Babantu ababomvu entliziyweni

(People who are 'Red' in their hearts)

and the myth of 'modernity'

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

ANTHROPOLOGY

at

RHODES UNIVERSITY

by

DUNCAN ROBERT HAYNES

Student number: G12H0499

Supervised by

PROFESSOR MICHELLE COCKS

PROFESSOR CHARLIE SHACKLETON

Submitted: 15 February 2022

Re-submitted with corrections: 20 November 2022

Declaration

I, Duncan Robert Haynes, student number G12H0499, declare that this dissertation is my own work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts at Rhodes University. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

(Signature of candidate)

Signed of this 15th day of February 2022

Abstract

This study examines a history of urban research on ancestral belief of *amaXhosa* within the Greater East London region, Eastern Cape, South Africa which spanned much of the 20th century (1934–2002). Through extensive textual and literary investigation, this thesis offers new perspectives on this topic. Current theoretical explorations offer the tools to reassess the positionality of the researchers and in light of findings of these previous studies, highlighting above all, the presence of certain academic 'blind-spots'. These 'blind-spots' are argued to have been caused by theoretical and methodological constraints, particularly around Western-centric definitions of the nature of 'modernity' that rely on the positivist notion of a singular unilinear path of time as a universal standard (and which thus defines 'progressiveness' and 'backwardness'). (These 'blind spots' were notably further strengthened by a Eurocentric interpretation of identity and a trend of Neo-Marxist scholarship between the 1970s and the 2010s[1] which created a 'taboo' on addressing issues of culture, and especially of ancestral spirituality, as this was taken to be portraying Africans as culturally 'static' and backward and therefore supporting Apartheid ideologies of 'separate development').

Through these textual investigations this thesis brings to light the, largely unrecognised, core of the issue or driving factor behind the difficulties in all of these previous studies. This is posited as the existence of a prevailing culture of 'silence' in Xhosa spaces (stretching from 1840–2000) regarding the sustained importance of 'Redness' (ancestral spirituality and traditional dimensions of identity due to the notion that it was 'backward').

This self-censoring is unpacked as having been an expedient response by many to the requirements for Xhosa pagans to wash off the symbolic red cosmetic clay at baptism, put on 'decent' Western clothing and shoes and take on Christian first names ('shedding' their previous names and identities) as processes deemed necessary to properly convert to Christianity (Frescura, 2015). More significantly however, it has been argued by scholars that adopting Christianity was the only way to be able to harness the power of education at a time of starvation related to the famine of the millennial Cattle Killing movement (1856–7) and the Xhosa military defeat at the end of the 100-year period of the British Xhosa Frontier Wars (1779–1879).

This thesis uses perspectives offered by Queer theory to unpack the pain of this 'veiling' of aspects of identity as a necessary strategy for achieving economic 'success' amid the structural and

[1] Scholars note that in this climate of discomfort, discussions on urban 'African culture' were left to works of literature, theatre and related critique (Barber, 2001; Becker, 2012).

epistemological violence of colonialism and apartheid. It is suggested that a combination of the 'silence' and 'taboo' area of the 'blind-spot' could completely 'veil' these epistemological realities from the view of many earlier researchers of urban Xhosa identity (whose cultural and linguistic backgrounds as well as etic positioning caused them to be unable to 'knock' to gain access into this normally 'veiled' world)[2].

This thesis combines these historical perspectives with contemporary scholarship and literary works to propose that these 'Red' aspects of identity and spirituality have always and still 'continue' to form a core, or crux, of Xhosa identity for a previously widely unrecognised and overwhelming majority of urban *amaXhosa.* This thesis uses the perspective offered by a Xhosa translation of the title of Mda's English language novel, 'A Heart of Redness' (2000), to explore the importance of ancestral spirituality and clan identities to amaXhosa as a [previously invisible/veiled] 'Redness of one's Heart' for a high proportion of contemporary *amaXhosa.*

In this way, this thesis agrees with scholars such as Latour (1993) and Mignolo (2007) in their 'jarring' expose regarding the epistemic violence of euro-normative notions of 'modernity'. Here they call for a disruption of the pervasive idea of the West as being at the 'forefront' of human experience and even a challenge to the western reading of time. Finally, through exploring critique of the 'Secularisation Thesis' of the Western world, this thesis poses the implicit question contained in its title: 'Is the western world now perhaps able to embrace a 'modernity' and integrative-cosmology that has been safe-guarded by Xhosa pagans since the 1840s?'

This study documented numerical indicators on the presence of ancestral belief and traditional dimensions of Xhosa identity from fieldwork conducted in an urban locality King William's Town (Qonce) within the Buffalo City Municipality, Eastern Cape of South Africa from September 2018 to December 2019.

In-depth quantitative and qualitative data were collected from lengthy interactions with 305 consenting Xhosa participants. These interactions comprised 129 semi-structured and 176 structured interviews, 61 of the latter formed the sample for numerical data analysis with which to give clarity on the abiding importance of ancestral spirituality for a vast majority of urban *amaXhosa*.

[2] Several of these publications understandably concluded that ancestral belief and traditional identities had disappeared in urban spaces as a result of urbanisation and 'modernisation', concluding (just like the historical *Mfengu* Debate (1980s and 1990s) that 'ancestors and clans no longer mattered' to contemporary *amaXhosa*.

Table of Contents

Lists of Tables, Figures and Appendices

List of tables

List of figures

List of appendices

Abbreviations and acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
CoP	community of practice
EC	Eastern Cape
GIS	Geographical Information System
HQ	head quarters
KWT	King William's Town
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender
LMS	London Missionary Society
NRF	National Research Foundation
NU	Native Unit
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
RP	received pronunciation
SPCA	Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
TAR	Traditional African Religion
UDF	United Democratic Front
WOSC	Western ontological superiority complex
XITT	Xhosa in Town Trilogy

Dedication

At the end of the two-hour interview, I asked the old man of over 80 years:

> "Have you ever before, in your whole life, spoken about these things [ancestral beliefs, clans and their significance for your identity] with an *umlungu* (white person)?" His response carried depth, "*Hayi, zange… ndiya qala ngoku*" (No, never… I am starting now)."

This thesis carries a dedication to the approximately seven generations of Xhosa and White ancestors in a shared history of more than 180 years in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, who have not been able to fully communicate or understand aspects of Xhosa identity and ancestral spirituality, so important that they have been termed the core of people, or "who they are in their hearts". This thesis explains the story and context of how a very large proportion of the Xhosa population (who currently make up 83% of the population of the Eastern Cape[3]) actively 'veiled' their core aspects of identity and 'contents of their hearts' for at least 160 years, from Whites and even each other so effectively, that very few academics saw that they were 'veiling' and many publications in the later part of the 20th century maintained ancestral belief had almost completely disappeared.

This is a story that I feel has never been fully understood and told as a whole that centres on its complex issues. I note that this 'veiling' was so complete and effective that many sincere ancestral believers believe that they are in a minority in contemporary Xhosa society.

This is a long story that requires careful listening. To 'hear' it you will have to be willing to enter into another world, to grasp the cosmic pain of a historically shared experience that many of us have been born into and did not choose. One has to be able to listen beyond logic. One has to be willing to go deep into emotion. I maintain that a full understanding of the story can only be had with a full 'embodiment' where one integrates one's perceptive senses. One really has to be ready to listen. I note that often many white people believe they understand everything about Xhosa culture due to having spent time growing up 'alongside them'. However, due to the presence of the 'veil' and as is seen from the studies that this Masters thesis draws upon, often white people do not really understand the depth of ancestral belief and sometimes do not even know that the 'veil' is there. [This level of complexity can be seen to be similar to a comment on the politics of Northern Ireland (Hope & Poland, 2020, 31:00) where it was said: "If you think you understand, then you are deeply confused".] This thesis has taken a long time to complete. I maintain this is because to understand the 'core drivers' I have had to look at this problem from a great many perspectives that surround this

[3] Statistics South Africa, 2016.

"veil of mist"[4] and 'taboo' in which ancestral belief sits[5]. In this way I have come to see the relevance of Hope's statement about the complexities of South Africa, "If you don't understand the depths of the problem in South Africa, then you don't understand the question" (Hope & Poland, 2020, 26:30).

Indeed, it has only been since mid-2021 that I identified, what I see as, the key questions and got to the core of the problem, rather that dealing with 'proxy' or peripheral questions that, like *isihlonipho* descriptions, sit on the edge of this 'taboo'. This work has only been possible with a number of authors who first spoke about aspects of this complicated problem and like sweating oxen pulled hard to break up and start to plough this very hard, dry ground: *inkqantosi*.

Through their work and many others, seen and unseen, I now feel able to tell the full story and say *"Ndiya qala ukubona, ndi sa ukuthungulula."* (I have now started to see but my eyes are still opening.) In this way, I do not feel I am able to claim this work as entirely my own because I have only been part of it. My work in the ploughing has been much easier than for those who started it. I feel we must also acknowledge those, perhaps unseen, who sensing winds bringing the coming of rain to end a long drought started out at the first light of dawn to call in reverent low voices the names of specific oxen to bring them out of the milling herd so that they could be yoked and their strength and experience combined for this difficult task.

Ndithi ngoku, Masi qhubudane sonke! (Figuratively: may we bow our heads in reverence, literally: may we (like oxen) lower our shoulders into the yoke and prepare to pull together).

[4] (Personal communication, Poland, 2021).

[5] My method of coming to understand is related to the Xhosa concept of *isihlonipho* descriptions of a very powerful and even potentially dangerous entity, in which it is spoken about indirectly from multiple surrounding views but never named.

Acknowledgements

Most fundamentally I acknowledge my parents for their part in this journey and for all their work and commitment that has brought it all together. My mother, the 'spinner of life', who has held and brought the threads together and seen the whole written picture, something that I have not been able to conceive of. In this way she has held the thesis safe, as her body held me while I myself was being woven by the magic of those unseen. To my father '*amehlo abini*' with both his eyes for detail, formatting and sharpness. I appreciate it greatly even though at times I interpreted the sharpness as piercing me. Thank you, too, for all the practicality in setting up my living space when I was not able to do it alone.

I thank Dabula Maxam and Mluleki Nkosi profusely for their tremendous insights and patience with me. For all the hours together and for introducing me to that world, *nokunceda ukuze ndaqale ukuthungulula* and for formulating so many of the concepts which this thesis speaks about.

To *umama wami wesibili,* who carried me on her back, for planting seeds of thought in our discussions. The *amacwane* which have now grown. *Ngiya bulela ukuba ngiziva ngi phakathi komhlane nembeleko kuwe.*

I thank Professors Michelle Cocks and Charlie Shackleton for their inputs into the project and for helping me start on this long research road and for supporting me to the end of the journey.

I thank Gwyndolen Ortner for support and sharing along much of this learning journey.

My brother Bruce for mental health care and support.

I thank Monde Duma whom I feel was just there at the right time to pick up and help carry what I could not lift and to continue an incredibly fulfilling inter-generational dialogue. I am so grateful for the many, many hours of voice notes, your effort in clarification of Xhosa vocabulary and concepts and your support with unpacking this complexity and explaining it to my 'world'.

Marguerite Poland. *Umzukulwana namalahle ezandleni. Wena ulungisa izinto zethu ezinzima (esaziphatha kudala) ngezandla zakho ezishushu.* Thank you for the affirmation of the great importance of this work and therefore your encouragement in a time that I really needed it most. Gratitude for the great gifts you have given us all: 'Shades' and 'A Sin of Omission' which have opened up and dialogued these issues with the heart. *Wena, inkabi yelanga!*

I give special thanks to Dr Ronald Ingle who gave me the 'words' with the gift of two old Xhosa/English dictionaries by J. McLaren (1936) just as I had finished my fieldwork and could begin exploring themes

and language. Thank you! My whole thesis hinges on the spines of those two. They, and you, made the depth of meaning and metaphor in in this thesis possible. Through you I have been led to '*thungulula*' (that sits on page 172 of McLaren (1936)). Words cannot express my gratitude for these gifts.

This research acknowledges support from the National Research Foundation of South Africa (NRF) in terms of funding both personally, in the form a student scholarship, and additionally for the fieldwork costs that were supplied through an NRF research grant entitled: 'Urban Natures' under the Supervision of Professors Cocks and Shackleton. The views expressed in this thesis are my own and are not those of the NRF.

To the other co-creators of this knowledge who participated and provided the threads and strands for this basket, I am grateful. I think this thesis now does much of what we started to do and tells perhaps what was most important. I especially thank Bra Vista, MamFene, MamJwarha, BawuXaba, uTshawe and MaDlomo who all shared deeply in different ways, and old MaGatjeni (from whom I think I first learnt about the beauty and grace of "Redness'). I thank MaGaba and BawuMduna for their caring.

I thank and acknowledge those whom I owe the gift of life and my life force, the ones unseen whom have, it appears, guided and facilitated much of this work and helped in the success in these deep understandings. With the goal that we might all together '*lungise womzi wethu* 'right' and loosen some of the intergenerational issues that from both a Jungian and ancestral perspective, have become stuck.

1. Introduction

This study explores Xhosa ancestral belief, often termed 'cultural practices', in an urban space in the Eastern Cape. It highlights in particular the continued importance of this belief system to urban residents and the relative under-recognition of it in academic literature both historically and contemporarily. This lack of engagement and recognition is hypothesised to be due to an idea, which placed these beliefs in a static and time-bound ethnographic present (Fabian, 1983) and which deemed them too 'primitive' and unenlightened to be compatible with 'modern' life (Garuba, 2012). This stigma developed out of Western assumptions related to the 'age of the enlightenment', described as a period that inspired notions of 'racial hierarchies of being' with cultures perceived as situated on rungs of a metaphorical 'ladder of advancement, enlightenment and morality', with European civilisation being seen to be at the pinnacle of human advancement. This was notably the background to the civilising mission which sanctioned imperial powers to be able to 'bring light to darkest Africa' (Zotwana, 1993). (See Fig. 1 Scala Naturae).

A student doing cross-cultural research has at times to enter an unfamiliar realm. When accessing ontologies/world views (that have been historically treated as inferior, wrong or misguided by their own world) a researcher (in entering this other realm) must learn to 'sit comfortably' in these other ways of being and 'seeing' in order to be able to be granted access to the lived experiences of the participants. Generally best practice would be to gain the ability to engage though the participants' language and utilise appropriate methodologies to access the participants own construction of meaning, and with this attempt to understand the cross-cultural information.

In the South African context due to a complex fusion of circumstances and the prioritisation of functionalist and etic research approaches, it appears that the usefulness of emic engagement has remained invisible to the Western academic lens and as such unreachable for the researcher (Mkhize, 2019). (See Section 2.3).

In this thesis I posit that this has also helped render certain of research participants' realities invisible to such academics. To me a major part of the historical problem with this field of research in South Africa has been the expectations of academia and Western society to receive information through its own lens (etic approach), working within rather than stepping out of its own comfort zone and judging the truth of the information entirely from that perspective.

I propose that this has been the result of, and has also perpetuated, a global hegemonic ideology of Western ontological and epistemic supremacy (Medina, 2013; DiAngelo, 2018). This historical pattern appears to have roots in the traditions of colonial and later functionalist anthropological approaches

that were grounded in the positivist paradigm. (See Section 2.2). In this way this thesis is seen to dialogue Mafeje's calls for a critical examination of the meta-position of South African Anthropology (1997).

1.1 Research focus

This Masters research formed part of the investigation of a parent project entitled: "A place to belong: urban planning, housing and greening". This larger study aimed at understanding Xhosa 'cultural' relationships to urban green spaces that can inform further research and future culturally-appropriate urban housing settlement planning. This was an interdisciplinary project falling within the Departments of Anthropology and Environmental Science, Rhodes University and is led by Professors Michelle Cocks and Charlie Shackleton.

The original aim of this Masters research was to unpack the 'cultural' significance of urban nature to Xhosa dwellers of the Reconstruction and Development Planning (RDP) housing programme, and how this linked to ritualised place- and home-making (which involves rituals relating to ancestral belief).

It subsequently became apparent to me during the fieldwork that the necessary foundation or grounding on which to contextualise and unpack the significance of these issues, (i.e. points on the rim of the earlier mentioned wheel) was not sufficiently established in anthropological literature. I began to realise that these related closely to identity and well-being, but that a 'core' of Xhosa identity remained as yet mostly undialogued. In this way, as will be discussed later, I noted that the participants' views of these experiences were often overlooked by academics in favour of etic, or functionalist perspectives, to explain the 'real' drivers behind the continuation of ancestral ritual (Ainslie, 2014).

