuige.

Amen[177]

[177] The 'Our Father' prayer in Khoekhoegowab/Namagowab. According to my informant, there are many versions of the prayer. This is the version he learned as a child. The scripture is found in Matthew 6:9.

The ‘Our Father’ prayer in the N/uu language as recorded in the reader created by CALDi[178] used at the *taal skool* as a learning guide to instruct the young children who attend the after-school classes (Shah and Brenzinger, 2016:75–76). The reader is stratified to give credence to the N/uu language, followed by Afrikaans and English translations, the two languages spoken by many of the descendants of the Khoe-San people.

Gebed[179]: I AINKI

I Ainki he n||aa !aqa
Onse Vader wat in die hemel is,
Our Father, who art in heaven,

n|a ki ka|î !’anu!’anu.
laat u naam geheilig word.
hallowed be thy name.

N|a a koninkryk see,
Laat u koningkryk kom,
Thy kingdom come,

n|a a kx’uuki ng kx’u,
laat u wil geskied,
thy will be done,

n|a ng !aqa n|a ng !’âu,
soos in die hemel net so ook op die aarde
on earth as it is in heaven

Âa sa presi ng||’û’a,
Gee ons vandag ons daaglikse brood,
Give us this day our daily bread,

!’anu!’anu si ng si kx’uuki,

[178] The reader is also used as promotional material and various cultural events and sells for R500.
[179] Meaning ‘prayer’.

en vergeef ons ons skulde,
and forgive us our trespasses,

n|a si g|oe !'anu!'anu ≠an ng koke n||ng |x'uriki,
net soos ons ook ons skuldenaars vergewe,
as we forgive those who trespass against us,

g≠u ou ||aasi ng |x'uriki,
en lei ons nie in versoeking nie,
and lead us not into temptation

huia si ng |x'uriki
maar verlos ons van die bose
but deliver us from evil

Want koningkryk ke n||aa a,
Want aan U behoort die koningkryk,
For thine is the kingdom,

nIa !aqaiki n|a tyhaa'iki
en die krag en die heerlikheid,
and the power, and the glory,

n|a ki ||ôasi.
tot in ewigheid.
forever and ever.

Amen.
Amen.
Amen.

In the above two prayers in Khoekhoegowab and in the N/uu language and in the translations, the word 'Amen' has the same grammatical structure across all three languages.

The people who self-identify as Khoe-San are earnestly engaging in peer-to-peer teaching initiatives of the Nama language. In this peer-to-peer learning, self-identifying Khoe-San

people are using technology as a tool of communication helping them to connect with one another (Villa, 2002). With the use of social media, mainly using the WhatsApp platform, self-identifying Khoe-San people are creating networks throughout the provinces, distributing voice notes on the pronunciation of words and explaining the meaning of these words to each other, although as noted before, there is the potential danger of wrong pronunciation. Through social media and the 'desire' to be part of a movement, people have created and opened up avenues of communication engaging one another. In many instances they have not met each other in person, but they share a common purpose, they speak the same language of identity politics. The result of this communication can be noted as a form of informal adult education ranging from identity politics to issues of everyday social encounters, most importantly keeping each other abreast, and conveying information concerning the Khoe-San movement. It is an example of how people are trying to teach themselves the Khoekhoegowab (Nama) language and N/uu language, but there seem to be a preference for the former rather than the latter among the learners of the language. I add the English translation for ease of reading in these under mentioned tables.

Basic greetings in Khoekhoegowab:[180]

Khoekhoegowab	Afrikaans	English
!Gâi tsēs	Hallo	Good day
!Gâi ǁgoas	Goeie môre	Good morning
!Gâi tsē!gâǁaeb	Goeie middag	Good afternoon
!Gâi !oes	Goeie naand	Good evening
Matisa	Hoe gaan dit?	How are you?
!Gâi a, sado mî re	Dit gaan goed dankie, en self	I am fine thank you, and you

Basic greetings in the N/uu language[181]

N/uu	Afrikaans	English
!Honkia	Hallo	Hello

[180] Basic greeting in Khoekhoegowab from field notes and WhatsApp chat groups. Khoe-San members engaging in self-taught adult education.
[181] The N/uu language from my field notes

!Honkia huniki g/a ke !aba Na !aba g/a ka/i gega? ng ka/i ke ng Sharon	Hallo almal Hoe gaan dit? Dit gaan goed Wat is jou naam? My naam is Sharon	Hello everybody/all How are you? I am well What is your name? My name is Sharon

Reflecting on the previous regimes and the contestation of language struggles across the country it is important to highlight some of the clashes that existed between the English and Afrikaans speaking public. In the latter half of the twentieth century, when the National party came to power, the Afrikaans language was legalised and institutionalised. In the case of the English language, it became a benchmark for 'global' communicative processes crossing borders of time and space. The Afrikaans language has its roots in the Germanic language tradition and the Nationalist government made into a robust language with its own set of spelling rules and grammatical composition. As the Afrikaner Nationalist successfully developed the Afrikaans language, they also attempted to dislodge the Afrikaans language from its European origins (Jansen, 2017; Phakeng, 2017). In this process of 'engineering a language' the contribution of the Khoe-San languages was made invisible, not merely in the engineering of the Afrikaans language but also in terms of the 'gift'[182] the Khoe-San languages gave to the Nguni languages.

Growing pains and 'Baby Mamma Drama'

This heading is a metaphor that refers to the stages a child goes through before he/she has cognitive capacities of their actions and constantly requiring the supervision of a parent to give

[182] At one of the various meetings, enquiries and commissions held by the South African Human Rights Commission, the Director of PanSALB referred to the clicks of the Nguni languages as a gift received from the Khoe-San languages. However, this 'gift' of language is not well received in many circles of society especially when people make fun of the way people speak. Personally, through this research journey, I have met many people who would make a funny sound when they want to refer to the languages of the Khoe-San, especially the San language. If pointed out that the click in their language derives from the Khoe-San languages, they are surprised. At a seminar, in the Politics Department at Rhodes University when I presented the chapter on language, one student questioned the 'gift' in her mother tongue language in disbelief because she had never heard of this 'visible and hidden' notion of the 'interconnectedness' of languages but also subtly referred to the phenomenon of classifications and what it means to say you are Black. I will return to this point in chapter six to elaborate on labelling and classification.

them guidance. The Khoe-San language is in its infancy stages and needs the attention of the parents; however, the parents are not completely ready to give the child the necessary attention and there is always some form of dramatic act performed when it comes to the needs of the child. The responsibility is being tossed back and forth between the caregivers leaving the child feeling confused and like an orphan for being rejected by the circumstances. This is the dramatic whirlwind in which the Khoe-San languages find itself in the new South Africa. The colonisers denied its existence and made the tongue of the forefathers of the Khoe-San invisible, they neglected it and did not take note of it. In the current situation, in the democratic South Africa, this child is still not accepted, and finds itself in the middle of discussions moving back and forth with no clear direction as to where this drama will all end up.

In southern Africa, in what is geographically speaking now the Western Cape, the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck is one such instance that can be seen as a point of contact where languages and cultural exchanges were formed. The Dutch settlers began trading negotiations with the local Khoekhoe people, creating a system of bartering that was done underhandedly to the advantage of the settlers (Jansen, 2017). As the colony grew, so more slaves (people from Malay, Indonesia, Bengal, Madagascar, Portugal) were imported, and the Cape became a 'melting pot' of languages and cultures (Jansen, 2017:337). Within this variety of tongues and cultural exchanges, the Dutch made it clear that their language was the "official language and that those who spoke it well [are] the masters" in this way placing themselves in a superior position (Jansen, 2017:337). The local Khoekhoe people learned to speak the language of the invading settlers and interpreters like Krotoa-Eve, Austhomao and Doman began to emerge as important negotiating figures (Schoeman, 2009; Jansen, 2017). The Dutch language evolved from high Dutch to Afrikaans through various processes in the historiography of South Africa; perfected by some, adopted by others, and used as forced assimilation into a language by the Apartheid government in the latter half of the twentieth century, which has caused controversy in contemporary South Africa. In this space, debates are arising in different sectors of the community concerning language transformation and the recognition of other spoken and written languages (Opperman Lewis, 2016).

Conclusion

The above chapter illustrates how the politics of recognition unfolded in the Northern Cape through the narration of the inauguration that was streamed as a live event. The offices of the ex-President Jacob Zuma phoned the ex-Premier of the province to bring the people under

control. The main concern was the utterances made by various speakers and activists from other provinces who highlighted their struggles with the current government since the early 1990s when the late President Mandela 'tried' to entertain the Khoe-San claims (De Wet, 2006). Another concern for the ANC as noted by Kuper (2003) relates to how the ANC treats its indigenous people although they are not formally recognized as such on any official documentation. The chapter is indicative of how people in their everyday lives go about 'recognizing' themselves as Chiefs, ǂxuus, headmen and headwomen, princes, princesses or just descendants of the Khoe-San, which is a form of respect that they afford to each other in the everyday language they are using with each other. However, although people give 'recognition' to themselves as a 'people' in the spaces they occupy, their bodies are still read as Coloured people, while a significant number of individuals who self-identify as descendants of the Khoe-San strongly denounce the use of the term 'Coloured'. As I argue in this thesis, the onus is on the government to come to a decision regarding how they wish to deal with the resurgence of the Khoe-San identity and their claims to a sizable portion of the South African land surface. The question that remains to be answered, borrowing from Kuper (2003), is whether the current government will embrace the challenge of dealing with this request and against what type of trade-off or negotiation the government would be willing to *tafel sit* (come to the table to talk) as heard in many workshops and conversations.

The importance of this inauguration and the subsequent one-year celebration is indicative of the fact that people now bestow respect and acknowledgement upon themselves, although they are not officially recognized as indigenous people. The narratives they tell themselves are important to them and the meaning they attach to these narratives and how they approach their everyday challenges, making themselves visible in various spaces where their 'voices' had been dormant and swallowed up by various ideologies and beliefs in relation to their place in society, are now coming to the fore.

It can be construed that previous governments in South Africa refused to 'acknowledge' these people and that they chose to impose the Coloured identity on the people in this group, thereby obliterating their presence and that of their descendants precisely to evade dealing with the current issues as they are now raised.

There are many efforts made by Khoe-San groups that relate to the revival of language. Language, like cultural practices, is linked to how individual and group identities are constructed. I focused on two languages in this chapter, namely the N/uu and Nama languages

in South Africa. In this chapter I highlighted the efforts made by various indigenous activists concerning the revitalisation of indigenous languages. As noted in the chapter, the problem is not whether children learn the English language from a young age – as the authors point out, they learn to speak English 'anyway' – but whether the opportunity is lost to children on how to speak in their mother tongue, that opportunity for laying the basis of a language. The Hawaiian case study is a blueprint of what is possible if the people work together with government institutions and when there is a 'political will' to see the project succeed, realising that people need assistance in their endeavours with projects of such huge magnitude. In this chapter I engaged in the revitalisation process of the N/uu and Nama language. In my final analysis of the N/uu and Khoekhoegowab (Namagowab) languages, the question is: Who is responsible for the baby, to feed it, bath it and take care of it? Is it Department of Basic Education (DBE) or PanSALB or the speakers of the language themselves? While I mentioned earlier that the Hawaiian case was successful in reviving its language, where a philosophy of language revivalism was adopted, without assistance of any kind from governments or without recognizing a language the efforts of people can only go so far. In relation to DBE, it provides education for the child's holistic development and PanSALB creates projects in short bursts. Where should Khoe-San people go to seek help in reviving their language and boost the efforts made in their communities?

Part III:

Toa Tama !Khams ge – The Struggle Continues

Introduction

In chapter six I outline how Khoe-San groups are contesting the Coloured identity. In chapter five I showed how an indigenous identity is constructed but I also pointed out various struggles waged against the classification of the Coloured identity. It is vital to note that one cannot speak of an indigenous identity without honing into the way that the identity politics of the Coloured people have been constructed in South Africa.

In chapter seven, I narrate the story of the invention of tradition as espoused by Ranger (2003[1983]) through the vignette of *brei-ing*[183] animal skin. The Khoe-San identity and Khoe-Sanness is mapped onto the animal skin through making of clothing, headpieces, and other types of paraphernalia to illustrate Khoe-Sanness. The Khoe-San groups do not own hunting grounds and land, as seen in chapter seven, where Ma Gooi receives her animal skin from a farmer in Botswana. The chapter highlights the use of skin as a cultural artefact that many Khoe-San people use as a symbol of expressing their Khoe-Sanness post-1994 to make themselves visible to the government authorities.

Chapter eight is the final ethnographic chapter that discusses the land question and the importance of land for the indigenous people locally and globally. In this chapter I give a broad overview of the land question in South Africa. I look at the contentious Section 25 (7) clause of the constitution of South Africa, that was negotiated without the true owners of the land, the Khoe-San people. I then turn my focus to discussing the other forms of utilising and memorialising the land through discussing the burial of two Khoe-San chiefs.

[183] To soften salted animal skin to make the traditional garb worn by many Chiefs and self-identifying Khoe-San members.

Chapter SIX

A March for Freedom: A call for Recognition – Contesting a precarious identity

Contesting the Coloured identity: We are Khoe-San not Coloured

The members who self-identify as Khoe-San are contesting the Coloured identity. They clearly state that they are not Coloured. The post-1994 moment is not the first instance where those classified as Coloured people have made their voices heard, speaking about their lived experiences. The debate on identity politics of those classified as Coloured people are binary and paradoxical. Within the 4.6 million Coloured people, which makes up 8.9%[184] of the South African population, a growing number of people in the Coloured grouping are claiming an indigenous identity. The claims of an indigenous identity are happening against the backdrop of the various governments – both prior to democracy and in the current dispensation – never taking the initiative to document how many indigenous people live in the country. Hence the census forms provide no clear records of how many indigenous people have lived or are living in South Africa.[185] The South African government could have a nationwide census to determine how many people self-identify as Khoe-San in order to have a basis for language and cultural needs of the people to be included in national policy decisions. In the Constitution of 1996, the Khoe, San and Nama languages are mentioned as an afterthought, and within the current political fray the speakers of these languages invisible.

It is against this invisibility that self-identifying Khoe-San people loudly denounce the Coloured identity. It is not the first time that Coloured people speak out against their lived experiences. The process of labelling and categorising as it occurred in South Africa in the 19th

---

[184] South African Statistics 2011 http://www.statssa.gov.za Downloaded 06/05/2018

[185] In chapter three I note that I was invited to a high-level meeting with the Department of Arts and Culture in the Northern Cape. At this meeting, the issue of statistics for the Khoe-San people was discussed. The manager arranged that I receive a copy of the statistics they had on record as of 2016. See appendix (Stats). The surprising factor of these statistics shows that in Platfontein, the Kung and Khwe, the San/Bushmen people staying in are made 'invisible', by othering them in the statistics of the town. The critical questions to ask when it comes to government census, and formal documentation, is who is othered, why, and how?

and 20th centuries, has always affected the lives of this group of people as noted by Wallerstein (1991[1988]) who refers to a debate that happened in 1984. The debate erupted on whether it was acceptable to call Coloured people 'so-called' Coloured people, whether one should write the term with a lowercase 'c' or capital 'C', or place the word in inverted commas when various responses came through in the *Sechaba* newspaper, an ANC mouthpiece. One of the respondents, Alex La Guma said the following:

> … it is not being called Coloured that has been 'a scourge for years', but the way our people have been and are being treated, whatever they are called. (Wallerstein, 1991[1988]:76)

La Gumas's statement can be read along several important points as it relates to the Coloured identity in South Africa, but for the purpose of this chapter I will address two themes namely invisibility and marginalisation, through the vignette of analysing a documentary shown at the United Nation in 2017.

In 2016, I came across a WhatsApp message from one of the groups that I had joined to keep abreast of the discussions and conversations self-identifying Khoe-San members had with each other daily. These WhatsApp groups, as noted in chapter three, formed part of the techniques used in the data collection process. At the time I read about a planned trip to Geneva in Switzerland where a documentary would be shown at the United Nations. Jerome Lottering, the leader of the Camissa Movement for Equality based in Eldorado Park, posted the message. He was campaigning for funds to help him to go to Geneva with a team of Human Rights Lawyers to show a documentary film to an international audience at the United Nations on the struggles of marginalised groups.[186] The documentary was called *Word of Honour – Reclaiming Mandela's Promise*. A short trailer of the documentary was uploaded on the YouTube channel. I contacted the Director of the documentary, Kiersten Chace, and explained to her that the trailer I watched on YouTube resonates with my study and that I would like to see the rest of the documentary. The Director informed me that the documentary was destined

[186] The year 2017 was the tenth anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People. The South African government is a signatory to this Declaration and representatives from the South African government also went to the United Nations in the same year. Two conflicting messages came from South Africa: on the one hand activists taking the plight of the Coloured people to an international audience and on the flip side the government representatives reporting on the state of affairs of in the country in relation to the indigenous issues of the Khoe-San.

to be released at a film festival later that year. She granted me permission to watch the full documentary by giving me a password to use on Vimeo where the documentary was uploaded. I verbally agreed to confidentiality until the documentary was officially released at the film festival and opened to the public. Although the Director gave me permission to use this documentary in my work, I contacted some the individuals casted in this documentary whose statements I wished to use in my work to highlight the disconnection that exists in South African society on issues of identity politics, classification and marginalisation. These included Khadijah Heeger, a poet, actress, facilitator, cultural activist and writer who hails from the Cape Flats, Rushay Booysen, a photojournalist and producer from the Eastern Cape, and Judge Chris Greenland, a retired High Court Judge, author and TV personality living in Johannesburg[187].

In the words of Khadijah Heeger, reciting her poem titled *Citizen Minus,* a central theme of a quest to be treated equitably and equally is underscored:

> Suffering has a black skin
>
> How am I to be, now that I am made of glass
>
> And my words have no sound, except for those uttered in the past
>
> Sometimes I am black
>
> When politics parodies the truth and quantity is king
>
> Sometimes I am black
>
> Sometimes only in the vaguest sense
>
> Do I have a history, a memory, a cultural reality
>
> Easier to keep me in the dark
>
> Easier to talk about the Indian Ocean slave trade
>
> As if it were one of the stepsisters
>
> Easier to say that I almost suffered

[187] I use the names of the individuals cast in this documentary as it appears in the documentary in the subtitles.

I am almost one thing

Not quite another

Somewhere between here and there

Between 1994 and the present

I was lost on the periphery of a South African story

Because if memory services the historical themes

It seems my people were never participants in the resistance

Never marched

Never fought

Never died

Heeger's poem addresses issue of labelling and classification endured by the Coloured people in South Africa. In chapter eight, I look at a judgement that the constitutional court overruled as it related to applying categories to people and the notion that some people did not suffer 'spatial Apartheid'. I will revert to this point in chapter eight in relation to land claims, but it is important in this chapter to note, as expressed by the poet, how dichotomised notions of suffering invisibilises and suppresses the suffering of others who do not form part of the majority but who played a role in the struggle against Apartheid.

The following quote from the work of Erasmus (2017) illustrates how Coloured people walk a 'tight rope' in the words of Muzondidya (2009) in relation to identity politics in South Africa and Zimbabwe.[188] In chapter one of her book, *Race Otherwise – Forging a New Humanism for South Africa*, Erasmus posits that:

> My Blackness is supposedly visible only because I do not 'look white'. But, in some parts of West Africa I am called white. My blackness is ambiguous because I am not black or black African. These descriptions are increasingly used to distinguish between formerly colonised South Africans with different historical

[188] In Zimbabwe, Coloured people form part of very small minority of the population living in that country.

> relationships to this region and its colonial past. I am (more often than not) not considered African in South Africa. I am still called 'Coloured'. In the Western and Eastern Cape provinces 'what I am', racially speaking, is seldom questioned. In Limpopo, Gauteng and Mpumalanga … I am asked which tribe and which country I am from … African-Americans are surprised to find that I was born and live[s] 'in Africa'. People from different parts of the world ask 'what mix' [she is]. Which would you prefer? Salt and vinegar or cinnamon and sugar? Neither one of my parents was black Black. Neither one of them was white White. I am not half-and-half. (2017: 1–2)

In the above quote Erasmus (2017) reveals the complexity of reading race (phenotype) of individuals in South Africa. The South African Black people who were relegated to the Bantustans were subjugated to live and experience different geographical and cultural realities, where tribal or ethnic and racial classification was at the heart of these divisions. Hence the use of the term 'spatial Apartheid' by the LCC, basing their arguments on separate lived experiences, hence the use of the term 'spatial Apartheid' by the LCC who based their arguments on separate lived experiences, but who would ironically not grant a land claim by the Nama people who are legally classified as Coloured people. The Apartheid state propagated and restricted people's movement through the Group Areas Act which compounded the act of separateness that created divisions in society, an aspect that has not been dealt with by the new democratic state.

There have always been questions around the Coloured identity. Adhikari (2005:44) quotes his research participant, named Ziervogel, who questioned the Coloured identity in terms of the place of Coloured people in South Africa while simultaneously raising important point around the concept of being native:

> On which side of the dividing line is he (the Coloured man) to be placed? He notes that Coloureds have practically nothing in common with the Bantu. While the native is one who is at home in the countryside, has a language of his own, a culture of his own, and lives in many cases under tribal law, the Coloured people came into being and live the whole of their lives [amid] European civilization and culture.

The issue that the Ziervogel raises is indicative of the struggle of Coloured people to find their space, a phenomenon Adhikari (2006) notes as not being either White or Black enough to fit into either category for either of the governmental institutions.[189]

In 2011, a heated debate broke out between two influential officials over the racial classification system that had carried over from the structural thinking during Apartheid showing how some officials read race of different individuals. At the time of this encounter over racialised thinking, Trevor Manual held the position of Minister in the Presidency, while Jimmy Manyi was a government spokesperson and former chairperson of the Commission for Employment Equity in the Department of Labour (Mail and Guardian 2011, cited in Erasmus, 2017).

To illustrate how different actors came to the ideology of Black Consciousness (BC),[190] I quote instances that illuminate these varied understandings of this movement. In this same article cited by Erasmus (2017), Trevor Manuel writes about 'discovering and finding' a way into the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) noting the following:

> … those of us who found our way into the struggle through the Black Consciousness Movement have always understood the origin of the Black Management Forum, as we have understood and supported the ANC documents that speak of 'blacks in general, and Africans, in particular'. (Mail and Guardian, 2011)

According to Trevor Manuel, associating with the BCM was clearly not a given when he says, '[we] found our way into the struggle'. Erasmus (2017) and Salo (2010) both allude to this notion of finding one's way into the struggle of BCM once one understood what the struggle was meant to do.

---

[189] Here I am referring to the Apartheid government when Coloured could not comfortably fit into the European system of Whiteness. In a few cases Coloured people did pass for White which created estranged relationships between families. In the post-Apartheid era, Coloured people are still walking a tight rope as Erasmus (2017) notes: "Neither one of [her] parents was *black*. Neither one of them was *white*? [She is] not half-and half-and-half" (Erasmus, 2017:1–2). To be a proper Black person means that you or your family members had some sort of connection to the Bantustans era during Apartheid.

[190] Black Consciousness (BC) as used here refer to the ideology and interpretation of what it meant to be Black, and Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) refers to the movement of activists across professions who mobilised, advocated and promoted the ideology of Black Consciousness.

> … [by] 1982, Donald Woods's book, because of its liberal outlook and along with many others [was] banned in South Africa. It was not on the meagre shelves of Korsten Library.[191] For a while after reading about Steve Biko, I saw myself as Black, in the Black Consciousness sense of the word. (Erasmus, 2017:14)

The author refers to the writings of Biko who described Black Consciousness as a way of living by freeing yourself from oppression, that you are not a non-White, and how achieving this state of mind leads you to advancing your own liberation. That the categories such as non-White do not exist because, if an individual accepts this category, they accept the fact that they are lesser human beings to the White people in whatever space they occupy.

Access into educational spaces and the environment one lives in, influences how you see the world around you where your class and social standing in many cases impacts on your worldview. Salo reflects on how she redefined herself, saying:

> I actively rejected the label 'coloured' as an apartheid construct, having been politicised during the era of Black Consciousness in the early 1980s and during my studies at a liberal, English-medium white university. I redefined myself as black, and continue to do so, as I still experience discomfort with the term 'coloured'. (Salo, 2010:97–98)

Salo explains that, while she redefined herself as Black, she also had to come to terms with the "relatively favourable position coloureds occupied in the black hierarchy of deprivation vis-à-vis people classified as African" (Salo, 2010:98). Along with Manuel and many others, she makes the point that they were not referred to as 'Africans' because 'Africans' in South Africa referred to the South African Black people, not to other groups.

In the case of the self-identifying Khoe-San activists (for example Chief Bennett), they experience a form of discomfort with the term Coloured, and they feel that, in a way, Coloured people have been "struck twice by lightning" (Personal communication, 2014). Chief Bennett's metaphor, "struck twice by lightning", refers to the fact that "first we were not white enough now we are not black enough", as noted by Adhikari (2006:472). The adage of describing one's living conditions in relation to this binary of Black and White reverberates in many

[191] A small community in Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape.

communities legally classified as Coloured people (Adhikari, 2006; Erasmus, 2001; Richards, 2017).

In my journey through tertiary education, I encountered the readings of Steven Bantu Biko in 2009, in a third-year sociology class. This enlightened me about my struggle about positioning myself in the world where categories are used to define a person. It also left me with many unresolved questions of what it means to be human. Since my first days at university in 2007, I was told by people that I was different from other Coloured people, pointing to my hair that I wore in dreadlocks, at one point referred to by my friends as Nic-Nack hair, that is dirty, it does not look good. That I should straighten it (meaning I should use the latest version of the 'poke' on my hair now called a GHD styling comb. It does exactly what my mother made us sit through as young children, to let our hair look straight, comb out the kinky 'African' look from our hair.

In 1996, two years after I completed matric (now grade 12) I was advised by an old lady, the mother-in-law of Blondie Makhene, a famous South African musician, that this is the new South Africa and that I should find myself a 'black man' who can marry me so that my surname could change. The late aunt Rainy and my mother were incredibly good friends and we belonged to the same church. She was a tall woman with a beautiful voice – one of the many reasons I was always in her company. I did not understand what she meant and years later, in 2006, I became romantically involved with a South African Black man from the Sotho ethnic group. He was from a small town in the Free State, South Africa. He 'looked' Coloured (Erasmus, 2017). He was a teacher by profession and politically active in the ANC political structures. Whenever he and his friends got together, the topic would be political, and I would become the point of reference with my ignorance to the struggle and not identifying as a Black person.[192] In later years, I came to realise that Aunt Rainy had meant that, by marrying a Black man I would have a surname that sounded like a South African Black person's surname and that I might therefore have better opportunities in life. I would qualify for 'Black in particular'

[192] My Black man advised me to got me into the habit of listening to SAFM to school myself on South African issues by listening to other people. I started enjoying the national debates and talks on the radio station. I still do, but I am always left wanting more when leaders and activists address issues they do not clearly define especially when they reference African and Coloured people. Am I not an African? Travelling on the continent, as I had the privilege to do, I was surely referred to as an African from South Africa. But in the country itself I am identified and perceived as a Coloured person, not as an African!

opportunities. If I had married my Black man, I would have become an African! Rather, more questions arose as noted by Erasmus (2017) that, shortly after 1994,

> … some activists described South African politics as 'African chauvinist' – an exclusionary politics that was premised on a narrow and reified conception of what it meant to be African; a politics that narrowly designated who contributed to the anti-Apartheid struggle, who was eligible for the benefits of 'freedom', and who was eligible to participate in the making of a democratic South Africa. (2017:18)

What is meant by Black or Blackness in the contemporary context of the democratic South Africa? What are the underlying factors that are not discussed, that have not been dealt with in the new dispensation? In her poem, Heeger suggests that Blackness is a precarious category that engulfs a range of issues and complexities of identity formation which had received little attention in numerous social spaces, except for the categories use in relation creating a binary between Black and White people, making other forms of identification, like that of the Khoe-San people, invisible.