1.2 Research approach

Due to what will be discussed as a lack of relevant and applicable literature covering the salient issues of my study, it was not possible to follow the usual route of working from a specific and well-researched problem in one's academic field, and then examining a singular aspect of its relevance in a new field site. Being grounded in extensive fieldwork my approach explored the complexities of a problem that appeared to be mostly ignored in academic literature. I had to search deep into, and combine diverse parts of literary enquiry to be able to explain these realities. This initial task required a great deal of participant co-creation in terms of 'speaking the landscape', which gave me the confidence to venture into uncharted academic territory and strengthened the thesis. The sincere and open input from participants and interpreters gave me the confidence to go beyond the bounds of

what, in relation to the etic and functionalistic focus of urban Xhosa research, have previously been seen as 'acceptable' anthropological findings. I felt compelled to go past relatively 'safe' peripheral material findings ('proxies') looking deeper into the intangible and spiritual issues and their importance for Xhosa well-being and identity and in this way looking into the ideological history of white settler Christianity which ultimately, as this thesis unpacks, informed the initial ideas around ancestral belief in 'modernity'.

In this way, unintentionally, the research fitted neatly into 'the ideal' approach of Grounded Theory, strengthening the position and validity of this thesis. Grounded theory seeks to first discover the 'lie of the land' of truth on the ground of the research universe before engaging heavily with literature, and especially theory. Such an approach helps limit preconceived biases and use of ill-fitting theoretical frames from colouring the researcher's lens and pulling away from observing truths on the ground in favour of the 'truths' of more powerful and authoritative texts and documented information (Strauss & Corbin, 1994; Birks & Mills, 2015). In this thesis it becomes evident how, in a context of a theoretical dependence on the global north, such an approach arguably has great value.

Spending extended periods in the field with participants and interpreters enabled 'ground truthing' around urban spirituality/rituals and 'Red' aspects of Xhosa identities. Through this immersion, I developed an understanding of these categories as they exist in the minds and lives of the participants. This enabled me to slowly conceptualise the linkages between all the related complexities I came across in the literature and start connecting the dots (or spokes) to the common issues at the centre of the 'wheel'.

In this way I was able to begin to challenge four myths that are still prevalent in the field both in the discussions of participants and in the literature review (Ainslie, 2005; Bank, 2002b, Shackleton & Mograbi, 2020). (See Section 4.1.3.1 for discussion of these myths.)

Spending a total number of days amounting to the equivalent of four months in the field (2018–2019) in predominantly Xhosa-speaking townships[6] allowed me a nuanced understanding of ancestral belief and related rituals, and the importance of these for urban participants' identity. This provided me with the confidence, and subsequently the evidence, to question the previously unchallenged lay and academic literature that perpetuated the salience of these myths. Here certain of these literary texts even asserted that the prevalence of 'Red' (ancestral) Xhosa spirituality and traditional identities in South Africa were decreasing generally, having all but disappeared in urban areas in 'modernity'

[6] See Appendix A. Clarification of terminology used for historical notes: Location and Township.

(Wilson & Mafeje, 1963; Mpahlele, 1964; Magubane, 1973; Nyamende, 1991; Schönstein Pinnock, 1994; Bank, 2002a; Bank, 2002b; Bank, 2002c; Fay, 2015).

This thesis builds the basic foundations of an argument that challenges the strong narrative in publications which in line with the ideology of the myths positioned Traditional African Religion (TAR), ancestral beliefs and related ritual practices as being 'things of the past' and thus incongruent with the present. This critique establishes a vital starting point on which to build further research to understand the extent and importance of TAR among black South Africans, the prevalence of which it is noted remains almost completely unknown (Nyaundi, 2011).

In this way this thesis strongly counters the 'hypothesis' or core idea of the myths that Xhosa cultural identities progressively vanish or are 'shed' in urban areas in response to urbanisation and an adoption of Western cultural norms and identities. Over a period of almost 70 years (1936–2000s), apart from a few key but fairly isolated publications (Mayer, 1962; Pauw, 1963; Zotwana, 1993; Mtuze, 1999; Raditlhalo, 2001; Mtuze, 2003), this narrative remained unchallenged (see Section 3.3.4) and still remains fairly entrenched in lay narratives at the time of writing in 2022. In the literature review I explore why before the 1990s studies that challenged this narrative received a great deal of negative attention. This thesis integrates the above historical context of this academic 'blind spot' with quantitative and qualitative findings from the fieldwork that serve to create a holistic picture that explains the complexity of this issue.

Through this realisation I adapted my initial research focus, with the aim of collecting and disseminating reliable information on the 'continued' importance of ancestral spirituality and traditional dimensions of identity of urban *amaXhosa.* In this way the thesis tries to articulate the significance of ancestral belief for urban dwelling *amaXhosa.*

1.3 Research questions

The following three final research questions were developed over a lengthy process of refinement of the focus. (This process is laid out in Section 4.1.3 of the Methodology)

1. Is there a difference between urban and rural practices in terms of the sincerity and authenticity of adherence to ancestral ritual among *amaXhosa*?
2. Why has academic literature been largely 'blinkered' to, or unaware of, particularly among urban dwellers, the fundamental importance of ancestral belief systems and clan identities as core aspects of identity for *amaXhosa*?

3. Why have these core aspects of the identities and cosmologies been actively 'veiled' by *amaXhosa* for a period of 160 years (1840–2000)?

1.4 Research aims

This thesis aims to explain and show the connections between the following issues:

1. Publications, over a 70-year period of literature referred to as the 'Xhosa in Town Debate' (refer Section 3.2.3) by authors who researched the issue of 'Red' or traditional dimensions of identity among urban-dwelling *amaXhosa* in East London between 1932 and 2002[7].

2. The literary background to the 160-year (1840–2000) Xhosa 'silence' and resultant lack of recognition in academic literature, particularly between 1970s and 2010s concerning ancestral beliefs amongst *amaXhosa*.

3. The understanding of identity of *amaXhosa* in terms of the historical 'Red'/'School' (Pagan/Christian) divide.

4. The nature of spirituality among urban *amaXhosa* and unpacking of the historical complexity of the term 'cultural practices' in perpetuating epistemic violence and a lack of recognition in contemporary South Africa.

5. The use of language and translation methodologies as tools to investigate spirituality and identity of urban *amaXhosa* from an emic perspective.

This completes Chapter 1 which has described the research framework and leads onto Chapter 2 which gives the theoretical context and the background to the underlying issues that will be explored in the thesis.

[7] While this was not a formal debate, this study names it as such for two primary reasons: firstly to connect the opposing findings and theoretical orientations of the researchers over the seven decades, and secondly, to show the similarities in dealing with identities of Xhosa speakers between these studies and the more widely known Fingo debate of the 1980s and 1990s.

2. Theoretical context

2.1 Introduction to chapter

This chapter commences with the theoretical context of the study by describing the global history of anthropology in terms of etic and emic research approaches. Thereafter, the key concepts are highlighted and previously unrecognised historical factors and their complex outcomes described. Thereafter the terminology, stylistic notes, language use and theoretical framing of the study are explained.

While some terms and phrases are academically known and accepted, others have been developed to fit in with the research findings. The latter group are defined broadly in this chapter and unpacked in detail in subsequent chapters.

2.2 A global perspective of anthropological scholarship: a history with a very long shadow

The history of anthropology globally and in South Africa is documented here in order to explain the present knowledge gaps and historical research foci.

Anthropology has historically been enmeshed with the Euro-American colonial encounter and interpretation of the 'other' (Mafeje, 1997). In this way the 'paradigm-shifts' within the field, mirror societal shifts within the Western world. Certain of these 'paradigm-shifts' are explored below.

Anthropology and its early focus on 'primitive societies' has been termed the "hand-maiden of imperialism" (Magubane, 1973, p. 1702). This being due to its role of providing the evidence to confirm a Western bias of colonial subjects as being lesser developed people and mentally, morally, and spiritually inferior (Zotwana, 1993).

Reflexive analysis of the field highlighted that such a view of different cultures and peoples was primarily due to a notion of Western racial supremacy and the assessment of others through the use of one's own cultural norms and standards (Gilmartin, 2009). Implicit in this was a notion of unilinear cultural evolution in which societies moved along a set path of development passing through a series of linear stages (Narotzky, 2016; Caillon, et al., 2017).

This idea was first described (in the 1870s) by pioneering American anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan (1818–1881) who studied human societies, cultures and how they develop. He formulated the theory (after extensive study of Greek and Roman texts) that societies moved from 'savagery towards barbarism and finally civilisation' (1877). Implicit in this theory was a direct link between

social and technological progress and the wearing of clothing being directly proportional to ones' degree of civilisation.

In this thesis, I attempt to show how global developments in the field of anthropology, especially since the 1920s, played out within the complexities of the history of South Africa as it entered into apartheid and later a representative democracy in 1994.

This thesis does not subscribe to the idea that knowledge flows from the global north to the global south. My reason for starting with a description of the dynamics of the global north is to give the reader a clear understanding of the historical ideological frame, of the mind-sets of early anthropologists, colonialists and missionaries. Here I highlight how certain notions of development are highly ideologically bound and silently perpetuate a normative idea of Western ontological and epistemic superiority that has played itself out through scholarship (Alatas, 2003).

In this way, this section highlights the 'ideological framing of colonialism' and explains how through gaining a 'monopoly on the nature of time' allowed for the placement of cultures as either backward, or forward-facing[8]. This dialectic allowed for the creation of the idea of backwardness and its converse 'modernity' (Latour, 1993). This forms the basis of the construction of the idea of primitive societies which Kuper highlights as being a fictitious concept entirely based on Eurocentrism (1988).

The above value-laden, relational positionalities created an economy of value on expressions of identity that played out in notions of class status and assessments around degrees of civilisation[9]. This was particularly related to Christian conversion and missionary education of the *amaXhosa* in the Eastern Cape (de Kock, 1992).

One understands (in the context of the previous discussion) the assumption that the rest of the world would evolve towards the pinnacle of civilisation and mental enlightenment, "along natural laws that govern the social development of man" (Radcliffe-Brown, 1922, p. 38). Thus, following in the footsteps of Western Europe who through harnessing their textual and mechanical technologies had developed the right to colonise other societies. Western Europe was understood to have been fast tracked through processes of civilisation, literally 'standing on the shoulders of giants [i.e.: Greece and Rome as classical civilisations]' (Davis, 1979; Cobley; 1987), while other peoples remained in static primitive

[8] Where 'primitiveness' would logically have no place in the present times and those who stubbornly hung on to tradition would literally be facing the wrong way and thereby turning their backs on and refusing advancement.

[9] Here see the idea of internalised shame among 'schooled' Xhosa, in the 1800s, around developmental inferiority due to the fact that pre-contact Xhosa society had not had writing (Davis, 1979; Opland, 1990; de Kock, 1991; Zotwana, 1993).

states (literally in a backward time) waiting like unincubated eggs to start the long process of modernising and developing. When on coming into contact with Europeans and their 'superior' languages, legal systems, cultures and technologies, native people would be forever changed and as 'empty vessels' start to be filled with knowledge, learning and morality[10] (Mtuze, 2003).

Here Europeans constructed these native peoples as being developmentally like children and needing the guidance, protection and patronage of the superior races. One sees a strong theme of a 'saviour complex' in the European mind where the encounter with the other involved saving them from eternal damnation and ignorance, literally bringing light to darkest Africa and enlightenment to the heathen (Zotwana, 1993). In this way one sees the context of early anthropology of the 19th century and the reason for its enmeshment in the project of colonisation.

This thesis unpacks (in line with certain esteemed scholars) the idea that 'modernity' is in fact just an ethnocentric myth (Latour, 1993; Quijano, 2007) and that in a decolonial drive one needs to see it as such, and even take a critical view on the universal applicability of the Western idea of unilinear time (Mignolo, 2007; Mignolo, 2011b).

This contextual history has a much longer 'shadow' than one might readily think (Conn, 2004). This is contained in certain normative ideas regarding words such as progress, development and 'being civilised' (Mignolo, 2003). In line with Jung's psychological theories on 'shadow' (Fordham, 1953) this thesis puts forth the idea that without engaging with and embracing or owning one's 'wounds' the shadow remains in the subconscious not being readily seen by an individual but continuously plays out in their actions and projections (and if unacknowledged eventually develops into neuroses) (Demos, 1955). In line with Mafeje's call (1997), a large part of this thesis therefore involves reflection on the 'self' (including my own positionality and that of historical researchers in the field of urban Xhosa studies). This in turn allows an exploration of the 'meta-positionality' of the field (and thus the self) of anthropology.

This discussion goes further back than much anthropological literature in the field has done previously. This thesis attempts to identify recurring 'patterns of behaviour' in the field (as in psychology rather than dealing with the numerous 'symptoms' of a problem which are more evident, recent and might remain in more comfortable areas of inquiry) and then goes back deep into history, into the research

[10] Here because indigenous people were deemed to be not yet fully 'human' and in certain cases, as pagans to not to even have souls, they would logically be treated in different ways to Europeans and could be subjected to slavery and harsh working and living conditions as part of a necessary path of improvement (Balcomb, 2021).

scholarship, to find the 'root causes' of these symptoms (Fordham, 1953) and to identify the drivers or traumas behind them (Demos, 1955).

In decolonial scholarship, as in psychology, it is noted that without identifying the core wounds or drivers of a set of problems people will simply replicate the violences present in the system and perpetuate the traumas, even when expressly trying to avoid them (Prior, 2007; Macfarlane & Marshall, 2021a).

Also, in line with the psychological approach this thesis attempts to listen out for the silences, hearing what is not being said, and then probe to find out why (Demos, 1955). I highlight that this can go into areas that have been too painful for an individual or group to express openly and have thus been left silent.

This thesis actively moves away from a focus on only 'the here and now', or the recent past, but rather looks at a long history of scholarship to include an awareness of historical metaphors that informed historical research approaches and which it appears still ground our concepts of thought (Rigato & Minelli, 2013).

Without an understanding of where our ideas come from, these paradigms, such as the notion of unilinear time and progress or cultural evolution, often go unquestioned and are just assumed to be normal or the natural laws of society (Law, 2011; Hammond & Wellington, 2014). This silently fronts a certain epistemic experience as being the universal 'truth'. If not unpacked reflectively a normative cultural 'self-centeredness' results, simply alienating other ways of being and knowing (Law, 2011). However, through seeing these patterns and becoming aware of these 'wounds' individuals can choose to step out of their previously constrained 'roles' and re-imagine their communication in particular relationships (Fordham, 1953). They can actively choose how they wish to interact rather than having this 'scripted' for them by the trauma-based reactions or unacknowledged shadow issues (Demos, 1955). Jung theorises that once one can acknowledge, accept and embrace one's shadow this offers tremendous creative potential for solving the issues that otherwise remain insurmountable and too complex to recognise, let alone address (Jung in Fordham, 1953).

To summarise the above section, what is critical to understanding the argument presented here is the assumption made by colonial powers that there are cultures that are primitive and those that are civilised. Rationality, as a product of enlightenment was seen to be the result of civilisation signalling mental superiority (Ideland, 2018).

2.2.1 Positivism with regard to the functionalist paradigm of the British School of Social Anthropology

Since the 18th century the British school of social anthropology has been primarily interested in macro-structures of society and etic analysis. The functionalist paradigm arose out of the colonial encounter being positioned as 'enlightened' and as a 'more advanced' civilisation. Western scholars understood themselves to be able to deduce the 'real' functions behind the actions of people in primitive cultures (Davis, 1992).

Functionalism was an idea that developed out of positivism and carried the notion of the existence of a singular objective truth and the superiority of empiricism over subjectivity (Handler, 1990). Positivism adopts a third person narrative and through the notion of a completely objective observer accepts the convention of not talking about the researcher's positionality (Finlay, 1998). Functionalism took the perspective that activities in cultures were based on fulfilling a sociological function. Here, academics aimed to assess the 'true' reasons behind behaviours of those studied, but followed the idea that primitive people would, however, not be able to grasp the sociological reason behind the practice (Davis, 1992). Functionalists explained the participants' own views on these behaviours, to be as a result of their lack of enlightenment. From this perspective since these people 'did not yet have the ability to conceive of complex thought and rational causative reasoning' anthropologists deemed their behaviours to be superstitions (Gilmartin, 2009).

In this way, functionalist anthropologists would not need to engage the participants on these topics, or even speak their language particularly well, but would be able to observe behaviours and conclude from their own cultural and linguistic perspective the 'real' reasons behind these behaviours. The anthropologist, having gained this 'superior' understanding of the said culture would then write about it in a European language using Eurocentric (etic) concepts and theories to explain the function.

Such functionalist descriptions were primarily used within a comparative lens to allow empirical comparison of societies with which to propose theories about the human condition and the stages of human development. While perhaps self-evident, it is important for the discussion of this thesis to highlight that the academic was writing for an 'enlightened' European audience and was speaking on behalf of research subjects rather than 'to' them.

The concepts of universalism and relativism are described here as they have a bearing on the discussions presented below:

- Universalism comes out of a Greek cosmological frame of the structure of the universe as being determined by fixed external laws. This carries the idea that all entities have an

essence or form which is eternal and unchanging and relies on the existence of a singular universal truth. This is noted as being built into the foundations of Western thought and can be seen as the framework for Western Ethnocentrism, and colonial imperialism (Wiesner, 2018). It should be noted that it is difficult to transcend these constructs, while at the same time thinking in the language which uses them to construct thought.

- Relativism on the other hand carries the idea that truth is dependent on a cultures' concepts of meaning and thus 'objective truth' is entirely dependent on the positionality or context of the observer. Cultural Anthropology's relativist position reflects its constant refusal to accept Western culture's claims to universality. Its focus on emersion in, and acceptance of, other worldviews has allowed its practitioners to reflect self-critically on their own constructions of truth and to re-examine otherwise 'taken-for-granted' assumptions (Marcus & Fisher, 1986).

2.2.2 The link between language and culture

Since the 18th century the languages of non-Europeans were widely accepted as being 'less advanced' than European languages and thought to be simplistic and basic, lacking clear, grammatical structures and the ability to describe the world in nuanced or precise ways (Gilmour, 2006). The speakers of these languages were seen to be driven by instinct and emotion rather than rational thought. Conversely, academic writing followed a preference for clear objective, scientific language and avoided emotion and subjectivity, labelling these as irrational (Clifford & Markus, 1986: 5). This tradition of scholarship developed out of the belief that error would be almost impossible if one adopted a third person approach and used precise language (Levine & Howe, 1985). This ideological stance can be seen in regard to an oppression of 'feminine' archetypes as inferior in Western society, and a denial of the value of emotion as a way of knowing and being (Jaggar, 1989; Bondi, 2005).

Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) a German linguist and philosopher proposed the idea that Indo-European languages were the most developmentally perfect and this enabled their speakers to dominate the speakers of the worlds' less perfect languages (1820). His ideological grounding seems to have been influenced by his background as a classical scholar, translating works of Greek poetry and theatre into German (Daum, 2020).

However, Boas (see below) when researching Native American languages, challenged the idea that they were unorganised without rules for pronunciation, proving that this was due to the use of the researcher's own linguistic frame of analysis (1889).

2.2.3 The development of Cultural Anthropology: The American School

The German Völkerkunde approach to Anthropology developed out of the German romantic-period. An interest in the intersection of language, culture and religion had developed during the 18th century among German explorers in Russia (1740) and Siberia (1781) (Vermeulen, 2006).

Over the following two centuries a number of scholars explored the intersection of language and culture which influenced and developed the ideas around Cultural Anthropology:

- Johann Gottfried Herder (1774–1803): a German philosopher, theologian, poet and literary critic challenged certain implicit assumptions, one that humankind progressed through set stages of civilisation towards some penultimate goal. What was the end point of this he asked? Through challenging the ideas of progress and enlightenment, he emphasised that peoples' values should not be determined by an assessment of progress according to these unilinear stages (Herder, 1784). While his approach did not receive the attention of prominent German philosophers, such as Kant, it made some impressions in the realm of German anthropology (Vermeulen, 2006).

- Franz Boas (1858–1942): a German American anthropologist known as the father of American Anthropology was influenced by Herder. Starting in the 1900s he developed the idea of 'cultural relativism' in response to the idea of unilinear cultural evolution and the assumption that non-Western societies are necessarily inferior to Western ones (1908). He argued that a culture should rather be studied on its own terms, using its own emic concepts, morals and categories and using its own language (Handler, 1990; Shapiro, 1991). Boas's approach encouraged the development of a focus on language and cosmology in American anthropology.

- Edward Sapir (1884–1939): an American Jewish anthropologist-linguist studied Native American language groups, and challenged the prevalent idea that indigenous languages were more primitive than Indo-European languages. He maintained rather that language offered different ways of conceiving of the world and proposed that language and culture should be understood as interlinked, and that when studying a culture, one should use the culture's language as a vehicle to explore ideas of meaning (Preston; 1996). Sapir's ideas were however critiqued as culturally deterministic (promoting consciousness models) and as essentialising non-Europeans as being locked into outmoded worldviews (Pinker, 1994). This critique might, however, itself be critiqued as being caught up in a normative Eurocentric idea of Western modernity as the universal, and more importantly ideologically, 'neutral' standard of being.

From this perspective, signalling that anybody was different from this 'standard' would indicate a developmental deficiency or inferiority (Taylor, 1994). In this critique one sees the continued strength

of the notion of Western cultural supremacy and that voices like that of Boas and Sapir were not readily accepted into all anthropological enquiry. Indeed, it was only much later that the concept of Linguaculture (that is based on Sapir's concepts) was able to move away from a critique of promoting cultural determinism enough for the close relationship between language and culture to become more widely accepted (Agar, 1994; Davis, 2010; Risager, 2012). What these perspectives did, however, was encourage the development of an alternative school of cultural anthropological enquiry that fronted the importance of emic understandings through language (Preston, 1966; Handler, 1990).

In this way, cultural anthropology often combines techniques and perspectives from psychology and literature rather than relying on an empirical scientific approach (Preston, 1966). This has however caused the positivist school to challenge the validity of the findings (Nazaruk, 2011).

2.2.4 Evolutionism and the focus on 'modernity'

After the 2nd World War the USA, with its popular cultural expressions, became regarded as the yardstick of modernity (McGee & Warms, 2013). Universalism gained new interest to speak to wider global issues than the limited scope offered by Boasian approaches. Through this a refreshed focus on the importance of empirical results caused anthropology to model itself after the Natural Sciences during the 1950s and 1960s. This has been critiqued as "the onset of the recurrent and persistent crisis of objectivity that haunts modern [Social Scientific] scholarship" (Nazaruk, 2011, p.73). This, along with a focus on 'modernity', revived the concept of unilinear cultural evolution. The end point of this process of social development was no longer expressed overtly as a movement towards Western civilisation, but rather a movement into 'modernity', as a seemingly more neutral ideological standpoint (Steward, 1972). Here it appears the concept of unilinear time, as a universal truth, formed the objective grounding for assessments of truth in these new positivist approaches.

This re-emergence of evolutionist theory, again prioritised a lens of technological innovation as the 'currency of modernity'. In this way such theory focused once again on the use of etic methods of assessment to generate objective and generalisable theory (McGee & Warms, 2013).

Neo-Marxism gained popularity during the 1970s (in the light of the Cold War) with Socialist inspired African liberation movements and the Vietnam War (1955–1975). This framework combined the work of Max Weber (1864–1920), a prominent sociologist, in terms of his focus on power and status with Marxist philosophy in an attempt to critique and re-imagine societal structures and challenge oppression to ensure greater social equality (Scott & Marshall, 1998).

Important in this regard was:

- The focus of exploring only economic or material circumstances as defined by the Western view on what constituted reality which was now, as a result of the Enlightenment movement and Secularisation Thesis[11], fairly narrow (Ahlin, 2015);
- The Marxist idea of the linear progress of societies towards socialist equality (Faulkner, 2007). The idea that religion was simply the 'opium of the masses' expressed the condition of 'modernity' as being secular. Neo-Marxism has been critiqued for employing the idea of consciousness models and being culturally-deterministic as a paradigm that fronts colonial and Eurocentric ideas as normative (Gilmartin, 2009); and.
- The historical trend for Neo-Marxist scholars, who like Marx, Weber and Engels, as members of the wealthy classes spoke with authority on the experiences of the poor (de Haas, 1986).

Following these three points one sees that while Neo-Marxists aimed to disrupt the inequalities caused by colonialism, in certain ways they subsumed some of the very same cultural metaphors of Western epistemological and ontological superiority (Gilmartin, 2009). From this I introduce the idea that Neo-Marxist use of etic categorisations and theory was ethnocentric, and that the idea of unilinear cultural evolution (directed towards a normative Western epistemological and ontological standpoint) were epistemologically violent, defining other ways of being as lacking. The extraction of certain bits of meaning from a cultural reality and the re-interpretation of these according to the linguistic and culture framework of an outsider has been termed ontological collapse (Lotz-Sisitka, 2012). In this way such approaches have been critiqued for being overly 'technocratic and mechanistic' to effectively understand cultures (Salzman, 2002).

In reaction to this climate of increasing attention to etic approaches for understanding cultures, Clifford Geertz (1926–2006): an American anthropologist formulated the method of 'thick description' which used embodied narratives of research experience to explain culture in context and thereby balance the strong empirical focus of the scientifically-aligned approach (1973). Thick description aimed to address emic cultural symbolism and used language and emotion to explore the multiple

[11] The 'Secularisation Thesis' developed out of the separation of the State from the Church during the Enlightenment period. This idea was strengthened by historical euro-centric theories that societies developed along a spiritual trajectory that began with Animism, followed by polytheism and monotheism. The Enlightenment and Marxism assumed that the end of this path of development would be a completely secular and atheist society (Faulkner, 2007). In this way the secularisation thesis tied 'secularisation' to development and assumed that starkly declining trends of church attendance in Western-Europe were an indicator of people becoming devoid of spirituality (Chadwick, 1975), rather than being indicator that people were not engaging with centralised religion as their spirituality (Hanson, 1997; Ahlin, 2015).

layers of meaning that actions hold rather than reducing these to a singular interpretation. It also emphasises the authors' own positionality. Geertz's concept helped reduce the danger of an etic view only accessing part of the whole or 'ontological collapse' (taking its meaning out of its embedded context); the context of the narratives also then explained the researchers' analytic choices and findings along with subjective explanations provided by the people being researched (1973).

2.2.5 Postmodernism

In line with certain of the insights from Boas, Sapir, Whorf and Geertz (American scholars influenced by the German tradition) the postmodern turn of the 1980s and 1990s challenged the singular truth of positivism. Particularly important here was a widespread recognition of the difficulties around cultural interpretation and a questioning of the historically taken-for-granted ethnographic authority of Western academics and the use of Western worldviews for 'objective' analysis of other cultures. In Anthropology especially, this involved calls for a greater recognition of the positionality of an author in understanding how this influenced their interpretation. Despite these ideological shifts postmodernism has been critiqued for being Eurocentric: "the irony of postmodern critique sets up Western values as the norm with assertions that the West has single-handedly created 'modernity' and the conditions for post-modernity" (Gosden, 1999 p. 2002). Furthermore, postmodernity, by virtue of its name, can be understood to utilise the Western unilinear construction of time[12]. As has been discussed, if this is used uncritically it can fall into a Western ontological hegemony which, through its apparent 'neutrality', promotes epistemic violence.

In relation to this thesis, I explore the response to the idea that Western ontological superiority presents the notion that a number of, what have been thought to be, 'new' theories have previously been understood and worked with by other cultures and are already integrated in their lived experiences and cosmological orientations.

2.2.6 Definitive power: the ability to define and classify

The assumed ability of European explorers and colonists to definitively name and classify the world that they encountered has been highlighted as related to Positivism in the idea of European intellectual superiority and omniscience (Gillmann & Wright, 2020; Gillmann & Wright, 2021; Wright & Gilmann, 2022). An important pattern, as Fabian (1983) highlights, appears to be the ascribing of time and non-time, where time is defined as a singular unidirectional entity (Peires, 1987) that defines

[12] For a discussion on the directionality of this idea of time see Peires (1987).

the positions of a primitive past and technological present. I suggest this has persisted due to the unacknowledged shadow issues around the 'racial' superiority of Europeans which has been justified through the idea of technological innovation and education emanating from the global north. Where, in line with Fabian, through an 'ownership' of the present time (1983), the European held the position of the present and looked back in time at 'timeless' cultures from their "positional superiority" (Prior, 2007).

2.2.7 Western 'ownership' of time

> "Eurocentrism for me is tantamount with Western Civilization, and the aberration is common to both configurations. The aberration is to pretend that the rest of the world has to follow their lead (and the US) because their centrism is the 'best'. Clearly an aberration, and we are all on the planet paying the consequences. […] the aberration: the pretence that Europe has achieved the perfect and happy stage of humanity and everybody else has to bend to it. Hence, the unilinear concept of time, and the universal fictions invented to sustain that aberration […] The colonial matrix of power has been the tool, the instrument to enact the aberration […] devaluing, destroying, expropriating, killing, marginalizing everyone who doesn't comply with the aberration" (Mignolo & Hoffmann, 2017).

The concept of cosmologies of the nature of time is an important one. Here in line with the above discussion, I introduce an example where the idea of native peoples as 'timeless' combined with the normative idea of the Western concepts of the world (as being the positivist standards of reality) caused a scholastic deadlock that lasted more than four decades (1940s to early 1990s). This deadlock interrupted the valuable insights offered by the school of Cultural Anthropology, and particularly by Benjamin Whorf (1897–1941), a mentee of Sapir, namely that cultures have different concepts of the workings of the universe and thus the nature of time (1941). Whorf, proposed the idea that through looking at the structure of the Hopi language it appeared that the speakers did not perceive time in the same way as Euro-Americans (1941).

The latent idea of indigenous cultures as 'hermeneutically sealed" (Nuttal & Michael, 2000; p. 1) gave tremendous sway to a misinterpretation of Whorf's work reading it to be saying that the Hopi were 'timeless' this misinterpretation became seen to be the 'definitive version' through replication in popular media (Greenway, 1964; Euler & Dobyns, 1971). Up until the 21st century Whorf's idea was severely critiqued by academics particularly those with a Positivist stance (Casasanto, 2008; Casasanto, 2012).

Part of the reaction to Whorf's idea is the much-cited work of Ekkehart Malotki (1938–), the German-American linguist, who understanding Whorf's claim to be that 'the Hopi did not have a concept of time' at all, proved very clearly that the Hopi did in fact have a concept of time. The Hopi concept of time he emphasised was entirely different from the European concept (1983).

Scholars such as Universalist Steven Pinker (1954), a Canadian-American cognitive psychologist and psycholinguist, have taken Malokti's work to disprove Whorf's idea of linguistic relativity (1994). The strength of the Universalist reaction against this suggestion is evidenced in that this idea appears only now to be gaining popular acceptance[13] (despite being advocated for by scholars over a long period (Fishman 1982; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Risager, 2012).

This reaction can be seen to be impacted by the 'shadow' idea of the West: that ontological 'deviations' from the Western standard would be an indication of cognitive inferiority (Taylor, 1994). That is clearly a result of the idea of the 'native' as a timeless and static relic, and defining indigenous people by the (unchanging) 'essence' of their cultures. Using Mignolo's perspective above, critiques of Whorf's ideas as racist, culturally deterministic, or essentialising do not seem to see the epistemically violent foundations of their own perspectives which assume that indigenous epistemologies are incompatible in the present. Here following Jung's concept of the shadow, if one cannot acknowledge and accept your shadow you are likely to project it onto others (Fordham, 1953; Demos, 1955). I don't think it inappropriate therefore to suggest that the people making these allegations were caught up in an unacknowledged ideology of western ontological and epistemic supremacy that is generally. The critical perspective of the above discussion forms the crux of the exploration of the literature review.

Subsequently scholars have highlighted that Sapir had been misinterpreted, highlighting rather the agreement between Sapir and Malokti's studies (Lee, 1996; Dinwoodie, 2006; Anderson-Leavitt, 2011). Hopi speakers express experiencing differences between Hopi time that is tied to cultural and natural rhythms, and English 'clock or school' time (Dinwoodie, 2006)[14]. Following a greater academic 'openness' one sees a rise in studies that explore how language shapes our perception of reality, such as the differences in how time is viewed in Spanish and Swedish (Pierre-Louis, 2017), or how languages without pronouns generally encode a more collective societal view (Kashima & Kashima, 1998). Some languages even construct time as moving in the opposite direction to the Euro-American conception. In these languages the future, being what is unknown, is behind someone while the past is in front of

[13] Here see Mignolo (2018) Geib (2021).

[14] Certain scientists explored the idea of the Hopi concept of time as related to space would mean that they would perhaps implicitly understand Einstein's theory of 'spatio-temporal unity' that had taken him seven years to ponder (Livingston, 1963, p.16), or because time was viewed as process that Hopi people would be easily able to understand of time as a fourth dimension (Duetscher, 2010). This perspective helps disrupt to idea of Western ontological superiority as being at the 'forefront' of creating all human knowledge.

them (Dahl, 1995; Núñez & Sweester, 2006). This perspective gives one a chance to conceive of the humorous idea of Euro-Americans as potentially facing the 'wrong way in time'.