The BC ideology inadvertently links the struggle of South African Black people with the global thought and understanding of living a Black life in South Africa. In the United States of America (USA) Blackness as a racial identity as espoused by influential thinkers like Du Bois and Garvey on Pan-Africanism (Adi, 2018:25–40). According to Adi (2018) the ideology of Blackness encompassed several strengths, as well different strains and ideologies conceived by thinkers for a unified struggle of Black people against the colonial powers. For example, Du Bois was the founding father of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) set up in 1911, while Garvey established the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and African Communities League in 1914 (Adi, 2018). By 1919, after the re-establishment of UNIA in New York, with almost 2 million members and different branches across the country and on the African continent, UNIA became the biggest political movement of Africans and a threat to colonial powers (Adi, 2018). The organisation, UNIA, launched a newspaper called *Negro World* in 1918, and "preached an anti-colonial message, 'Africa for the Africans at home and abroad', challenged notions of White supremacy and extolled the greatness of Africans and of Africa's history" (Adi, 2018:30). *Negro World* was distributed throughout colonial Africa and the Caribbean, and the whole movement per se, often illegally. (Adi, 2018:30).

> [From] South Africa, ... Sol Plaatje ... spoke at UNIA meetings while he was visiting the United States and James Thaele, a leader of the African National Congress ... strongly supported UNIA when he began publishing the paper *African World* in 1925. (Adi, 2018:34)

The First World War, communication between Africans from different backgrounds and a rising consciousness of anti-African racism created conditions that scared the colonial government who feared of a "violent Pan-African upheaval" (Adi, 2018:35). The awareness of anti-African racism and the consciousness of the right to govern themselves or be consulted about how they were governed inspired different waves of African nationalisms and Pan-Africanism on the continent.

The radicalisation of Africans was so feared that a British army officer at the outset of the First World War noted "that the global conflict necessitated 'encouraging strong and isolated tribal nationalism' amongst Africans, so to combat what was referred to as a danger of 'violent Pan-African upheaval', brought about by the conditions of war" (Adi, 2018:35). As a result of the war and the communication between Africans from different national backgrounds, anti-African racism and a rising consciousness of rights of Africans to govern themselves began to emerge (Adi, 2018).

While the African continent was working towards African unity, independence from their colonisers, and self-determination from either Britain, France or Europe, South Africa was still in the grip of British colonialism (Oomen, 2005), followed by Apartheid rule with stringent laws like the Population Registration Act No 30 of 1950, that legitimised and classified the Coloured people as not White, not Black and not Asian (Van der Ross, 2015; Erasmus, 2017; Richards, 2017). The consequence of this legalised classificatory system resulted in notions of 'invisibility' and 'denialism' of the existence of Khoe-San people and their descendants, annihilating and obscuring them from the socio-economic and political sphere concealing their African identity (Boezak, 2016; Richards, 2017).

In the contemporary democratic dispensation, segments of Coloured population have disembedded themselves from this category and asserted their identity claims as descendants of the Khoe-San people by self-identifying as indigenous peoples as recognized in the statutes of the United Nations. The rebirth and reclamation of Khoe-San demands are linked to a 'particular and new kind of indigeneity' and identity politics in South Africa which are not

resonating with the ideology of BCM but espouses specific claims linked to the global movement on the rights of indigenous peoples.

While contemporary debates around blackness and black identity pit Black against White, this socio-political situation ignores the complexity of contemporary identity formation in 'pre- and post-Apartheid' South Africa. For example, the late President Nelson Mandela, as reported in an article by Emeritus Professor Tim Crowe from the University of Cape Town, had Kho[e]-San ancestry.[193] Known as South Africa's first *black* president, Madiba's mixed ancestry was ignored, and his ethnicity lauded. A further example that can be drawn on to examine the complexity of classification and self-identification is found in the 'mixedness' of the famous stand-up comedian Trevor Noah. Born of a mother classified as Xhosa, and thus a South African Black woman; she had a brief liaison with Trevor's father, a White man of Swiss origin. Both Trevor Noah and the late President have mixed ancestry, but they fall outside of the classification of 'mixed race', or Coloured people as espoused by the Population Registration Act of 1950. What sets them apart from other forms of 'mixedness' and 'mixed' people is the primary language that they have in common. They both speak isiXhosa, a marker of difference and simultaneously a marker of identity as it pertains to their upbringing in the Xhosa culture.[194] The late President was acutely aware of the importance of language as South African Black people were forced to learn the Afrikaans language and he said, "If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in *his* language, that goes to his heart."[195] The significance of this quote is captured in chapter five where I unpacked the activities and importance of language revivalism for the Khoe-San people who were robbed of the opportunity to converse in their mother tongue language.

---

[193] The article first appeared in the Conversation and reprinted in the Mail and Guardian newspaper. https://theconversation.com/how-the-origin-of-the-khoisan-tells-us-that-race-has-no-place-in-human-ancestry-53594

[194] There are people able to speak more than five of the eleven official languages of the country but that does not necessarily imply that they are part of the culture of the people. For example, the late Johnny Clegg made music in the isiZulu language and was revered for his ability to transcend the cultural enclaves but that does not necessarily mean he was part of the Zulu ethnic group. How one uses the word 'culture' might imply that the idea of a culture creates a static perception thereof, even when that is not the intent. There are a variety of cultures and what applies to one person in an ethnic group is not necessarily the same for another person in the same ethnic group.

[195] I have placed the emphasis on *his* because as a central point and bone of contention with reference to the role that language plays in society as a marker of difference and cultural similarity. http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/learningenglish/movingwords/shortlist/mandela.shtml

In the case of Trevor Noah, firstly, if the crude classification category of the Population Registration Act No 30 of 1950 is applied to his person, then according to this Act he is Coloured. The Act noted that a Coloured person is neither White nor Black nor Asian. However, Noah and his parents self-identified him with his maternal lineage and the language the family speaks, therefore he was 'disembedded' from this legal categorisation by his family. Noah's family identified him as belonging to the amaXhosa ethnic group, where ethnicity is linked to the cultural category "[where it is] said [that] certain continuing behaviours … are passed on from generation to generation and that are not normally linked in theory to state boundaries" (Wallerstein, 1991[1988]:77; Barth, 1969). Similarly, individuals who are born of parents from different ethnic groups might acknowledge their 'mixedness', but the implications are not the same for that person as opposed to a person classified as Coloured when one considers the Population Registration Act that is still in use by the democratic state[196]. For example, a person whose mother is from the amaZulu ethnic group, and the father is from the amaXhosa ethnic group, might acknowledge their 'mixed origins' but according to the ideology of Blackness this individual is perceived as a 'Black' person, not as 'mixed'.

In relation to the socio-economic construct of 'Whiteness', which is hybridised, the narrative is that of a "homogenising essentialist discourse" that erases the complexity of the hybridisation of White identities and the root of power representations (West, cited in Grunebaum and Robins, 2001:169–170; Garner, 2007). Immigrants who arrived in North America who thought of themselves as 'Irish', 'Sicilian', 'Lithuanian' and 'Jewish' according to their nationalities all learned what it meant to be 'White' by adopting an American discourse that attributed positive values to Whiteness and negative values to Blackness (Grunebaum and Robins, 2001:169). Through adopting a "homogenising essentialist discourse" and erasing the complex hybridity of White identities be they in North America, Europe or South Africa leaves much

[196] The census forms are supposed to be used merely for statistical purposes, however, race classifications as noted by the Population Registration Act has a huge impact on how decisions are made in relation to employment. In a recent Constitutional Court in 2016, the case involving the promotion of nine wardens in the Department of Correctional Services, in the Western Cape, were denied promotion, for a number of reasons including the issue relating to the demographic of the Coloured population in the Western Cape where there is a high concentration of Coloured people. The Labour Court and the Labour Appeals Court both ruled against the claimants and they sought relief in the Constitutional Court who found that the judgements in both courts used unfair discrimination against the Coloured employees.
https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/prisons-dept-decision-not-to-promote-coloured-staff-unfair-discrimination-concourt-20160715

ground for research (Grunebaum and Robins, 2001:169). This is particularly the case in South Africa where the descendants of the Dutch and British people excluded other groups like the Khoe-San people (who became known as Coloured people) and the South African Black people from political and economic advancement. Thus, describing identities always have an element of essentialism that springs up when attempting to unpack the intricacy of identity politics and the ideology of mixedness that occurs amongst humanity in different people across the globe. As noted by Jean-Loup Amselle (2001) in his argument against theorists who see hybridity and creolisation as products of globalisation, cultures are always mixed and he proposes that "all societies are mixed and thus that mixing is the product of entities which are already mixed, thus sending the idea of an original purity to oblivion" (Amselle, 2001, cited in Eriksen, 2014[2007]:118).

The discussion on identity politics has become a one track discussion as noted by the late Khoe-San activist and social commentator, Dr Martin, in relation to the socio-economic and political landscape of South Africa post-1994 in terms of the Black and White conundrum of identity politics (Khoe-San Unity Roundtable, 2016).[197]

There are varied understandings of what it means to be Coloured in the context of South Africa and in the different provinces among the Coloured population themselves. While some Coloured people in the 1980s associated themselves with the ideology of being Black where Blackness was a state of mind and not about phenotype and pigmentation, many Coloured people found themselves wanting post-1994. Although Coloured people contributed to the struggle against Apartheid, as noted by Heeger, identifying as a Black person post-1994 has been complexified by dichotomising Blackness to equate African, where African is further dualized into different forms of Africans with 'Blacks in general' and 'African in particular' referring to different people and different lived experiences (Erasmus, 2017). Wallerstein (1991[1988]) said the following on how the term African was first conceived of while the struggle was waged against the Apartheid state:

> Somewhere in the 1960s or perhaps 1970s – it is not clear when – the ANC slipped into using the term 'African' for all those who were not 'Europeans' and

[197] In 2016, Khoe-San members and activists from Johannesburg, Durban and Western Cape came together, over two days, to engage with each other over issues that plagued the Khoe-San people and to plan a way forward. Various matters were raised and discussed, to find solutions to the problems the Khoe-San are facing as a community in light of identity politics.

> thus included under the one label what the government called Bantus, Coloureds and Indians. Some others – it is not clear who – made a similar decision but designated this group as 'non-Whites' as opposed to 'Whites'… the consequence was to reduce a fourfold classification to a dichotomy. (1991[1988]:72)

The dichotomy described here is the notion of Black and White[198] people living in the country. The citizenry of South Africa is not described in relation to South Africans and non-South Africans but in relation to the dichotomy. This dichotomy is also reflective in the ideology of Black Consciousness where the former are the oppressed people and the latter the oppressors. Turok found that this dichotomy is further broken down as, inside the ANC in the 1950s, some members made efforts to accommodate non-Africans like himself. However:

> After 1994, as Africans were promoted into all the organs of state, non-Africans began to be side-lined, partly in the effort to make all [the] public institutions reflect the demographic profile of the country. Although the movement continued to use the phrase 'blacks in general, and Africans in particular' to refer to the subject of its historical mission of liberation, and as essential ingredient of its official policy of redress, the various forms of 'black empowerment' that were enacted after 1994 came to refer to Africans and not to [C]oloured or Indian people. In the struggle years, the ANC had always diligently included names like Yusuf Dadoo and Alex La Guma to demonstrate the non-racial perspective of the movement. This practice has fallen away. From 2007, the top six leadership posts of the ANC were allocated to Africans, and this kind of representation has spread to the lower organs of the movement. It certainly has had the effect of alienating public support from among the Indian, [C]oloured and [W]hite communities. (Turok, 2014:138-139)

Within this context of an already established notion of who is who and how people will be treated in the South African society, the concept of indigeneity mentioned in chapter four flies into the context to 'unsettle' these categories and forces the current structures to reengage a people who does not neatly fit into the 'cooky cutter' phenomenon, the four-tier racial classification system, as previously believed. This is particularly true for the post-1994 period where the South African Black identity is stratified, and the narrative of the South African

[198] The categorisation and solidification of a racial group referenced as White has not sufficiently been unpacked in the context of South Africa. Even this racial concept, bandied about as a form of 'pure race' is marred with racial mixture (McKaiser, 2017).

Black people framed as having suffered more under the Apartheid system. Coloured people in South Africa struggle to fit neatly into the categories. An activist in the United Democratic Front (UDF) in an interview stated "the price that had to be paid to become part of mainstream resistance [was that] there was no place for 'Coloureds' as such, but only for 'Blacks'. In order to be accepted as 'Black', Coloured identity had to be forsworn" (Des Vries quoted in Van Kessel, 1994, cited in Erasmus, 2001:19).

As mentioned before, the year 2017 was the tenth anniversary of UNDRIP. To mark this occasion in South Africa, a group of Khoe-San activists from the Eastern Cape walked from Port Elizabeth (now known as Gqeberha) to the Bhisho Legislature to hand over a memorandum. The memorandum was one of many such memoranda that were handed over to officials in the years prior to 2017. For example, in Johannesburg, a group of Khoe-San activists embarked on similar processes in 2015 to hand over memoranda to make their grievances known, choosing three key institutions. These institutions included the South African Human Rights Commission, the Commission for Gender Equality and the Constitutional Court.

Crawford Frazer was part of the group that walked to Bhisho in 2017. Frazer sheds light on why the group walked to Bhisho and why they called their walk a 'The Long Walk for Freedom'. Frazer said the following in his address to the officials of the legislature, the police that was summoned to the legislature, the media people from the South African Broadcasting Services (SABC) and some members from the community who came to join the walk:

> I want the media to understand that this fight is not against Black … where some people have the tendency of referring to Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Venda as Black [people]. This fight is not against White people. This fight is [for] our true identity that was stripped from us many years ago starting from even before 1652. This has nothing to do with other nations. This has nothing to do with other people's groups. This has everything to do with us.[199]
>
> I am not a Coloured.[200] (March, 2017)

[199] The 'us' Frazer is referring to, are the self-identifying Khoe-San groups who are raising issues of labelling and classification in the South African landscape.
[200] The group members wore white T-shirts with black print that read – I am not a Coloured.

Frazer continued his speech to the officials of the legislature:

> Let me start by saying, we as brothers and sisters from the Khoe family, we are pursuing this endeavor which we call The Long Walk for Freedom … We embark on this journey for a true identification, to liberate ourselves from an identification we did not even apply for. The Europeans came here, and gave us a name which we did not even ask for, now we must walk to come and take off the name, and tell the Europeans … the Europeans that gave me [this] name, I am [going to] leave [this] name here so that … the media must take it like that 'I Crawford Frazer' [I'm] going to leave my Coloured identity right here in front of Provincial Legislature and the Europeans that came here and gave my forefathers that name must come and fetch it here, and all the luggage that goes with it. (March, 2017)

The "luggage that goes with it" is a metaphor to refer to all the issues faced by Khoe-San people in relation to how they identify as the Khoe-San people, however still being under the yoke of Coloured identity, an identity they "did not even apply for" as noted by Frazer. The classification of the Coloured identity was repealed in 1991 (Marè, 2014) and it was raised again by Frazer in 2017. Frazer recalls a conversation he had with a census enumerator on issues of classification and labelling. However, the racial categories defined in Population Registration Act of 1950 remained ingrained in South African culture and it still form the basis of official policies and statistics. According to Frazer,

> When they came to me to do census, they said to me … even the person who was doing the census … 'I said I am not a Coloured'. The person said, 'no you are a Coloured'. I said, 'I am not a Coloured'. They said, 'now who are you?' I said, 'I am a Khoe'. They said, 'there is no Khoe on the form'. So, if the Colouredness was removed from the policies and the statutes of South Africa, I would not [be] standing here, to represent myself and my people right here. We had to adopt a foreign identity with all its severe limitations that brought and subjected our people into generational poverty. (March 2017)

The generational poverty that Frazer refers to relates to land. Land is imbued with value, while it houses buildings and properties; land is linked to identity; land is linked to culture; and it is a sustainable form of wealth creation that can be passed down from generation to generation.

The recognition of one's identity, I argue, is two pronged: recognition occurs at the individual or group level where the "struggle for recognition is a conflict generated by disrespected or structurally excluded individuals, who want to be acknowledged as morally accountable, independent, self-respecting human beings" (Chari, 2004:112); and at the macro level of the state. Frazer sees the Coloured identity as a limiting identity which subjects the people so classified into generational poverty topped by their invisibility in spaces. The generational poverty referred to here relates to issues of being landless due to the dispossession of land by the colonisers on the Khoe people. I address the issue of landlessness of Khoe-San people in chapter eight.

It is important to be cognisant of the use of labelling and classification and its consequences. In many instances labelling and categorising are twofold: people can and do apply labels and categories to themselves with no qualms, but, once the state steps in to make such classifications legal, the consequences are dire for the individuals involved. For example, in South Africa, the 'k-word' had been declared derogatory, but in the early 1990s a popular Kwaito star, Arthur Mafokate used the k-word in a song called *Nee baas*[201] *don't call me a K*[202] which irked some South African Black people and other people to sing and dance happily to the lyrics of the song, oblivious of the politics the song invoked.

The use of labelling and categorising people into different forms of identity has had a long history and the social sciences have been investigating how labelling and categorisation affect people for a very long time. Labelling and categorising people has appeared in many guises like labelling and categorising people for aid; stigmatising a person; keeping people enslaved as economic fodder for a capitalist system; creating divisions of superiority and inferiority in society through the ambit of the law; and by subjecting people to various unequal structures to define and rule those who are classified for such purposes (Wood, 2007; Mamdani, 2012; Marè, 2014; Tafira, 2016).

Marè (2014) notes that the category Coloured has been repealed in 1991 and that those born after the promulgation of the new constitution of the Republic of South Africa in 1996 are 'supposedly free' and do not carry the burden of the contested form of labelling and

[201] The word *baas* is a reference to the White people in general, and a white man in particular who is perceived as the 'boss'. No distinction is made between the Afrikaners and the English as both were owners of land and the Black people workers on these lands.
[202] The chorus of the song says 'Nee baas don't call me a Kaffir'

identification. Repealing the category of Coloured identity while not removing it from all official forms is disingenuous of the current government under the auspices of the ANC. The most pressing question to ask is why the current government, under the auspices of the ANC, kept this form of identification. Even though people are free to identify according to how they wish to identify, as some Khoe-San are doing, in all legal statures of the country they are still classified as Coloured. People who self-identify as Khoe-San are opting out of the category of Coloured imposed on them, embracing a form of identification which is not recognized or legislated on any official documentation of the country, except as noted in chapter five, that the language of the /Xam people, a San/Bushman group, is the motto on the coat of arms of the country (De Wet, 2006).

The shackles[203] of a precarious category

On Freedom Day, in April 2015, a group of self-identifying Khoe-San members marched 3 km from the entrance of the Origins Centre at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits University) in Johannesburg to three Chapter nine institutions.[204] The group, like many other groups before them, walked to hand over a memorandum of grievances contesting the Coloured identity and issues of marginalisation. These institutions were the South African Human Rights Commission, the Commission for Gender Equality, and the South African Constitutional Court.

The organisers of the march were members of the National Khoisan Council supported by other groups like the Camissa Movement for Equality, with Jerome Lottering as their leader. Camissa Movement for Equality works on housing and education issues in Eldorado Park. The members of the National Khoisan Council arranged transport for members attending the march to be picked up from their homes and dropped off on Yale Street.[205] The drop-off point was strategic as the Origins Centre at Wits University exhibits Khoe-San artefacts like rock art and many other installations used by Khoe-San activists to strengthen their claims to indigeneity. In

[203] The song by Mary-Mary uses 'shackles' as a metaphor to describe the request made by self-identifying Khoe-San members to the South African government to have the Coloured identity removed to free to them to dance and not be bogged down by this classification. Frazer, a Khoe-San activist, says he is not a '"Coloured' noting that the term has a lot of 'luggage' and the 'Europeans who gave that name to his forefathers must [fetch] it [from the Provincial Legislature in Bhisho, in the Eastern Cape] because he is leaving it there in front of the offices of the legislature' (Walk to Bhisho, March 2017).
[204] These are institutions that deal with matters regarding the Constitutional Democracy.
[205] Yale street is the entrance closest to the Origins Centre housed at Wits University.

previous years, the Centre hosted several talks with self-identifying Khoe-San members and also offered them an office space where they could hold meetings and present talks as these groups do not own their own buildings, nor do they have office space of their own.

The transporters picked people up from Westbury, New Clare, and different extensions in Eldorado Park, all Coloured areas. I was picked up from my mother's home from my mother's home in Klipspruit West, a community adjacent to Eldorado Park. The drive to the Wits University was 35 minutes long. When we arrived at the gate of the university, people were sitting around; and metro police cars were parked close to the university entrance. At a small distance from the people, across the street, stood one Iveco bus with police officers. I made a quick head count of the people who were there, young and old, men and women, and counted approximately 80 people in total. I looked at the police vehicle and the metro police cars and could count over fifteen officers from the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the metro police[206] altogether. The marchers were carrying different posters bearing various messages typed in a variety of colours. Chief Taaibosch, a member of the National Khoe-San Council, owns a printing company and he sponsored the posters that were carried by the marchers. These messages had been preconceived and the marchers could display the messages that resonated with them. Some of these messages read as follows:

• "Bushman? I luv it! 'Coz I'm 1st Nation"

• "No housing for our people! Why? We are not free"

• "Give us back our First Nation Status!!!"

• "We demand a Khoe-San TRC!"

• "Implement the UN Report Rights of Indigenous People"

Before they began the march, the group formed a circle and one male member from the group went to stand in the middle of the circle and started talking about the struggle of Khoe-San that they had been enduring thus far. He reminded everybody why they are walking and noted that

[206] The metro police officers are normally deployed to direct traffic at certain points when the robots are out of order or there is a traffic pile up. This march took place on Freedom Day and the traffic flow that is normally remarkably busy in this area of the city was relatively quiet due to the public holiday.

it is a peaceful march and demonstration. Someone in the crowd started singing a well-known *koortjie* (church chorus) and everybody sang along. As people stood holding hands, a prayer

was said in English asking God for guidance. The act of praying and holding hands in this big circle took place under the watchful eyes of the metro police officers and the South African Police services. The prayer symbolised that the march is not meant to be violent and unorderly. The circle and the holding of hands also symbolised a desire for unity. People were taken aback by the amount of security officers assigned to escort the group on this day. The number of officers assigned to watch over the proceedings came prepared for any eventuality of violence as a perception of violence precedes the lives of Coloured people in the psyche of the public.

Photograph 15: The group of self-identifying Khoe-San activists gathered outside the Origin Centre at the University of Witwatersrand.

When the march started, the young children in the audience were given large plastic banners to carry. Two boys aged between 13 and 15 years old carried the large banner and walked in front of the crowd followed by the various Chiefs and the people. As an observer, not having ethical clearance to speak to the young children, I deduced that they were being conscientised to engage with issues of identity politics in the struggles of the Khoe-San movement. It was an intergenerational awareness drive, as these young people might become the future activists for the Khoe-San movement.

These groups do not have struggle songs like other political movements in the country and they sang church songs. At one point they kept on repeating "*ons is gatvol, ons is gatvol*" (we are fed up, we are fed up) in Afrikaans and in English. At this point, I was in the centre of the march running backwards to capture their facial expressions as they were singing and shouting. Two metro cars drove in front of the marchers. The third metro vehicle drove on the side of the

road ensuring people did not move onto the right side of the road, allowing other vehicles to travel and the Iveco bus with SAPS officers at the back of the marchers. As the march proceeded through the Braamfontein city centre in the Johannesburg Central Business District (CBD) some people cheered for the group, some looked confused, others stopped to ask questions, and the marchers explained why they were marching to those who wanted to know.

The Negotiations

The South African Human Rights Commission was the first stop of the three Chapter nine institutions where the marchers handed over their memorandum of grievances and demands. The memorandum spoke of their misidentification as Coloured people and the marginalisation experienced by this group of people that the marchers wanted the Human Rights Commission to investigate. Access to the premises was controlled by security guards stationed at the entrance gate.

Photograph 16: Security guards looking at the crowd and taking pictures after a twenty-minute discussion before they could call the official to see the people at the gate.

Photograph 17: Human Rights Official and Chief White continuing negotiations to inform the Commissioner of the memorandum.

Photograph 18: More talks with the official from the Commission.

Photograph 19: Chief White and San Mark Antonio looking to cheering crowd while the official is still behind the gate.

As it was an official public holiday, the organisers of the march told the security guards that they had prearranged for an official member of the Commission to accept their memorandum. The negotiations between the security guards (the gatekeepers) went on for more than twenty minutes before they phoned someone inside the Human Rights Office to come out and receive the memorandum. Eventually, after about twenty-five minutes, a man from the Commissioner's office made his appearance[207] amidst the crowd singing, dancing and shouting, "we are Khoesans…we are not Coloureds". The four Chiefs, Chief John Van Rooyen, Chief Glen Taaibosch, Chief San-Mark Antonio[208] and Chief Alwin White negotiated with this

[207] It was not clear whether the man who came out was the Human Rights Commissioner or an official working in the office of the Commissioner. His hesitation and the time it took for this official to come and speak to the people left much to be desired from the Chapter 9 Institution that deals with human rights.

[208] San-Mark Antonio named Mark Antonio by his parents added the word San to his birth names as a way of disrupting and unsettling the colonial naming system of the time. San-Mark Antonio says he is not "disrespecting his parents who gave him these names", hence keeping these names and pre-fixing

official from the Commissioner's office through the steel gates separating them from each other.

The second round of negotiations with the representative of the Commission went on for another twenty minutes before this officer could step out and meet with the people on the other side of the steel gates to accept the memorandum.[209] From observing this negotiation, it was clear that there was a reluctance to deal with the issues raised by this group of people. When the officer stepped out to accept the memorandum there was cheering and clapping as the four Chiefs appeared as successful negotiators. Many complaints were voiced about the treatment they had received by many other officials in other offices about issues raised regarding the Khoe-San people. The memorandum was read to the official representative from the commissioner's office and the contents of the memorandum addressed concerns like the

Photograph 20: John Van Rooyen, Chief White and Chief Glen Taaibosch putting up their fists looking to the crowd to show the negotiation with the official was successful as he stepped outside to meet with the people to accept the memorandum.

---

and foregrounding his new identity in his name by adding San. Many activists are changing their names "symbolically" embodying their new identities like Benny Alexander a former Member of Parliament in the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) "who in 1995 decided to publicly disavow his 'slave name' for that of Khoisan X" (Grunebaum and Robins, 2001:171). I have met many other people who are not affiliated to the Khoe-San movement, who changed their names as a form of decolonising themselves from what they refer as slave names. For example, an elderly woman whom I met in the taxi one day, while travelling, shared with me during our brief encounter that she is born in Nigeria, living in South Africa for a while now, she studied anthropology and taught in the US felt the need to change her name from Sandra to Folami meaning respect.

[209] This was a strange occurrence as the South African Human Rights Commission as a Chapter nine institution deals with various kinds of complaints concerning Human Rights abuse reported to their offices for investigation on a daily basis.

marginalisation of Coloured[210] communities, access to jobs opportunities, better access to education and housing facilities.

The Commissioner's office was asked to respond to the group within twenty-one days. These demands, together with several other demands made as early as 2002, culminated in public hearings held by the South African Human Rights Commission in three provinces namely the Western Cape, Gauteng and the Northern Cape, in late-2015 and early-2016 to listen to the grievances raised by the self-identifying Khoe-San members. In his writings, Scott (1985) notes the importance of paying attention to everyday small struggles and the gains made by those who push for change on an individual or group level. These struggles which seem insignificant in comparison to huge revolutionary type liberation struggles are spaces where the poor wage war on the system and win small gains [in] what Scott refers to as the "the stubborn, persistent, and irreducible forms of resistance … [that] may thus represent the truly durable weapons of the weak" (1985:303).

The second stop of the march was at the Commission for Gender Equality offices. At this office, two women stepped out to receive the memorandum from the group. The response of the officials at this office was prompt and quick unlike that of the Human Rights Office. Although there were more than twenty women included in this march, none of them stepped forward to present the memorandum to the officials at the Commission for Gender Equality. The men oversaw the signing over of the memorandum and briefly apologised that they were doing the handover instead of the women.

[210] It is important to note that the movement of Khoe-San is on the rise and growing. Those who self-identify as Khoe-San are not recognized as Khoe-San people by the government or on any official documentation. The self-identifying Khoe-San members bestow this recognition upon themselves. Elsewhere in the thesis, I note that Scott (1985) refers to this strategy as weapons of the weak where marginalised communities win small gains in their efforts to raise socio-economic issues and issues speaking to their marginalisation.