2.2.7.1 What's in a name?: Epistemological trauma and renewal in the Eastern Cape

The above discussion situates the climate of the time where Latour (1993) and Mignolo (2007) call for the necessary deconstruction of the concept of unilineal time and 'modernity' to enable one to deal with the entrenched systems of coloniality. In the Xhosa space one sees contemporary tensions around movements for epistemic renewal in the proud embrace of the colonial '*Qaba* label as dialogued in Mda (2000) and even debates around re-embracing *uQamata,* a pagan name for the creator figure, rather than *uThixo* which it appears was constructed by missionaries (Soga, 1931, p. 150; Kaschula, 1997, p. 17; Mtuze, 2003) and where certain prominent figures publicly call Christianity a religion of slavery and an imprisoned mind (Mdende, 2020).

Finally, scholars have noted the ending of an experience like having a "split-personality" (Ntombana, 2015, p.105), that for many Xhosa families would have lasted for a period of 130 years. Up until the 1980s Xhosa Christians did not mention ancestral spirituality or clan identities in Church spaces and "practiced Christianity by day and [ancestral spirituality] by night" (Mtuze, 2003, p. 89). Only in the early 1990s were mainline churches seen to have realised a need to drastically adapt and critically question their previous, missionary inspired stances on ancestral belief as being incongruent with Christianity (Mtuze, 2003, p. 87).

"The link between name and identity is a strong one" (Neethling, 2008, p. 33). Historically black people have used dual first names, both 'Christian' and Xhosa, in the 'separate worlds' *Esilungweni* and *Emaxhoseni* (the world of English and the world of Xhosa). It is noted that historically to attend school or be employed one had to have an English name and a baptismal certificate as form of documentation (Madubuike, 1976). It is noteworthy that two studies regarding the historical norm of 'dual naming' among *amaXhosa* between 1988 (n=11) and 2005 (n=279) showed a massive decrease in the historical use of two names (85% to 19%) and an increase in the use of only a Xhosa name (11.5% to 76%) (Neethling, 2008, p. 35–7).

Xhosa people, who reflect on these particular changes around becoming more public in their expressions of ancestral belief and their 'Red' aspects of identity, talk about issues such as getting their political freedom and having equal rights[15]. This groundswell in expression appears to reflect

[15] "Xhosa speakers have regained their dignity and value as human beings after the democratic elections in 1994" (Neethling, 2008, p. 35).

aspects of Thabo Mbeki's popularisation of the idea of the African Renaissance (albeit that his focus appears to have fronted historical instances of African writing and formal education in the example of Timbuktu (Jeppie & Diagne[16], 2005; Mekoa, 2018)). His 'I am an African' speech, delivered in Parliament in 1996, can be seen to have made a great impression, particularly it seems on the White world (Cocks & Dold, 2008, p. 302; Cocks, et al., 2012).

This above context is useful when approaching the literature review in Chapter 3.

2.3 The impact of this history on South African anthropological scholarship

It is important to discuss the particular set of circumstances through which South African anthropological scholarship developed a very strong Marxist and empirical focus in the latter part of the 20th and early 21st centuries and that cultural anthropological perspectives remained under-represented and perhaps even unpopular.

The history of relevant South African anthropological scholarship is dealt with in depth in the literature review. This thesis develops the idea that academic reactions to apartheid ideologies precipitated a strong embrace of the Neo-Marxist approach in South Africa and served to preclude certain culturally-emic perspectives from view and ended up creating, or at least strengthening, certain 'blind spots' between the two separate 'worlds' of Xhosa and 'White' cosmological understanding. These were already well established intercultural 'taboos' that already required a high level of sensitivity and linguistic awareness to be able to transcend.

2.3.1 Positionality of South African anthropology: the neo-Marxist turn in South Africa

South African universities have historically followed two distinct anthropological traditions:

- The British approach of social anthropology that proliferated in South Africa's 'liberal' English universities had been influenced by a British cultural ideal of excluding emotion from decisions (Orwell, 1938; Macfarlane & Marshall, 2021a) and the justification of empire through the British being the most rational race on the planet and forging the way for the unilinear cultural evolution of primitive peoples (Elkins, 2022); and

[16] This regards the publication of 'The Meanings of Timbuktu', a book that was partially funded by the South African Ministry of Arts and Culture and extensively supported by President Thabo Mbeki (Jeppie & Diagne, 2008). What I highlight here is that a focus on the African Renaissance was enmeshed with the idea of the superiority of 'writing cultures' and textual education and thus appears different to the *ubuQaba* drive for epistemological equality.

- The American approach of cultural anthropology that gained popularity in the Afrikaans universities in the 1940s had been influenced by the German *Völkerkunde* idea that different cultures offered distinct ontological experiences of the world challenging the idea of unilinear cultural evolution (Vermeulen, 2006). In the conservative Afrikaans universities, the idea that cultures should develop along their own trajectories, separate from other cultures[17], was popularly received with the idea of keeping race groups separate and constructing and maintaining a myth of racial purity of the newly formed white Afrikaner identity that came out of a myth of being the new chosen people of God (Sharp, 1981; Bank, 2015).

These two approaches remained separate due to operating in different languages (Sharp, 1981), however the tensions, between the English and Afrikaans after the Anglo-Boer war in 1902 and the victory of the Nationalist Party in 1948, no doubt added to these difficulties.

As previously discussed, the British school had focused on the ability of black people to shed primitive identities and take on aspects of [British] 'modernity' (Radcliffe-Brown, 1922; Malinowski 1935; Brown, 1973; Ferguson, 1999). In this way, one might see that a tension existed between the two approaches in that one (conservative opinion) wanted to 'shield' natives from so called European cultures, while the other (liberal opinion) wanted graciously allow them to become British.

What these two groups appear to have in common is interesting that:

- The supremacy of Western development fostered a paternalistic relationship with black people; and
- Black cultures did not hold relevance for the future (Hewat, 1905; Hunter, 1936).

Max Gluckman (1911–1975) a South African and British social anthropologist, best known as the founder of the Manchester school of Anthropology, introduced the idea of 'modernity' in Zululand. He was recognised as facilitating a paradigm shift in British Social Anthropology by shifting the focus "from a bounded concept of 'tribe' to a modern and still current concept of 'ethnicity' in which identities were seen as fluid and situational" (Macmillan, 2000, p.12). By showing that Africans could integrate into 'modernity'[18] Gluckman's idea gained traction in the British school, which strongly rejected the Volkekunde portrayals of Africans, and accused these of essentialising cultures as "static

[17] In terms of 'Separate Development' it was argued that black people should be 'protected' in ethnic homelands where their development could follow its own course towards self-reliance (Thumbran, 2017). This however only allocated 14% of the land to black people (Davies, 1981).

[18] Gluckman's work was seen as a strong critique to the apartheid ideology of racial segregation (Macmillan, 2000).

reified abstractions" (Gordon & Spiegel, 1993, p.87). The British school deemed that Africans shed traditional identities and adopted Western identities when moving to urban areas, which Gluckman phrased as: "the African townsman is a townsman" (1960). This idea is expressed in the idea that African cultures vanish in urban areas (Wilson & Mafeje, 1963; Mpahlele, 1964[19]). This is the climate which had encouraged the XITT (1961-1963). This trilogy however became unpopular for challenging the idea that the study participants were necessarily following this linear movement towards 'modernity' and abandoning their traditional identities (Magubane, 1973). Beinart (1991) and Becker (2012) link such critique with a dramatic decline in in-depth anthropological research on African Cultures in sub-Saharan Africa.

One can see the strong idea by the English universities of the salience of a urban/rural divide (where urbanisation and contact with Western cultures causes the native to modernise and westernise) (Gluckman, 1940) resulted from following the British Functionalist approach.

De Haas (1986) notes that the movement of South African English scholars to neo-Marxist ideologies, during the 1970s, had something of a charismatic fervour for social scientists. These academics constructed an "activist anthropologist" (Bekker, 2012, p. 212) identity as liberal in direct opposition to the brutality of the apartheid state and Volkekunde brand of Cultural Anthropology. These liberal academics rejected the claim of the Volkekunde school (as well as other Cultural Anthropological traditions) around the ontological differences between cultures, which caused them to shy away from any engagement with culture at all (Becker, 2012, p.24). Within this climate South African scholars strengthened ideas of unilinear cultural progress into 'modernity' through Marxist theories and focused on themes of African cultural 'hybridity' and change'.

Here Becker (2012) highlights that from the 1970s onwards African culture became an uncomfortable topic and was almost completely abandoned, leaving these discussions to writers and critics of fiction. "Anthropology from the late 1970's through to the 1990s was not very inclined to acknowledge the importance of local meanings, knowledge and popular cultural forms" (Becker, p.18).

In this regard, Barber notes Marxist anthropological scholars, even post-apartheid, abandoned two tenets of the British School, namely: deep immersive Ethnography and attention to the voice of the participants (2001). Studies on culture thus remained "ethnographically thin external descriptions" in

[19] Mafeje however, later critiqued the Langa Study in this regard as being overly Functionalist and Positivist, saying that researchers can be so blinded by the strength of laws of linear cultural development that they do not see the situation on the ground (Mafeje, 1976).

which "audience activity is speculatively deduced [through mediated texts]" rather than being gathered through in-depth interactions with participants (Barber, 2001, p.183).

2.3.1.1 How these complexities affected anthropological scholarship in the Eastern Cape

One sees a climate where academics are exceedingly carefully to note that they are not essentialising Africans (Bank, 2002b; Ainslie, 2005; Ainslie, 2014) and a highlighting of the temporal 'newness' of any ritual practices that were discussed. These authors maintained that these practices had not remained stable over a period of time (Bank, 2002b; Ainslie, 2005). In this way anthropological texts between the 1970s and 2010s have often fronted hybridisation between tradition and 'modernity' and a re-invention and re-articulation of culture[20].

In line with Marxist ideologies on the temporal nature of religion, spirituality was at best investigated through a lens of power and politics (rather than one of emic belief) (Ainslie, 2014).

The above climate affected Xhosa research in the following ways: Anthropologists had previously focused primarily on rural areas and issues of Community Development, poverty and political power became the main areas of concentration which then focused on Bantustans, policies of influx control and the migrant labour system[21] (Becker, 2012).

In this way these studies on Xhosa people often utilised the etic focus of the British school, and like the 'Fingo Debate' honed in on macro-political dynamics such as Traditional Authorities and political or geographic identity. As with Monica Hunter's work, a more functionalist research tradition had historically put more attention in anthropological scholarship on the political economy and people's economic and material realities rather than on questions of individual identity or an emic view of spirituality. While before the 1970s Anthropologists such as Hammond-Tooke did engage with emic enquiry, after the 1970s this type of scholarship declined in favour of more positivist etic approaches of the neo-Marxist paradigm (Hammond-Tooke; 1963; Hammond-Tooke, 1970; Hammond-Tooke, 1974; Hammond-Tooke, 1985; McAlister, 1985; Evers & Hammond-Tooke, 1986; Manona, 1989; McAlister, 1989; Moodie, 1992; De Wet, 1994; Holbrook, 1996; De Wet & Holbrook, 1997; McAlister, 1997; Holbrook, 1997; Manona, 1998; Ainslie 1999; Kepe, 1999; Ainslie et. al, 2002; Perry, 2002a; Perry, 2002b; Moodie, 2005; Fay, 2011; Fay, 2013; Fay 2015).

[20] Following this idea of hybridity: the words 'dynamic', 'cosmopolitan' and 'new' are frequently used.

[21] Following the idea that urban people rapidly modernised (Wilson, 1979), and that the growing urban political unrest made townships unsafe for white researchers, anthropological studies focused once again primarily on rural areas (Spiegel, 1995).

Having emerged from this constricting climate, Cocks, et al. highlight how a monetary focus "might miss out on the multiplicity of lived experience" (2006, p.186) and critique how in this research traditional "continued adherence to cultural/traditional practices too often goes unnoticed" (Cocks & Wiesum, 2003, p.125). In this neo-Marxist climate Cocks' work has been fundamental as a first voice highlighting the 'continued' importance of ancestral belief for rural Xhosa people and subsequently in challenging the strong notion that urbanisation necessarily precipitates a loss of "cultural and traditional values" (Cocks & Wiesum, 2003, p.125). Highlighting instead the urban persistence of certain 'cultural practices' (Cocks, 2008).

The strength of the 'vanishing cultures hypothesis' narratives however causes her initial work to foreground quantitative assessments and proxy measurements of education levels and material wealth (Cocks, et al., 2008). There is also an acceptance of the narrative of 'dynamic cultural change' through 'hybridisation' (Cocks & Wiesum, 2014).

In this academic climate Cocks appears to have had difficulties in situating findings about the spiritual importance of kraals (Cocks & Wiersum, 2003). In this way she needed to access Zulu literature from research that had been started in the early 1970s, to situate her discussions of a kraal being like a temple to ancestors (Berglund, 1975). It is interesting that (Palmer, et al., 2000; Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004) could have researched kraals from an economic lens but not it seems become aware of the spiritual importance of these, or even asked why the majority of households maintain a kraal but own no livestock.

Even in the 2000s, a time of Xhosa epistemic reclamation of traditional identities and ancestral belief, such a history of scholarship forces scholars to draw the conclusion that this expression is a revival or "resurgence" of something which had died out (Bank, 2002b; Cocks, 2006, p.193). But what if, as in line with the discussions by Zotwana (1993); Mtuze (1999); Mda (2000); Radlithalo (2001), these aspects of identity had never actually disappeared but had just remained hidden under the surface? This might indicate that the anthropological scholarship was missing a fairly important part of the story.

2.3.2 Rural /urban anthropology in South Africa

Interestingly urban African anthropology had become an area of research interest in areas of British colonised Africa (i.e. in the Northern Rhodesian Copper belt, now Zambia) by the Rhodes Livingstone Institute (RLI). However, in South African English universities a focus on urban anthropological studies had not been seen as worthwhile (Mayer & Macfarlane, 1983). In South African the "academic voice

of the 1970s belittled the emphasis on urban everyday life as trivial [with not enough attention to the colonial system]" (Becker, 2012, p.19).

Before the political discouragement of urban research, the South African rural focus appears to have been in part motivated by the tenets of Salvage Anthropology (and indeed ethnography) to document pure, or intact cultures in their isolated rural settings (Hewat, 1905; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930). The strength of the idea of cultural contact meant that Africans who had experienced contact with Europeans were seen to have been tainted and no longer pure (Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Hunter, 1933, p. 27; Malinowski, 1935). One sees that at this time there was an assumption that before contact, cultures were contained and reflected an original state of being. This relates to the historical idea of species and nature as remaining the way that the creator had intended (Bowler, 1989).

This completes the theoretical contextualisation for understanding this thesis.

2.4 Key concepts explored in terms of unrecognised historical factors and their complex outcomes

2.4.1 Ancestral spirituality of the *amaXhosa* and clan identity

Traditional African Religion (TAR) is the term used to describe ancestral spirituality. It is based on an ontological reality or "world view" of being in a living relationship with ancestors. This takes ancestors or "living dead" to be of primacy in balancing, or maintaining living people's *impilo* (holistic well-being incorporating physical, mental and spiritual dimensions of health). This relationship is located within, and is inextricably connected to, blood ties of descent of one's clan lineage and is directly linked to maintaining a 'living dialogue' with one's ancestors by, among other means of communication, the performance of rituals at *ikhaya* (a family home). This includes the sacrifice of livestock in *kraals,* in the yard spaces of the home. This thesis proposes that clan identity makes up a core element of individual and group identity and that ancestral spirituality makes up a core, or the heart, of African spirituality (Jonas, 1986; Spiegel & Mehlwana, 1997; Mtze, 2003; Ntombana, 2015). In combining the points of these authors with my findings I stress that ancestral spirituality and clan identities must be seen as inextricably intertwined (Mtuze, 2003, p.50; 52). In understanding these core dimensions of a person's make-up, one grasps the complexity of the assertion that these were almost completely 'veiled' from public spaces, and remained largely 'invisible' before the 1990s, even on Xhosa radio and in mainline churches (Mtuze, 2003; Ntombana, 2015).

2.4.2 Identity as related to clan affiliation

Imvelaphi is a Xhosa synonym for identity in that it relates to a definition of self that is primarily located in one's historical origins or bloodlines and in which through a locating of the self through clan names is fundamental to, or at the core of identity).

The concept of identity, in academia, has historically been substantially influenced by the Euro American focus on individual identity amid prevalent 'individualist ethos' and idiom (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Macfarlane and Marshall, 2021a). Only more recently have collective and group identities been explored. In this regard group identity maybe described as reflecting one's "position in a relational web" (2000, p.15). This relates to 'commonality' which consists of a feeling of connectedness and group belonging, a sharing of common attributes, connectedness in terms of the relational ties that link people. Here see the relevance of the Nguni concept of clan affiliation, what I term a 'cosmological social network' that goes beyond notions of individual personhood located only in the living, but including relationality to both the living and dead, connecting both past and future.

In this thesis I note that traditional and clan identities are closely related to what Brubaker and Cooper define as 'group belonging' and 'collective identity' (2000). I posit that if one were to only use the 'historical' individual lens one could be likely to miss this important aspect of Nguni personhood where a person's humanity is constructed in relation to others (Broodryk, 2006). Identity is described as part of the process of self-understanding (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, p.8).

Initially identity was not used as an instrument for social analysis (only being explored in psychoanalysis in 1960s and then slowly migrating into fields of ethnicity). In this regard, I note that a wide recognition of the importance of self-concept and emic categorisations of being only entered archaeology and began (to be included alongside physical material proof and definitions) in the 1990s (Price, 2012a). Here, language metaphor and idiom are noted as being the primary 'gateway' to the mind (Price, 2012b; Price, 2012c).

Brubaker and Cooper (2000) note that identity consists of two primary categories: firstly, set "abiding" aspects and secondly, (more transient) shifting aspects. These 'shifting dynamics' are described as malleable, "unstable, multiple, fluctuating and fragmented" and less "basic" than "fundamental" than conceptualisations of self. They are described as being of secondary importance Brubaker and Cooper (2000).

Here one sees the value of Jones & McEwen (2000) framework which like an onion consists of central layers which are stable and abiding dimensions of identity, that are then surrounded by outer layers which are more peripheral aspects that, moving outwards, are less stable, more fluctuating and

transient (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). It is important to note here that before this understanding of identity as multifaceted earlier research took identity to be binary. Here, as will be discussed later, this influenced authors on the 'Red/School' discussion to see a divide between Traditional and Modern aspects of identity and thus that people could only be one or the other.

The question and meaning of identity as an important concept that underpins this thesis as a clear understanding is necessary for grasping the complexities of my findings[22]. I highlight that Brubaker and Cooper's observation that a post-modern trend where identity is treated to have an allegedly singular but undefined meaning has created difficulties in academic literature (2000). They note that the post-modern usage of identity relates primarily to ideas of identity being ever-shifting[23]. This understanding of identity is expressed by Kurzwelly, et al., as follows: "There may be nothing like a personal identity fixed though time […] seeking a core, (essential) characteristics that comprise or define a social identity is a meaningless […] exercise" (2020, p.67). This is, however, critiqued by Brubaker and Cooper as an unsound conception of identity but rather as 'more periphery' aspects of self-understanding (2000).

I propose that this appears to account for much of the past difficulties in acknowledging the presence of 'continued' Xhosa 'Redness' (Bank, 2002b; Bank, 2002c; Ainslie, 2014). In this way**,** I note that authors' engagement with the concept of identity remains fairly 'vague' and in certain cases, when writing about the concept, they do not attempt to define it as in (Bank, 2002b). Such studies perpetuate a lack of clarity and specificity on the concept. Furthermore, there has been a tension in scholarship as to if there exists a set concept of self or whether this continuously shifts and changes in accordance with the post-modern idea (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000).

In this thesis I note the following three points for unpacking identity and differentiating it from 'self-concept' from (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000):

- Identity relates primarily to core aspects of selfhood - that are deep, basic and abiding or foundational (fundamental), rather than dynamic and shifting;

[22] "The process of identification, of saying that this here is the same as that, or we are the same together, in this respect" (Hall, 2018, p.47). "[It is] always constructed through splitting. Splitting between that which one is, and that which is the other" (Hall, 2018, p. 48).

[23] This ever-shifting self-conceptualisation appears to be a focus amid much concern about essentialisation as stereotypes and misrepresentations by outsiders (Narayan, 1998; Appiah, 2006; Matthes, 2016). Here where cultural adherence is deemed to be 'essentialism' and representing people as developmentally static (Bank, 2002b).

- Collective identity involves a "fundamental and consequential sameness" (2000, p.7) that exists as the commonality between members of a group; and
- Actions driven by identity are governed by "particularistic self-understanding" (2000, p.7) rather than being motivated by "self-interest" or self-gain in a material sense (2000, p.6). These actions follow the concept, 'I do this because it is part of who I am'.

2.4.3 'Red'[24] pagans *amaqaba* (those who smear red ochre on their faces and bodies)

'Redness' or 'Red' at heart historically refers to traditional people who smear red ochre on their bodies and faces. They are derogatively referred to as *amaqaba* (smearers of ochre), and respectfully as *abantu bembola embomvu* (people of the red ochre). Historically, *amaqaba* rejected the idea of the status of Western clothing fashions and styles of living (Mayer, 1962). This 'Redness' *ubuqaba* was typified as being largely a rurally-located identity with a primary focus on the importance of cattle and place-identity with the rural homestead. Here 'Reds' invested money in cattle not in Western trappings of status such as clothing and furniture (Mayer, 1962). *Iqaba* (singular) and *amaqaba* (plural) became words of derision encoding judgements of backwardness and inferiority. (Here *amaqaba* were seen as unsavvy in modern urban spaces, and lacking status as uneducated.) In Xhosa the label interestingly typifies being stuck in a time-bound state of primitiveness. Through a unilinear idea of cultural evolution it was presumed by academics and white society (remaining largely unchallenged up until the 2000s) (Ngubane, 1973; Nyamende, 1991; Schönstein Pinnock, 1994; Magubane, 1998; Botha, 2012) that *amaXhosa* would 'progress' to adopting fully Western and Christianised identities i.e. Christian names) and thus shed these 'archaic' traditional beliefs and identities to be able to exist within 'modernity' (Bank, 2002a; Bank, 2002b; Bank, 2002c). This pattern was only broken from the 1990s onward, with Xhosa people actively reclaiming the '*Qaba*' identity as an example of 'epistemological' reconstitution (Mtuze, 2003).

2.4.4 'Modernity'

As is perhaps already evident the concept of 'modernity' is taken as problematic in this thesis because, when read uncritically, it often serves to reinforce a strong hegemonic narrative of ideologies on unilinear cultural evolution or 'primitive societies' towards a Western expression of being (Fabian,

[24] The label "Red" implying a rural pagan (a believer in the presence of one's ancestral sprits), comes from the Xhosa phrases: *abantu bembhola ebomvu* ("people of the Red ochre") and the pejorative label *amaqaba* ("those who smear" [their faces with Red Ochre]). "School" was a designation which developed out of missionary schooling, and implied enlightened, conversion to Christianity and a severance from ancestral (pagan) beliefs and not wearing ochre or tradition, pagan, clothing.

1983; Kuper, 1988; Law, 2011). Here I follow Bruno Latour's critiques that 'modernity', in the sense that it is theorised, has never actually existed (Latour, 1993) and that 'primitive societies' have also never existed, but rather been narratives invented by the colonial imperialists that justified the imperial exploitation of colonialisation (Kuper, 1988). This challenge also highlights the need for critical engagement on ideas of the salience of a Western idea of unilinear time.

2.4.5 Decoloniality

Mignolo (2011) and 'Theories of decoloniality/post-development' help highlight the existence of the 'modernity'/coloniality complex. This argues that 'modernity' and coloniality cannot exist without each other. The two interact to affirm the epistemological salience of Western unilinear concepts that assume that the West is at the forefront of unilinear time and development (Mignolo & Hoffmann, 2017). These concepts ground an implicit notion of Western-civilizational and developmental-'epistemological' superiority[25] (epistemological arrogance). These are arguably the unacknowledged shadow side of the liberal academic psyche. Without completely 'de-linking' from the Western defined concepts of 'modernity' and the singular trajectory of unilinear (Western defined time) and development, one is unavoidably locked into a Western superiority complex (Alatas, 2003). This is reinforced in Western education and in every aspect of the structures and systems of the contemporary Western world (de Kock, 1992; Zotwana, 1993; Mignolo, 2011; Mignolo & Hoffmann, 2017; DiAngelo, 2018).

2.5 Unrecognised historical factors

During the early stages of the research, I came across a discordance between academic literature and the realities I experienced during my fieldwork in relation to the above key concepts. I eventually came to understand the complexities of this problem through exploring historical missionary literature and Xhosa fiction. (See Section 3.1.1)

I present that explicit recognition of these seemingly unrecognized historical factors is vital for understanding the enormity of this history:

1. The 'two-worlds divide' and the 'vanishing cultures hypothesis' are ideas that I developed to describe the notions of the Western world that traditional identities would disappear in the face of linear progression towards Western 'modernity' (Law, 2011; Mignolo, 2011);

[25] Missionary assumption of the European mental, moral, spiritual superiority over Africans as a result of being Christian, 'developed' and enlightened (Zotwana, 1993).

2. The idea of an academic ‘silence on culture’ relating to a total period of more than 40 years (approximately 1970–2010); and
3. The historical ‘veiling’ of ancestral belief among *amaXhosa* from 1840 until roughly 2000s.

2.5.1 The ‘two-worlds divide’ and the ‘vanishing cultures hypothesis’

When speaking of the ‘two-worlds divide’ in this thesis the terms ‘Location’ and ‘Township’ are relevant as they describe the spatial reality of racial separation in the South African landscape. Here see separate areas for racial groups that reflect the reality of a ‘divide’ in mutual understanding between these worlds. (See Appendix A: Clarification of terminology used)

One sees that both concepts proposed in this thesis, the ‘two-worlds divide’ and the ‘vanishing cultures hypothesis’ are inextricably related to the assumption of a linear sequence of hierarchical classification of societies on ‘The Great Chain/Ladder of Being’ (See Fig. 1 Scala Naturae). I note that it is so enmeshed with the English language that it is difficult to think out of this ‘cosmological reality’ and is often taken as “just the way the world is” (Rigato & Minelli, 2013; Wieser, 2018).

Westerners were positioned as higher than ‘primitive’ peoples whose world views were ‘darkened by ignorance’. The idea of ‘advancement’ or ‘progress’ and ‘development’ related to ‘climbing’ this ladder, rising higher towards the pinnacle, which would bring with it ‘enlightenment’, and a resultant omniscience of dominion over all that was below one (Hewat, 1905; Malinowski, 1935). This idea of the structure of the world, and linear trajectories of development from simple forms of societies to more complex ones are the notions of Western omniscience and enlightenment that fuelled the ‘civilising mission’ of colonialism and missionaries. Westerners understood, and often still understand themselves to be positioned as more advanced than primitive peoples, whom it was understood would need to follow in their footsteps to enter into enlightenment, rationality, civilisation and ‘modernity’ (Groenewald, 2004; Prior, 2007; Law, 2011; Mignolo, 2011; Mignolo & Hoffmann, 2017). This metaphor is clearly illustrated in the concept of the Scala Naturae in the figure below.

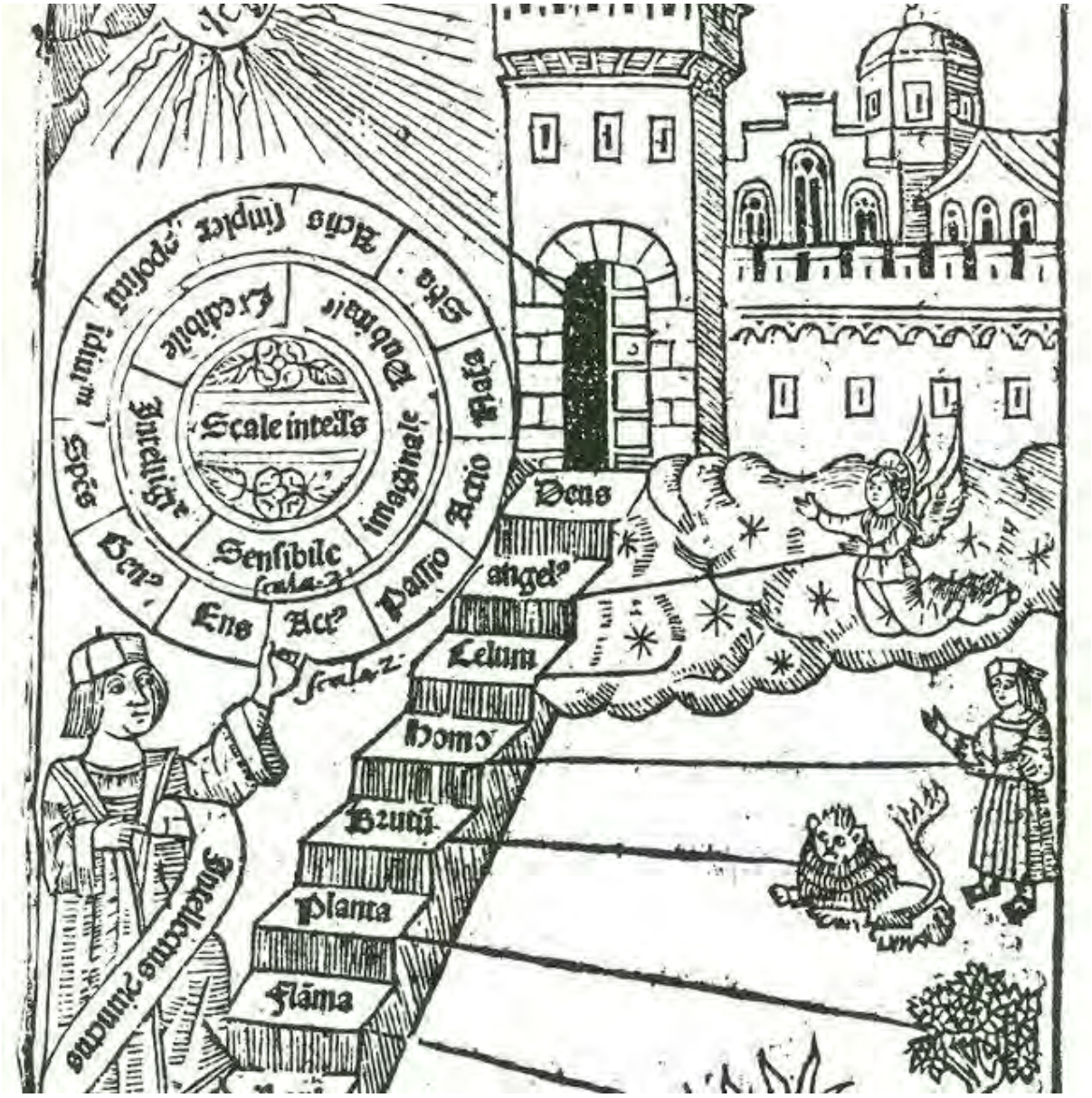

Figure 1: **Scala Naturae** (Wieser, 2018)

2.5.2 'Silences' on ancestral beliefs

This idea of an academic *'silence'* on ancestral beliefs relates to a total of three silences over a period of more than 170 years (1840–2010) comprising:

- a 160-year Xhosa cultural 'silence' (1840–2000) on 'schooled' Xhosa people's 'continued' adherence to ancestral spirituality explained by (Zotwana, 1993) (and proposed in this thesis as ending in the 2000s with a time of epistemic reconstitution as reflected in Mda's 'Heart of Redness' in 2000);

- A Xhosa literary ‘silence’ on ‘continued’ ancestral spirituality and ‘Red’ identity which was maintained over a 100-years ‘silence’ in written Xhosa language literature (1840–1940) in newspapers and novels as indicated by (Zotwana, 1993); and
- a 40-year (neo-Marxist inspired) ‘silence’ on adherence to ‘Red’ identities, which remained in place academically due to an avoidance of research on African ‘culture’ (1970s–2010) (Beinart, 1991; Becker, 2012).

2.5.3 The historical ‘veiling’ of identity: rituals and ceremonies among *amaXhosa*

This strong “one-world-view” of colonialism (Law, 2011) which informed the salience of the ideology of the ‘universal truth’ of Christianity in education (based on European ethnocentrism and narratives of white superiority) meant that black people, particularly Christians and ‘schooled’ individuals, after the 1840s tended to ‘veil’ these parts of their identities from white people (Mayer, 1962; Zotwana, 1993).

Black people kept largely ‘silent’ about the significance of these beliefs for their well-being (Zotwana, 1993; Mtuze, 1999; Mtuze, 2003)[26]. These factors are theorised to have facilitated a Xhosa nation-wide ‘silence’ *esilungweni* (in formally white controlled spaces: of church, education, and formal institutions) of more than 160 years that formally started in the 1840s and was only fully broken in the 2000s (de Kock, 1992; Ntombana, 2015).