I approached Nadia, one of the women I met previously in Eldorado Park, asking her why neither she nor any of the other of women were handing over the memorandum to reflect gender equity? Sitting at a distance with a child on her lap, she calmly responded, "agh just let them do it". The role of women in the Khoe-San movement differs in the various provinces, particularly where I did my fieldwork, and it is important to note that their involvement in the movement is steadily growing and that they are joining their husbands and partners in the struggle for reclassification and recognition. At this specific march, women were physically present in the walk but not one hundred per cent actively involved and they allowed the men to speak on their behalf. In the case study of Katrina Esau and also the Khoe-San Women's League conference discussed here, same chapter and in numerous workshops which I attended held by the government, women are making their voices heard.

Photograph 21: Two women officials from the Commission for Gender and Equality offices looking on as the memorandum is read to them by John Van Rooyen after he made an apology for being a male figure handing over the memorandum when this office is mandated to deal with issues of gender equality.

The last stop of this walk was to Constitution Hill, where the Constitutional Court of South African, the highest court of law in South Africa, is housed. Singing and chanting here attracted the attention of tourists and foreign visitors who were asking the members questions about the walk. At this office too, the officials did not take long to come out and receive the memorandum. After the memorandum was read to them, and the two men from the Constitutional Court had signed and accepted the documents, it was time to return home. The group formed a circle and prayed as they did in front of the university gate, ending the five-hour circuit of raising awareness and voicing concerns at the various offices as that the walk had set out to achieve that day.

Photograph 22: Chief Taaibosch reading the memorandum to the two officials at the South African Constitutional Court.

The constitution mentions Khoe, San and Nama languages but it does not recognize the people who speak these languages in the same way as it in acknowledges the people who speak the eleven official languages in the country. The Khoe-San people are an invisible people to the constitution.

The Indigenous Women in South Africa: The Indigenous Women's Conference

In October 2017, I received an invitation to attend a three-day conference with self-identifying Khoe-San women in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) in the Wentworth area. The conference charge for the three days was R500 per delegate including accommodation and food but excluding transport. The conference meeting was called to elect a new president for the Women's League as the term of the outgoing president was ending. The delegates came from the Southern Cape (SC), Western Cape (WC) and the Free State (FS) province, travelling by bus to attend this event. The buses arrived nearly all at the same time in KwaZulu-Natal and there was an opportunity to meet-and-greet, following months of conversation on a WhatsApp platform administered by the outgoing president, Khoeses[211] Trudy. The conveners of the conference arranged transport to pick up the delegates from the bus station. The university premises were used for accommodation (two ladies per room) and the proceedings of the conference. More

[211] The word refers to Khoe-San woman, no distinction is made between the various groups.

than thirty women, between the ages of twenty-six to sixty-five years old, attended the conference.

The Discussions

The first day of the conference dealt with formal introductions and setting the agenda of the conference, while some women also shared stories of everyday struggles. On the second day, after enjoying a scrumptious breakfast, the women moved into the conference venue that was beautifully decorated for the occasion with a table in the right-hand corner with welcome bags. The contents of the bags included the South African constitution, a small container for sanitary towels and a hair grip.

The conference was opened in prayer. No specific person was asked to pray and the request to the women was that it needed to be spontaneous. There was one male Chief who was attending the event as the keynote speaker to address the women on behalf of the paramount Chief of the Kai Korana tribe[212] who was unable to attend the event due to other engagements. The master of ceremony (MC), Khoeses Jean, welcomed the guests to the province and expressed the notion that by the end of the day everyone would feel more connected to each other. I attended the conference as an observer, sharing my work with the women and acting as a representative of the Eastern Cape Women's League. When the arrangements were made on the WhatsApp group, many of the Eastern Cape women had showed an interest in the conference, but due to financial constraints they were unable to attend. Therefore, I was selected to represent them in their absence.

The MC Khoeses Jean gave a brief introduction of the issues of Khoe-San people and noted the following:

> We are very new in KZN. We are still working our way, you know … some of the other provinces … because they have identified themselves, they had grown into who they are. They know their identity okay … we are still finding our way and learning and we … doing our research … we [are] reading … we [are] hearing. We still got a long way to go here in KZN and we are glad that they have come here because there is a lot that we can learn as KZN. Because remember we

[212] The term is no longer used in Anthropology, but many people in the Khoe-San movement refers to themselves in this fashion.

> are swallowed by the Zulu Kingdom right now. We are swallowed up by that. … we need to get our work out there. (Durban, 2017)

It is clear from the above quote that the conscientisation of those who denounce the category of Coloured is growing as people learn more about identity politics. The discussion of who the people classified as Coloured are, gains momentum daily as new members join the movement of denouncing Coloured identity. When Khoeses Jean says that they are swallowed up by the Zulu Kingdom, she refers to the fact that they are in the minority. The situation that is created, is that as a people legally classified as Coloured people are a minority and that, furthermore, there is a minority within a minority, as not all Coloured people identify with this the Coloured identity.

I was scheduled as the third speaker following the keynote address and Khoeses Trudy's introduction. Khoeses Trudy spoke about how the idea was conceptualised to start a Khoe-San Women's League. I addressed the issues that self-identifying Khoe-San women struggle with in their daily lives. I shared my research interest and my study with the women in broad strokes and shared with them some of the academic arguments around identity politics in South Africa and the global phenomenon of indigeneity. In the question-and-answer session one of the Khoeses, Natasha,[213] stood up and introduced herself, saying the following:

> I am Natasha from KZN […] as Khoi Khoisan, we say Khoisan in Durban … will we ever be recognized as a nation of this country? That is coming from deep down in my heart because it is an emotional thing. We all know as South Africans where we are coming from, what happen to us in the apartheid days, okay. We fought it to where it is today, we are living in a democratic country and still getting treated like the stepchildren of this country. When are we going to be recognized […] when are we going to be recognized? For how long are we going to be treated like the stepchildren of this country? (At this point, the speaker was fighting back tears and found it difficult to speak but continued through her tears)[214]. It is such an emotional thing, but it is also, why I am saying this. We are the hardest working nation in this country […] (Khoeses Trudy stood up, walked across to her and

[213] This is a pseudonym and not her real name.
[214] The action as Natasha was speaking and the response of the conference attendees are placed in brackets to recreate the emotion that filled the conference room.

handed her tissue to wipe her tears and gave her a hug, the two women embraced each other, telling her it is going to be alright. The crowd applauded the act and another woman stood up to hug the speaker).[…] our people have such low self-esteem of themselves because they know if they go look for a job they are not white enough, if they go look for a job they are not black enough (many of the observers agreeing with the speaker saying yes, yes clapping hands) so this is why they just have this low self-esteem of just not bothering […] we are still going under the same oppression with the new democratic country that we are living in. I want to know as a Khoe-San nation, will we ever, ever, ever [be] recognized. When is it all going to stop? Our misery and let us be recognized for who we are (murmurs of agreement) in this country. I mean we give it our best … even the few that represents the Khoe-San people whether it is in the workplace, in the teaching field or whatever. […] I mean I am a lecturer … I lecture adult education […] and I was in a meeting, the Department of Education's meeting and we were so highly praised as a Seta … we only two 'Khoe San' (showing inverted commas with her fingers) lecturers that are teaching in that area of Durban. We sit in meetings… we are just two … so we were put on a pedestal that shocked the life out of us of the quality work and education that we [are] giving into the community (applause). Our pass rate is so amazing; it is so amazing that the official says: 'You know what shocks us? They're only two and they have the numbers in the Seta and look at the results', only two, so I want to know when are we going to get recognition as a nation, a Khoe-San nation, those that are also good at what they do … so that comes deeply from my heart. When is it going to end? I mean we are here today, what about the future generation of our nation, what about them? What about them? We can teach them, we can motivate them, we can empower them, but there is still that block (illustrating the drawing of the block) that will colour them in their lives. We know who we are, we don't just need the recognition, we need the RESPECT, we are not RESPECTED.[215] (Durban, 2017)

[215] The speaker placed great emphasis on the word in her tone of voice, hence the capitalisation of the word.

The conference created a space where women could meet each other on a face-to-face basis and on a personal level. The conversations on the WhatsApp groups allowed for many voices to participate and share in discussions. However, when people become vulnerable in the presence of strangers, breaking down in tears, the issues raised speaks to their desire to have social justice. The notion of social justice strongly comes through in Natasha's speech: to be treated as equals. Nadine, a young woman in the audience stood up and referred to the disagreement the women had had regarding the name of the league going forward, saying, "how the name … names come about, no disrespect to anybody … the men in the struggle has let us down. I am a practical person … the most important thing is our people, what they experience daily" (Durban, 2017).

The concept of social justice and equality far outweighs race and identity when people start addressing the social situations and their state of being in observing their daily lived experiences. Although the women knew of each other in 'cyber space' through their chats, the physical encounter was so emotional and heart-breaking, that I stood there not knowing how to respond. The dynamic of reading a message and seeing a facial expression allows one as a researcher to read the conversation at another level. I instantly felt sad, questioning my purpose in this study. It aroused many mixed emotions as I found myself also being 'between and betwixt' on my own family history that was never openly discussed with us as children. The chairperson intervened, noticing the discomfort, and told the women that I did not have answers to their questions, and I was merely sharing with them the debates that were unfolding in academia and within the broader Khoe-San movement.

In saying this, I wish to quote De Wet (2006:15) who notes that, if one gravitates towards the struggles of the Khoe-San people, "maintaining objectivity" becomes problematic because of one's bias towards the group and the people you engage with through doing fieldwork. Thus, conducting research in the community that you come from and in your own country has a complex line of questioning and interpreting what you see due to your insider/outsider perspective. In the case of De Wet (2006), and as is the case with many Khoe-San groups and families to whom people are attached, one finds that in one household there are splits as far as kinship ties and familial relations are concerned. For example, in one part of the family, only a brother or sister would identify as Khoe-San. De Wet (2006) writes about her association with finding a sense of belonging in the Khoekhoe movement and embracing her Khoekhoe ancestors, quoting from Taylor:

> … discovering my own identity … means that I negotiated it through dialogue, partly overt, partly internal, with others. That is why the development of an ideal of inwardly generated identity gives a new importance to recognition of my own identity crucially depended on my dialogical relations with others. (Taylor, 1994, cited in De Wet, 2006:15)

While her cousins do not identify as Khoekhoe, it does not mean that she is not Khoekhoe and because their experiences and "dialogical relations in life were different [,] others may prefer to identify with their European heritage." (De Wet, 2006:15)[216]. One of the critical points are raised here regarding the complexity of defining indigeneity in a family context. De Wet (2006) is a member of a household where a split of claiming descent occur, embracing one side of your heritage whilst distancing yourself from the other half of your ancestry creating a situation that perplexes identification as an indigenous person. In Appendix D, in an email discussion between who qualifies and what the criteria is used for indigeneity as noted by Ellis (2019). In Appendix D, the discussion between two Khoe-San leaders, we see how the writer explains his 'becoming' indigenous. His indigeneity came through him being "spiritually drawn" to seek his lineage. Many leaders in the Khoe-San circle come from different backgrounds and classes in society.

The women speakers at this conference captured aspects of what many people in the Coloured community think about and, like Chief Bennett, she uses the Adhikari statement of not being Black enough and not being White enough. The Coloured identities have been spoken about in "ways that associate them with immorality, sexual promiscuity, illegitimacy, impurity and untrustworthy[iness]" (Erasmus, 2001:17). When Coloured people are labelled with "these associations [it] mean[s] that identifying as Coloured is linked to feelings of shame and discomfort" (Wicomb, 1998, cited in Erasmus, 2001:17). An example of this is found in literature from the pre-Apartheid era, for example Sarah Gertrude Millin's novel *Gods Stepchildren* (1924). This novel refers to Coloured people in terms of "race mixture", "miscegenation", off-spring born of a "white master" and "black female slave" in which Millin describes "white children [with 'black blood' came] into the world with shame and sorrow in their blood" (Millin, 1924, cited in Erasmus, 2001:17). The underlying notion that "race mixture is the conceptualisation of [C]oloured identity as a residual identity" led people like

[216] I will revert back to this point in chapter 8 when I engage the contested notion of indigeneity.

Marike de Klerk, ex-wife of the former President FW de Klerk, to describe Coloured people in the most hideous way as "a negative group, 'the leftovers', 'a people that was left after the nations were sorted out'" in the 1980s (Erasmus, 2001:18; Adhikari, 2006). To be respected makes people feel valued and that brings meaning to their lives. In the isiZulu vernacular language *inhlonipho* means to respect someone, an act that is revered among many African[217] cultures, as was observed when the South African Black officials met with Ouma Geelmeid in Upington. They would bow slightly with their heads down when shaking her hand and clutching her hand with both of their hands.

Khoeses Jean, like Natasha and many other people, are coming to the debate of indigeneity and identity politics in South Africa from the point of feeling left out and left behind in the new South Africa. Natasha prides herself in her hard work ethic but she observes around her that their children have a slim chance of finding employment due to the "block that will colour them in their lives". The block that she talks about, refers to the four-tier racial classification system which does not make provision for different forms of identification or classification, including the Khoe-San people, on the South African census forms. The idea and notion of Blackness is questioned, these different voices are not comfortably fitting the categorisation of Black, they clearly state that now "they are not black enough"!

Conclusion

This chapter illustrated the role of classification in the South African landscape and showed that the four-tier racial classification system is still in use, as espoused under the Population Registration Act No 30 of 1950. This system is inadequate in defining the malleability of identities as people cannot be neatly boxed into set formations of classification. The irony of labelling and classification is that the democratic government is still using these old racial categories to define its population. The ideology of BCM is one type of understanding of the lived experiences of people but it does not consider the complexity of identity formation, neither can it be used as a single homogenising experience to examine the impact of using categories like 'Blacks in general' and 'Africans in particular'. Further complicating the struggle of self-identifying Khoe-San women in South Africa is the notion that this group of people have been known in the history of the country as Coloured people. At the women's

[217] I use the word African here as used in the South African context, although the term is exclusionary of other people, the word is only used in this form for the purpose of explaining my example.

conference in Durban in 2017, the women who self-identify as Khoe-San women clearly made a distinction between who they are and how they wish to be identified and 'respected' as Khoe-San women rather than as Coloured women. They raise a concern for future generations who will walk the same 'tight rope' (Muzondidya, 2009) in relation to identity politics in the country, as their identity will always be at issue.

At this conference, one of the first gatherings, out of many, I attended people openly spoke about the learning process entailed in becoming an indigenous person. They do not make outright claims to Khoe-San identity, admittingly saying, "We are very new in KZN … other provinces … because they have identified themselves, they had grown into who they are. They know their identity okay … we are still finding our way and learning … doing our research … we [are] reading … we [are] hearing. We still got a long way to go here in KZN … there is a lot that we can learn as KZN".

As the movement for Khoe-San is spreading many people come to this awareness of learning about Khoe-San identity politics. Many people are doing their own research because they want to understand the process of identity reclamation as it is unfolding. Another speaker, Natasha, clarifies what she sees in the future in relation to identity politics. She notes that no matter the effort made by families to teach and motivate young and old people, the "block", referring to the Coloured classification "will colour them in their lives". No matter the different classification systems that exist, Natasha is of the opinion that *recognition and respect* are needed. You must respect an individual to recognize their existence and their humanness.

Individuals in the Khoe-San circles begin to question not only their identity, but also the conditions under which they are living where the use of classificatory practices underscores and contributes to the complexity of their lived experience, making their pleas for an alternative form of identification 'invisible and voiceless'.

Chapter SEVEN

Indigeneity through mapping belonging and identity politics on animal skin: The process of *brei-ing*

A short history of the fur[218] trade

There is a dearth of literature on the use of skin clothing by indigenous groups in southern Africa. The bulk of the literature on skin and fur clothing of the hunter-gatherer societies is concentrated on the arctic regions of Alaska, Canada and Russia (Wolf, 1982; Issenman, 1985; Kritsch and Wright-Fraser, 2002). These authors note that the history of the fur trade and the use of animal skin stretches back over millennia where hunter-gatherers used the animal skin to make several types of clothing. The phenomenon of tanning animal skin and creating other clothing products from skin has long been practised by indigenous groups, long before the formal market economy came into existence and the fashion industry happened. These societies used specialised methods to turn the animal skin into a usable product to protect them against the harsh elements of nature. The fur trade was a sought-after business.

> In what is today Russia, the operations of the Viking Rus prompted the development of the polities of Kiev and Novgorod in the ninth and tenth centuries. For these states, as for all their successors, fur became the most valuable single item of trade from the very earliest beginnings to the eighteenth century and beyond (Kerner, 1942, cited in Wolf, 1982:158–159)

The trading in fur as noted by Wolf had an established 'remunerative' history in Europe and Asia before the European traders engaged the North American fur trade. He also refers to Jones who found that "Scandinavia had provided ancient Rome with furs, along with amber, sea ivory, and slaves, receiving gold, silver, and treasures in return" (Jones, 1968, cited in Wolf,

[218] Skin and fur are used interchangeably. The former is named skin when the hair of the animal is removed during processing of the skin. In the latter case, fur refers to the animal hair and skin staying intact while being processed.

1982:158). For example, the Ottar from the Norwegian region near Tromsö, in the ninth century "took marten, reindeer, bear and otter furs in tribute from Lapp hunters and sold them in Norway, Denmark, and England" (Wolf, 1982:158). However, trade in fur was unfair and vicious as those who held more power could force their will on others.

> [At the] trading post [in] Bergen they mercilessly exploited the Norwegians, forcing them to deliver and clean large quantities of fur and fish in return for payments advanced, thus operating a kind of 'international debt peonage'. (Wallerstein, 1974, cited in Wolf 1982:158)

The fur trade grew the Russian economy from "3.8 percent of all state revenues in 1589 to 10 percent in 1644" (Wolf, 1982:159). Although the Russian economy later became industrialised, the fur trade remained relevant to the economy, with Siberia contributing fur to the Russian economy until the 19th century. As with many industries the fur industry in Russia declined due to newcomers in the trade and the search for new fur hunting grounds due to the depletion of animal species. However, the fur trade was an international trade:

> Until the British conquest of Canada, Amsterdam received a large percentage of furs obtained in North America, and [they] re-exported beaver fur to Russia for further processing as part of its Baltic export trade. The international network of re-exports often prevented gluts on European markets, especially during the wars of the seventeenth century, and kept prices steady throughout the international system. (Rich, 1955, cited in Wolf, 1982:159)

The North Americans became central players in the fur trade industry after the decline of the beaver in Europe by the end of the 16th century. They used the beaver not for its pelt but for the "fur-wool, the layer of soft, curly hair growing next to the skin, which had to be separated from the pelt and from the layer of longer and stiffer guard hairs" (Wolf, 1982:159). This wool was then used to make cloths or hats which transformed the material into a symbol of class and status. This created different forms of social relations between people, which became a breeding ground for competition as groups would displace each other in search of the fur product (Wolf, 1982; Shin, 2019).

> In England, for example, Spanish and Dutch immigrants popularised the habit of wearing hats in place of woolen caps early in the sixteenth century. Thereafter, no amount of sumptuary legislation could stem the decline of cap making.

> Wearing caps became a hallmark of the lower classes. For those of higher status, [the] shape and type of hat became a barometer of political allegiances. The Stuarts and their followers favored the high-crowned, broad-brimmed, and squarish 'Spanish beaver'. The Puritans introduced the plain conical felt or beaver hat. (Wolf, 1982:159)

In relation to groups displacing each other Wolf (1982) refers to the Iroquois people, also known as the 'Six Nations'[219], whose subsistence was horticulture and hunting. Around 1570 they became dependent on the fur trade, thereby following the beaver and moving into the lands of their neighbours and enemies to obtain resources, causing the beaver to become "extinct in Iroquois country" by 1640 (Wolf, 1982:166, Brandão and Starna,1996, Jeremy and Aron, 1999). The pelt of this one-and-a-half-pound animal, as Wolf describes, also placed Chiefs in a position of power through the system of potlatch or gift exchange practised by indigenous groups in the Northwest Coast.

> The Chief thus used their pivotal positions in the fur trade to accumulate potlatch wealth, to augment their affinal connections through auspicious marriages, to extent their trading networks, and to reinforce their social prerogatives. Some Chiefs used the labour of their slaves to increase production of wealth objects. (Wolf, 1982:189)

The Inuit peoples of Siberia, Alaska, Canada and Greenland, according to Issenman (1985) used common principles and preparation methods of using animal skin for basic survival. Caribou or seal, and marine birds to a lesser extent, were used to make their skin clothing as noted by Issenman (1985), describing a typical winter outfit worn by men and women:

> A man's winter outfit consists of two layers: a qulittaq - a closed, hooded, upper garment with fur or feathers to the outside; an atigi - the same with fur to the inside; two pair qarliik - trousers; pualuit - mitts; two pair mirqal: irtiit - stockings; a pair of kamiik - boots; and sometimes a pair of marnguaq - shoes that go over

[219] See chapter four regarding a member of the Iroquios nation who consulted the League of Nations on the self-determination of the six nations long before the United Nations came into being and the quest for indigeneity was popularised after 1945.

> the boot. The woman's upper garment is called an amauti - and can be similarly layered, and she will wear one pair of trousers. (1985:101)

The skin clothing as noted by Issenman (1985) is durable and can stand the toughest winter conditions because the hair and skin of caribou is ideal for insulation of heat and the clothes are made to fit each person. He also argues that the dressmaking techniques used by the hunter gatherer societies of the Inuit far outweighs the modern-day concept of dressmaking:

> [This] is not draped or binary clothing, but complex, three-dimensional structures that employ many-pieced patterns, and that use darts, gussets, inserts, gathers and pleats …the models provide an attire that, like a bell, contains the warm, rising air, and have few openings to allow heat escape: it is closed, hooded (with the exception of some Siberian coats), and secured at the face. With the double layered furs, and the fringes of inner and outer coats interlocked, the wearer can survive the lowest temperatures and highest winds on earth (Conn, 1974, cited in Issenman, 1985:103).

When the body becomes too hot, the hood gets thrown back to let the heat escape and to let cold air in to regulate the temperature between the individual's skin and the heat the clothing

Photograph 23: Image copied from Issenman (1985:102). Photo taken by Aggeok, c. 1946 (Courtesy Notman Photographie Archives, McCord Museum, McGill University, Montréal).

generates. Double-layered skin, in comparison to wool, assists with transpiration and perspiration as the way that it is tailored creates looseness at strategic points, allowing the air to move between the body and the layers, whereas wool absorbs moisture and wetness which leaves its wearer cold and wet (Issenman: 1985:104).

In the context of the global north, the use of fur and skin has a long history. Indigenous peoples perfected the skill of working with this material to not only dress the body but created economic ties and created social relations through the trade and gifting thereof. In the discussion that follows, I describe the ethnography of softening animal skin and discuss how skin is used in an African context. I argue that for Khoe-San people the use of animal skin aesthetics symbolises their claims to an indigenous identity. I also raise the point that the use of skin has an economic value and the Khoe-San people either receive skin from farmers as with the case of Ma Gooi, due to her landlessness or animal skin is bought to map their identity on the skin.

Preparing animal skin – A skillful art

The Kalahari Desert Festival

I now narrate my experience of working with animal skin. The Kalahari Desert Festival was nearing, and people became excited about the prospects of attending the festival. The young adults affiliated to the House were practising their dance steps every night for three weeks before the festival in September 2016. Some of these young people were part of the first attempt at reviving the N/uu language when the University of Namibia ran the project of language revivalism in the early 2000s (as noted in chapter five). The young people were not able to converse in the N/uu language and used the Afrikaans language to communicate but they were able to remember words in the form of music. This became apparent when they were singing and practising the songs which they performed at the Kalahari Desert Festival.

These young people are unemployed and when the House of N‖ngǂe gets invited to functions, they are the 'cultural performers', showcasing 'their skill' through dance moves. Some of the young people completed their grade twelve, but because they did not achieve university entrance, they are therefore not able to secure good jobs in the area. In order to be employed in a relatively well-paying job in most of these semi-rural areas, something in addition to the grade twelve certificate is needed.

The other young people in this group either failed their final year or dropped out of school at grade nine or an even lower grade. When the House of N‖ngǂe is invited to these governmental

functions, these young people have a chance to earn some small fee from performing as cultural dancers. There were times when the groups mixed – meaning, the young children who attend the *taal skool* and the young adults would simultaneously attend a function. The funding that the groups receive from the Department of Arts and Culture is the same and there are no differences between what the young dancers receive compared to what the older dancers receive as a bulk payment from the Department of Arts and Culture.

As I mentioned above, the idea of the festival created excitement among the people and something to expect and prepare for in the weeks that followed. Ma Gooi told me that she would be making an outfit from animal skin for this occasion. She invited me to her house which is a twenty-minute walk from the house of Ouma Geelmeid. Many Chiefs and leaders in the Khoe-San movement are wearing headpieces or head dressings made from animal fur skin or leather and some wear loin cloth or the regalia that looks like a Scottish skirt worn by man as seen earlier.

I was excited to learn how to work with animal skin and the process that goes into making the animal skin useable for making clothing. The animal skin arrived from Botswana and was donated by a farmer who owns a hunting farm where tourist go on game drives and shoot animals for trophy hunting. Once these animals are skinned, their fur is discarded and, to a person like Ma Gooi, this presents an opportunity to put her artistic skills to good use. As Ma Gooi explained to me, sometimes they pay a small fee for the skins, especially if it is from a recent hunt. The animal skin is salted at the farm to preserve it and to stop it from rotting and smelling. If not handled carefully, the animal skin could easily tear.[220]

Photograph 24: Salted animal skins

[220] The animal skin in its raw state as it came from the farm. The skin is hard but once worked on, it becomes unbelievably soft.

Photograph 25: Animal skins arrive from a farmer in Botswana

The process of the *brei* of the animal skin

The process in which one softens the animal skin is referred to as *brei* ('to knit' in English), however, here the method of *brei-ing* means to rub the animal skin in a circular movement against each other. The dirt and extra salt are removed from the skin by using an object that looks like a grinding stone. This is a labour-intensive process, as each part of the skin needs to be cleaned thoroughly, not using force, as the animal skin is delicate and can tear easily (Sangster, 2007). Once this first step is done, the skin is ready for the 'baking under damp soil'.

To start the second part of the process, one needs to have the precision of a confectionary artist who mixes all the ingredients at just the right quantities. The correct ratio of sand and water is measured and, like the baker using a mixing spoon, the shovel is used to mix everything from the outside to the centre. The sand is arranged into a circular form and the water is thrown into the centre and mixed at a slow pace to make sure the moisture of the water seeps through every granule of sand until the right consistency is achieved. The cleaned animal skin is laid out on the ground, drizzled with water – but not too much water – to moisten the skin. This step is reminiscent of a baker who first greases the baking trays, providing a base for the cake not to stick to the surface. The sand and water mixture are scooped onto the skin and spread out to cover the whole skin, leaving a small part uncovered so that the skin can be removed from beneath the moist sand. Removing the animal skin from underneath the damp sand is timed at half-an-hour intervals or longer, depending on how old the skin is and how long ago the hunt had taken place. These factors have an impact on how you handle the skin and the time you take for 'baking the skin' in the soil. In order to measure and estimate how long one would

Photograph 26: Skins are prepared to 'bake' under a thin layer of damp soil

need to do the 'baking process', you need to know the type of skin you are working with. The artist (in this instance, Ma Gooi) tells the type of animal skin she is working with by feeling its texture, touching the salted skin, and looking at its discoloration. Once the whole skin is covered in soil, just like checking on the progress of your cake, if you are not using an automatic oven but a manual one, you add sprinkles of water on the sand to keep it moist. The area of Upington is dry and arid with temperatures as high as forty-five degrees in the summer with dry air during winter times. Thus, to be effective in this process of *brei-ing,* you must be able to gauge the environment around you and know how these factors would influence your process of turning animal skin into a work of art.

After the animal skin has baked under the soil, it is time to remove it. The removal of the skin needs to be done with great care as the skin is fragile and would easily break into small pieces – quite the opposite from its hard, unbreakable nature before going through the process of 'baking in the soil'. It can be reasoned that people who know how to use this traditional method of softening or working with animal skin, would cut out various shapes and forms as seen with indigenous groups mentioned in earlier examples. However, in contemporary South Africa, post-1994, the Khoe-San members use this skin for clothes and products to illustrate and perform their indigenous claims, by wearing headpieces and a *!Xae* (loincloth). Some people wear fur clothing on top of their ordinary clothing while others only wear the fur across their private body parts. The different forms of headpieces are also worn by other ethnic groups in South Africa; for example as part of Zulu cultural attire.

Once the animal skin is removed from the soil it is left to dry – but not completely dry – and then the third process is started which involves lightly removing the residue from the animal skin, followed by washing the skin in clean water using a bar of soap (the traditional green bar of Sunlight soap is recommended for this washing process). The skin is now soft and manageable in the water and it does not tear unless one pulls hard at it, unlike its fragile state when it is removed from the sand the first time. After washing the skin, in the same way as one would do washing by hand the skin is hung out to dry, again not completely dry but rather left moist so that one can add animal fat to the skin. The skin is then folded, with the fur side on the outside and rolled to make sure that the animal fat[221] spreads evenly and to keep the skin moist. Now that the skin is soft, one can start to *brei* the skin by rubbing the inside of the skin against each other in a circular movement until the entire surface of the skin is *brei-ed*.

To *brei* is not an easy process as your fingers get tired from rubbing the animal skin against each other, however, the tactile experience of working with the skin in your hands while concentrating and being one with your inner thoughts is also very therapeutic and stimulating. An hour or more can pass by without anybody saying anything, just concentrating on the skin and stretching their fingers when tired from the movements used to rub the skin.

For the duration of the week, I wore the same clothes (which I left at Ma Gooi's house) as I did not want all my clothes to smell like animal fat.

Photograph 27: Various stages of the 'brei' process

[221] Animal skin is fatty, but a little bit of extra fat is added to make it more workable.

Ma Gooi ‘s eldest daughter, Mary, is unemployed and she helped with the process of ‘baking the skin’. She does chores around the house and helps her mother with running errands.

Most of the conversations during that week were around the struggles of Khoe-San people. We discussed the disparity between the rich and poor and the education system in the area. We spoke about the lack of employment opportunities for young people that result in the idleness of young people in Upington. Occasionally someone would bring an item of clothing for Ma Gooi to amend and, as is the case for most of the people living in the area, that money would straight away be used to buy a food item. Ma Gooi seemed hopeful about the future and how she could possibly use her skill to manufacture animal skin for export and teaching young people how to do it too. However, the young people showed no interest in learning how to *brei* or in receiving an income from this skill even though Ma Gooi offered to train them for free.

The Skirt – The product of a skillful art

The members of the House of N‖ngǂe and those who affiliated themselves to this structure in the Khoe-San movement all received t-shirts to wear on this occasion of the festival. The front of the t-shirt bore the face of Ouma Geelmeid in her ǂxuu*ological* attire wearing a self-made crown that was decorated with porcupine arrows, a shoulder piece made of animal skin and a few sets of wooden beads around her neck. The back of the t-shirt had a message that read, ‘A Celebration of our proud heritage’. The design of the t-shirts came in two sets, a round neck or golf t-shirt all in black with the wording in white. Chief Fick sponsored these t-shirts that were printed in Johannesburg and were given to people free of charge. Ma Gooi wore her beautiful skirt made of animal skin with much pride, complimented by a headpieces piece and her sandals that were decorated with the tail end of the animal skin (see photograph 28).

Photograph 28: Ma Gooi and I at the Kalahari Desert Festival 2016

Photograph 29 shows the Australian Minister of Indigenous Affairs wearing animal skin on his shoulders over his business suit and photograph 30 is of Chief Khoesan SA wearing a loincloth, headpieces and the leopard skin over his shoulders while marching onto the premises of the Provincial Legislature in the Eastern Cape in 2017.

Photograph 29: Ken Wyatt Minister for Indigenous Australians. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-australia-48932101

Photograph 30: King KhoeSan SA walking bare feet towards the Eastern Cape Provincial Legislature wearing skin made from leopard fur draped around his shoulders covering half his body and a fur head, a bag for his bow and arrows, holding a small fur stick.

Rethmann (2000) found in her research that the Rekinniki women from the Koriak communities of the Kamchatka peninsula (on the northeastern shore of Tymlat in Far East Russia) use reindeer fur and leather as gifts to men to establish intimate relationships with them. According to Sangster (2007) and Rethmann (2000) the meticulous art of sewing and tanning becomes a symbol of projecting the self on the skin: "fur artifacts work as metaphors because they resonate with a world in which desire is engendered through the fusion of animal bodies and human selves at the boundary [of] the skin" (Rethmann, 2000:65).

Khoe-San people do not have recognized lands[222] where they can practice their culture and hunt their own animals and they are therefore dependent on the fur of animals that have been hunted and killed as part of another person's hobby or passing leisure time on a farm. In the same way Rethmann comments on the value of the reindeer to the Far East Russian people:

> It is reindeer that enable the humans to be human: without their meat and skins, herders would have little on which to subsist. Thus, far from being material of

[222] The landlessness of Khoe-San people contributes to their desire to be settled on land discussed in chapter eight.

> only functional significance, skins become the nexus of meaning as they bring together humans and animals through the tactile qualities of fur and self. Fur is a material of cultural resonance: it is what Angela Zito (1994:119) calls an 'interfacing membrane', creating desire by means of optic pleasure and touch. (Rethmann, 2000:65)

Ma Gooi created that "interfacing membrane" by pouring her love and energy into crafting the skin and sewing the skirt and the other symbols she wore with pride, a "beautifully sewn skin reflects a beautiful and desirable self" (Rethmann, 2000:65). This was admired by many who wanted to touch the skirt at the festival.

At many of the government workshops that I attended, Khoe-San chiefs had adorned their bodies with animal fur and headpieces, and this has become a normal phenomenon among many leaders in the Khoe-San movement.

In 2017, on my walk with Khoe-San activists to Bhisho to hand over a memorandum, Chief Khoesan SA had a leopard skin draped around his shoulders and he wore a loincloth, while other walkers wore fur clothing, and the remaining walkers wore normal westernised clothing with headpieces. They symbolised and performed their Khoe-Sanness and therefore their ethnic identity. In terms of the wearing of fur clothing and headpieces, an inference can be made that these individuals wore animal skins with pride, symbolically mapping their identity onto the skin. This acts as a constant reification to make the invisible visible in their quest for recognition as indigenous peoples.

The wearing of fur and animal products is a long-standing practice in Africa. Animal fur like like the leopard skin that Chief Khoesan SA is wearing is a sought-after product in European and American export markets and falls under protected species due to its depletion and illegal hunting practices (Myers, 1976). There are other forms of symbolism like power and authority attached to Chiefs wearing leopard skins like in the Zulu culture and in "the Nazareth Baptist 'Shembe' Church in South Africa uses leopard skins as ceremonial regalia at religious gatherings to symbolise that every man is the king of his own household" (Naude, 2020:23-24). In the case of the Khoe-San movement where animal skin is worn, one can safely argue that the wearing of any wildlife aesthetic is solely a symbol of identification for Khoe-San members (Haught, 1972). The Khoe-San people are coming into their own and wearing a form of animal aesthetics conveys this message. As discussed in the recent work of Naude (2020)

animal by-products are used in Africa for traditional use in ceremonies and in rituals as symbols of prestige.

Fur Trade – A timeless economic industry

An economic injustice befell the Khoe-San people. As noted by Rethmann in the previous section, herders not only subsist on the meat and skin from animals, but they also attach social and cultural value to it. Khoe-San people, as seen in the case of Ma Gooi, rely on the goodwill of game farmers to give them access to animal skin which enables them to make a symbolic connection to land and animals, thereby performing their cultural heritage. I mentioned earlier that some of the Chiefs to whom I had spoken acquired their fur clothing from factory outlets that deal with animal skin at an abstract level, basically selling their culture to them which they then embody and perform. With reference to reindeer herding, Rethmann points out:

> Whether or not their particular practices actually represent reindeer herding tradition is less important to [an] analysis than the understanding of how fur as a cultural idiom and powerful link to the reindeer and the past offers symbolic positions of cultural affirmation and self-representation. It is the performance, the action itself, that comes to bear so much meaning in a world much divested of love and affirmation. (2000:67)

For example, the Rekinniki women adapted their art, that was firstly a form to attract social relations with men in their village, to adjust to their new circumstances when they experienced the changeover "from state socialism to a market economy" by selling their fur products like hats and mittens, for economic gain instead (Rethmann, 2000:64).

Much of the anthropological literature on skin clothing and fur is based on the arctic regions with cold weather conditions. There is however a carbon footprint that connects economies where hides and skin that are exported from Africa to different European countries. In a report commissioned by the Common Fund for Commodities (CFC) it was noted that in most African countries "the leather industry has been established as an export-based industry of semi-processed raw hides and skins" (Jabbar, Kiruthu, Gebremedhin and Ehui, 2002:7). The case studies were done in four African countries namely Tanzania, Zimbabwe, the Sudan and Senegal. Zimbabwe's hide and skin commercial sector delivers good quality products for the export market (Jabbar, Kiruthu, Gebremedhin and Ehui, 2002). Thus, while hide and skins are renewable sources for economic empowerment, many African countries have not tapped into

the export industry even as African countries like South Africa, Namibia and Uganda are blessed with healthy populations of livestock resources.

Where some look at skin clothing as an outdated practice, Japanese entrepreneurs commission fur hats from Rekinniki women that are embroidered with flowers to give it a visually aesthetic look. To the Rekinniki women, flowers were not something that grew in abundance in their spaces, but they nonetheless "worked to craft items that responded to the tastes of others" (Rethmann, 2000:64). Russian entrepreneurs were more interested in slippers made of seal skin as this demand for slippers allowed women in Koriak to start small businesses and to export their slippers to bigger cities (Rethmann, 2000). The size of the global north economic fur trade industry is a lucrative business as quoted by Shin:

> [The] top exporters of pelts are Denmark ($873M), Canada ($361M), and Poland ($360M). The top importer of pelts and exporter of fur apparel is China whereas the top importers of fur apparel are the United States ($180M), and Hong Kong ($158M). (2019:4)

In a Vogue magazine article entitled 'The Fur Story of 1929' it is argued that "The type of fur a woman wears shows the kind of woman [she is] and the kind of life [she leads]" advertising to the readers to invest in fur fashion (Hines, 2015, cited in Shin, 2019:1). In the same year, in a New York Times article, the distributors of fur highlighted the desirability on wearing a product made of fur, noting

> Lapin or nutria for sports, caracul for street, mink or breitshwanz for afternoon, ermine for evening – how simple the choosing of fur coats would be if the matter of finance did not have to be considered! For fur coats are more luxurious and more diversified than even before. There is now a fur coat for every frock and every hour of the day. (Shin, 2019:2)

Further research on the exact quantities exported to other countries and what this export of skin and hide then contribute to each country's gross domestic product (GDP) on the continent at large is needed. Recently, in the province of Kwa-Zulu Natal (KZN) in South Africa, expansive plans were made to help farmers grow their business in goat farming and access the local market. According to an online report in April 2022, the author notes people were mostly accustomed to using goat for ritual purposes and once the meat is consumed, they made the skin into a mat to sit on. After training was started by an organisation, a person by the name of

Mchunu said "in the past [we] only ever used goat hides to sit on. We were taught to add value to the skins, and today we know how to use them to make belts and beshus [traditional 'aprons' worn by Zulu men]."[223] In a study conducted by Yaméogo, Nabassaga and Ncube (2014) on diversification and livestock use in Africa, that is inclusive of the of the spin-offs of the animal hide and skin, they found that there is a large export market for the non-food livestock market. Countries like Kenya, Madagascar, Uganda, Rwanda, Senegal, Sudan, South Africa, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe all export these non-food items (Yaméogo, et.al, 2014:401). It can thus be argued that many people attach different value to non-food livestock products and that countries in Africa could benefit economically from this renewable resource. Many people already attach cultural meanings to the non-food products of animals.

Big-name designers such as "Christian Dior, Yves Saint Laurent, and Karl Lagerfeld create garments to boost the level of fashion excitement" when fur is used in their collection (Lee, 2014:1). Lee found that, while wool is regarded an essential textile fiber that is used across the world to generate sales in the fashion retail industry, in areas with harsh cold and wet conditions (like the arctic region) wool is not as desirable as it absorbs wetness.

In the early 1990s, my stepfather gave my mother a beautiful fur coat as a birthday present. My mother was envied by many women, and those who knew the value of fur wanted to buy the coat from her.[224]

[223] Commercialising communal goat farming in KwaZulu-Natal https://www.farmersweekly.co.za/animals/sheep-and-goats/commercialising-communal-goat-farming-in-kwazulu-natal/

[224] In retrospect, whether the coat is faux fur or animal fur is not clear, but my stepfather paid a small fortune for it.

Photograph 31: Nazli Gabie modelling the fur coat given to my mother, Margaret Gabie, as a gift and an expression of love.

Although fur has an aesthetically appealing look, the use of fur has come under scrutiny by groups that advocate for animal rights and who are against the use of fur in the clothing and fashion industry. They call on designers to use faux fur, synthetic "man-made alternatives" that has the same aesthetic appeal as original fur (Shin, 2019:4). One such anti-fur movement and group of animal rights activists is People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) who highlights the abuse of animals in the fur farming industry, thereby stigmatising animal fur pursuits (Shin, 2019). By raising awareness of animal cruelty "PETA not only raised public awareness but also branded fur consumption as unethical" (Shin, 2019:3; Lee, 2014). In opposition to the anti-fur trade movement there are the pro-fur farming organisations like Fur Commission USA and the International Fur Trade Federation, who argue that the fur farming industry is well regulated, following high norms in animal care and welfare. These pro-fur organisations claim that they treat animals with the utmost consideration:

> When harvesting fur pelts, fur farmers adhere strictly to methods recommended by the American Veterinary Medical Association and use gas [carbon monoxide or carbon dioxide] to immediately render animals unconscious so that they do not have to feel pain. (Shin, 2019:3)

The debate between the two organisations, pro-fur and anti-fur usage, is a debate about morality where the activist from the anti-fur movement uses provocative imagery and provocative words to drive home their messages on social media platforms. Shin notes that PETA's campaign "contents show farmed animals being treated more like commodities, rather than sentient beings" (Shin, 2019:3). However, as noted by Lee (2014) "animal-based materials such as hides and furs have been used from the very beginning of human history for bedding, tents, and body-covering to protect people" (Lee, 2014:1).

In later years, the skin of animals, for example hides, came to play a significant role in the economy as goods from leather were manufactured, fetching high prices in the market due to technological advances made in the industry.

> The leather market has benefited from innovations in tanning and dying processes that allowed for improved characteristics of materials, new finishes, textures, and properties. The material that was once stiff and bulky is now more pliable and comes in diverse colors, resulting in more opportunities for use in fashion goods. (Lee, 2014:1)

In the above example, Ma Gooi made the animal skin supple and usable through a method she observed and learnt from her mother, which was a tradition handed down from generation to generation. Ma Gooi is teaching her daughter to soften animal skin while the small children are playing around and seeing what the two women are doing.

Conclusion

Ma Gooi and other members who affiliate themselves to the Khoe-San struggle, are at a quest to reinvent a tradition that has been lost to them for many centuries. Within the Khoe-San circles, they are popularising an ancient form of clothing and making the wearing of fur fashionable making identity politics of the Khoe-San people visible.

In this chapter, through the vignette of the *brei-ing*, I highlight the absence of land on which to farm with your own animals, creating a link between humans and animals. The example of Ma Gooi receiving animal skin from game farmers in Botswana illustrates the level of landlessness, and how animal skin is a conduit for mapping one's identity and transferring culture from generation to the next generation.

The wearing of animal fur on top of westernised clothing signals a desire to be recognized in a manner that is befitting to the individual and breaking away from imposed identities. In this chapter, I have illustrated that the fur trade industry is a lucrative industry, and that technology has assisted big players like recognized fashion houses to dominate the economic market. I also showed that the use of animal skin has left a carbon footprint linking big business with small traders. However, this market is not without its challenges and animal welfare activists are competing in a market where advertising can sway a person towards consumption of either original fur products or synthetic fur products. Animal rights activists who campaign against the use of fur, argue that the animals suffer inhumane conditions on fur farms. However, these animal rights activists are not offering any alternative suggestions in terms of suitable material for protective clothing in very cold arctic regions where the best form of warmth and protection against the weather is animal skin and fur.

The individuals and groups who self-identify as Khoe-San wear products made from animal skin to make themselves visible as Khoe-San people. If you are affiliating to any of the groups and you do not have an identity marker on your person or on your body, you are just another Coloured person as per the understanding of the racial politics in South Africa. The groups who self-identify as Khoe-San are denouncing the Coloured identity and they map their identity onto animal skin as a vehicle to visibilise how they wish to identify. Although the phenomenon of using animal skin for clothing and other purposes has a longstanding history in Africa, for the self-identifying Khoe-San people in the context of contemporary South Africa, post-1994, it has become a necessity to show and tell who they are and how they wish to identify as individuals or in their groups.

Chapter EIGHT

The Elusive Struggle – Land and Belonging

Land a Common Hunger – Whose Land is it Anyway?

> One must know the reason for being ill-treated. It is important that we know if someone treat you badly … For this hour and moment, God want[s] to know … what the Khoe-San family have done wrong to be ill-treated. What have we done to our oppressors? What reason did we gave [give] them to do this to us what they have done … we all have the right to know why we have been treated like that all these years. Sometimes you treat somebody badly to forget who that person really is. Sometimes you can oppress a people just to let them forget about their dreams … God have [has] a purpose for all of us, that's why no oppressor can kill a dream … if we stands [stand] together then nothing is impossible. But if you can just manage to break the dignity, the proudness of a nation then such a nation will never stand together. If you look back on the behaviour of our people, our people had lived for so many years without dignity, without self-pride, without being recognized as the First Indigenous People of this country. It is heart breaking to be kicked out of your house. You will never forget the person that rob you from your house. It is your house, you have been born in that house, then strangers come and take that away from you. (Pastor Bekkies, 2017).[225]

In the above quote Pastor Bekkies capture the story of the loss of land of their forefathers when the settlers arrived and systematically took over the land. Pastor Bekkies uses the analogy of a house and how one can never forget a person who kicked you out of your house. Without land, without a house you become a vagabond with no fixed abode. Plaatje describing the loss of land stating that "awakening on Friday morning, June 20, 1913, the South African native [[226]]

[225] Speech made by Pastor Bekkies, a Khoe activist before the handing over of the memorandum to inform the Eastern Cape Legislature about the denunciation of the Coloured identity.
[226] Terms like native, Bantu and Kaffer are all derogatory terms used to refer to South African Black people.

found himself, not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth (Kader Asmal in Plaatje, 1982[1916] xi).

Land on which the native[227] lived was turned into White-owned land. The debate of land centers on property rights, issues of belonging and the ever-so-elusive notion of wealth creation[228] that escaped many Africans for centuries as they were systematically turned into labourers. The native people in South Africa were forced off their land and placed in reserves (later known as Bantustans/homelands)[229], which were allocated seven percent of the total land surface by the Native Land Act of 1913 (Hendricks and Pithouse, 2013). There were other land acts and treaties signed prior to the writings of Sol Plaatje, a journalist and writer who documented these dreadful episodes of the loss of land vividly, describing the events and capturing the mood where the native found himself/herself as 'a pariah in the land of their birth'. The writings of Plaatje, first published in 1916, became a pillar of reference concerning the loss of land by the native people of South Africa. The date, 1913, found its way into the new democratic South African constitution post-1994, more than eighty years after the Native Land Act was promulgated. The infamous date is found in Chapter Two of the Bill of Rights under the Property clause, Section 25 (7) of the constitution, which reads as follows:

> A person or community dispossessed of property after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws and practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to restitution of that property or to equitable redress.[230]

In using this cut-off date as a framework to attempt to address the injustices of the past and the systematic dispossession of land, makes history seem static and motionless as though the loss of land is fixed in time. Why, one might ask, is this the case when history points to over-all loss of land over a gradual period that precedes 1913? The unrelenting loss of land, the ongoing

---

[227] As discussed in chapter six, depending on who you address, the term native took on different meanings and interpretations, particularly under the Apartheid government. Individuals in the Coloured community distance themselves from this term and its application in their lives. The term native was associated with bad treatment meted out to South African Black people in the country.
[228] The creation of wealth here refers to inheritance of land and property that is passed down from generation to generation.
[229] The land that was specifically put aside for their use and, when permitted, he/she could enter the land of the White man that once belonged to his/her/their family.
[230] The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. Chapter Two – Bill of Rights, page 10.

Xhi (pain) and unimaginable, unresolved *Xhi* inflicted on an unsuspecting people, the Khoe-San and by extension their descendants, is under discussion in this chapter – a debate which ballooned post-1994, and more so in recent times when talks surfaced to amend the constitution of South Africa to allow for land expropriation without compensation. The descendants of the Khoe-San are making their voices heard, pressing from several angles, inserting themselves into spaces previously 'closed off' to them to address the systematic loss of land and the impact it has had on them.

Land dispossession arose not merely because of a law that was passed on 13 June 1913 but with the first point of contact. Policy drafters of the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa emphasized this date by inserting it into the document that represents the highest law of the land. This date – 13 June 1913 -- ignores the first point of contact, the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck. By formalizing this fixed date, a limitation was placed on the loss of land for Khoe-San people who by then were an 'opaque' people relegated to the dirt bin of history. As noted by Tafira, "South African modernity is founded on and etched in blood. It stands on the cadavers of indigenous people, whose extermination and subjugation necessitated the ground on which South Africa is constructed" (2016:1). What Plaatje omits in his narrative on land, relates to the measured loss of land when in 1652 the Khoe and the San people woke up to find European settlers on their doorstep who gradually and systematically dispossessed them of land. In the words of Ross (2017), "through the eighteenth century, and well into the nineteenth, the Khoe-San lost their stock, their grazing land, and their access to the plants they foraged and the game they hunted" (Ross, 2017:xvii). These are all factors that in general contribute to wealth creation passed down from generation to generation and that aid sustainable livelihoods. As seen in chapter seven, Ma Gooi is dependent on the mercy of a farmer who profits from game hunting and, because the skin of the animal has no symbolic meaning to the game rangers, it is discarded and sold to people like Ma Gooi who attach cultural value to the skin of the animal. The wearing of skin clothes is a growing phenomenon among Khoe-San people.

By the time the Native Land Act was promulgated in 1913, the descendants of the Khoe-San were already persona non grata in the land of their birth, wandering souls with no fixed abode, whose suffering and losses were unspeakable. As mentioned in chapter five, the language and the identity of the Khoe-San slowly eroded under different systems of colonialism and Apartheid. Although the areas on which the South African Black people were eventually settled consisted mostly of meagre, unproductive portions of land, provision was nonetheless made

for them to settle on land. And, although the land was small and not desirable, they at least had land and, with that, a sense of belonging in terms of practising their culture and their traditions, contrary to the situation of the descendants of the Khoe-San people who, as noted by Cavanagh (2012), were scattered across the country. According to Oomen (2005) and various other authors[231], Chiefs (men in particular) in the Bantustans controlled the rural land on which the different ethnic[232] groups were governed and legally settled.[233] As a result of the recognition of the Bantustan chiefs, the National Council of Traditional Leaders morphed into the National House of Traditional Leaders[234] and received official status, recognizing the role of traditional chiefs in the democratic dispensation. Although the Bantustans are now defunct, the chieftainship as a body received acknowledgment/recognition in Chapter 12 of the Constitution of 1996, compared to the leadership of the Khoe-San who were not included in the Constitution, except for the mention of Khoe-San languages, which is recorded in error in this lauded document that is the rule of law for the land.[235] Therefore, following continued mobilization

---

[231] See Mbongiseni Buthelezi and Dineo Skosana (2018) "The Salience of Chiefs in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Reflections on the Nhlapo Commission". In John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff (eds*.). The Politics of Custom – Chiefship, Capital, and the State in Contemporary Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University.
Fani Ncapayi (2021) "Traditional Leaders' Conceptions of Land Reform and Rural Citizens' Identities". In Khwezi Mabasa and Bulelwa Mabasa (eds.) *Land in South Africa Contested Meanings and Nation Formation.* Johannesburg: Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection.

[232] According to the constitution of 8 May 1996, Chapter 1: Founding Provisions, 6(1) the official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.

[233] By way of example the Black Authorities Act 68 of 1951, http://www.ruraldevelopment.gov.za/phocadownload/Acts/black%20authorities%20act%2068%20of%201951.pdf, Accessed on 17/05/2018. "Tribal authorities were administrative structures created by the Apartheid government under the Bantu Authorities Act (later known as the Black Authorities Act) and were used to place people from different ethnic groups into overcrowded pieces of land, or tribal authority areas, which later became the homelands (Bantustans)". http://www.larc.uct.ac.za/sites/default/files/image_tool/images/347/FactSheets/Fact%20sheet_TLGFA_Dec%202017%20updated_final.pdf, Accessed 17/05/2018 (page 1).

[234] Address by President Nelson Mandela at the inauguration of the National Council of Traditional Leaders Cape Town, 18 April 1997, http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/address-president-nelson-mandela-inauguration-national-council-traditional-leaders-cape-town, Accessed 17/05/2018

[235] On several occasions on radio and television interviews, the Director of Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) pointed out the mistake made in the constitution about categorising the groups in the Khoe-San movement. In one of the television interviews, the Director pointed out the following inaccuracy in the constitution, "…because even the categorisation of that they've got in the constitution is not accurate. The Khoi, San and Nama language ... Nama is one of those two groups. It is not on its own. So basically, we need to understand that". In pointing out this critical mistake made in the constitution, the Director points out that the drafters of the section of the policy in the constitution were not certain of their facts and, as I argue in this thesis, that the phenomenon of indigeneity took the democratic government by surprise. When the Freedom Charter was signed in 1955, no mention was

and lobbying by Khoe-San leaders, the Traditional Leadership Bill 'accommodated' the Khoe-San leadership and the new name for this act of legislature is now known as the Traditional Khoe-San Leadership Bill (TKLB).[236] Although it is supposed that the Bill 'accommodates' the leadership of the Khoe-San, there are many varied opinions and much discontent in the movement of the Khoe-San who are opposed to this legislation.

The Liberation[237] Struggle

In South Africa, the popular narrative about the liberation struggle of the country starts with the formation of the African National Congress (ANC), previously known as the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in 1912. The ANC is an organization that among other things came to life to address the injustices of the system that oppressed so many people by fighting against its atrocities and inequalities. That means that many other people were involved in the liberation of the country and a single narrative of a homogeneous struggle cannot suffice to represent the many struggles fought on various fronts. However, as noted by McKaiser (2017), the history of the making of South Africa falls off the radar and comes across as a distant memory as those experiences which link everyday lived experiences to a recent past, where people in the present can be held accountable for the past atrocities, are what is uppermost in people's memories; the 'zebra debate', as the late activist and social commentator Dr Martin called it (Khoe-San Unity Roundtable, 2016).[238] The land debate is one such issue where one can locate what a sense of belonging and sense of place making possibly entails for a number of the citizens of the country: more so in the circles of the descendants of the Khoe-San groups who are struggling to have the identity of their forebears[239] recognized.

---

made of sharing the land with indigenous peoples because they were 'non-existent' and 'invisible'. Hence the Charter reads that the land shall be shared amongst all who live in it, Black and White. When the leaders of the various parties congregated to discuss the way forward for the country, the identity of the Khoe-San was to their minds 'extinct' as noted in the speech of the ex-President Thabo Mbeki in his speech 'I am an African'.

[236] Land and Accountability Research Centre, available from http://www.customcontested.co.za/law-and-policy-tracker/update-traditional-and-khoi-san-leadership-bill-b23b-2015/, Accessed 25/07/2018

[237] Land and Accountability Research Centre, available from http://www.customcontested.co.za/law-and-policy-tracker/update-traditional-and-khoi-san-leadership-bill-b23b-2015/, Accessed 25/07/2018.

[238] In 2016, Khoe-San members and activists from Johannesburg, Durban and Western Cape came together, over two days, to engage each other over issues that plague the Khoe-San people and plan a way forward. Various matters were raised and discussed, to find solutions to the problems they are facing the community.