Furthermore, Marxist ideologies on unilinear social development and the inherent misguidedness of spirituality (Tickell, 2018) meant that after the 1970s it became very difficult to report on people’s beliefs without being branded as a ‘racist’ scholar who was painting people as stuck in a state of ‘backwardness’ unable to ‘modernise’ and ‘develop’ (Beinart, 1991). This difficult position effectively discouraged any studies on these issues in urban anthropology from the 1970s until 2010s. Here one sees that studies that dialogued these issues after 2000 when Xhosa were open about ancestral belief were severely hampered in terms of available theory, in what was otherwise prevalent academic denial of this component of ritual practices and binary ideas of traditionality and modernisation (Cocks, 2006).

[26] Zotwana notes that this silence was amplified and institutionalised by the missionary control of printing presses and the publication of newspapers (Zotwana, 1993).

2.6 Complex outcomes of the 'veiling' of ancestral spirituality

2.6.1 'Cultural practices'

In South Africa traditional African spirituality is often termed 'cultural practices' (Amoah & Bennett, 2008). The use of the term 'cultural practices' (See Section 2.5.1) has perhaps allowed *amaXhosa* to 'veil' the significance of ancestral beliefs when communicating with the epistemologically violent colonial world (*esilungweni)* and have responded by expressly denying the deeper importance or symbolic significance of ritual practice (Mayer, 1962; Ntombana, 2015).

Amoah and Bennett (2008) argue that the term 'cultural practices' maintains epistemic inequality in the South African Constitution in relation to the illegality of urban slaughtering. This can be seen as an example of 'continued' structural violence towards black people after apartheid. This thesis argues that 'cultural practices' are in fact highly significant to practitioners and need to be understood as dimensions of spirituality, rather than merely as cultural issues.

2.6.2 RDP housing in terms of 'Cultural practices' and place-attachment (the difference between a house and a home)

This next section contextualises the 'public housing focus' of the original research approach within these silences and complexities. Increased urbanisation in South Africa in 1991 followed the repeal of the Pass Laws by the abolition of the Influx Control Act of 1986[27]. These related regulations restricted the movement of black people into urban areas through the creation of black 'homelands'. This strategy attempted to enforce a pattern of urban spaces as 'temporary spaces of residence for work' for the working age, largely male, industrial labour force (White, 2010). These urban township spaces were cramped and crowded, with limited provision of state subsidised housing and a focus on single sex hostels (Zituta, 1997).

After 1994 the government responded to the increased migration to urban centres and historical overcrowding of black urban areas (in the early 1990s) by implementing the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)[28]. This has subsequently become the largest social housing project in

[27] This was one of the main reforms during the P.W. Botha era (Staff, 1994; Collinson, et al., 2007; Moolla, et al., 2011; Levenson, 2014). On 17 June 1991 the legal framework of apartheid, which consisted of four Acts: Population Registration Act of 1950; Group Areas Act; Land Act; and the Separate Amenities Act, was repealed.

[28] A South African socio-economic policy implemented by the government of President Mandela in 1994. The programme oversaw many major advances in dealing with South Africa's most severe infra-structural backlogs, such as housing, clean running water, sanitation and electricity.

the world (Williams-Bruinders, 2019). This strategy aimed to address the crowded township conditions with high numbers of informal backyard dwellers (Zituta, 1997; Gilbert, 2002; Bank, 2007; Moolla, et al., 2011; Levenson, 2014). It aimed to alleviate overcrowding in urban settlements and also intended to facilitate opportunities for family life in self-owned houses, and create 'homes'.

The RDP housing project has however been severely criticised as "cheap and nasty" (Morange, 2002, p. 59). The dwellings are often plagued by structural problems resulting from shoddy construction (Govender, et al., 2011; Levenson, 2014). A 2014 study found these settlements to have on average the lowest levels of urban green space country-wide (Shackleton, et al., 2014). The Programme has thus been critiqued as reducing or hindering opportunities for place-making and place-attachment (Williams-Bruinders, 2019). A common lay critique on this topic is that RDP houses remain "houses, not homes". This thesis however shows this statement misses Nguni concepts of home and homemaking grounded in language and culture. Zotwana notes that this silence was amplified and institutionalised by the missionary control of printing presses and the publication of newspapers (Zotwana, 1993). Particularly relevant to this thesis is that construction of RDP housing settlements often involves complete removal of the natural vegetation. Such realities show that these policies miss the significance of *amaXhosa* being able to access nature for performing rituals that utilise natural products in Nguni processes of maintaining well-being and expressing identity (Dold & Cocks, 1999; Cocks & Dold, 2004; Cocks, et al., 2006; Dold & Cocks, 2006; Cocks & Dold, 2008; Dold & Cocks, 2012; Cocks, et al., 2013; Cocks, et al., 2016; Haynes, et al., 2018; Njwambe, et al., 2019).

Despite this extensive critique of RDP housing there remains a lack of contemporary research on place-attachment from an African, in particular an emic or Xhosa-centric language and culture, perspective in low-cost housing in the Eastern Cape. Critiques of RDP housing in terms of place-making and on issues of 'home' are based primarily on material assessments from a Western frame of meaning, and so do not fully recognise the emic differences in linguistic categorisation between a house (*indlu*) and a home (*ikhaya*). Such critiques appear not to take into account the differences in place-attachment requirements that depend on whether residents are permanent, or temporarily occupying a dwelling (house).

The paucity of relevant academic assessments emphasises the need to assess urban living as an individualised and nuanced experience, based on in-depth engagement with participants explored and understood through careful linguistic engagement and use of culturally relevant categories, rather than using Western categories of analysis and a lens which promotes a view of homogeneity, uncomfortably similar to the colonial patterns of essentialisation (Moreira-Slepoy, 2002; Nielsen, 2013).

The previous discussions reveal that the lack of recognition of 'cultural' issues in RDP housing is by no means a simple issue and is tied to a very long contextual history.

This RDP example illustrates the importance of getting to the root of the problem that perpetuates the 'silences' and drives the complexity.

2.7 Terminology

Clarification of the terminology used in this thesis is given in Appendix A. The content covers terms relating to Anthropology, Biocultural Diversity, community of practice, epistemic/epistemological (disobedience, injustice, violence, trauma), identity, Linguaculture, ontological collapse, place making and home making, 'Redness' or 'Red' at heart, 'Schooled' people and structural violence.

2.8 Theoretical framing

2.8.1 Grounded Theory as a methodology for going 'beyond the material'

In this thesis Grounded Theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1994; Pettigrew, 2000; Birks & Mills, 2015) was used, although initially unintentionally. This methodological approach addresses the need for site-specific, applicable literature and theory, rather than 'overlaying' inapplicable literary notions related to ill-fitting theories and narratives. This approach is noted as being particularly relevant for research in the global South (Alatas, 2003; Mignolo, 2011) and in avoiding academic dependency on the global North.

Grounded Theory (Pettigrew, 2000; Birks & Mills, 2015) emphasises that conducting the literature review after the data collection is a vital methodological step for creating applicable and relevant research and facilitates the bringing together of previously unconnected ideas and understandings.

2.8.2 Biocultural Diversity

The theoretical framework of Biocultural Diversity (BCD) developed out of interdisciplinary research between Anthropology and linguistics. This framework highlights the importance of investigating peoples' culture and relationships with the natural environment through their own language (Maffi, 2018). In this regard language, culture and relationship with the environment are seen as inextricably intertwined and most effectively understood, through investigating that matrix as a whole. Such a holistic frame is highly useful when assessing people's cosmologies[29] and issues of identity and spirituality that go beyond physical realms and material meanings into the intangible. The BCD

[29] Beliefs in the nature and structure of the universe.

framework was initially used exclusively among 'intact' traditional cultures living in close proximity to what was assumed to be undisturbed nature, such as in the Amazon. Subsequently however BCD has been shown to be valuable in research involving 'non-traditional' populations (that live within Western material cultures), and even in in urban spaces (Cocks, 2006; Elands, et al., 2015). As an aside I critique that this highlights that the BCD framework is ideologically impacted, framed by the notions of 'modernity' and the 'vanishing cultures hypothesis'.

2.8.3 Linguaculture

Linguaculture is the idea that language and culture are intertwined and largely indistinguishable (Sapir, 1929; Whorf, 1956). Coming out of the idea that language influences patterns of thought one cannot know a culture without knowing the language that holds this culture (Risager, 2006; Risager, 2012).

2.8.4 Queer theory

During 2020 I started to explore the academic 'silence' 'created' by the 'two-worlds divide' through Queer Theory. Queer people may experience a danger in revealing core aspects of their identities and sexual orientations in terms of facing discrimination or prejudice. Queer people often learn to actively censor parts of themselves in order to fit in, be acceptable and navigate in an epistemologically oppressive society (Loughery, 1998). Queer Theory pivots on the broader concept of epistemological injustice or violence that occurs when one's way of being in the world is deemed invalid and you cannot freely be who you are, or think and feel in ways which are natural to you[30] (Jaggar, 1989; Mignolo, 2011; Mignolo & Hoffmann, 2017). More recently queer people engaged in processes of epistemic resistance (and or reconstitution) have challenged the definition of their epistemologies as 'deviant', wrong or shameful and actively embraced these with public celebrations such as "Pride"[31] that dialogue a history of shame.

It was only in mid-October 2021 that I was introduced to the concept of epistemological violence, which brought together and, for me, explained everything that remained unsolved and seemed not

[30] Here please consider that: Processes of installing a cosmo-view and cosmo-vision of coloniality and the supremacy of literacy involves the "… silencing, disavowing, shattering down, demonizing co-existing ways of knowing, sensing, believing and being in the world" (Mignolo & Hoffmann, 2017). In this, indigenous epistemologies have often been discounted as part of the imperialism of Western ways of knowing (Alfaisal, 2011; Risager, 2012; Bhargava, 2013; Kidd, et al., 2017; Stinnett, 2018; Lee, 2019).

[31] "LGBT pride is the promotion of the self-affirmation, dignity, equality, and increased visibility of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people as a social group. Pride, as opposed to shame and social stigma, is the predominant outlook that bolsters most LGBT rights movements" (Wikipedia, 2021b).

able to be addressed in this academic field regarding ancestral spirituality. This understanding underpins much of the discussion in the literature review.

This completes Chapter 2 which has laid the foundation for the understanding of the literature review in Chapter 3.

2.9 Stylistic notes

2.9.1 Use of double and single inverted commas/apostrophes

In the text double inverted commas, or quotation marks are used to indicate quotes. Single inverted commas are generally used to denote a careful usage of a specific, thesis-related meaning, which invariably varies from contemporary usage and meaning. See the following three important examples.

'Continued': Single inverted commas are used when the word is used in conjunction with "ancestral belief" or "traditional identities". When read non-critically (i.e. without the single inverted commas) the word serves to unwittingly advance the idea that these practices or aspects of identity are out of place and do not belong in modern times or in urban spaces.

'Cultural practices': (*amasikho)* Single inverted commas highlight the historical enmeshment of this term with rituals that involve ancestral beliefs, invariably discounting the spirituality of such beliefs and practices as superstition and as being developmentally inferior to Christianity. Uncritical (casual) use of the term (i.e. without the single inverted commas) continues to present problems in terms of the lack of recognition of the spiritual importance of 'cultural practices' in South Africa.

'Modernity': Single inverted commas highlight, as noted in (Mignolo, 2007; Mignolo, 2011b), the historical enmeshment of the concept of 'modernity' with definitions of non-Westerners as backward and primitive. Additionally, 'modernity' serves to unwittingly foreground Eurocentric notions of the unilinear and severing passage of time and cultural development to the detriment of other ontologies.

2.9.2 Stylistic use of names

When names are followed by a star (*) this indicates that the name is a pseudonym.

2.10 Language use

2.10.1 Selected Xhosa words and metaphors

An explanation of the stylistic use of Xhosa in this thesis is given in Appendix A.

The following Xhosa words are noted as important for understanding the context of this thesis:

Umkweko is a metaphor in Xhosa (meaning to go around something). *Ukukweka* is the verb, meaning to move around something. This indirect approach of describing something is seen as polite (directness is seen as harsh or lacking tact). The idea of *ukukweka* forms the concept for *ukuhlonipha* (respect) and what is noted as being the central theme of the Nguni worldview (Broodryk, 2006).

Ukuhlonipha (verb) *isihlonipho* (noun) relates to being respectful through indirect or oblique referencing (pictorial representations in Figures 9 and 10). (In line with *umkweko,* this practice of describing 'around' something is linked with the belief that the more intimately one knows something, the more one will be able to reference it using indirect or round-about ways of speaking.) This ontological framing or reverence carries the idea that the deeper one's understanding of something is the more one respects it[32]. In the same way ancestors can be described from multiple 'views' even within one sentence as in the following example: "Then [in a ritual] it might be necessary [for me] to excuse the shortfall, *ukunxenxeza kwabaphantzi*" (to apologise to those underneath [those who are buried), *kwabadala* (to the old ones), *kwezinyanya* (to the ancestors), *kwezihlwele zethu* (to our heavenly hosts)".

[32] For example, in Xhosa instead of using the word 'river' traditional healers use the word *komkhulu* (the great one) which relates to the river's importance in ceremonies and the spiritual power of the *abantu bomlambo* (the river people or ancestors who dwell there).

3. Literature Review

3.1 Introduction to the literature review

This thesis uses an historical approach in outlining the development of the field of urban 'cultural' anthropological investigation in the Eastern Cape among *amaXhosa.* Here I draw and expand upon key studies from both academic and literary works that are related to this field.

This literature review outlines a history of scholarship on the role of Xhosa identities within urban spaces in East London in the Eastern Cape. It highlights, in particular, the general academic under-recognition of ancestral belief and traditional identity in academic literature both historically and contemporarily.

My exploration of literature focused on key issues that I became aware of through 'ground truthing' during the research fieldwork. These were contextualised within an historical context in the Eastern Cape and unpacked from the diverse areas of literature, i.e. Anthropology, African literature and the history of Christian mission education. These included the concept of the 'two-worlds divide', the development of a 'veiling' of ancestral spirituality in Xhosa literature and print media, and the meta-theoretical climate of an academic 'blind-spot' on the 'continued' existence of 'Red' identity in urban Xhosa spaces. These helped me understand the 'silence' and why it was so complete.

This brought me to a realisation of the need for a re-examination of the 'Xhosa in Town Debate' (see Section 3.2.3) with regard to this historical 'veiling' of ancestral belief.

3.1.1 Historical overview: Wars, Missionaries and Xhosa language literature

3.1.2 The formation of the 'veil' and resultant 'silence'

To situate this thesis, it is important to consider the influence and impact of certain historical events that took place in the Eastern Cape (previously called 'British Kaffaria' in the Cape Province) during the 19th and 20th centuries. By using a timeline (Table 1) the history of the Xhosa/British Frontier Wars and relevant Christian missionary events during the 100-year period (1779–1879) are detailed.

Similarly, the influence and impact of the Christian mission work on the printing and contextualisation of Xhosa language literature (1857–2003) is important to understand from a historical point of view and is given in Table 2.

In this thesis[33] literary critiques are triangulated with the above-mentioned anthropological perspectives of each particular historical era in order to assist the reader to obtain an overall picture of norms of behaviour regarding censoring the existence of ancestral belief. Particularly important in this regard is the understanding of the connection between the epistemic trauma of Christian mission education and the resultant culture of censoring ancestral belief.

Table 1: Xhosa/British Frontier Wars and relevant Christian missionary events during the period (1779–1879)

Conflicts – Xhosa/British Frontier Wars	Dates	Relevant events during this period
First Frontier War	1779–1781	
Second Frontier War	1789–1793	
		1795: London Missionary Society (LMS) founded 21 September 1799: First LMS agents arrive in the Cape
Third Frontier War	1799–1803	
	1803	1803: Bethelsdorp (20 km north of present Gqeberha, previously Port Elizabeth) established as a Mission Station by Missionary J. T. van der Kemp of the LMS, after he was displaced from King William's Town territories by the Third Frontier War
Fourth Frontier War	1811–1812	
Fifth Frontier War	1818–1819	
		1827: Lovedale Ecumenical Mission Education Institute established as both a political and a religious mission with partial British governmental control 1833: First translation of one of the Gospels in the Bible into Xhosa: Gospel of St Luke
Sixth Frontier War	1834–1836	1835: Creation of King William's Town 1836: King William's Town abandoned by British troops and civilians due to treaty agreements to cede territory between the Keiskamma and Kei rivers to *amaXhosa*
		1841: Lovedale Seminary established for educating 'natives' in the service of God
Seventh Frontier War (War of the Axe)	1846–1848	1846: Re-occupation of King William's Town as British military headquarters (HQ) 1847: British Annexation of area between Keiskamma and Kei rivers

[33] Following the points by Becker (2012).