[239] In the previous regimes, both under colonialism and Apartheid the identity and existence of the Khoe-San people became a 'non-factor' to the various governments and large groups of these people

A Metaphor: Recognition and Belonging

What does it mean to be recognized or acknowledged? Who should recognize whom and why is it important to recognize an individual, their suffering and trauma? To be able to unpack this phenomenon of what recognition entails, I use the metaphor of paternity[240] of a father to a child. In the thesis I use the metaphor of paternity to refer to the South African populace post-1994 and how governmental structures recognize the struggle of the South African Black people. Somehow the narrative of those who are known as Coloured people, some now vigorously claiming an ethnic identity linked to the past, is indicative of the need to be recognized; like the father who acknowledges his child. In the earlier poem by Heeger on *Citizen Minus*, in chapter six, the poet alludes to this phenomenon of not being seen or recognized as a person; that one must be of a certain hue to be taken into consideration. The poet is not addressing the phenotype of people, but rather that to be Black in this sense means you are part of the people, the children, who suffered under Apartheid. The government in this case is likened to a father who recognizes this historical injustice done to the children while the historical injustice of the other children, those dubiously known as Coloured people, does not get the same type of acknowledgement. This is profoundly intimated through Melvin's placard (chapter four) where he as a self-identifying Khoe-San member illustrates that they are not acknowledged, with the words "Stop ignoring us, we not going anywhere!!! Like children seeking attention from their father, so does the Khoe-San people ask and engage the government to recognize them. This is despite the recognition indigenous peoples have for themselves globally. The recognition by government is lacking; and yet more and more people become indigenous, and so too does the call for recognition spread throughout Coloured communities as a process of 'awakening' to identity issues is ignited.

It is a known fact, that to acknowledge paternity in many instances means that a child can either have better access to opportunities or not. However, if the father does not acknowledge paternity that child will not have access to maintenance and in many instances, through an Act of law, the child be supported but will never truly know the warmth and acceptance of their father. In other words, for as long as the government does not give due recognition to the varied

---

were assimilated into various other groups (see Besten, 2007; Ross, 2017; Mellet, 2020). As a result of inter-marriages and assimilation it is important to note that those who have links to indigenous groups in South Africa are not all part of this quest for identification.

[240] Among other things, this may require paying child support, visiting the child, and other fatherly duties.

experiences of those identified as Coloured, and the predominant number who lived and live through similar hardships as their fellow South African Black people (Richards, 2017), these invisibilised peoples will make their voices heard. If the parent acknowledges paternity, chances are that the child or children will have better prospects in life not merely financial security but in all other aspects of life. If paternity is not acknowledged or recognized, then chances are that the child or children will be at a disadvantage whether the parents are a married couple or not. The phenomenon of disadvantage becomes a reality, not only monetarily but also in aspects like having a sense of belonging to a loving family structure. If paternity is not acknowledged, the child/children miss out on meaningful relationships with kith and kin. In terms of the metaphor for paternity, not being recognized as a people has major impediments for issues of social cohesion in the country.

In this chapter, I address the hotly contested debate about land and belonging in South Africa. I argue that, without the necessary recognition or acknowledgement of a people by a governing party, the 'invisibility' of trauma and suffering becoming a 'non-factor' that overshadows the underlying issues raised by the Khoe-San people. Like a child who is not acknowledged by his or her family, so too were the Khoe-San never recognized by any government. Rightly or wrongly so, the recognition of indigeneity as pioneered by indigenous groups in the global North, who opened and continue to make inroads at the United Nations, bestowed on Khoe-San people, their indigeneity. Through this assertion Khoe-San peoples engage the current government of the ANC and societies around them as descendants of the Khoe-San people.

Rights in Land

In 2013 the government, through the ministerial office of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR), sent out an announcement for public comment and participation on the Restitution and Land Rights Amendments Bill (Government Gazette, Vol. 575, No 36477 of 23 May 2013). The report findings are discussed here because it is imperative to the current debate on land issue that is inclusive expropriation without compensation, land reform, land restitution and land redistribution, particularly taking into consideration the claims of loss of land by the descendants of the Khoe-San people and how the DRDLR plans to 'accommodate' the issues raised by the descendants of the Khoe-San concerning their claims to land. The findings in this report noted that previous attempts at land restitution were unjust and reasons for this were given for the unsuccessful outcome of the restitution process.

It was said upon re-evaluating the report that deserving claimants could not take part in the programme because they did not lodge claims by the cut-off date that was 31 December 1998. The Native Land Act of 1913 which came into effect only took into consideration those dispossessed of their land after the Act was issued. Any land lost before this date would have a separate programme to deal with those claimants. It was also taken into consideration that some people lost their land through Betterment Planning policies.

The reasons for the non-submission were noted as a poor methodology used to inform the restitution programme and that the window period allowed for people to lodge claims was too short. Further constraints were a lack of proper consultation and information not reaching certain deserving claimants on time to lodge claims.

The estimation at the time was that 3.5 million people became landless because of colonialism and Apartheid. The report also noted that if homeland consolidations are taken into account the number of claimants double from 3.5 million to 7.5 million whereas less than 80 000 claims were lodged for the restitution programme by the cut-off date of 31 December 1998[241]. I highlighted and summarised points 2.1 to 2.4 from the report and the reason for choosing to start at this point of the report is to show that when the land question received attention in the early 1990s, the processes were problematic from the onset. It continues to be the case as Ngcukaitobi (2021) in his book *Land Matters: South Africa's Failed Land Reforms and the Road Ahead* reminds us.

It is clear from the above points in the report that the land reform process, a three-pronged process namely (redistribution, restitution, and tenure reform) has not achieved its goals (Hendricks, 2013; Xaba, 2021; Ngcukaitobi, 2021) although glimpses of successes was reported but not merely enough was achieved to address the land needs of the South African populace. The land issue is an ongoing debate.

In this section, concentrate on two cases, namely the Richtersveld case in the Northern Cape and the District Six land restitution case in the Western Cape, while being cognisant of other forms of land claims in other areas. For example, the resettlement of the Kung and Khwe

---

[241] Restitution of Land Rights Amendment Bill. Available https://archive.opengazettes.org.za/archive/ZA/2013/government-gazette-ZA-vol-575-no-36477-dated-2013-05-23.pdf , Accessed 17/05/2018, pp. 11- 12.

San/Bushmen people who were brought back to South Africa from the Caprivi strip in Namibia by the Mandela government in the early-1990s (Salakhetdinov, 2022). This group of San /Bushmen people was first settled in Schmidtsdrift in the Northern Cape and then moved to Platfontein, 16 minutes' drive from of the Kimberley Central Business District (CBD). One other land claim of significance is the southern Kalahari land claim of the early 1990s, of San descendants resettled on a "36 000 hectares of farmland with game animals and some concessions in the conservation area of the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park "with cultural rights" (Ellis, 2019:315). This list of claims to land restitution is not comprehensive, but a selective list for the purpose of discussing the concept of 'rights in land', as defined by the South African Constitutional Judges (Chaskalson, Langa, Ackerman, Goldstone, Madala, Mokgoro, Ngcobo, O'Regan, Sachs and Yacoob, 2003; Barry, 2004)

> [A] 'right in land' means: any right in land whether registered or unregistered and may include the interest of a labour tenant and sharecropper, a customary law interest, the interest of a beneficiary under a trust arrangement and beneficial occupation for a continuous period of not less than 10 years prior to the dispossession in question. (Chaskalson et al., 2003:56)

Finally, in this section, I look at the return to land through the lens of funeral processes among the Khoe-San people. Many of the land claims lodged, including those made by other groups in South Africa, fall within the brackets of the DRDLR who is still assessing claims that are, according to claimants, remaining unresolved (personnel discussion, 2018). Some people complain that the claims that they lodged in 1998, are still not resolved. Twenty-five years on, many try to have their claims finalised, but the process is slow, leaving people dismayed and less hopeful that they will ever be settled or resettled on land.

Some brief explanations are necessary to contextualise the discussion that follows in terms of what the South African constitution provides for. I flag these descriptions and go ahead to discussing the cases named above, as my specific interest is in *how land is used* contrary to the debates on ownership of land that is never ending and contentious. By saying this I do not downplay the Khoe-San struggle for land who asserted during my fieldwork that "we are the owners of the land". It is not disputed that Khoe-San suffered great losses under colonialism and during Apartheid but what becomes crucial to note is how the law effects claims to land.

When talks of land reform that became prominent after 1994, three components made up the land reform process, namely redistribution, restitution, and secured tenure. Redistribution is the vehicle to provide for equitable access to land. Restitution redresses the injustices of the past. 'Secured tenure' refers to the need for everyone to have secured tenure and rights over property and lands where they live as enshrined in the constitution of South Africa. Land restitution is thus confirmed and is based on Section 25 of the constitution. Over the past few years different sectors of society have called for land expropriation without compensation (Ntsebeza, 2013).

I start with the case study of the Richtersveld Community, in relation to the Khoe-San people, specifically the Nama people, and only those who lived on the "narrow strip of land along the west coast from the Gariep (Orange) River in the north to just below Port Nolloth in the south" (Chaskalson et al., 2003:56). The Nama people lived on this strip of land until it was annexed by the British government in 1847, and in 1920 with the discovery of diamonds in the area, the Richtersveld people were dispossessed of their land, mineral wealth and access to water sources. During the Apartheid years, in 1957, as noted by the panel of judges, this strip of land was fenced off and taken by force from the community, and in the early 1990s this land became the property of a government owned diamond-mining company, Alexkor Ltd (Chaskalson et al., 2003). The judges note that the Land Claims Court (LCC) rejected the claim from the community on the basis that they did not have "rights in land" based on ownership at annexation and they were considered "too low in the scale of social organization for their rights in land to be recognized" (Chaskalson et al., 2003:55). The people of the area, the ones found on the land, became an opaque people: one could see right through them and disregard their humanity. Under both systems of British and Apartheid rule, separation of people was the modus operandi, while 'spatial Apartheid' then became entrenched with the latter regime, the Apartheid government. According to the LCC, the Richtersveld Community did not suffer this type of 'spatial Apartheid'. Whether relegated to the Bantustans or 'drifting' in and out of places, the fact is that the community suffered dispossession of land for the exploitation of the mineral wealth of their land, however the LCC rejected their claim for restitution (Chaskalson et al., 2003:55).

The community made an application to the Supreme Court of Appeal (SCA), who overturned the ruling of the LCC, and the land was returned to the community. As noted by the Constitutional Court judges, an issue arose in the legal dealings with the Richtersveld case,

which highlighted the different strains of law applicable to different subjects when the matter ended up in the Constitutional Court:

> The nature and the content of the rights that the Richtersveld Community held in the subject land [[242]] prior to annexation must be determined by reference to indigenous law. That is the law which governed its land rights. Those rights cannot be determined by reference to common law. The Privy Council has held, and we agree, that a dispute between indigenous people [and their] right to occupy a piece of land has to be determined according to indigenous law 'without importing English conceptions of property law'. (Chaskalson et al., 2003:59)[243]

The judges further distinguished between how indigenous laws are used and how it advances over time:

> In applying indigenous law, it is important to bear in mind that, unlike common law, indigenous law is not written. It is a system of law that was known to the community, practiced and passed on from generation to generation. It is a system of law that has its own values and norms. Throughout its history it has evolved and developed to meet the changing needs of the community. And it will continue to evolve within the context of its values and norms consistently with the Constitution. (Chaskalson et al, 2003:59)

The Nama people in the Richtersveld could identify the land they had lost undisputedly, hence the judges could make such a pertinent distinction between common law and indigenous law in the apex court, the highest court in South African law. The land claims debate is a legal quagmire. I only look at certain land claims as it pertains to the Khoe-San people, post-1994 when the land claims debate was opened. Apart from the few cases I selected to mention here, in all other respects, the descendants of the Khoe-San remain landless which poses a problem in terms of beneficiation for these groups.

To shine a light on the workings in the morass of land claims, the testimony that the Chief Land Claims Commissioner gave at the hearings conducted by the South African Human Rights

---

[242] The 'subject land' refers to the land along the Gariep (Orange) River and not the entire Richtersveld.
[243] Point number 50 on the Court and Tribunal Discussions Document in relation to the Richtersveld rights to land claim.

Commission (SAHRC), is important to understand and make sense of the macro politics of the land debate. The testimony gives a glimpse of the complicated nature of the land claims debate and of the roles of the different actors involved. I use quotes from this hearing to illustrate the complexity of the land debate and the stance taken by DRDLR with regards to land claims. It is imperative to underscore that the Republic of South Africa is a sovereign state and constitutional democracy, that set the guidelines for rules and policies using the mechanisms of the law. The descendants of the Khoe-San people are not officially recognized as such, they have citizenship in the country under the category of Coloured. They carry South African identity documents and may apply for South African passports.

Whilst, from a legal perspective, the Richtersveld Community land claim is significant in representing the country's first ever signed "doctrine of aboriginal title", I argue that a victory without full beneficiation for the community is an empty victory (Barry, 2004:355). It is a fact that in October 2003, the landmarked victory was signed; however, the important question is, are the community benefitting from the victory?

In relation to the Richtersveld claim the officer from the land claims commission was asked questions that related to the beneficiation and strategic impact on the community in the Richtersveld by the SAHRC commissioner, to which he responded:

> The claim in the Richtersveld was settled by a task team of Ministers, that was led by the Minister of Trade and Industry. A complex settlement was reached, and it is the nature of the settlement that has caused the people in Richtersveld not to benefit even up to today [2016]. There is money that is available in a bank account and the community, the people, I think the community have control over, but the conditions that are placed errr… that govern that account [is] such that they can't even distribute that money to the community. It is money that came from government for specific purpose[s] and it is required by the settlement model that was adopted that government must give consent. So, what we have done is that we are in a process of going back to Cabinet, and the Minister has already signed a memorandum to Cabinet, to unbundle the Richtersveld Settlement. We are going back to Cabinet because the Settlement was done by a Ministerial Task team and it was approved by Cabinet. So, if we want to change it, we must go to, firstly to Cabinet then errr… approach the community.

> There is a complex structure there, where there is a CPA[244] that owns the land, there is a trust that holds some money, it also hold some shares in a company and the company holds shares in a joint venture on Alexkor, where it is 50% the state and 50% the community. So that is not understood properly by all the members of the community and in all honesty, it is a real complex structure. So now the interventions that we are bringing to try and make sure that there is beneficiation for the community in Richtersveld is to go back to Cabinet and ask them to allow the Minister to unbundle, to simplify the settlement such that there is an entity that will hold the land on behalf of the people and there is one entity that's going to do business. Not a trust, a holding company and a joint venture, which is now proving to be a little bit difficult. (SAHRC, Johannesburg 2016)

The testimony of the Land Claims Commissioner to the SAHRC points to the difficulty of imposing legal talk, business acumen on people, and the difficulty of communicating in easy, understandable language to the eldest person in the community to help them understand what is happening on their land and which processes are there to benefit them, and their families going into the future. The task of communicating must be simplified and delivered to the community in the language they understand – in this case, where the community is conversant in the Afrikaans language. In this regard, communication in the form of community newspapers, flyers, and most of all in the places where people congregate like shopping malls and in churches, plays an important role. These are the places where the community are found, and this will ensure that people know and understand the processes that include them 'just and equitably' in the remaking of their community. As noted by the Land Claims Commissioner, even for a learned person, the structure is complex, noting it "is not understood properly by all the members of the community and in all honesty, it is a real complex structure".

In addition to the complications pointed out by the Land Claims Commissioner, in relation to the Nama people and the restitution process, the structure of the CPA is problematic for many "where people note that the elected members do as they wish, and they do not consult the community to find out what is it that they should do" (Communication, 2016). Some of these

[244] To get land back to the people, the beneficiaries of the land reform by way of land restitution or land redistribution, this body, the Communal Property Associations Act (28/1996), was established to hold and manage land on behalf of the people (Oomen, 2005:72).

problems are also noted by Oomen (2005) in relation to redistribution of land and the sort of problems Land Affairs officials encounter in carrying out their mandate:

> Applications from landless chiefs, traditional leaders involved in succession disputes or others who merely wanted to expend their territorial jurisdiction […] a piece of land allocated to a CPA often turned out to be run on tribal lines: 'We created a CPA for these people and the next thing we hear is that there is a chief allocating land and demanding R250 for it, claiming its only khonza fee to allow people to join the tribe'. (Oomen, 2005:73)

Within all these discussions, public hearings and consultations regarding land claims, the Khoe-San people remain landless, except for the well-documented cases of the San people in Platfontein and in the southern Kalahari. Those who have submitted land claims in the first window period in 1998 are still waiting for their land claims to be settled.

In chapter five, I addressed the inauguration of ǂxuu Katrina Esau, that took place on a stretch of land which was occupied by some Khoe-San activists who were trying to make some money of the land by using it as a tourist attraction. The land is situated close to the highway that leads to Namibia. The inauguration that took place on this piece of land was a symbolic connection to the land. However, when I revisited that same piece of land on my return to Upington in 2016, all the huts and makeshift structures that were there in 2015 had been destroyed and nobody was living on the land anymore.

On the day that Charles (the son of ǂxuu Katrina Esau) and I visited the land, we met a family who were looking at the destroyed huts and picking up artefacts that were laying around. Nadia, a teacher by profession, said she came there hoping that she would find people to speak to as she wanted to bring her class there for a lesson in Khoe-San studies. The stretch of land looked deserted, a far cry from what it looked like when the inauguration took place – the inauguration that caught the attention of Luthuli House and subsequent reprimanding of the ex-premier of the Northern Cape, which drastically changed the social standing of ǂxuu Katrina Esau.

Many authors on land and agrarian studies have engaged in the question of District Six and the land claims in relation to the forced removals in this area, and how District Six represented the amalgam of South African identities. It is however important to note how District Six came about. In 1840, the areas that encompassed Zonnebloem and Bloemhof were largely open spaces where these two estates where located. As Cape Town expanded economically, the

landscape began to change to accommodate homes for the growing population after the 1838 emancipation of slavery, and as in 1897 the Cape Town municipality incorporated the area and it became known as District Six (Soudien, 2001:117).

Therefore, I wish to focus on a different angle of the land claims question concerning District Six. The full testimony of the Land Claims Commissioner is noted here because it is important to shed light on the inner workings of the land claims processes and how it unfolds at the level of the state. The restitution process and the envisioned plans for the land are laid out in the presentation of the official of the DRDLR at the Human Rights Hearings in Johannesburg in 2016. He notes the following:

> With District Six, in District, 40 hectares of land was made available by the Province and by the City, and 40 that 40 hectares of land is still there. There has been development done in three phases and we are now on phase four. The planning for the development has been errr ... was based on claims lodged before 1998, where 2500 claims were lodged before 1998, 1500 of the claimants wanted restoration, they wanted land, 1000 wanted financial compensation, part of those who wanted financial compensation had already been paid. The capacity of the land was enough to deliver 4500 houses. If you look at the history of dispossession in District Six, after 1913, it was mostly the descendants of the Khoe and San that where dispossessed after 1913. There were other indigenous Africans that were there before 1913, also dispossessed. District Six represents the last opportunity for ordinary South Africans to live in the Cape Town City Center. So, because you had land that can give you 4500 housing units, 1500 claimants want to go back, you then had about 3000 housing units that you can then use to number one, create enough resources for the people who want to go back, to go back without paying anything, to go back and not just get the land but get land and a housing unit. The 3000 units presented an opportunity of making sure that you do not repeat what was done by the Group Areas Act of creating a community of just one race. So, the idea was to identify other people who were going to be brought in so that you can have a mixture, have a District Six that represent the demographics of the country, and accommodate people from the N2 Gateway Project, and people living in informal settlements, who would then be brought closer to town. Now that made some housing units available to the market

> so that the profits that you make, you plough back to the project and people will pay, very close to nothing, for them to get land and a housing unit. But what was most important, in the whole design was that people were not going to get the exact piece of land that they lost. The people who lost land, and were restitution beneficiaries, they were [going] to get type A of a house and everyone else was [going] to get a different house. They were there, they were removed, the others, not all of them that were there, were removed. Then there were challenges that were caused by just pure politics. The politics of the Western Cape, and a lot of toing and froing, a lot of people saying it's my mandate, and in some instances just purely for political gain. By that time, the commission, our commission no longer has control because we have identified who must go back, who qualifies and who doesn't. Who lost what. But then it's up to the City as the owner of the land, the City as the local authority that must deliver services and a whole lot of government departments with their different respective mandates. What has now made the situation worse, is number one, people that have lost land insisting on getting exactly the piece of land that they lost. […] What the Minister has [to do] is to establish a task team that has representatives of the claimants, the City, the Province, National government working together driving District Six. There was an issue about who is the Developer in District Six? Is it the community, is it government? If it is government, is it National, is it Province, is it Local Government? Now that has been resolve: the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform is the Developer, and it is the Department assisted by the different spheres and government departments in the Development process. So, we are paying for all development that is currently taking place there done by monies that has been made available from our budget. (Testimony at the South African Human Rights Hearings, January 2016)

The District Six land claims process as per the presentation of the official from DRDLR is indicative of the complex nature of the land claims debate in South Africa. The officer states that claimants who lost land in District Six will not receive the exact piece of land they lost. The state institution, through the DRDLR, envisions a new District Six community that is multi-racial, representing the demographics of the country. In District Six, two arms of the land reform process are used: redistribution and restitution of the land. The state has the power through law, to expropriate land with or without compensation where it is deemed necessary

for public interest (that is the claimants) and public purpose (the utilisation of land). The case of District Six serves both these criteria. It was in the interest of the people and their descendants to use the restitution clause of land reform. However, the state also decided that the land must service a public purpose, and this was done through redistribution. The state redistributed land to the market economy by availing a total of 3 000 housing units to the open market which speaks to development and economics. The claimants who wished to be resettled on the land will receive a house and a part of land they once owned, although this land will not be the same size as the land that they or their families had lost through dispossession. The Richtersveld land claim and the and District Six land claim cannot be analysed without pointing to the power relations and the law involved in decision making at all three spheres of government.

Funerial practices among the Khoe-San people

The !Xõ people is a branch of the San/Bushmen group. In 1974, Heinz observed the burial of a !Xõ person. He noted that the man responsible for performing the burial first selected a shady site for the burial ritual to take place. The men who were present "dug a rectangular pit, orientated north-south and hollowed out a burial chamber" (Heinz, 1986, cited in Barnard, 1992:72). The chamber was dug into the eastern wall of the pit. The body of the deceased was wrapped in a blanket and lowered horizontally and placed inside the chamber. The head of the deceased was placed on a pillow and made to face to the west and the grave "was then covered with grass and branches, and two vertical poles were erected to mark the grave" (Heinz, 1986, cited in Barnard, 1992:72). The women and children first standing at a distance, then walked past the grave and threw some sand into it. The father of the deceased "prepared a purifying medicinal liquid" to be used by those who came into contact with the corpse to wash themselves (Heinz, 1986, cited in Barnard, 1992:72). Once this ritual was done, branches were placed over the grave and the men who had performed the burial said a short prayer and departed, "flicking their hands in the air" (Heinz 1986, cited in Barnard, 1992:72). Heinz noted that the burial practice of the !Xõ burial ritual is the same as that of the !Kung, except for a few details like the fact that the Kungplace the body to face to the south, while the !Xõ place the body to the north. Also, the Kunguse thornbush around the grave side while the !Xõ place branches directly onto the grave. Lastly, the !Xõ use medicinal water to wash and the Kunguse plain water to wash themselves after the burial ritual (Heinz, 1986: 34–35, cited in Barnard, 1992: 73).

When Le Roux and White conducted a study on the Voices of the San, various San/Bushmen presented them with different responses in relation to the burial rituals for their deceased family members or members of the group. According to Tc!xo Tsoa G!oche, a member of the Ju/'hoansi who lives in Botswana, as nomads when someone dies:

> When someone died, we just knocked down their hut and moved away to another place, because we were afraid they might wake up and do bad things to us; so we just knocked the hut down and went away. We did not bury our dead; even if we went hunting and gathering and someone got sick, we just made a hut [for him or her] and when the sick person passed away, we just knocked down the hut and went away to the place where we came from … if a person died outside the hut, we did not touch him, we just left him there and left. People of the past were afraid to touch the dead people. (Le Roux and White, 2004:127)

Nagokakwe Ghigo, Xakoa, from the ǁAnikhwe group in Botswana explains the difference in the way they practise taking care of sick members in their group and the burial rituals they follow compared to the Bugakhwe people:

> We, the ǁAnikhwe, we took care of our sick people from the day the sickness started until the end of their lives. We were not like the Bugakhwe who, if someone was seriously sick, they just moved away and left the patient behind to die alone. We are completely different on the funeral issues too. Even today, our corpses can be kept for two to three days before being buried. (Le Roux and White, 2004:126)

The different groups all have rituals of burials and clearly, their views on burial practices are diverse. However, among the research participants in this study of Le Roux and White (2004), whichever way they decided to bury their death, all of them had a sense of their own mortality.

Experiencing 'loss' in the field

Thinking of death is not something that one considers when you think about a research project. No one willingly thinks about death or dying. It is such a final thought. Although death represents the ultimate part of the natural cycle, it is not uppermost in the minds of most people. Thus, when there is death in a family, it comes as a surprise, an unexpected event and, from society to society, different people have devised different ways to mourn the loss of life. In this section, I discuss the funerial practices of the Khoe-San and I reflect on the burial of the late

Chief Steenkamp in the Northern Cape and the burial of the late Chief Mathysen in Johannesburg.

A sad return to the Kalahari

Just three weeks before the death of Chief Steenkamp, we were driving to Askham in the Kalahari. The taxi was filled with a jovial group of young people, excited to attend the festival they had been practicing for, perfecting their dance moves and finally being able to display their art to a cheering audience. The festival also meant that the young people would receive a stipend from Department of Arts and Culture for their performance. That put a smile on their faces as this small stipend would help them to buy some of the things they needed and as, in some cases, their families were waiting anxiously for them to return so that they could share some of the money in contributing to the household.

The venue where the festival was held was on the land where the Steenkamp family stays. The group of researchers from Lapland also attended the festival and they held workshops with the young children on creative drawing. The mood was cheerful and many well-known Afrikaans musicians performed on stage. There was a group of fifteen American tourists who were brought to the event by a Capetonian events company. They were disappointed in the show and felt the festival was not what they had expected. They expected to see 'real Bushmen and Khoe people perform' – the 'look' as Erasmus (2017) refers to it. They did not expect a music show that featured Afrikaans pop artists. The expectation of the group of tourists is what (Heiss, 2012;) refers to as the "extreme stage of performativity" where "Blackfellas are still expected by many to remain static as Aboriginal people. That in order to be 'authentically Aboriginal', [you] must not evolve as a community" to be "*really* Aboriginal, or *really* Black", you must be "desert-dwellers, poor, uneducated, at risk and dark-skinned" (Heiss, 2012: 81). Even the young people who performed at the festival did not meet the standards of the tourist of what an indigenous must look like.

On the day that the news of the passing of Chief Steenkamp was received, an American man working with solar panel projects was visiting the House. He was brought there by Cyril, a local businessman from the community and the talks were that they might use the residence of ǂxuu Esau in order to run a pilot test for generating electricity off the grid[245]. The man took out

[245] I have seen several influential people brought to the ǂXuu when people speak about projects that can possibly benefit the community.

R1000 in cash and gave it to the ǂxuu to buy a wreath for the funeral. The ǂxuu took the R1000, looked up into the sky and said "*dankie Steenkamp*" (thank you Steenkamp).

Two weeks before the festival, Chief Steenkamp visited in Upington and a *braai* (barbeque) was arranged at the house of Delano, who used to spend a lot of time with the Chief whenever he was visiting in Upington. Cedric, a friend of Delano, became acquainted with the Chief through Delano and became familiar with the Khoe-San issues although he did not necessarily affiliate to any group. At the funeral of the Chief, Cedric said:

> Jy weet wat jong, ek gaan rond met Delano na al die Khoe-San verrigtinge wat die mense hou, want ons hang saam uit. Die Oom[246] is altyd daar in Upington by Delano sé plek. Ek ken hom. Ons almal weet dat hy 'n Chief is en reg oor Suid Afrika geken word. Jong, ek het ook gehoor dat hy van die Boesmans daar in Geneva gaan praat op die wêreld verhoog. Hy is 'n man van aansien, maar ek sou nooit kon dink dat hy ook in 'n possie[247] bly nie. Yoh, ek is skoon verstom en baie verbaas met wat ek vandag sien.[248] (Personal communication, September 2016)

Cedric was referring to the living conditions of this man whom he learned to call Chief. In his mind, a Chief is a wealthy person and lives a comfortable life in a brick and mortar house. To him, the Chief "is n man van aansien", he is a respected man, and the lifestyle must be on par. This is however not the case for the Khoe-San leaders. They are landless Chiefs. Chief Steenkamp was buried at a graveyard not too far for his home.

Chief Mathysen – A dream deferred

The Mathysen family, like many other South African families, were either dispossessed or displaced from fertile land from which they subsisted. In the 1960s, forced removals took place around the Eikenhof area and the people who lived in Jacksondrift were moved to surrounding

---

[246] *Oom* is an Afrikaans word, when used in English it means Uncle. The word is also used as a form of showing respect to an elder person and it does not necessarily mean that you are related to the person as the word is used in kin relations.

[247] A *possie* is a structure made of zinc and poles. In Upington people refer to these informal dwellings as a *pozzie*. In other places in South Africa people refer to such a structure as a shanty.

[248] Let me say something, I go around with Delano to all Khoe-San events that people have around here because we hang out together. This Uncle is always at Delano's place, I know him. We all know he is a Chief and is well known over South Africa. I even heard that he is going to speak about the Bushmen people in Geneva on the world stage. He is a man of esteem, but I never imagined that he stays in a place like this, like us. Yoh, I am stunned and amazed at what I see today.

places like Eldorado Park and Noordgesig. The stretch of land encompasses 247 hectares and is situated near the Klip River wetland that flows from Soweto to southern Gauteng into the Vaal River, making it one of the province's most valuable natural assets[249]. The land boasts a well that has been supplying clean drinking water for over 100 years, and also the Ebenezer church that doubles up as a school. It is here where the late Chief Mathysen received his primary education. Following the democratic era, the opening of land claims saw many people who were removed from their land claiming land from DRDLR. The Jacksonsdrift Khoisan Development Association (JKDA) was spearheaded by the late Chief Mathysen. However, his passing has altered how this land claim will be dealt with by the family and I am only at liberty to divulge information of the interactions I had with the Chief. I therefore chose to write about his funeral and the cultural aspects that were performed at his funeral and the return to the land.

The late Chief Mathysen was a descendant of the Korana people but found his spiritual home among the Griqua people in the 1970s when he was in his early twenties. Although he was a descendant of the Korana people, to him the struggle was never about factions as seen in the groups. The Chief wanted unity among the groups. Chief Mathysen used to say, "there are many sheep dwelling outside of the *kraal* and the goal is to get them inside the *kraal*". Chief Mathysen used many parables when he spoke. When I asked what he meant when he says the sheep are dwelling, he responded:

> Like a shepherd that looks after his animals, so we need to bring the Khoe-San people together into one mind to achieve our goals. We cannot afford to be divided on the issues we face. We need to come together and speak with one voice." (Communication with the Chief, 2017)

Chief Mathysen, like so many Khoe-San activists, started lobbying the government in the early 1990s for the recognition of Khoe-San people. To date, a partial recognition of Khoe-San leaders is seen in Acts of law. The Traditional and Khoe-San Leadership Bill of September 2015 and the Traditional and Khoe-San Leadership Act 3 of 2019.[250]

---

[249] Upstream this river flows through Klipspruit West and Eldorado Park Ext 9. As young children we used to swim in this river. https://www.enca.com/south-africa/klip-river-wetlands-under-threat

[250] There are two pieces of legislation worthy to flag here concerning the full recognition of Khoe-San people in South Africa. The structures of the Traditional Leaders in South Africa received prior recognition in the South African constitution signed in 1996 with the transition from Apartheid to democracy. Khoe-San leaders where not recognized in these structures as seen in Chapter 12 of the

The Burial

Chief Mathysen passed away on 8 July and was buried on the 22 July 2017. He was buried on the land of his birth. This was no ordinary funeral arrangement as the family was granted permission from the Gauteng authorities to bury the Chief on the land to which he dedicated his life to see it restored to back to its rightful owners.

I travelled to Johannesburg on the 20th of July to attend the funeral and pay my last respects. The bus trip to Johannesburg felt longer than usual as I reflected on the life of the Chief, his ambitions and his vision for the future, the endless struggle for land and the recognition of the Khoe-San people. Normally, with funerals that I am familiar with, the body of the deceased would arrive early in the morning, but the body of the Chief arrived a day before the funeral. It was put in the church and people were allowed to go and view his body. The couple that picked me up from my mother's house went to view the body. To view a body is something I last did with my younger brother's funeral which made me feel very ill, so I prefer to remember the person as I had last seen them or spoken to them.

The day of the funeral was like a reunion of struggle heroes and heroines. There were many Chiefs from different provinces who attended the funeral. Among them were big family names in the Khoe-San circles, like the Le Fleur and Kok leaders, who travelled to Johannesburg to pay their last respects. The Chief received a special send-off that is reserved only for leaders who really made an impact on the lives of the people. The guard of honour stood by his coffin which had the Griqua flag draped over it. These young men wore black trousers, a white shirt, a tie and a beret, while the young women were dressed in all-white with a sash over their shoulders in blue, green, white and red colours and their heads covered with a white *doek.*[251]

---

constitution that recognizes the role and function of traditional leaders. The Khoe-San people are now co-opted into the Traditional and Khoe-San Leadership Bill published in Government Gazette No. 39220 of 18 September 2015. This document can be accessed on https://www.gov.za/documents/traditional-and-khoi-san-leadership-bill-25-sep-2015-0000. There is a new bill that accommodates Khoe-San people named the Traditional and Khoe-San Leadership Act No. 3 of 2019 published in Government Gazette No. 42865 of 28 November 2019. There were public consultations in relation to both Acts which created two camps of people in the Khoe-San movement. There are those who accept these governmental Acts, and those who rally against the implementation of these Acts. The Traditional and Khoe-San Leadership Act can be accessed on https://www.gov.za/documents/traditional-and-khoi-san-leadership-act-3-2019-28-nov-2019-0000.
The issues and the implication in law in relation to these Acts falls outside of the scope of this thesis but is a further point of research interest.

[251] Headscarves.

There were also the colours of the flag draped over the coffin. The young people stood in a salute pose, with the young men in front and the young women behind them, keeping their hands behind their backs and not on their faces. They alternated at intervals to relieve each other throughout the church service.

Photograph 32: The funeral service of Chief Mathysen

During the sermon, leader after leader addressed the issue of unity among the groups. That was after all the wish that Chief Mathysen had made known wherever he went. The Southern Courier community newspaper described him as follows:

> Adam made his mark wherever he went. This soft-spoken man was young at heart and had a warm smile. Adam was a fun person to be around. He never complained and he never wanted to be a burden. Everyone will remember him as down-to-earth and resilient. He was a remarkable man who lived life to the fullest.[252]

The shiny coffin was carried out of the tent after the church service by the sons of Chief Mathysen assisted by other family members. It was transported in a hearse for a short distance and carried again to its final resting place. The gravesite was within walking distance from the church and some people walked there while other people chose to drive to the burial site. Chief Khoesan SA was burning *hotnots goed* (incense) and walked around the gravesite. This Chief has made it his mission to always be seen in skin clothing and he has transcended the idea of

[252] https://southerncourier.co.za/126132/chief-adam-mathysen-passed-away/amp

the body in layers of clothing. The wearing of skin regalia, no matter the occasion, has become his dress code and signature mark as an indigenous person.

Photograph 33: Chief Khoesan SA in skin regalia

Photograph 34: The coffin being lowered into the ground with zinc sheets

At the gravesite, another prayer service was held, and people were singing. The coffin was lowered into the ground, following which two young men went into the grave while corrugated zinc plates were passed to them. They fitted the grave with these corrugated iron sheeting, as if they were making a shelter over the coffin. The family members were given priority to throw flowers into the grave. The funeral goers were then allowed to take sand and to strew it into the grave as per the practice at a grave site, showing your last respects. I had come across this practice before in Upington in the Northern Cape. The people whom I asked to explain the

meaning of this practice said it was to show respect to the deceased and their soul. Whilst the person is in the coffin, it does not mean that you can throw sand having huge pieces of rock on the deceased. Chief Harry said to me think of it like this: “You sit in your house, and someone throws a ball or something against the window. Naturally, you get a fright, and jump up. It is the same principle we applied here” (Personal communication, July 2017).

After the burial service the people returned to the house from the gravesite to be served a meal as is the customary practice at many funerals. Individuals who had never seen or heard about Chief Khoesan SA were intrigued by his body, the fact that he wore a loincloth, and that his buttocks were naked. Chief Khoesan SA has long transcended the glaring eyes and stares from people about his physique and his buttocks that are not covered. Thus, after the funeral when everybody was more relaxed and taking pictures, it was the women who wanted to take pictures with him, placing their hands on his buttocks. He indulged them, and even cracked jokes that he should start taking money from people for taking a picture with him.

Conclusion

This chapter shows that people have an inalienable right to land, however, due to various structures put in place and the laws governing society, this right to land is prohibited by the capitalist system and the intrinsic need for accumulation of wealth. The indigenous people have a different understanding and connection to land. As noted by Fairweather (2006), the meaning of land to indigenous people is more than just economic wealth: it represents the first step in recovering from an abusive past which stripped them of their basic means to viable livelihoods and of their dignity as human beings. It has social significance as it defines a people’s status within a state, carrying many social connotations such as health, prosperity, family, community and social upward mobility. A case in point is that of the Richtersveld community land claim, which was the first of its kind in South Africa where indigenous law, and not customary law, determined the outcome and reinstitution of the land to the community. Still, due to various laws, policies and bickering, the community of the Richtersveld has not sufficiently benefitted from the rich mineral wealth of their land.

In relation to the District Six land claims and restitution, while some people opted to be resettled on the land itself, they will not receive the same portion of land that they had lost due to forced removals. As the government has structures in place like local, provincial, and national government, they are in power, and they end up being the decision makers. So, in District Six, those who were born there will always have the memory of what it was like to

grow up in District Six, but the new makeup of the resettlement and redistribution process will be different. The officer from the DRDLR expressed the notion that the government, under the auspices of DRDLR, wants to prevent the scenario that happened in the past with regards to the Group Areas Act. Therefore, the new face of District Six will be one of multiracial and multicultural households all in the game of forging a new landscape and new memories for District Six and the people living there, with the market open for buyers.

In relation to the Jacksondrift land claims, due to the principal negotiator passing on and new plans being put in place to deal with this wetland and natural wonder, I am obliged to respect the wishes of the family. Therefore, in my discussion concerning the land claims, I only dealt with the ritual of the burial process that took place on the land.

It is clear from the discussion in this chapter that the funerial practices – funeral rituals and burial rites – of diverse groups of people differ from place to place. The chapter illustrates that, when your life has come full circle, as noted by Joe Seremane, South Africa's first Land Claims Commissioner, "… [you] return to earth. That is why land is important" (Fairweather, 2006:197). The government, through its various offices, avails a piece of land in which you can leave your mortal remains. This is the piece of land that you get from the government when life ends, even if you have never owned any land. The irony is that, in death, that small portion of land is yours as family members mark that piece of land by putting up a shrine or tombstone in your honor with your name on it, as well as your date of birth, death and burial. These are important rituals that societies practise in marking that last stretch of your journey on earth.

Chief Steenkamp was buried in a graveyard, but Chief Mathysen was bestowed the honor to be buried on the land of this birth with the necessary respect he deserved as a man with integrity, a leader who left big shoes to fill for the other Khoe-San leaders in their quest for recognition in their lifetime. Chief Mathysen became one with the land he fought for, the land to which he dedicated his life.

Part IV:
The Future of Indigeneity in South Africa?

Introduction

The Republic of South Africa is founded on racial categorisation and the use of labels is entrenched in the everyday life of people in the country. The use of categories by previous governments curtailed the movement of many South Africans and was more severe towards the South African Black people. The use of labels like White, Indian, Coloured, Native, Bantu and African all determined the opportunities people had to advance in life and very often these labels were used to subjugate, undermine and ridicule people, painting them to be lesser human beings who were worthy of receiving bad treatment. While some people Black and Coloured South Africans found ways to counter the oppressive system by denying one identity for another, some Coloured people passed as White and some South African Black people passed as Coloured people. Most people were not so fortunate, and they had to bear the brand of these humiliations and being forcefully removed and displaced, having to eke out a living in undesirable spaces (McKaizer, 2016; Field, 2001).

The situation of encountering the system of oppressiveness is an experience many African Americans share in common with the South-African people (Hickman, 1997), but it is crucial to always keep the context in mind, thus, the trajectory of the African-American people is different from the South African narrative. The African Americans are a minority, living in a democracy that is long standing and exclusive where the "Americans seek to defend the access African Americans and other minorities only recently achieved against the assault from the conservative right", unlike in South Africa and Brazil that needs to build institutions that is accommodative and all inclusive (Hamilton et al., 2001:469). Hence, Alexander (2001) is of the view that the notion of the rainbow as a political metaphor is not befitting in the context of South Africa in relation to the problems the nation is facing of extreme poverty and class divisions, Alexander says:

> South Africans are so ready to imitate other countries' jargon and discourse in order to describe the very different reality in which we are living .... the rainbow metaphor in the context of the United States … is arguably the worst metaphor

with which to symbolise the destiny of the Republic of South Africa. (Alexander, 2001:485–486)

The building of new institutions in South Africa that are justly non-racial, is on a backfoot in the new dispensation by the insistence on using categories and labels to identify people who all suffered at the hands of the Apartheid state (Erasmus, 2017). How will a real, equitable redress for all South Africans be achieved? The suffering of a people cannot be equated with suffering more and suffering less as was seen in the Richtersveld land claim. Here, the Constitutional Court judges overturned a judgement made in the Land Claims Court (LCC) that the community was not entitled to land restitution as the Richtersveld Community did not suffer the same type of "spatial Apartheid" (Chaskalson et al, 2003:55). The "spatial Apartheid" was taken to refer to lived realities experienced in the Bantustans where South African Black people were relegated to eke out a living in unpalatable conditions. The Apartheid government successfully created a rift between people where, in the post-1994 era, reference to being treated 'better than us'[253] is a sentiment still harboured by many South African Black people.[254] Certain members in the Coloured community feel that they are treated as 'the other' in the new dispensation where they utter the words of 'not being White enough' under Apartheid and now 'not being Black enough' under the democratic dispensation to qualify for opportunities of social upliftment.[255] The persistent adherence to the utilisation of colonial and Apartheid style categories and the stratification of the term African, equating it to refer to the South African Black people, further complicates the labelling processes which affects employment opportunities as the South African Black people are in the majority. Wallerstein (1991[1988]) and Turok (2014) argue that the implications are that, although the

[253] Across my research in general conversations with people from across the racial spectrum, the idea of one group of people receiving better treatment than another group sits in the psychology of both groups. The rift between groups of people created by the Apartheid government cuts through both groups, Further research on individual understanding of the effects of spatial and geographical separation is needed to advance the project of social cohesion in South Africa. The post-1994 administration did not consider how separate and geographical separation affected how people perceive each other and like Alexander (2001) says the rainbow metaphor used to describe the South African populace must be revisited.

[254] Although anecdotal more research is needed on this phenomenon where people still describe their lived realities in relation to the Black and White dichotomy and as noted by Chief Bennett that those classified as Coloured are 'struck twice by lightening' that has the same impact and understanding of Adhikari's concept of the Black /White analogy of lived experiences.

[255] See photograph one in chapter four that says, "stop ignoring us, we are not going anywhere!!! We demand employment equity!!!"

ANC had accommodated ‘non-African’ people in their midst for a long time, there has been a drastic change in the structures of the ANC and that they mostly appoint people whom they term ‘Black African’ or ‘African in particular’ to fill positions of employment. This idea of a stratified African/ness permeates many levels of the social stratum, and this divisive thinking creates a rift between South African, and other African people further entrenching unjust treatment because of classificatory terms that was used by previous governments.

It is within this environment of racialised thinking that persists post-1994 that the concept of indigeneity as a transnational concept appeared and gained traction in South Africa. The concept of indigeneity is not used by all people legally classified as Coloured people in the statutes of the country, only by certain sections of the Coloured population who self-identify as Khoe-San people. The thesis, therefore, investigated how identity politics and identity formation shape the lives of those Coloured people who associate themselves with the concept of indigeneity in the South African landscape post-1994.

I wish to remind the reader of my main research question: ‘how do self-identifying Khoe-San people, both young and old, negotiate and navigate their identities in the current political discourse of race relations in South Africa in relation to national and international debates vis-á-vis the rights of indigenous peoples’? The way that the question was framed created a space to examine the rise and the development of the concept of indigeneity and to explore how this concept unfolds in the everyday lives of self-identifying Khoe-San people in relation to their socio-cultural, economic, and political position in the South African society where set categories of classification is engrained in all official aspects of the country. Thus, in answering this question and to analyse how the concept of indigeneity is understood in the South African context by those members of the Coloured community who lay claim to this concept, it was imperative to do a multi-sited ethnography as espoused by Marcus (1995) rather than through the single-site ethnographic approach as championed through the work of Malinowski. The multi-sited ethnographic approach aided in the triangulation of the preliminary research findings by also examining how certain state organs engage in the concept of indigeneity.

The phenomenon of indigeneity as a transnational concept is a contested concept, especially in Africa and Asia where the authorities claim that there are no indigenous people in their spaces, as everybody is indigenous (Lee, 2006; Pelican, 2018). In South Africa, the phenomenon of indigeneity is a double-edged sword due to the legacy of labelling and classification since the onset of colonialism which were then embellished into legalised categories of classifications

under the Apartheid state. These acts of labelling omitted the existence of the Khoe-San people and it glanced over the familial kith and kin relations that many South African families had in common, As seen in the work of Legassick (1989, 2016; Besten, 2006), many intermarriages took place over time between the descendants of the Khoe-San, who were previously known by many names as discussed in the thesis, and other African and South African groups. I have met a few Black South African people who claim their familial relations to Khoe-San groups. Two things are important to note here: (1) the South African debate on indigeneity as per the UNDRIP declaration is a debate among the self-identifying Khoe-San people who hail from the Coloured community; and (2) South African Black people who have familial relations with the Khoe-San people do not self-identify as Khoe-San in the same manner as all other Khoe-San groups are engaging in relation to claims to indigeneity. The question to pose is: why? Why, in the post-1994 period, is there such vigorous activism and claims to an identity that was considered by many people, including the ex-President Thabo Mbeki, as extinct?

Chapter NINE

Indigeneity in South Africa: What is at stake?

The South African Constitution and Traditional Leaders

What is at stake when claiming an indigenous identity as championed by the UNDRIP declaration is articulated by the Deputy Minister of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, Obed Bapela and the Director-General (DG) of Traditional Affairs, Mr. Charles Nwaila. If the South African government pass into law a true recognition of indigenous rights to the Khoe-San people, then by right are they supposed to have their own structures and their own governance offices which would include them having their own schools to teach their children an indigenous way of life. Will the government concede such a right to a minority group? Is there a new struggle on the horison for Khoe-San people? In his address to the first year Anthropology students in 2017, Chief Burgess gave three examples of violation in the constitution as it relates to Khoe-San people. These pointed to the language issue, the land issue and the definition of indigeneity. For this discussion, I will highlight the third point as mentioned by Chief Burgess: a constitutional definition of indigeneity. I juxtapose Chief Burgess's explanation to the class with regards to the constitutional definition of the role of traditional leaders. Chief Burgess says,

> …the third point that the constitution violates is that it does not define the concept of indigeneity. It does not mention for one second, one sentence, one word what the definition of indigenous peoples are. What it means is that the government than has no legal obligation to acknowledge or accept the existence of the First Indigenous Peoples within the country of our ancestors. So, our existence in our country is not acknowledged neither accepted. The legislation prevents the government from accepting and acknowledging and the supreme law of the country, the constitution does not acknowledge our existence. (Chief Burgess, Rhodes University 2017)

In Chapter 12 of the South African constitution, titled 'Traditional Leaders', there is a clear definition of what recognition means and what the roles are of traditional leaders. The San people as noted by (Ellis, 2019) did not have traditional leadership structures but lived in small bands of kinship structures.

Recognition

211 (1) The institution, status and role of traditional leadership, according to customary law, are recognized, subject to the Constitution

(2) A traditional authority that observes a system of customary law may function subject to any applicable legislation and customs, which includes amendments to, or repeat of, that legislation or those customs deals with customary law.

Role of Traditional Leaders

212 (1) National legislation may provide for a role for traditional leadership as an institution at local level on matters affecting local communities.

(2) To deal with matters relating to traditional leadership, the role of traditional leaders, customary law and the customs of communities observing of customary law –

(a) national or provincial legislation may provide for the establishment of houses of traditional leaders; and

(b) national legislation may establish a council of traditional leaders.

This chapter in the constitution clearly sets out the roles and obligations for traditional Chiefs in South Africa and when this document was promulgated, although Khoe-San languages were mentioned and placed under the auspices of PanSALB, not much has been done to accommodate the Khoe-San issue on a large scale. The Khoe-San leaders are receiving recognition in South Africa by co-opting them into existing structures with established rules and regulations. Some Chiefs and leaders in the Khoe-San movement praise this achievement of being co-opted while others wish to rather be known as indigenous leaders with their own structures and to be recognized by government as indigenous leaders. The structure of traditional leadership existed in South Africa during Apartheid (Xaba, 2021; Hendricks, 2013; Oomen, 2005), hence their recognition when the country transitioned to democracy. In Africa the phenomenon of traditional leaders is institutionalised entities that plays a central role in their communities depending on the views of the people who live under traditional structures (Berry, 2018). The Khoe-San leaders who are now co-opted into structures, some of them are for traditional leadership, while some make a distinction between them and traditional leaders. This is creating a dichotomy between the roles as already set out in the Constitution for Traditional Leaders by advocating for indigenous structures in the country as opposed to co-option or assimilation into existing structures.

Redefining Identity Politics: A Sense of Belonging

The research illustrates that there is a growing movement in the Coloured community around issues of identity politics that requires a re-evaluation of how the South African populace identifies particularly in the Coloured community. The four-tier racial classification system had been dominant for so long that officials and members of the South African populace find it difficult to embrace a Khoe-San identity. As Mr Jaars said to me, "Imagine I am 75 years old, and someone comes to tell me I am Khoe-San. How do I make sense of that after such a long time of being called a Coloured in everything I ever did in my life?" (Personal communication, June 2018). What Mr Jaars raised is the same issue that confronts the government. How do they deal with a group of people whom they only know as Coloured people? How do they tell who is Khoe-San and who is not? In chapter four, I aimed to shed light on the concept of indigeneity in the South African context by highlighting that some people, through the process of DNA testing, are linked to the Khoe-San people but are not engaged in claiming an indigenous identity. In the words of the late Chief Mathysen in chapter eight, "there are many sheep dwelling outside the kraal and the goal is to get them inside the kraal". There are many more South Africans who can trace their lineage to the Khoe-San people. Applying the concept of indigeneity to one group only can be exclusionary but it could also make it possible to address the fact that this specific group of people have been marginalised and denied an identity. Lee (2006) states that what indigenous people like migrants want, is a

> … sense of belonging, a sense of rootedness in place … longing to belong has become one of the most valued ideological commodities … their sense of place is the very practical legal consequence that their prior occupation of land, long denied by governments and elites, is now being accepted as legitimate juridical grounds for land claims and entitlements. For all these reasons the indigenous … category [is] of importance that postmodern anthropology ignores at its peril. (2006:460)

Re-defining identity politics in South Africa, especially for the Khoe-San people, have the potential to create better linkages and social cohesion in South Africa. People feel that they want to belong, however, the government as an institution, like its predecessors, has structured the society and the economy along racial lines through the implementation of various laws. The

recognition of a Khoe-San identity I advocate for is to create a playful space where people can be whoever they want to be and at any given time, even in situations of seeking employment. To identify how one wishes to identify should be at the crux of a decolonial project where identities are not fixed but fluid and adaptable. The work of Field (2001) has shown how people can use their agency to straddle the stark racial barriers in search for better access to resources.

The South African Government and the Four-tier Classification System

The South African government must revisit the debate on labelling and classification to get to the heart of who-is-who in the landscape of the country. While the concept of indigeneity as espoused by UNDRIP is a useful concept and has provided a platform for marginalised groups like the Coloured people to reinvent themselves, the concept can become problematic and exclusionary. The four-tier racial classification system that is still used by the democratic government is problematic and exclusionary and does not allow for other forms of identity constructions to be part of the formation of one's identity. The four-tier racial classification system makes the *Xhi* (pain) of Khoe-San people invisible. To the larger populace, the four-tier racial classification system keeps other forms of identity in the country from flourishing as the prism of identity in South Africa is observed through the racial lens of four groups of people. The work of Telwolde, (2018) shows that South Africans engage with people through the four-tier racial classification system and that they apply the concept of 'the look' (Erasmus, 2017) in their daily interactions with other people, trying to box people in accordingly.

Indigeneity and Visibility

This discussion has illustrated that the concept of indigeneity, as used by people classified as Coloured in the context of South Africa, has created a space for visibility where the Coloured people had become invisible particularly post-1994. The racialised debate, the talks between Black and White subsumed the Coloured identity. But the Coloured people have been able to re-invent themselves with the help of the concept of indigeneity. They can now engage the government in their search for a sense of belonging, as noted by Lee (2006). Using the concept of indigeneity, those who self-identify as Khoe-San can now meaningfully engage with the government about the issues of their exclusion and marginalisation. The concept of indigeneity can become complexified in the South African landscape if one brings other groups into the

discussion like the Xhosa and Zulu ethnic groups where there were intermarriages, as shown in the work of Legassick (2016). However, the Apartheid state structured society in such a way that these familial relations are not obvious unless one really spends time with people and get to know who they are. Lee (2006) notes the usefulness of the concept of indigeneity in the sense that, while there is no set definition for it, it helps marginalised groups across the world to engage governments at different levels into the lives of ordinary folk. The creativity of this concept should be key for Anthropologists and other law makers to study as it opens up spaces for the voiceless – in the words of Scott (1985), 'weapons of the weak are at play' whenever the concept of indigeneity is invoked.

Thus, on one level as argued in the thesis and as noted by Muehlebach (2003), the question is, "who, today, can claim indigeneity"? As discussed in chapter 4, this question is 'muddy' but productive, 'ambivalent' but creative. Yet on another level, taking my lead from Alexander (2001), I conceive the South African society in relation to the Gariep dam with its indigenous name meaning "great river", which was renamed Orange River by settlers. Like the Gariep dam with its catchment in all streams and rivers flowing into in all parts of the country, emptying out into the Atlantic Ocean, the social identities of South Africans are so dynamic.

My own identity is mixed and entangled with other identities I do not know. I argue in the thesis that, although the concept of indigeneity is murky and undecided (Muehlebach, 2003), it unsettles the four-tier racial classification system that defines people. If a research project is done on the scale and level of how the census taking is implemented in South Africa, then who is a Coloured? what is a Coloured? who is Black? and what does 'Black in general' and 'African in particular' mean in a society that faces challenges of poverty and unemployment? Suffice to say, the concept of indigeneity opens spaces for these types of discussions.

The concept of indigeneity provides precisely that creativity with which those Coloured people who self-identify as Khoe-San engage the government and its institutions. As noted by the official of DRDLR and the Commissioner of the Human Rights panel, the South African government gives country reports to the United Nations, and when the meetings take place, all that they discuss is the Khoe-San people. No other group is mentioned because, according to the United Nations, it is the Khoe-San that represents the indigenous people in the country. Both the descendants of the Khoe-San and the government are well aware of the benefits that can accrue to Khoe-San people and the government treads very carefully in terms of the image

portrayed to the international world and what is happening within the borders of the country. I have shown in the thesis that the concept of indigeneity has caused the government to take note of the people and their quest for social justice and that this has made them visible. A seed has been planted, and the term 'indigeneity' has brought about small and incremental changes in society and the everyday life, albeit not as quickly as many people would have hoped for it to happen. For example, since the 1990s Khoe-San leaders are making inroads in these structures like the indigenous people did at the UN. Through this concept that has transcended the borders of national and international discussion, a group of people known for the longest time as Coloured people, have now become indigenous people.

Conclusion

Chapter 12 of the South African constitution clearly defines Traditional Leaders and the role of traditional leaders, and this now recognizes Khoe-San leaders and the Khoe-San people. However, while some Khoe-San leaders embrace being co-opted into existing structures of government, other leaders would rather have their own indigenous structures in the country. Although there is a raised awareness of indigeneity in South Africa, the identity politics of most people are still defined by the racial classification and they find it difficult to re-define their racial identity. The concept of indigeneity has created a useful space where people can reinvent themselves and decide who they want to be beyond the racial lens of four groups of people in South Africa. It has made the Khoe-San people 'visible' to the government, enabling them to engage with government on issues like marginalisation and exclusion. It has brought about small changes which have contributed to bigger changes to society in South Africa, influencing how people see themselves within a broader, more creative structure in South Africa, as well as their sense of 'belonging'.