Conflicts – Xhosa/British Frontier Wars	Dates	Relevant events during this period
Eighth Frontier War	1850–1853	Resulted in military subjugation of Ciskeian Xhosa clans between the Fish and Kei Rivers
Significant events relating to physical and 'psychological' defeat of *amaXhosa*	1856–1857 1857–1859	The Xhosa Cattle-Killing First full Xhosa-language Bible printed
Ninth Frontier War	1877–1879	

Table 2: Time line (1857–2003) reviewing important developments around Xhosa literary texts and urban academic scholarship relating to urban Xhosa identities relevant for understanding the 'Xhosa in Town Debate' in East London

Year	Title
1857–1859	First full Xhosa-language Bible printed.
1862	January: The first Xhosa newspaper 'Indaba' was printed. "Intended to promote mental improvement, social elevation and above all spiritual enlightenment and specifically avoiding politics as far as possible." "Excessive consumption of liquor, absconding from work, polygamy and other such cultural practices such as circumcision and girls' initiation (*intonjane*) became the most regular targets of its criticism". (Zotwana, 1993, p. 53)
1877	The pen replaces the spear as the means of Xhosa resistance against colonialism after military defeats lasting until the armed resistance of the ANC and PAC in 1960s (Zotwana, 1993).
1906	Walter Benson (W.B.) Rubusana: '*Zemk'Inkomo Magwalandini*'(Your culture is gone, you cowards). First Xhosa language book published.
1909	H.M. Ndawo: '*Uhambo lukaGqobhoka'*. First Xhosa language novel published - recognised as the start of the literary 'silence' (Zotwana, 1993).
1936	Monica Hunter: 'Reaction to Conquest'. Including an anthropological survey undertaken in 1934 in a native location called East Bank (of the Buffalo River) in East London.
1940	Archibald Campbell (A.C.) Jordan: '*Ingqumbo yeminyanya'*. (Publication in Xhosa.) Recognised as the first literary challenge to non-critical acceptance of Western epistemological/ ontological superiority and a need to integrate school and traditional aspects of identity (Zotwana, 1993).
1953	Nationalist government takes over mission education in South Africa and control of publishing houses. Bantu Education Act.
 1960 1961 1963	Xhosa in Town Trilogy (XITT): Senior author Philip Mayer. D.H. Reader: (1960) 'The black man's portion'. Philip Mayer: (1961) 'Townsmen or tribesmen'. Berthold Adolf Pauw: (1963) 'The second generation'.
1973	Bernard Magubane: (1973) 'The "Xhosa" in Town. Revisited urban social Anthropology: A failure of method and theory'.
1980	Archibald Campbell (AC) Jordan: *'Ingqumbo yeminyanya*' translated into English as 'Wrath of the Ancestors' 40 years after publication in Xhosa (1940).
1989	Jeffrey B. Peires: 'The dead will arise: Nongqawuse and the great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856-7'. The first academic engagement with the Cattle-Killing other than labelling it irrational and superstitious (139 years afterwards).

Year	Title
1990s	A decade of both affirmation and denial of the contemporary value of ancestral belief among *amaXhosa*.
1991	Abner (M.A.B.) Namende: 'Who really cares if the ancestors are angry?'
1993	Sydney Zanemvula Zotwana (1993): 'Literature between two worlds: the first fifty years of the Xhosa novel and poetry'. One of two original Masters' theses (Zotwana, 1993; Mtuze, 1999) challenging the idea that *amaXhosa* lost traditional identities as a result of converting to Christianity, becoming educated and 'entering into modernity'. These two authors for the first time ever revealed the existence of a multigenerational 'silence' on ancestral spirituality among *amaXhosa* and the existence of the 'veil'.
1994	Patricia Schönstein Pinnock: (1994) 'Xhosa: A cultural guide for beginners'. Expresses that Xhosa traditional identities do not exist in urban spaces and have rapidly disappeared, fading in all but rural spaces.
1998	Peter Magubane: (1998) 'Vanishing cultures of South Africa. Changing customs in a changing world'. South African Photographer.
1999	Peter Tshobisa Mtuze (1999): 'Hidden presences in the spirituality of the *amaXhosa* of the Eastern Cape and the impact of Christianity on them'. One of two original Masters' theses, with Zotwana (1993).
2000	Zakes Mda: (2000) 'The Heart of Redness'. (First literary challenge to notion of binary-polarity between tradition and modernity). Shows that the core of Xhosa identity is 'Red' at heart.
2001	Sam Raditlhato: 'Vanishing cultures?' Authority, authorising and representation in South African photography: A review article'.
2002	Leslie Bank: (2002a) Xhosa in town revisited: From urban Anthropology to an Anthropology of urbanism'. (2002b) 'Beyond Red and School: Gender, tradition and identity in the rural Eastern Cape'. (2002c) 'Homemade ethnography: Revisiting the Xhosa in Town Trilogy'.
2003	Peter Tshobisa Mtuze: (2003) 'The essence of Xhosa spirituality and the nuisance of cultural imperialism: hidden presences in the spiritualism of *amaXhosa* of the Eastern Cape and the impact of Christianity on them'.

3.1.3 An historical exploration of what has been termed the 'two-worlds divide' and the development of a culture of 'silence' in Xhosa literature and print media

The 'two-worlds divide' describes a cultural void of understanding between white and black people, which centres on a 'silence' regarding the 'continued' adherence to ancestral belief systems that had been historically 'veiled' from the Western and academic gaze since the 1840s.

One implication of this 'silence' was therefore the creation of an academic 'blind spot' on the 'continued' contemporary relevance of ancestral belief systems and Traditional African Religion (TAR) and, in particular, a denial of urban *amaXhosa* residents' adherence to these practices as seen in (Nyamende, 1991; Schönstein Pinnock, 1994; Bank, 2002a; Bank, Bank 2002b; Bank 2002c). This 'blind-

spot' also reflects the strength of what I term the 'vanishing cultures hypothesis' (that developed out of a theoretical model called 'cultural contact' where African 'traditionality' 'vanished' In the face of exposure to Western civilisation). This model assessed identity exclusively through material signs of cultural 'purity' and made the assumption that traditional identities, beliefs and practices were located in a static, unchanging ethnographic present and would need to disappear on embracing 'modernity' and enlightenment (Wilson, 1941-2; Brown, 1973; Ferguson, 1999). Here Africans would first begin to develop after exposure to Western material culture and in line with the notion of unilinear cultural evolution would start the process of catching up with Western civilization by following its historical trajectory (see Shepherd in (de Kock, 1992).

3.1.3.1 Crossing: using language and explorations of 'well-being' to gain insights into the other world

Here I bring in a reference to the 'two-worlds' to reveal their fundamental existence and the difficulty in crossing between them. I show the importance of language, in the example below of Johnny Clegg, for facilitating access into this other world.

The Crossing, the name of the song by Clegg's band *Savuka* ("still waking") embodies the Zeitgeist of hope during the transition into democracy in South Africa, while at the same time acknowledging the nuanced difficulties of enacting such a crossing (1993). This 'journey' of a "cross-over" is described as being a difficult journey towards peace, understanding and harmony'. In acknowledging the difficulties of this journey, this song highlights for me the need for speaking 'in truth', openly acknowledging and unpacking traumas, pain and hardships which then allows one to be free of the burden of these issues.

In this song the crossing also refers to the stark reality of racial segregation as a world divided in two that these two artists had to personally confront and overcome, transcending the legal, societal and economic barriers to collaborate as friends in Apartheid South Africa. For Sipho Mchunu (Clegg's first black music collaborator) this idea of crossing a divide appears to have been signified in the recollection of the mutual respect visible in their eyes when first meeting in a street in Johannesburg, in 1969 (SABC News, 2019). The process of getting to know each other is noted to have involved a willingness to let down these externally constructed barriers and let each other see who they really were (Hermanus, 2019b).

Clegg later reaffirms this concept of the two worlds in an interview with John Perlman:

> "I knew there was another world out there, [due to experiences of visiting townships as a young child] all my other white friends at the white schools, they had no experience of that" in some ways he notes due to this perspective, "I became marginalised, in that regard" (Perlman, 2016).

Clegg describes “this idea of cross-over” for him as being connected to linguistic exchange represented in the band’s iconic use of English vocals and a Zulu chorus (Perlman, 2016).

Clegg emphasises that these two worlds, are contained within, and represented, by the very prevalent boundaries of the language divide and historical racial segregation in South Africa. He reflects on his early realisation of the importance for him to understand Zulu to facilitate a full and holistic understanding of the songs he was learning, in this regard, needing to use language as the vehicle to understand the world-experience and lived realities (expressions of life in different physical environments) which had created these songs, really understanding what they spoke to:

> “I began to realise that [to be able to really enter into the world of *masikandi* and engage in the authentic making of that music] I needed to know the language” (Perlman, 2016).

In this way Clegg’s focus on language as the primary medium with which to enter into this other world can be seen to follow the emphasis of a Linguacultural methodological approach (Fishman, 1982). Here music and the use of language in song allowed him to transcend beyond surface level interactions into the depth of emotion that full language use conveys.

3.1.3.2 Proving the existence of the “two-worlds divide” through finding it in other fields of literature

Following an extensive literature search during early 2020 I discovered that the metaphorical description of a ‘two-worlds divide’ already existed as a theme in some South African publications in describing the rift in understanding between the historically white, colonist’s world and the world of traditional spirituality as being a ‘veiled’ core dimension of Xhosa identity. This metaphor has been used in related fields but remains under-recognised in Anthropology and urban Xhosa studies. The three primary references to this ‘two-worlds divide’ are:

- Bührmann (1984) ‘Living in two worlds: Communication between a white healer and her black counterparts’;
- Zotwana (1993) ‘Literature between two worlds - the first fifty years of the Xhosa novel and poetry’; and
- Mtuze (2003) ‘The essence of Xhosa spirituality and the nuisance of cultural imperialism: hidden presences in the spirituality of the *amaXhosa* of the Eastern Cape and the impact of Christianity on them’.

These diverse and independent references to this metaphor confirmed the strength of this as a wide-spread lived reality rather than just being an apt description by research interpreter Mluleki Nkosi of

two worlds of separate experience[34]. These publications gave me the necessary proof to establish this lived reality as an, as yet, seemingly unacknowledged truth in Anthropology. This metaphorical description and the discovery of the 'two-worlds' as a substantiated reality allowed me to face the main issues head on, rather than just avoiding them as 'unspeakable topics' on which everyone just maintains the silence and tries to pretend do not exist.

3.1.4 The meta-theoretical climate of the 'silence' and understanding why it was so complete

Missionary control on the publication of Xhosa texts in the form of newspapers and novels is noted to have directly influenced the development of the 'two-worlds divide' on ancestral spirituality as a complete 'silence' on these issues of belief and identity in early Xhosa print media (Zotwana, 1993). One sees this also as a necessary performance of Xhosa 'School' (*gqobokha*) identities for urban acceptability (Fugard, et al., 1972; Ntombana, 2015). This 'silence' is noted to have remained intact until the Nationalist Government takeover of Christian Mission education in 1953 with the implementation of the Bantu Education Act, which Zotwana notes moved Xhosa writers "out the frying pan into the fire" (Zotwana, 1993, p. 10). One sees in the light of this set of events why the full extent of the 'silence' remained fairly intact (even within Xhosa church spaces) until the late 1990s (Ntombana, 2015).

This 'silence' understandably helped perpetuate the idea, especially among white people, that these 'cultural practices' were rapidly losing, or had completely lost, traction in 'modernity'[35] and was seen as an end-result of a process of Blacks becoming 'enlightened' and 'civilised' and moving into a European model of being. This 'culture contact' model focused particularly on Western ways of dressing and living, Christian 'conversion' and Western education. In this transformation sees the grounding for the three myths around ancestral belief that are discussed earlier. Additionally, this centred on a presumption that traditional dimensions of identity must be shed to be able to 'embrace' the paraphernalia of Western material culture (Hewat, 1905; Hunter, 1936; Wilson, 1941-2; Brown, 1973; Ferguson, 1999). These changes were understood to define conditions for living within, or at least moving towards, 'modernity' as opposed to turning one's back on progress and refusing to progress (Fabian, 1983; Sanjek, 1991; Kasfir, 1999). As previously mentioned, this narrative depends

[34] Many people, both White and Black, to whom I have since spoken have independently and spontaneously referenced this concept of a cultural barrier as being "a gap" or "a divide" in understanding and causing an inability to relate to one another.

[35] This opinion was not only limited to Whites (here see ; Magubane, 1973; Nyamende, 1991; Magubane, 1998; Alatas, 2003; Mndende, 2020).

on the Eurocentric idea of a singular linear European timescale as a universal truth (Peires, 1987, p. 54). Despite assurances to the contrary, this idea can still be seen to be fairly pervasive in certain studies of the 'Xhosa in Town Debate' (Magubane, 1973; Bank, 2002a; Bank, 2002b; Bank, 2002c) (see Section 3.3.2).

3.1.5 A discussion of 'veiled' core-identity and the cloaking of 'Redness' safely within urban spaces

I use the following vignette out of the Athol Fugard play, '*Sizwe Banzi is Dead*' to highlight and discuss the issues of surface and 'veiled' identities, in a personable way (Fugard, et al., 1972). Following this I will discuss how these particular circumstances enmeshed with the complexities or 'position' of South African anthropological scholarship.

This play allowed me to further develop the idea of the 'veil' and this section explores the concept of the 'veil' as a normalised reality. Sizwe Banzi is the main character and is a word-play meaning 'our whole nation is dead'. The play is used as a starting point to understand the historical complexities of research which explores Xhosa identity within the historical realities of racialised economic oppression. I felt the emotions in the play was the best context in which to explain the Xhosa cultural 'silence' about the continued existence of traditional ancestral beliefs, and why these dimensions of Xhosa identity remained 'veiled' from the 'Western gaze' up until the early 2000s (Zotwana, 1993; Mtuze, 1999; Mtuze, 2003). The play allows the audience to enter into the urban space of New Brighton, Port Elizabeth during apartheid in 1972 and experience the lived realities of legislated economic and political oppression of black residents in urban areas.

Fugard, et al. expose the jarring necessity for black South Africans to reveal only amicable surface identities and to 'veil' their core identities and beliefs for pragmatic reasons, in order to navigate the world of white prejudice and bureaucracy and secure employment.

The play follows the experiences of a new urban migrant who is searching for work but who lacks a work seeker's permit. After a 'Pass raid'[36] by police he is listed as being "endorsed out of Port Elizabeth" and will be sent by train back to his rural area near King William's Town. To rectify his (Pass) book now would require an impossibly long list of bureaucratic steps and multiple trips back and forth

[36] The Pass Laws Act of 1952 required black South Africans over the age of 16 to carry a pass book (known as a dompas) everywhere and at all times. (Savage, 1986). In the Eastern Cape however the tradition of passes appears to stretch as far back as 1830 (Stapleton, 1996).

between King William's Town and Port Elizabeth to different government offices in order to get the correct stamps and have the endorsement reversed.

After Sizwe Banzi comes across the body of a dead man, lying in a dark alley, who has fallen victim to crime he faces a choice: either to walk the 250 km back to King Williams Town to try avoid going to jail, or to burn his own Passbook and use the Pass of the dead man which contains a work seeker's permit. Choosing the latter, he on the outside adopts the new name and surname of Robert Zwelinzima, as a surface identity. This new first name appears purposefully chosen as a typical English first name of a black person. This carries the cultural stereotype that the birth names of black workers are unknown to their white employers. His adopted surname, *Zwelinzima*, is a Xhosa phrase that carries the direct meaning of a world that is "difficult" or "hard"[37]. Fugard and co-authors refer in this way to the need to hide one's core identity in order to portray a co-operative surface identity while being within the tough urban world.

It is an expedient measure to be able to make the best out of an exploitative racial-capitalist system of urban wage labour, in which one must choose to sacrifice one's pride as a black man and be called a boy to be able to have a better chance of supporting one's family (Fugard, et al., 1972).

In the play both actors (John Kani and Winston Ntshona) self-reference their own personal struggle with the need to be subservient in the 'white world' by having to use their first English ('Christian') names professionally in order to be recognised and survive economically[38]. This moment of irony speaks to the historical experience of a great number of black South Africans, particularly also within academia, where although having achieved success, are known mainly by their English first names[39].

The audience processes the idea of the symbolic death of Sizwe Banzi in the "tough world" of the city and his inner tension at his inability to express his true core identity. He has to come to terms with

[37] This reference to a "hard world" can be seen as a reference to the idea of black people having two worlds in which they exist: firstly, the world of authentic identity often associated with the rural space, and then the other world of economic employment, the urban space of Whites, where certain dimensions of one's identity, such as ancestral belief and its importance are likely to remain invisible. As mentioned, this two-worlds theme is referenced directly by (Bührmann, 1984; Zotwana, 1993) and indirectly by (Mongo-Mboussa, 1999; Mtuze, 1999; Mda, 2000; Wiesner, 2001; Mtuze, 2003).