Chapter 10
Conclusion and Research Findings

South Africa became a democracy in 1994 accompanied by a furore of excitement. However, the country was freed from the Apartheid system, but not from the classification and labelling processes that had structured the lives of the South African populace. In this new dispensation identity politics should have been something of the past. The new government under the auspices of the African National Congress ANC) kept the four-tier racial classification system, although the racial classification was abolished in 1991. The four-tier racial classification system did not make provision for other forms of identities, like the ethnic classification of Khoe-San people whose identities were subsumed under the Apartheid racial classification system as Coloured people (Mellet, 2020). The fallacy that South Africa has four racial groups namely Black, White, Indian and Coloured identities, was not sufficiently questioned under Apartheid. Although people felt a discomfort with being called Coloured and denounced this identity, they also did not fit neatly with the Black identity. A few Coloured people made the cut based on 'the look' of being White while other South African Black people passed for Coloured people (Erasmus, 2017; McKaiser, 2017) Chapter one addressed how blurry and inconsistent identity politics are even though the Apartheid government perceived identities to be static and pure forms of classification and labelling of people.

The process of the colonisation of South Africa happened in three phases with different European settlers exerting their power over the South African populace, in particular those who were known as Hottentot people under the guise of various family/clan names. The Dutch came and they left. The British came and they left. Apartheid, as McKaiser (2017) states, was a continuation of exerting power of the South African population. The episodes of suffering at the hands of the colonisers before 1948, McKaiser argues were too far removed from everyday lived experiences in contemporary South Africa so that it is hard to imagine the suffering of those before the 1948 onslaught of Apartheid. Chapter two highlighted the voices of those who endured suffering prior to 1948.

In the early 1990s, the United Nations declared a decade for indigenous peoples globally. In South Africa people begun to self-identify as Khoe-San people. My interest in pursuing my

study with Khoe-San people was to find out why are they were self-identifying as Khoe-San people and whether they were incorporating their claim to indigeneity into their daily lives. My research question stated, 'How do self-identifying Khoe-San people, both young and old, negotiate and navigate their identities in the current racialised political economy of South Africa? How do these identities relate to national and international debates vis-à-vis the rights of indigenous peoples? I decided on multi-sited ethnography. The United Nations recognizes Khoe-San people, of which there are five legal groups in South Africa. I structured my research question in such a way that it enabled me to look at the Khoe-San claims holistically, and to then do the classic form of ethnography by choosing a single group of people and studying what they are doing. The multi-sited ethnography through triangulation gave me insights into the various issues that people were raising from different angles, pressurising the government for the recognition of Khoe-San people. The fact that I was researching people from my own community provided me with an insider perspective on Coloured identity, however, the 'why' question kept surfacing as I collected my data, hence the importance of triangulation in my work. The different fieldsites where I collected my data, aided me to write an ethnography that was layered to answer my primary question and the sub-questions as noted in chapter one. The strength of the multi-sited ethnography also aided me to bring other voices to debate on identity information I would not otherwise have known. Here I refer to the story of Shiela discussed in chapter five. The multi-sited ethnography discussed in chapter three was invaluable to this study.

Chapter four dealt with the contestation of what indigeneity means. The chapter shows that Khoe-San people arrived at the debate, after indigenous people in that global North lobbied the UN to take seriously the issues of indigenous people. In the chapter, I raised the different ways of how the community of indigenous people, scholars and governments come to the debate on indigeneity. I looked at the different understandings of the concept of indigeneity and problematised how this concept is used in the South African landscape by those who self-identify as Khoe-San. Although there is no set definition for the concept of indigeneity it has proven itself to be very a particularly useful concept that allows marginalised groups across the world to engage their governments on various struggles that range from language revivalism to education and land possession.

Chapter five addressed the inauguration of Katrina Esau as the first queen of the House of N‖ngǂe. She is not the queen for all the San people, only for the structure, the House of N‖ng‡e

where she affiliates herself. The chapter looked at language revivalism comparatively for the N/uu language and the Nama language and the progress made to date on issues of language revivalism for the different languages. It highlighted the insufficient time and resources made available to develop the Khoekhoegowab language (known as the Nama language) in South Africa. The N/uu language has a single person orthography, while the Khoekhoegowab has an approved orthography, and the language is taught from grade R in schools in Namibia.

Chapter six dealt with the issue of identity politics of the Coloured people. Although the study is about those who self-identify as Khoe-San people, legally they are still classified as Coloured people. Thus, in some instances people highlight the plight of the Coloured people and in some instances, people address the issue of self-identification as Khoe-San people. This results in a split that a minority within a minority are raising issues addressing the same group of people.

Chapter seven looked at how to the *brei*-ing of animal skin was done a few decades ago through the eyes of Ma Gooi. This chapter highlighted the landlessness of Khoe-San, the broken connection with land their forefathers once owned. Complementary to this chapter is the discussion of the economics behind the use of animal fur at a larger global scale.

In chapter eight, the final ethnographic chapter, still linked to the question of landlessness of Khoe-San people, I discussed the funeral of the late Chief Mathysen while highlighting the different struggles for access to land and the fact that all decisions about land are tied up in governmental processes. When the land claims were opened in the first phase of the early 1990s, Khoe-San people were not included in lodging claims to land. The reason for their exclusion was that they were Coloured people and did not suffer 'spatial Apartheid' meaning they were not relegated to the Bantustans, the creation of the Apartheid government, which made them ineligible for land claims. But now, as Khoe-San people, the reason for denouncing their Coloured identity, they are offered a 'seat at the table'. They are now invited to part take in processes of land claims. Chapter eight also looked at two funerals of two important Chiefs who were activists for the Khoe-San movement spanning over twenty years in the movement. The one Chief was buried in a graveyard, while the other was born on the land of his birth. The Chief who was buried on the land of his birth became one with the for which he fought.

Chapter nine looked at the future of indigeneity in the country South Africa, a country that wants to be known as a country who adheres to, and respects human rights. The country is a signatory to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People. How they treat

their indigenous people in the country thus becomes crucial to upholding this image to the international world. The problem South Africa faces, like many other countries especially on the African continent, is to define who are indigenous and who are not indigenous. Although there is no set definition for indigeneity, the South African government now entertains issues raised by the Khoe-San people. They have gained a voice through the concept of indigeneity.

In the final concluding chapter, I wish to point out to the reader that the recognition bestowed on the indigenous people in South Africa opened a space where the Khoe-San people can now raise pertinent issues of marginalisation. South Africa is at the beginning stages of considering the issues raised by the indigenous people in the country.

Research Findings

The thesis clearly shows that categories and labelling will not cease to exist. If one assesses indigeneity as a concept and a reality some may argue that it is also a colonial construct and therefore equally problematic. Two points can be raised here. In some instances, the concept of indigeneity does become problematic as seen in chapter four. The phenomenon is widespread. Dahl (2012) writes about one indigenous group not recognizing another based on their phenotype. I have written much about the look as conceptualised by Erasmus (2017). However, as noted by (Dahl, 2012) it is a more useful exercise to try to and come to grips with how those claiming indigeneity make and hold space at the United Nations, apart from their governments or states that they live in.

As for the indigenous people in South Africa, I used the metaphor of paternity and the father figure recognizing his children. I think that it's time for the South African government to recognize the people. The government like a father in my paternity metaphor is not recognizing the people, forcing them to join those who pioneered the debate on indigeneity to discuss issues of indigeneity that humanises their concerns in South Africa (Ellis, 2019).

When the notion of decolonisation is discussed in terms of identity politics, what exactly is meant by it? In South Africa where the research was done, there are two major camps in which the South African populace is divided. The White camp and the Black camp; earlier referred to as the zebra debate.

In this thesis, I have endeavoured to unpack how peoples understanding has changed with reference to what it means to be Black in South Africa. The poem by Heeger in chapter six

asks us to stop and ponder what this Blackness really entails? Erasmus (2017) also alludes to this precarity of being Black.

The question we can now accurately raise considering the politics of identity in South Africa is should Khoe-San people be assimilated into the existing forms and structures of Blackness that creates a dichotomy of Black and White issues as seen in the country? Or should Khoe-San have structures of their own, inclusive of their own parliament as in the case of the Sami people? We already have views from two officials in the offices of Co-operative Government and Traditional Affairs (CoGTA), that if South Africa concede to indigenous claims and grant Khoe-San an indigenous (First Nation) status, like the father acknowledging and recognizing that the children belong to him they would make further demands on him (the government). He does, however, sometimes stop and buy them a few sweets, inviting them to lunch but stops short of recognizing them. Although he is fully aware of their demands like the late Chief Mathysen said the government knows what they are busy with. He knows they are his children; they are as African and as native as any other child in the household, the country. The children look for the recognition from the father because they realise that if he recognizes them, as they already recognize their humanity, chances are that they will no longer be invisible no longer "made of glass". Their suffering will be recognized. The narrative that suggests that Coloured people did not suffer spatial Apartheid in the way that the majority of the South African Black population did, will have to be changed to a narrative that recognizes collective suffering irrespective of race, gender, age, and class as we all suffered under Apartheid. The way we suffered might be qualitatively different, and the kinds of suffering might have resulted in different wounds. However, *belonging* and wellbeing are promised to all South Africans. A major aspect of belonging is recognition. I am not referring to a recognition in terms of nationality where all citizens of the country must have access to forms of identification documents, housing, healthcare, and all other social services. Those are basic human rights that all people in all the world must have to survive.

The recognition I am referring too, that evades the Khoe-San movement is what Ellis (2019) writes about when he quotes the work of Wynter from an unpublished manuscript *Black Metamorphosis* cited in McKittirck (2016). According to this work, the author's idea of seeing indigenous issues anew, to read indigenous "as a verb not a noun, a 'becoming' not [a] resting place or essence" (Wynter cited by McKittirck in Ellis, 2019:317).

In an email in Appendix D, in a discussion between two Khoe-San leaders we see how the writer explains his 'becoming'. His indigenous status came when he was "spiritually drawn" into seeking his lineage. My people, as with the case of the women's conference in Durban come to the movement in search of recognition and as Natasha said to be respected. The leaders come from different backgrounds; not all are employed or unemployed. I think there is something deeper that they look for. In his paper Ellis (2019) speaks of a person who is opposed to Khoe-San leaders receiving payment from government, who, as I mentioned is starting to entertain Khoe-San issues. I would like to point out that the issue of payment is a moral issue, and one cannot make a proclamation on it.

As noted earlier by (Dahl, 2012:188) there is no "clear universal criteria for being indigenous". The indigenous people in the global North pioneered indigenous issues at the United Nations, and this international body is now working with and alongside indigenous people on the issues that they raise. In South Africa, the indigenous movement is growing. One of the things the South African government, as the father figure, must do is to establish how many people self-identify as indigenous rather than creating a space where people should apply for an indigenous identity as seen in the work of the Commission on Khoe-San matters established through an arm of government. Tomaselli (2012) and Ellis writes on issues of authenticity. The work done by the Commission places those identifying as Khoe-San in an unthinkable box as they need to constantly reify who they are and perform an identity to be recognized as a person, where on the one hand through the work done at the UN, putting self-identification on the table, in South Africa it is taken from the table and released into an application process. This latter point that I am raising here is not part of the thesis, and I am flagging it here as proposal for further research. The process of applying to be recognized as an indigenous person versus census taking are two hugely different processes and forms of reclamation.

The paradox is that not all Khoe-San people are Coloured and not all Coloured people are Khoe-San. The claims of indigeneity, however, are only among the Coloured people. The question thus arises what happens to people like Sheila and others mentioned in chapter four in relation to the quest to be known as indigenous people. How did the special rapporteur, Rudolph Stavenhagen come to his conclusions? In my discussions with the late Chief Mathysen, he said that "there are many sheep dwelling outside the kraal and the goal is to get them inside the kraal". This statement has serious implications for the claims to indigeneity in South Africa. The work of De Graaff showed that, although Irene acknowledges that she has

different lineages running in her veins, she is classified as Coloured, but that this was different for Sheila and also the case of Trevor Noah. The issue of the four-tier classification system is a fallacy. People in South Africa are more related to each other than what the four-tier racial classification system permits people to think about. The issue of indigeneity that lands on this already false assumption of identity formation further complexifies identity politics in the country.

Shortcomings of the Study

There are many themes in this thesis that can be explored further, for example the land issue. The process of *brei*-ing animal fur was an insightful discovery of the research. There is a shortage of literature on the aesthetics of animal fur in Anthropology, particularly on the African continent. The topic on animal fur used on the African continent and economics need further research and investigation.

Contribution to Academic Theory

My thesis contributes to the global debate on indigenous peoples' claims with a localised understanding of the concept of indigeneity and how this concept is operationalised inside South Africa. The many forms of activism can be seen across provinces as 'weapons of the weak' as espoused by Scott (1985) and many Khoe-San members are getting 'a seat at the table' not in relation to a political identity but purely based on the concept of indigeneity. The South African government is faced with this new concept of indigeneity, following years of struggle for freedom for the people and this represents new challenges as the concept of indigeneity lay bare that we are living in a glocalised world as noted by Eriksen (2014[2007]) where the global impacts on the local.

Bibliography

Abrahams, Y. 1996. “Disempowered to consent: Sara Baartman and Khoisan slavery in the nineteenth-century Cape Colony and Britain”. *South African Historical Journal 35*(1): 89–114.

Abrahams, Y. 1997. “The great long national insult: ‘Science’, sexuality and the Khoisan in the 18th and early 19th century”. *Agenda 13*(32): 34–48.

Abrahams, Y. 2003. “Colonialism, dysfunction and disjuncture: Sarah Baartmann's resistance (remix)”. *Agenda 17*(58): 12–26.

Adhikari, M. 2005. *Not White enough, not Black enough: Racial identity in the South African Coloured community*. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Adhikari, M. 2006. “Hope, fear, shame, frustration: Continuity and change in the expression of Coloured identity in White supremacist South Africa, 1910–1994”. *Journal of Southern African Studies 32*(3): 467–487.

Ash, A., Fermino, J.L.D. and Hale, K. 2001. “Diversity in local language maintenance and restoration: A reason for optimism”. In Leanne Hinton and Kenneth Hale (Eds.). *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice.* Sydney: Academic Press.

Atkinson, P. and Hammersley, M. 1994. “Ethnography and participant observation”. In Norman. K Denzin and Yvonna.S. Lincoln. *Handbook of Qualitative Research.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Bakker, K.A. and Muller, L. 2010. “Intangible heritage and community identity in post-Apartheid South Africa”. *Museum International 62*(1–2), no 245-46: 48–56.

Barnard, A. 1992. *Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa. A Comparative Ethnography of the Khoisan Peoples*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barnard, A. 2007. *Anthropology and the Bushmen*. Oxford: Berg.

Barry, M. 2004. “Now another thing must happen: Richtersveld and the dilemmas of land reform in post-Apartheid South Africa”. *South African Journal on Human Rights 20*(3): 355–382.

Bernard, H.R. 2006. *Research methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches,* (4th Ed.). Oxford: AltaMira Press.

Bloom, L. 1967. “The Coloured people of South Africa”. *Phylon 28*(2): 139–150.

Boonzaier, E., Berens, P., Malherbe, C. and Smith, A. 1996. *The Cape herders: A history of the Khoikhoi of Southern Africa.* Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Phillip Publishers.

Brandão, J.A. and Starna, W.A. 1996. "The Treaties of 1701: A Triumph of Iroquois Diplomacy". *Ethnohistory* 43(2): 209-244.

Bredekamp, H.J.C. 2001. "Khoisan revivalism and the indigenous peoples issue in post-apartheid South Africa". In A. Barnard and J. Kenrick (Eds.). *Africa's indigenous peoples: 'First peoples' or 'marginalised minorities'?* Edinburg: University of Edinburg Press, pp.191–209.

Brenzinger, M. 2007. "Language endangerment in Southern and Eastern Africa". In Matthias Brenzinger (Ed.). *Language Diversity Endangered*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 179–204.

Bryman, A. 2004. *Social research strategies in research methods* (2nd Ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bull, D. 2017. "Intermezzo 33: A monument to Afrikaans". In Martin Gosselink, Maria Holtrop, and Robert Ross (Eds.). *Good Hope: South Africa and the Netherlands from 1600*. Rijks Museum: Uitgeverij Vantilt.

Burger, J. 1987. *Report from the Frontier: The State of the World's Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Carlos, A.M., and Lewis, F.D. 1999. "Property Rights, Competition, and Depletion in the Eighteenth-Century Canadian Fur Trade: The Role of the European Market". *The Canadian Journal of Economics* 32(3): 705-728.

Cavanagh, E. 2011. *The Griqua past and the limits of South African history, 1902–1994 (Africa in Development Vol 9).* Germany: Peter Lang AG.

Chari, A. 2004. "Exceeding recognition". *Sartre Studies International 10*(2): 110–122.

Chabanne, A and Mogara, B. 2018. "Khoisan Languages of Botswana". In Tomasz Kamusella and Finex Ndhlovu (Eds.). *The Social and Political History of Southern Africa's Languages*, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 159–177.

Chaskalson, C.J., Langa, D.C.J., Ackerman, R., Goldstone, T., Madala, Y., Mokgoro, S., Ngcobo, O'Regan., A, Sachs and Z, Yacoob. 2003. "Constitutional Court of South Africa: Alexkor Richtersveld Community". *Australian Indigenous Law Reporter 8*(3): 55–64.

Coplan, D.B. 2012. "People of the early Caledon river frontier and their encounters". *African Historical Review 44*(2): 55–77.

Corntassel, J. 2003. "Who is indigenous? Peoplehood' and ethnonationalist approaches to rearticulating indigenous identity". *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics,* 9(1): 75–100.

Corntassel, J. 2008. "Toward sustainable self-determination: Rethinking the contemporary Indigenous-rights discourse". *Alternatives 33*(1): 105–132.

Crais, C. and Scully, P. 2009. *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Crawhall, N. 1999. “Going to a better life: Perspectives on the future of language in education for San and Khoe South Africans”. *International Journal of Educational Development 19*(199): 323–335.

Creswell, J.W. 2007. *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Cronje, J. 2006. *The Griqua of the Northern Cape: Land ownership, identity and leadership*. Kimberley: The Sol Plaatje Educational Trust.

Croucher, S.L. 2004. *Globalization and Belonging: The Politics of Identity in a Changing World.* Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Daes, E.I. 2011. “The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Background and Appraisal”. In Stephen Allan and Alexandra Xanthaki. (Eds.). *Reflections on the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Oxford and Portland, Hart Publishing.

Dahl, J. 2012. *The Indigenous Space and Marginalized Peoples in the United Nations.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Davies, C.A. 2008. *Reflexive Ethnography: A Guide to Researching Selves and Others* (2nd Ed.). New York: Routledge.

De Jongh, M. 2012. *Roots and routes: Karretjie people of the Great Karoo – The marginalisation of a South African First People*. Pretoria: Unisa Press.

De Royer, S., Visser, G.G., Pradhan, U. and Van Noordwijk, M. 2015. “Self-identification of indigenous people in post-independence Indonesia: A historical analysis in the context of REDD”. *International Forestry Review 7*(3): 1–16.

De Villiers, J. 2022 [2014]. “The Dutch era at the Cape, 1652-1806”. In Fransjohan Pretorius (Ed.). *A History of South Africa – From the Distant Past to the Present Day.* Pretoria. Book House. pp. 41-67.

Delaney, C. and Kaspin, D. 2011. *Investigating Culture: An Experiential Introduction to Anthropology* (2nd Ed.) United Kingdom-Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Delaporte, Y., Roué, M., and Cooper, A. 1980. “Lapp fur coats: Clothing adaptation in a pastoral society”. *Arctic Anthropology 17*(2): 64–67.

Du Plessis, M. 2019. “The Khoisan Languages of Southern Africa: Facts, Theories and Confusions”. *Critical Arts* 33(4-5): 33–54.

Du Pré, R.H. 1994. *Separate but unequal – the ‘Coloured’ people of South Africa – a political history.* Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers.

Dwyer, S.C and Buckle, J.L. 2009. “The space between: On being an insider-outsider in qualitative research”. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods 8*(1): 54–63.

Ellis, W. 2019. “Situational chiefs - Notes on traditional leadership amidst calls for KhoiSan recognition after 1994”. In Mbongiseni Buthelezi, Dineo Skosana & Beth Vale (Eds.). *Traditional Leaders in a Democracy Resources, Respect and Resistance,* Cape Town: Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection (MISTRA), pp. 297–325.

Elphick, R. 1977. *Kraal and Castle: Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa*. London: Yale University Press.

Elphick, R. 1985. *Khoikhoi and the founding of White South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Erasmus, Z. 2001. “Introduction: Re-imagining Coloured Identities in Post-Apartheid South Africa” In Zimitri Erasmus (Ed.). *Coloured by history shaped by place – New perspectives on Coloured identities in Cape Town.* Cape Town: Kwela Books and South African History Online.

Erasmus, Z. 2017. *Race otherwise: Forging a new humanism for South Africa.* South Africa: Wits University Press.

Eriksen, T.H. 2014. *The key concepts: Globalization,* 2nd Ed. London: Bloomsbury.

Fairweather, J.G. 2006. *A common hunger: Land rights in Canada and South Africa.* Calgary: University of Calgary Press.

Foley, D.E. 2002. “Critical Ethnography: The reflexive turn”. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education 15*(4): 469–490.

Fredericks, N.J., 2020. “Voices of linguistic participation in language maintenance and revitalisation: Case of the Nama Dialect of Khoekhoegowab”. *JULACE: Journal of University of Namibia Language Centre,* 5(1): 48–57.

Fusch, P, Fusch, E., Ness, L.R. 2018. “Denzin’s paradigm shift: Revisiting triangulation in qualitative research”. *Journal of Social Change 10*(1): 19–32.

Geertz, C. 1973. “Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture”. In *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays.* New York: Basic Books, pp. 3–30.

Gegeo, D.W. and Watson-Gegeo, A.W. 2001. “How we know: Kwara’ae rural villagers doing Indigenous epistemology”. *The Contemporary Pacific 13*(1): 55–88.

Geingob, H.G. 1995. “‘Our official language shall be English’: The Namibian Prime Minister’s Perspective”. In Martin Pűtz (Ed.). *Discrimination through language in Africa? Perspectives on the Namibian experience*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Gordon, R. 1998. “The rise of the Bushman penis: Germans, genitalia and genocide”. *African Studies*, *57*(1): 27–54.

Grenoble, L.A. and Whaley, L.J. 2006. *Saving languages: An introduction to language revitalisation.* United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Greymorning, S. 2001. “Reflections on the Arapaho Language Project, or When Bambi spoke Arapaho and other tales of Arapaho language revitalization efforts”. In Leanne Hinton and Kenneth L. Hale (Eds.). *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*. Sydney: Academic Press.

Grossberg, L. 1996. “Identity and cultural studies – Is that all there is?”. In Steward Hall and Paul du Gray. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 87–107.

Grunebaum, H. and Robins, S. 2001. “Crossing the Colour(ed) Line: Mediating the ambiguities of belonging and identity”. In Zimitri Erasmus (Ed.). *Coloured by history shaped by place – new perspectives on Coloured identities in Cape Town.* Cape Town: Kwela Books and South African History Online, pp. 159–173.

Gudmund, H. and Taylor, K. 1969. “Arctic skin clothing in Eurasia and America – an Ethnographic Study”. *Arctic Anthropology 5*(2): 3–132.

Haacke, W.H.G., 2005. “Linguistic research for literary empowerment of Khoesan languages of Namibia”. *African Studies, 64*(2): 15–176.

Haacke, W.H.G., 2018. “Khoekhoegowab (Nama/Damara)”. In Tomasz Kamusella and Finex Ndhlovu (Eds.). *The Social and Political History of Southern Africa’s Languages*, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 133–158.

Hahn, T. 1881. *Tsuni-//Goami*: *The supreme being of the Khoe-Khoe*. London: Trübner & Co.

Hale, K., Krauss, M., Watahomigie, L.J., Yamamoto, A.Y., Craig, C., Jeanne, L.M and England, N.C. 1992. “Endangered Languages”. *Language 68*(1): 1–42.

Hall, S. 1996. “Introduction: Who needs ‘identity’?” In Steward Hall and Paul du Gray. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 1–17.

Harari, Y.N. 2011. *Sapiens: A brief history of humankind*. London: Vintage Books.

Haight, B. 1972. “A Note on the Leopard-Skin Chief”. *American Anthropologist, 74*(5): 1313–1318.

Harlech-Jones, B. 1995. “The role of English in Namibia: A sociocultural and linguistic account”. In Martin Pűtz (Ed.). *Discrimination through language in Africa? Perspectives on the Namibian experience*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp.223–244.

Hannerz, U. 2003. “Being there and there and there! Reflections on multi-site ethnography”. *Ethnography 4*(2): 201–216.

Harrington, B. 2003. “The social psychology of access in ethnographic research”. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 32*(5): 592–625.

Haviland, W.A., Prins, H.E.I., Walrath, D. and McBride B. 2013. *The Essence of Anthropology* (3rd Ed.). United States of America: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

Heiss, A. 2012. *Am I Black enough for you?* USA: University of Hawai'i Press.

Hendricks, F and Pithouse, R. 2013. "Urban Land Question in Contemporary South Africa: The Case of Cape Town". In Fred Hendricks, Lungisile Ntsebeza and Kirk Helliker. *The Promise of Land – Undoing a Century of Dispossession in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jaca Media. pp. 103-130.

Hendricks, F. 2013. "Rhetoric and Reality in Restitution and Redistribution: Ongoing Land and Agrarian Questions in South Africa". In Fred Hendricks, Lungisile Ntsebeza and Kirk Helliker. *The Promise of Land – Undoing a Century of Dispossession in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jaca Media. pp. 27–53.

Hinton, L. 2001. "An Introduction to the Hawaiian language". In Leanne Hinton and Kenneth Hale (Eds.). *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice.* Sydney: Academic Press.

Hinton, L. 2001. "Language revitalization: An overview". In Leanne Hinton and Kenneth Hale (Eds.). *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice.* Sydney: Academic Press.

Hitchcock, R.K. 2002. "'We are the First People': Land, natural resources and identity in Central Kalahari, Botswana". *Journal of Southern African Studies 28*(4): 787–824.

Hitchcock, R., Sapignoli, M. and Babchuk, W. 2011. "What about rights? Settlements, subsistence, and livelihood security among Central Kalahari San and Bakgalagadi". *The International Journal of Human Rights 15*(1): 62–88.

Hobsbawm, E. 2012 [1983]. "Introduction: Inventing traditions". In Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. (Eds.). *The Invention of Tradition*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1–15.

Holland, A. 2014, 'In the meaning of artistic, ethnologic and economic sense: Implementing the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity on local level'. In Wolfgang Schneider and Daniel Gad (Eds.). *Good Governance for Cultural Policy: An African-European Research about Arts and Development*. Cultural Policy Volume 16. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Horst, D. 2017. "Intermezzo 32: 'To hell with Afrikaans'". In Martin Gosselink, Maria Holtrop and Robert Ross (Eds.). *Good Hope: South Africa and the Netherlands from 1600*. Rijksmuseum: Uitgeverij Vantilt.

Howard, B.R. 2003. *Indigenous Peoples and the State: The struggle for native rights.* Northern Illinois: University Press.

Howe, K.R. 2012. "Mixed Methods, Triangulation, and Causal Explanation". *Journal of Mixed Methods Research 6*(2): 89–96.

Igoe, J. 2006. "Becoming Indigenous Peoples: Difference, inequality, and the globalization of East African identity politics". *African Affairs 105*(420): 399–420.

Issenman, B. 1985. “Inuit skin clothing: Construction and motifs”. *Études/Inuit/Studies Politiques Arctiques / Arctic policy 9*(2): 101–119.

Jabbar, M.A., Kiruthu, S., Gebremedhin, B., and Ehui, S. 2002. “Essential Actions to Meet Quality Requirements of Hides, Skins and Semi-Processed Leather from Africa”. *A Report Prepared for The Common Fund for Commodities*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

Jansen, E. 2017. “Afrikaans: A language on the move”. In Martin Gosselink, Maria Holtrop and Robert Ross (Eds.). *Good Hope: South Africa and the Netherlands from 1600*. Rijksmuseum: Uitgeverij Vantilt, pp.337–343.

Kidd, C. and Kenrick, J. 2011. “Mapping everyday practices as rights of resistance: Indigenous peoples in Central Africa”. In Sita Venkateswar and Emma Hughes (Eds.). *The Politics of Indigeneity: Dialogues and Reflections on Indigenous Activism.* London: Zed Books, pp. 77–113.

Krauss, M. 1992. “The world’s languages in crisis”. *Language 68*(1): 4–10.

Kritsch, I. and Wright-Fraser, K. 2002. “The Gwich’in Traditional Caribou Skin Clothing Project: Repatriating traditional knowledge and skills”. *Arctic 55*(2): 205–210.

Kuper, A. 2003. “The Return of the Native”. *Current Anthropology 44*(3): 389–402.

Kuper, H. 2003. “The language of sites in the politics of space”. In Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga. *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 247–263.

Kurin, R. 2004. “Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: A critical appraisal”. *Museum International 56*(1–2): 52–66.

Le Roux, W. and White, A. (Eds.). 2004. *Voices of the San*. Cape Town: Kwela Books.

Lee, R.B. 2006 [2003]. “Indigenous rights and the politics of identity in post-Apartheid Southern Africa”. In Barthholomew Dean and Jerome M. Levi (Eds.). *At the risk of being heard: Identity, indigenous rights, and postcolonial states.* United States of America: University of Michigan Press, pp. 80–112.

Legassick, M. 1989. “The Northern Frontier to c.1840: The rise and decline of the Griqua people”. In Richard Elphick and Herman Giliomee (Eds.). *The Shaping of the South African Society 1652–1840.* Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, pp. 358–420.

Legassick, M. 2016. *Hidden histories of Gordonia: Land dispossession in the Northern Cape, 1800–1990.* Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Levi, J.M. and Dean, B. 2006. “Introduction”. In Barthholomew Dean and Jerome M. Levi (Eds.). *At the risk of being heard: Identity, Indigenous Rights, and Postcolonial States.* United States of America: University of Michigan Press, pp. 1–45.

Lewis, D. 2001. “Writing hybrid Selves: Richard Rive and Zoë Wicomb”. In Zimitri Erasmus (Ed). *Coloured by history shaped by place: New perspectives on Coloured identities in Cape Town.* Cape Town: Kwela Books and South African History Online, pp. 131–159.

Louw, P.E. 2004. *The rise, fall and legacy of Apartheid*. London: Praeger.

Low, S. and Lawrence-Zúñiga, D. 2003. *The anthropology of space and place: Locating culture*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Mallon, F.E. 1992. “Indian communities, political cultures, and the state in Latin America, 1780–1990. Quincentenary supplement: The colonial and post-colonial experience. Five centuries of Spanish and Portuguese America”. *Journal of Latin American Studies 24*: 35–53.

Maritz, A.P. 2016. “Black Afrikaans: An alternative use”. *Literator 37*(2): 1276. Available at http:// dx.doi.org/10.4102/lit.v37i2.1276. Accessed on 15/06/2018.

Marks, L. 1972. “Khoisan resistance to the Dutch in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries”. *The Journal of African History 13*(1): 55–80.

McKaiser, E. 2017. “Contemporary South Africa: The reach of Apartheid history”. In Martin Gosselink, Maria Holtrop and Robert Ross (Eds.). *Good Hope: South Africa and the Netherlands from 1600*. Rijks Museum: Uitgeverij Vantilt, pp. 263–275.

Mellet, P.T. 2020. *The Lie of 1652: A decolonized history of land*. Tafelberg: NB Publishers.

Merlan, F. 2009. “Indigeneity Global and Local”. *Current Anthropology 50*(3): 303–333.

Milner-Thornton, J. 2009. “Absent White fathers: Coloured identity in Zambia”. In Mohamed Adhikari (Ed.). *Burdened by Race. Coloured identities in southern Africa*. Cape Town: UCT Press, pp. 185–208.

Muehlebach, A. 2003. “What Self in Self-Determination? Notes from the Frontiers of transnational indigenous activism”. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power 10*(2): 241–268.

Muzondidya, J. 2009. “Race, ethnicity and the politics of positioning: The making of Coloured identity in colonial Zimbabwe, 1890-1980”. In Mohamed Adhikari (Ed.). *Burdened by Race. Coloured identities in southern Africa*. Cape Town: UCT Press, pp. 156–184.

Myers, N. 1976. “The Leopard *Panthera pardus* in Africa”. *Report of a Survey of the present status and future prospects of the species throughout Africa south of the Sahara*. Switzerland, International Union of Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources.

Niezen, R. 2003. *The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Identity*. London: University of California Press.

Ngcukaitobi, T. 2021. *Land matters: South Africa’s failed land reforms and the road ahead*. South Africa: Penguin Books.

Ntsebeza, L. 2013. “The more things change, the more they remain the same: Rural land tenure and democracy in the former Bantustans”. In Fred Hendricks, Lungisile Ntsebeza and Kirk Helliker. *The Promise of Land – Undoing a Century of Dispossession in South Africa.* Johannesburg: Jaca Media, pp. 54-75.

Oomen, B. 2005. *Chiefs in South Africa: Law, Power & Culture in the Post-Apartheid Era.* New York: Palgrave.

Opperman Lewis, H. 2016. *Apartheid: Britain’s Bastard Child*. Wandsbeck South Africa: Reach Publishers.

Uddin, N., Gerharz, E., and Chakkarath, P. 2018. “Introduction - Exploring Indigeneity: Introductory remarks to a contested concept”. In Eva Gerharz., Nasir Uddin and Pradeep Chakkarath (Eds.). *Indigeneity on the Move: Varying Manifestations of a Contested Concept.* Oxford: Berghahn, pp. 1–25.

Parkington, J., Morris, D., and De Prada-Samper, J.M. 2019. “Elusive Identities: Karoo |Xam Descendants and the Square Kilometre Array”. *Journal of Southern African Studies 45*(4): 729–747.

Pelican, M. 2018. “Different trajectories of indigenous rights movements in Africa: Insights from Cameroon and Tanzania”. In Eva Gerharz, Nasir Uddin and Pradeep Chakkarath (Eds.). *Indigeneity on the Move: Varying Manifestations of a Contested Concept.* Oxford: Berghahn, pp. 143–172.

Pelican, M. and Maruyama, J. 2015. “The Indigenous Rights Movement in Africa: Perspectives from Botswana and Cameroon”. *African Study Monographs 36*(1): 49–74.

Phakeng, M.S. 2017. “Epilogue: Reflections on the past; thoughts of the future”. In Martin Gosselink, Maria Holtrop and Robert Ross (Eds.). *Good Hope: South Africa and the Netherlands from 1600*. Rijks Museum: Uitgeverij Vantilt, pp. 351–356.

Piercy, J. 2013. *Symbols: A Universal Language*. Great Britain: Michael O’Mara Books Ltd.

Povinelli, E.A. 2002. *The Cunning of Recognition: Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism*. United States: Duke University Press.

Pűtz, M. 1995. “Attitudes and language: An empirical investigation into the status and use of English in Namibia”. In Martin Pűtz (Ed.). *Discrimination through language in Africa? Perspectives on the Namibian experience.* New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 245–285.

Ranger, T. 1983. “The invention of tradition in Colonial Africa”. In Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger (Eds.). *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 211–263.

Reischer, E. and Koo, K.S. 2004. “The body beautiful: Symbolism and agency in the social world”. *Annual Review of Anthropology 33*(1): 297–317.

Rethmann, P. 2000. “Skins of desire: Poetry and identity in Koriak women’s gift exchange”. *American Ethnologist 27*(1): 52–71.

Richards, R. 2017. *Baastards or Humans Vol 1: The unspoken heritage of the Coloured people. Origins/identity/culture and challenges*. Cape Town: Indaba Publishing.

Robins, S. 2001*a*. “NGOs, ‘Bushmen’ and double vision: The ǂKhomani San land claim and the cultural politics of ‘community’ and ‘development’ in the Kalahari”. *Journal of African Studies 27*(4): 833–853.

Robins, S. 2001*b*. “Part 1 – South Africa”. In Steven Robins, Elias Madzudzo and Matthias Brenzinger. *Regional assessment of the status of the San in Southern Africa: An assessment of the status of the San in South Africa, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe*. Windhoek: John Meinert Printing. https://www.lac.org.na/projects/lead/Pdf/sansazz.pdf [Accessed] 17 March 2018

Ross, R. 2017. *These oppressions won’t cease: An anthology of the political thought of the Cape Khoe-San, 1777–1879*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Rudmin, F. 2009. “Constructs, measurements and models of acculturation and acculturative stress”. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations 33*(2009): 106–123.

Salakhetdinov, E. 2022. “Challenges to the integration of the Platfontein San in South Africa between 1990 and 2003”. *Anthropology Southern Africa 45*(2): 105–119.

Salo, E. 2010. “Men, women, temporality and critical ethnography in Africa – The imperative for a transdisciplinary conversation”. *Anthropology Southern Africa 33*(3&4).

Salzman, P.C. 2002. “On Reflexivity”. *American Anthropologist 104*(3): 805–813.

Sangster, J. 2007. “Making a fur coat: Women, the labouring body, and working-class history”. *Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis.* IRSH *52*: 241–270.

Sapignoli, M. 2018. *Hunting Justice – Displacement, Law and Activism in the Kalahari*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Schoeman, K. 2009. *Seven Khoi lives: Cape biographies of the seventeenth century*. Pretoria: Protea Book House.

Scott, J.C. 1985. *Weapons of the weak. Everyday forms of peasant resistance*. London: Yale University Press.

Shah, S. and Brenzinger, M. 2016. *Ouma Geelmeid ke kx’u IIxaIIxa NIuu*. Cape Town: CALDi, University of Cape Town.

Shell, R. 2022 [2014]. “People of bondage”. In Fransjohan Pretorius (Ed.). *A History of South Africa – From the Distant Past to the Present Day.* Pretoria: Book House, pp. 67–77.

Silberbauer, G.B. 1981. *Hunter and habitat in the central Kalahari Desert*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Skotnes, P. 2004. "'Civilised off the Face of the Earth': Museum Display and the Silencing of the ǀXam". In Leon de Kock, Louise Bethlehem and Sonja Laden (Eds.). *South Africa in the Global Imaginary*. South Africa: Unisa Press, pp. 32–56.

Smith, L.T. 2012. *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (2nd Ed.). London: Zed Books.

Soudien, C. 2001. "District Six and its uses in the discussions about non-racialism". In Zimitri Erasmus (Ed.). *Coloured by history shaped by place – New perspectives on Coloured identities in Cape Town.* Cape Town: Kwela Books and South African History Online, pp. 114–130.

Strang, V. 2009. *What anthropologists do*. New York: Berg.

Sylvain, R. 2002. "'Land, Water, and Truth: San identity and global indigenism". *American Anthropologist 104*(4): 1074–1085.

Sylvain, R. 2005. "Disorderly development: Globalization and the idea of 'culture' in the Kalahari". *American Ethnologist 32*(3): 354–370.

Tafira, H.K. 2016. *Black nationalist thought in South Africa: The persistence of an idea of liberation.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tomaselli, K. 2012. "Making Sense of the Indigenous: Who's is looking at Whom?" In Keyan G. Tomaselli. *Cultural Tourism and Identity: Rethinking Indigeneity*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, pp.18–30.

___ "Place, Representation and Myth". In Keyan G. Tomaselli. *Cultural Tourism and Identity: Rethinking Indigeneity*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, pp.109–117.

___ "The !Xaus Lodge Experience: Matters Arising". In Keyan G. Tomaselli. *Cultural Tourism and Identity: Rethinking Indigeneity*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, pp.163–178.

Trigger, D.S. and Dalley, C. 2010. "Negotiating Indigeneity: Culture, Identity, and Politics". *Reviews in Anthropology 39*(1): 46–65.

Tsing, A. 2007. "Indigenous Voice". In Marisol de la Cadena. and Orin Starn (Eds.) *Indigenous Experience Today*. New York: Berg, pp. 33–69.

Tsunoda, T. 2005. *Language endangerment and language revitalization: An introduction.* New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Turner, V. 1987. "Betwixt and between: The liminal period in rites of passage. In Louise Carus Mahdi, Steven Foster and Meredith Little (Eds.). *Betwixt and Between: Patterns of Masculine and Feminine Initiation.* Illinois: Open Court Publishing Company.

Turok, B. 2014. *With my head above the parapet: An insider account of the ANC in power*. South Africa: Jacana Media.

Uddin, N., Gerharz, E. and Chakkarath, P. 2018. “Introduction - exploring indigeneity: Introductory remarks to a contested concept”. In Eva Gerharz, Nasir Uddin and Pradeep Chakkarath (Eds.). *Indigeneity on the move: Varying manifestations of a contested concept.* Oxford: Berghahn, pp. 1–29.

Van der Ross, R. 2015. *In our own skins: A political history of the Coloured people*. Johannesburg and Cape Town: Johnathan Ball Publishing.

Van der Wouden, T. (Ed.). 2012. *Roots of Afrikaans: Selected writings of Hans den Besten – Creole Language Library Vol. 44*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Verhoef, G. 2022 [2014]. “An economic history of the nineteenth century”. In Fransjohan Pretorius (Ed.). *A History of South Africa – From the Distant Past to the Present Day.* Pretoria. Book House, pp. 205–222.

Venkateswar, S. 2011. “Indigeneity and the international indigenous rights organisations and forums”. In Sita Venkateswar and Emma Hughes (Eds.). *The politics of indigeneity: Dialogues and reflections on indigenous activism.* London: Zed Books, pp. 191–246.

Villa, D.J. 2002. “Integrating technology into minority language and the teaching efforts: An inside job”. *Language Learning and Technology 6*(2): 92–101.

Visagie, J. 2022 [2014]. “Migration and societies north of the Gariep River”. In Fransjohan Pretorius (Ed.). *A History of South Africa – From the Distant Past to the Present Day.* Pretoria. Book House, pp. 105–124.

Vollenhoven, S. 2016. *The keeper of the Kumm: Ancestral longing and belonging of a Boesmankind*. Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers Ltd.

Walker, C. 2008. *Land marked – Land claims and land restitution in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jacana and Athens: Ohio University Press.

Wallerstein, I. 1991[1988]. “The construction of peoplehood: Racism, nationalism, ethnicity”. In Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein. *Race, nation, class – Ambiguous identities*. London: Verso.

Walters, S. 1999. “New challenges and opportunities for lifelong learning in South Africa: Lifelong learning and the education of mature adults”. *Comparative Education 35*(2): 217–214.

Westermark, G. 1997. “Clan claims: Land, law and violence in the Papua New Guinea Eastern Highlands”. *Oceania 67*(3): 218–233.

Widlok, T. 1998. “Unearthing culture: Khoisan funerals and social change” *Anthropos 93*(1998): 115–126.

Wilkinson, S. 2004. “Focus Group Research”. In David Silverman (Ed.). *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice.* London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Williams, B. 1995. “Identity and Identities”. In Henry Harris, Derek Parfit, Michael Ruse, Terence Cave and Anthony D. Smith (Eds.). *Identity*: *Essays based on Herbert Spencer lectures given in the University of Oxford*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 1–25.

Wilmsen, E.N. 1989. *Land filled with flies: A political economy of the Kalahari*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, H.M.W. and Kamanā, K. 2001. “‘Mai Loko Mai o Ka ‘J’ini: Proceeding from a Dream’: The ’Aha Pūnana Leo Connection in Hawaiian Language Revitalization”. In Leanne Hinton and Kenneth Hale (Eds.). *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*. San Diego: Academic Press, pp.147–176.

Worden, N. 2000. *The making of modern South Africa: Conquest, segregation and Apartheid.* (3rd Ed.). Australia: Blackwell Publishing.

Xaba, M. B. 2021. “South African land question and the dilemma of land expropriation without compensation: A critical examination”. In Adeoye O. Akinola, Nokukhanya N. Jili and Irrshad Kaseeram (Eds.). *The New Political Economy of Land Reform in South Africa.* Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

Yaméogo, N.D., Nabassaga, T., and Ncube, M. 2014. “Diversification and sophistication of livestock products: The case of African countries”. *Food Policy 49*(2014): 398–407.

Zegeye, A. 2001. “Imposed ethnicity”. In Abebe Zegeye (Ed.). *Social identities in the New South Africa - after Apartheid – Volume 1.* Cape Town: Kwela Books and South African History Online, pp. 1–23.

Zips-Mairitsch, M. 2009. *Lost Lands? (Land) Rights of the San in Botswana and the Legal Concept of Indigeneity in Africa.* Denmark: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA).

Theses and Unpublished Sources

Barnard, A. 1997. “Problems in the Construction of Khoisan Ethnicities”. Paper presented at The Proceedings of the Khoisan Identities & Cultural Heritage Conference, The Institute for Historical Research, 12-16 July 1997. University of the Western Cape.

Barnard, A. 2003. “Occasional papers – Diverse People Unite: Two Lectures on Khoisan imagery and the State. *!Ke E: /Xarre //Ke: Khoisan Imagery* in the reconstruction of South African national identity”. Edinburgh University: Centre of African Studies.

Besten, M. 2006. “Transformation and reconstitution of Khoe-San identities: AAS Le Fleur 1, Griqua identities and post-Apartheid Khoe-San revivalism (1894–2004)”. PhD thesis. Nederlands: Leiden University.

Boezak, W. 2016. “So glo ons – die Khoi-San van Suid-Afrika”. Bidvest Data.

De Wet, P.F. 2006. "'Make our children proud of our heritage'. A case study of the commission for the promotion and protection of the rights of cultural, religious and linguistic communities in SA with specific reference to the emerging Khoe-San indigenous peoples in the Republic of South Africa". Master's thesis. Norway: University of Tromsø.

Lee, M. 2014. "The effects of product information on consumer attitudes and purchase intentions of fashion products made of fur, leather, and wool". PhD thesis. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University.

Naude, V. M. 2020. "Scale and Impact of the Illegal Leopard Skin Trade for Traditional use in Southern Africa". PhD thesis. Cape: University of Cape Town.

Shin, D. 2019. "Animal fur coats: A symbol of status or stigma?" Master's thesis. Raleigh: North Carolina State University.

Telwolde, A.I. 2018. "Encounters with race: Eritrean refugees and asylum-seekers' self-identification practices in relation to the experience of racialisation in post-Apartheid South Africa". PhD thesis. South Africa: University of Pretoria.

Verbuyst, R. 2021. "Khoisan Consciousness – Articulating Indigeneity in Post-apartheid Cape Town". PhD thesis. Germany: Ghent University.

Volmink, W. 2011. *The Coloured Struggle*. Johannesburg: Maundymink Productions CC.

Internet Source

'Bradley van Sitters Defends SONA Performance.' SABC News (2019) Accessed from http://www.sabcnews.com/sabcnews/bradley-van-sitters-defends-sona-performance Viewed 27 July 2022.

Crowe, T. 2015. How the origin of the KhoiSan tells us that 'race' has no place in human ancestry. *The Conversation*, 4 February 2016. Accessed from https://theconversation.com/how-the-origin-of-the-khoisan-tells-us-that-race-has-no-place-in-human-ancestry-53594 [Accessed on 24 July 2019].

J Boud, 2018. Tony Ehrenreich wants the term '[C]oloured' be replaced with 'Camisa'. Accessed from https://www.iol.co.za/news/ehrenreich-to-ramaphosa-stop-calling-us-coloureds-17160559 Viewed 27 July 2022.

Villette, F. 2020. Teacher charged over 'African' claims on CV picking up pieces of 'difficult journey'. Accessed from https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/news/teacher-charged-over-african-claims-on-cv-picking-up-pieces-of-difficult-journey-8446c008-0a2b-4adc-90e2-eb227b47297d Viewed 27 July 2022.

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. *Indigenous Peoples at the UN*. Accessed from https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/about-us.html Viewed 28 January 2018.

United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). *Endangered languages*. Accessed from https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/about-us.html. Viewed 28 January 2021.

Rodolfo Stavenhagen. Report by United Nations Special Rapporteur - Economic and Social Council – Commission on Human Rights. Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people – Mission to South Africa 2005(E/CN.4/2006/78/Add.2) Accessed from https://www.hr-dp.org/files/2015/07/06/G0516746.pdf Viewed 16 March 2018.

Documentary

Word of Honour – Reclaiming Mandela's Promise. 2016. Documentary: MondeWorldFilms. Directed by Kiersten Dunbar Chace.

Newspapers

Clark, H. 1998. Griquas, South Africa's newest First Nation. *Mail and Guardian*, 31 July 1998.

Instituut vir Eietydse Geskiedenis, UOVS. Verwysing 1074, Datum 980806.218, Onderwerp 5, Knipsel 1122.

Keynote/Conferences/Speeches

Mtshali, L. Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology: The Proceedings of the Khoisan Identities & Cultural Heritage Conference, The Institute for Historical Research, University of the Western Cape, 12-16 July 1997.

Sharp, J. and Boonzaier, E. 1993. Paper for presentation at the conference on Ethnicity, Identity and Nationalism in South Africa. Rhodes University, 20-24 April 1993.

Tobias, P.V. Keynote Speaker: The proceedings of the Khoisan identities and cultural heritage conference. The Institute for Historical Research, University of the Western Cape, 12-16 July 1997.

Appendices

Appendix A: Statistical Table

Table 2.5: Population by first language spoken and province (number)

First Language	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	SA
Afrikaans	2 820 643	683 410	606 225	340 490	161 876	309 867	1 502 940	289 446	140 185	**6 855 082**
English	1 149 049	362 502	37 842	78 782	1 337 606	120 041	1 603 464	124 646	78 692	**4 892 623**
IsiNdebele	15 238	14 854	6 023	10 008	111 657	43 988	380 494	403 678	104 283	**1 090 223**
IsiXhosa	1 403 233	5 092 152	60 187	201 145	340 832	190 601	796 841	48 993	20 275	**8 154 258**
IsiZulu	24 634	31 634	8 501	118 126	7 901 932	84 835	2 390 036	965 253	62 424	**11 587 374**
Sepedi	8 144	14 299	2 431	7 395	20 555	83 999	1 282 896	372 392	2 826 464	**4 618 576**
Sesotho	64 066	158 964	14 136	1 717 881	79 416	201 153	1 395 089	138 559	80 299	**3 849 563**
Setswana	24 534	12 607	373 086	140 228	52 229	2 191 230	1 094 599	71 713	107 021	**4 067 248**
Sign language	22 172	42 235	3 933	32 910	48 575	14 924	52 744	8 932	8 230	**234 655**
SiSwati	3 208	2 020	648	2 246	8 347	12 091	136 550	1 106 588	25 346	**1 297 046**
Tshivenda	4 415	3 663	1 083	2 592	4 309	16 255	272 122	12 140	892 809	**1 209 388**
Xitsonga	9 152	3 092	1 201	8 039	8 936	127 146	796 511	416 746	906 325	**2 277 148**
Other	127 117	36 893	12 385	15 935	77 519	60 872	371 575	39 639	86 322	**828 258**
Total	**5 675 604**	**6 458 325**	**1 127 683**	**2 675 777**	**10 153 789**	**3 457 004**	**12 075 861**	**3 998 726**	**5 338 675**	**50 961 443**

NB: Unspecified and not applicable are excluded

Appendix B - Statistical Table

Table 2.7: Population by first language and population group (number)

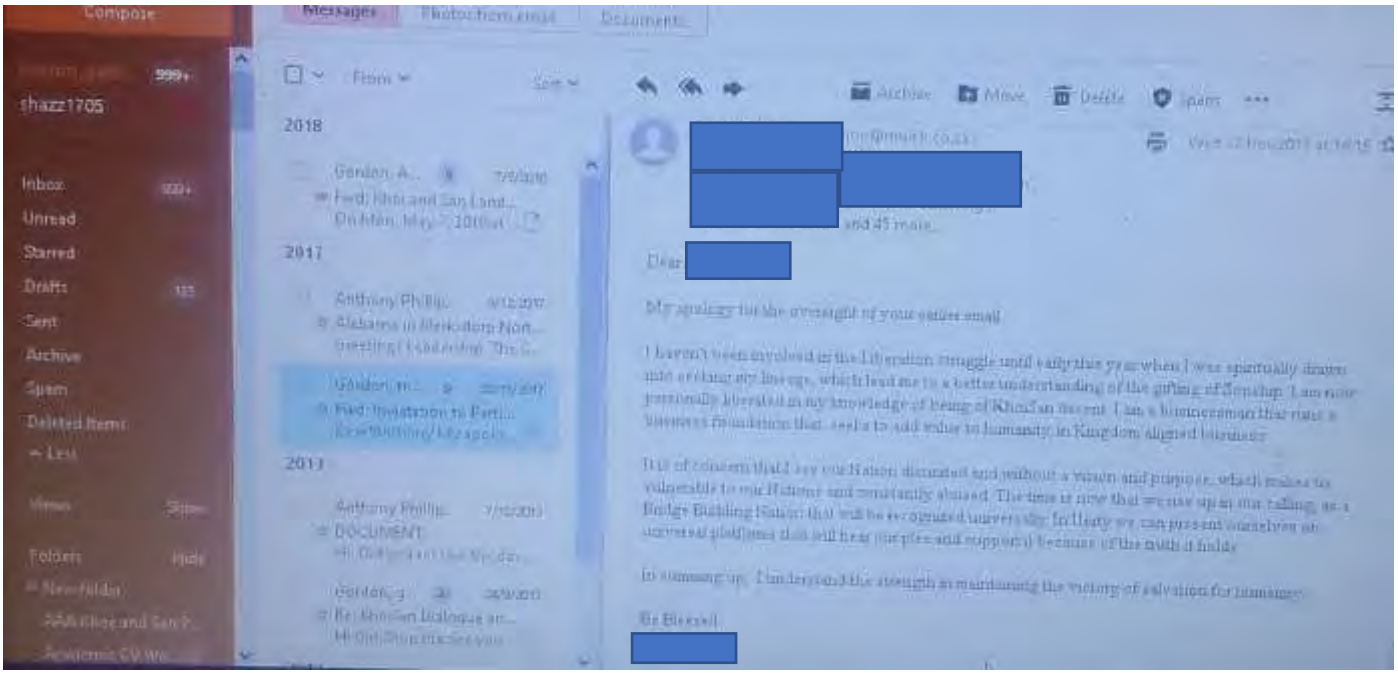
Language (first)	Black African	Coloured	Indian or Asian	White	Other
Afrikaans	602 166	3 442 164	58 700	2 710 461	41 591
English	1 167 913	945 847	1 094 317	1 603 575	80 971
IsiNdebele	1 057 781	8 225	9 815	8 611	5 791
IsiXhosa	8 104 752	25 340	5 342	13 641	5 182
IsiZulu	11 519 234	23 797	16 699	16 458	11 186
Sepedi	4 602 459	5 642	2 943	5 917	1 616
Sesotho	3 798 915	23 230	5 269	17 491	4 657
Setswana	3 996 951	40 351	4 917	18 358	6 671
Sign language	211 134	11 891	3 360	7 604	666
SiSwati	1 288 156	4 056	1 217	2 299	1 320
Tshivenda	1 201 588	2 847	810	2 889	1 254
Xitsonga	2 257 771	2 268	2 506	3 987	10 616
Other	604 587	5 702	65 261	50 118	102 590
Total	**40 413 408**	**4 541 358**	**1 271 158**	**4 461 409**	**274 111**

NB: Unspecified and not applicable are excluded

Appendix C

The above picture (top two) was taken en route to the Kalahari Desert Festival in September 2016. The bottom pictures are dances that the young people performed at the festival. These young adults were involved in the revival of the NIuu language project when it started in 2002. Those young people who still affiliate themselves to the activities in the House of NIn‡e do so through partaking in cultural dances and performances when members of the House of NIn‡e are invited to attend functions where culture and heritage activities are displayed or to dance at the opening of various government staged events.

Appendix D


Compose
shazz1705
Inbox
Unread
Starred
Drafts
Sent
Archive
Spam
Deleted Items
Folders
Messages
Photos from email
Documents
From
Sort
2018
2017
2013
Archive
Move
Delete
Spam
and 45 more
Dear
My apology for the oversight of your earlier email