[38] This autobiographical moment references their own struggles as black wage earners and actors at having to use 'White' first names in order to be able to pursue a chance of economic success and that their primary names of Bonisile and Zola, remain invisible to the audience.

[39] Such as the authors that I reference: Samuel Edward Mqhayi, Walter Benson Rubusana, Peter Tshobisa Mtuze, Sydney Zanemvula Zotwana, Bernard Makhosezwe Magubane, Peter Magubane and Sam Thlalo Radithlalo. These are all black South African authors whose work I draw on, but who to in order negotiate the historically 'white academic world' needed to use their English first names.

this schism between his surface identity and his core identity in the urban space or *esilungweni*[40]. In reality, however, it doesn't really matter because as the play points out: "[The white official] just takes the book, doesn't even look at your face, [acknowledge you as an individual] it's not important" (Fugard, et al., 1972).

Their true identities and world views must remain hidden (Fugard, et al., 1972). Robert Zwelinzima is thus a label stuck over a deeper identity which remains hidden for pragmatic reasons and which he notably even maintains in black church spaces to access urban status. The play, however, ends with the new Robert Zwelinzima, sending a letter home to his wife, Nolwethu. He ends the letter and the play by signing off with, "your loving husband, Sizwe Banzi" (Fugard, et al., 1972). In the letter he encloses a picture of himself which on the surface is comical: he is sitting in a mock-up office, posing as a successful factory foreman in a smart new suit. In one hand he is holding a cigarette, (which symbolises being abreast of urban fashions, being modern and savvy) while at the same time he is smoking his long pipe, held in the other hand, and which the audience suddenly realises he has been carrying in his pocket the whole time during the play. (Here, a pipe symbolically references a deep and authentic Xhosa identity, a link with his rural home, the performance of ritual practices and his traditional origins). The play thus appears to comically challenge that urban expressions are incompatible with traditional identities, making the view perhaps come to the realisation that just because something is not readily visible does not mean it is not there.

As he says in his letter home, "Sizwe Banzi is dead in a manner of speaking" (Fugard, et al., 1972). His use of Robert Zwelinzima's identity is just an expedient sleight of hand against the oppressive bureaucracy of the Apartheid state. Through this symbolic death Sizwe Banzi's core identity can perhaps be sheltered, slightly, from the realities and indignity of white employment where one's true identity would be devalued anyway.

This play also offers a critique of the colonial, and later the bureaucratic apartheid, obsession with labelling and classifying black people, as Magubane highlights as a means for control rather than from the motivation to understand such people's concepts of self (Magubane, 1973). In this, the play also gives an important perspective to the historical academic 'Fingo (*amaMfengu*) Debate' (1980s–1990s) (Stapleton, 1996) which centred on attempts to retrospectively analyse the true identities of 'Fingos

[40] *Esilungweni* means the place of white people and is a common historical Xhosa description of town (Mayer, 1962), This also refers to the difficulties of being in town, being under the white man's thumb as it were, having freedom of movement strictly controlled and less able to express one's 'Xhosa-ness' in terms of the ease and freedom to perform rituals (Mayer, 1962, p. 15).

entering the colony to access work[41] circa 1850s. The *amaMfengu* had accepted Christianity and Western-style clothing and, having committed to a political allegiance with the colonial government, were considered less dangerous than the pagan *amaXhosa* (Zotwana, 1993). Historiographic attempts to accurately quantify and categorise these permit-holding 'Fingos' appear to have been continuously thwarted by the apparent willingness of non-Fingo Xhosa to temporarily don the label of Fingo-ness as a strategy to access work in the colony[42] (Stapleton, 1996, p. 240). Highlighting the differences between etic and emic labels.

What this play allows one to contemplate in this sense is that etic assessments, labels and colonial categorisations created for the purposes of control are in fact very different in essence from issues of deep identity. Here too in the Fingo Debate, just like with being 'Red' at heart, one sees the nature of "silent identities" which might have needed to be hidden from the colonial view for reasons of expedience. This understanding of invisible core identities helps one understand what has been termed a hidden spirituality and silence on true cultural identity by (Zotwana, 1993; Mtuze, 2003).

One can see the danger of academics conflating external labels (often donned for expedience, such as Fingo and as Meyer (1962) highlights 'School') with core identities, especially in situations when people might like to keep these true aspects about themselves hidden from an oppressive system. One also sees the danger of pre-conceived ideas among researchers or situations where researchers might not spend sufficient time observing while conducting fieldwork and going beyond the material and political issues to access the participants' own concept of self. This narrow analysis could create academic 'blind-spots'. It would be very difficult to see something that is mostly invisible, especially where one has been conditioned to think it no longer exists.

The Fingo (*uMfengu*) debate was an academic discussion during 1980s and 1990s by Marxist historians at Rhodes University (who were almost exclusively White). In over riding the voice of the one Xhosa academic involved in the debate they proposed that the 'Fingo' identity and even *uMfengu* clan names had, like the *Mfecane* by Shaka, been actively invented by Whites as political cover-ups of covert slave trading (Cobbing, 1988; Stapleton; 1995). They thus put forward that *Mfengu* clan identities are thus pseudo identities that were given to them by Rev. John Ayliff[43]. The historians noted that to say

[41] This is most applicable as Robert Zwelinzima is interestingly listed as a Fingo in his passbook.

[42] And as an expedient method to avoid arrest and 12-months hard labour, which were the risks faced by 'tribal Xhosa' entering into colonial territories.

[43] Here see the theory that the name Fingo was derived from Latin (Stapleton; 1995) and a subsequent disproving of this theory with the confirmation that the *uMfengu* comes from an Nguni phrase that refers to being displaced Mkhize (2019).

people's clan identities were stable and abiding was racist as it affirmed the idea of black people being culturally 'static' and supported Apartheid policies of 'Separate Development' (Stapleton, 1995; Stapleton 1996). These academic discussions however have been shown to have misunderstood clan identities as being defined by macro political affiliation to regional Chiefs rather than depending on personal lineages of descent (Mize, 2019).

I use the Fingo Debate to highlight two historical issues:

- Firstly, a fairly surface understanding on the part of academics of systems of clan identity and the fundamental importance and stability of such, leading to shallow research approaches that allowed them to premise their own notions as more valid than those of a semi-literate society (Mize, 2019); and.
- Secondly, that all this research was conducted through an English language lens and thus remained etic, avoiding seeing the depth of these identities in relation to ancestral spirituality. This relates primarily back to the position of the researcher but also to a denial of Black agency where it was assumed that Whites could even invent identities of black people (Stapleton, 1995; Stapleton, 1996).

3.2 Historical and theoretical context: seeing 'Redness' within 'modernity'

3.2.1 The 'Xhosa in Town Trilogy'

The Xhosa in Town Trilogy (XITT) consisted of three separately published books investigating the lived experiences of East London's 'Native' population in the 1950s.

The three authors of XITT were:

1. Reader: 'The Black man's portion' (1960). This study consisted of economic assessments of the lifestyles and living conditions of black workers in East London;
2. Mayer: 'Townsmen or tribesmen' (1961) and (1962). This study focused mainly on temporal rural-migrant workers and attempted to understand the apparent divide between so called: "Red" Xhosa (understood to be conservative and resistant to Christianity and many aspects of western material culture) and the 'urbanised' and 'westernised' "School" Xhosa (who were seen to be forward thinking, receptive to Christianity and to becoming "westernised" and "civilised" (Mayer, 1980, p. 315)).
3. Pauw: 'The second generation' (1963): This study assessed families and individuals who were permanently urban-based and thus thought to be "fully urbanised and westernised". He found

there to be a “continuum” between ‘Redness’ and ‘School’ identities, rather than a binary divide (Mayer, 1962, pp. 23–27; Pauw, 1975, p. 195). He also found that many multi-generational urban families continued to adhere to ancestral ritual practices, rather than the academic presumption that becoming ‘educated’ and enlightened required a severance from traditional belief systems and identities (Zotwana, 1993).

The focus of the XITT was largely informed by research conducted in the 1930’s and 1940’s by the Rhodes Livingstone Institute (established in 1937) which assessed the degree of ability of “absorption of essential aspects of modernity” in urbanised Black populations in the industrial Copper belt of present-day Zambia (Bank, 2002c, p. 149). These studies revealed the speedy ability of Africans to embrace or absorb essential aspects of ‘modernity’, effectively when moving to urban spaces (Brown, 1973; Ferguson, 1999;). Interestingly, these studies aimed to counter assertions by bureaucrats and mine officials that the labour force in the Copper belt consisted of a “very primitive population” (Brown, 1973; Ferguson, 1999, pp. 24-37). One can see that both of the perspectives of the bureaucrats and the academics fell into an ideological narrative of tribal people being caught in a static ethnographic present and the binary-opposite nature of modernity into which these primitive people would need to ‘progress’ or ‘develop’ to be able to interact with the world through logic and reason, shedding their old beliefs and identities to embrace Western ones (Ferguson, 1999, p. 20). Both these perspectives carried a grounding of reality as constructed around a narrative of hierarchies of being, which centred on white supremacy and Western omniscience.

3.2.2 A re-examination of the ‘Xhosa in Town Debate’

The ‘Xhosa in Town Debate’ is a term I have coined which describes an 80-year period of literature from (1936–2002) involving studies looking at Xhosa identity and belief in the Greater East London area (60 km away from this Masters research study site). In this way the studies can be seen to fall into two distinct ‘camps’. The ones’ interpretation of urban life appears to have been very well received by an academic audience while the other was heavily critiqued, even discounted. I relate the reception of these different sets of studies to be more related to the contemporary ideological orientation of the ‘audience’ rather than about the studies’ methodologies and results.

I revisit the history of these urban Xhosa anthropological studies and offer a discussion of the positionality and methodological approaches of the different researchers as a way of understanding what was visible to whom. The insights gained enabled a reflection of the importance of language and in particular emic categorisation in the construction of appropriate methodology in this field of study.

In re-examining this debate my analysis focuses firstly on the positionality of two researchers with regard to their particular methodological foci and their vastly differing results on the persistence of traditional identities and ancestral belief among *amaXhosa* in East London's urban spaces.

- Hunter (1936) the author of the first manuscript on urban Xhosa people; and
- Mayer the author of the second book of the XITT (1962).

Thereafter my discussion includes the reception of Hunter and the XITT by subsequent academics, more broadly, to explain how certain global ideological ideas impacted the field.

Lastly, the discussion unpacks all the above in relation to the work of Lesley Bank (2002b) which so far is seen to be the final voice in the 'Xhosa in Town Debate'.

It appears that the most acclaimed and liberally-accepted voices of this research era purported the idea that urban Xhosa were moving in a linear fashion away from traditional identities towards and into a state of Western 'modernity'. Voices to the contrary were heavily critiqued, and even in 2021 academics in the humanities appeared to understand the XITT to have been racist (Reflections from a senior Sociologist at Rhodes, 1st November 2021).

Particularly notable in this historical review are two studies from the XITT that conducted research in the late 1950s and early 1960s (Mayer, 1962; Pauw, 1963). These studies aimed to assess and understand traditional 'Red' Xhosa identities and ancestral belief systems among urban Xhosa dwellers. However, unlike the studies before and after (Hunter, 1936; Bank, 2002c) which emphasised a linear departure from traditional identities and ancestral beliefs in favour of an embrace of Western material goods. Mayer and Pauw revealed that certain urban *amaXhosa* maintained strong 'Red' identities and a sincere belief in ancestors (Meyer, 1962; Pauw, 1963). Their findings highlighted that ancestral beliefs were not simply shed during processes of moving to town and/or embracing Christianity, but carried a key importance. Pauw, in his study on urbanised East London families, challenged the existence of a 'red'/'school' divide and further highlighted that urban people completely adhered to traditional circumcision and *lobola* practices. Additionally, Mayer highlighted that ancestral belief was actively under-reported by *amaXhosa*, especially to white researchers, in favour of emphasising Christianity (Mayer, 1962). These studies therefore challenged the salience of 'laws' of linear cultural development and explicitly addressed the existence of the 'veiled' nature of ancestral belief. Due to the strength of the narrative of unilinear cultural development at the time the two manuscripts of Mayer and Pauw were very heavily critiqued as ideologically racist and charged with portraying black people as 'being unable or unwilling to modernise' (Magubane, 1973; Bank, 2002c). These critiques were however firmly caught up in the meta-narrative of the 'vanishing cultures

hypothesis' and linear cultural progression. Their notions ironically fell into the trap of positioning 'Red' cosmologies as incongruent with urbanisation 'modernity' (Medina 2013; Mignolo & Hoffmann, 2017).

Magubane (1973) who made what appears to be the strongest critique of the XITT critiques it as racist and criticises it for not exploring rates of secularisation in urban Xhosa populations,

> "In the trilogy, the African is described only in primitive concepts. There is a complete refusal to use concepts associated with the process of secularization which takes place when peasants are urbanized" (1973, p.1710).
>
> "Truly, according to Mayer, the Black man in South Africa is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the White mans' ways. He becomes White as he renounces his blackness" (1973, p. 1711).
>
> "While it pronounces it is possible for a 'savage' to become a 'barbarian' and a 'barbarian' to become a 'civilized' person, […] it implies the ranking of human society in terms of inferior and superior, thus justifying the brutalization and exploitation of the inferior for the sake of their own 'civilization'" (1973, p. 1713).

Magubane's neo-Marxist critique of the XITT and well as the RLI studies is noted to be linked to a "dramatic decline in empirical [urban Anthropological] research" (Beinart, 1991; Bekker, 2012, p.20). "In retrospect the harshness of this [Magubane's] criticism can be seen as founded on an inadequate reading of 'Townsmen and Tribesmen'" (Beinart, 1991, p. 27).

When revisiting the 'Xhosa in Town Debate' my insights from Xhosa literary studies were the 'discovery' of the 'silence' on the 'veiled' nature of 'Red' dimensions of identity and ancestral beliefs. This helped contextualise the full 'Xhosa in Town Debate' and revealed what was likely overlooked by studies, other than the XITT, as a direct result of this 'veiling'. These insights strongly suggest that 'Redness' never disappeared or became a minority issue, but rather just 'disappeared from view' (from 1840s to 2000s) and was hidden as part of a 'vanishing-cultures-performance' for the benefit of the Western gaze (Raditlhalo, 2001).

A hinging concept of this discussion is the novel 'A Heart of Redness' by Mda (2000) in which he highlights that in a 'post-colonial' context many *amaXhosa*, while educated and involved with the monetary economy, are 'Red' at the core of their identities, and that ancestral beliefs and traditional identities remain of grounding importance for their well-being (Mda, 2000; Mabizela, 2020). Mda highlights the complexities of 'mission' education in creating a group of educated black converts who are ashamed of their traditional roots.

This thesis was only able to put these issues into perspective and ensure a sufficiently holistic historical understanding with which to be able to tell this story through the vital triangulation of three texts by

Xhosa literary authors writing in the 1990s namely Sydney *Zanemvula* Zotwana, Peter *Thsobisa* Mtuze, and *Zanemvula* Mda[44]. Following their first names, I reverently call them *OoThsobisa nooZanemvula* (those who cause (incite) the shaking-up of the [ploughing oxen's] tails to get moving and [those] who are] the bringers of rain)[45].

This triangulation reinforced the resounding message of the three authors that emphasised that these beliefs and parts of identity have not 'just been lost' as people became urbanised and 'took up' the material cultural aspects of Western 'modernity', but that they are certainly relevant for the future, remain fundamentally important for identity and in the words of Mayer, in the XITT in the 1960s, continue to "flourish" in the urban space (Mayer, 1962, p. 150).

Without finding these three texts to contextualise this study, the story that this thesis tells would simply not have been possible and would have appeared contradictory. I however stress that the importance of these texts for providing a contextual understanding and historical timeline of ancestral belief and traditional identity of *amaXhosa* appear to not have been recognised outside of an African language studies environment and remains under appreciated in Anthropology and other fields.

In the cases where Mda's 'A Heart of Redness' has been engaged with, out of the African language context, it has mainly been interpreted through an English lens of meaning (Bank, 2002a; Bank, 2002b; Bell, 2009). These publications dialogue quite different issues altogether from the message evident in Mda's translation of title, *intlizo yobumbomvu* (redness of heart) (Moreira-Slepoy, 2002), which emphasises the 'continued' significance of ancestral beliefs and traditional dimensions of identity in modern life.

3.2.2.1 Quantitative estimations of the prevalence of 'Redness' over time

Academic estimates on the prevalence of 'Redness' and ancestral belief have historically varied a great deal. Reader was an economist who wrote the first manuscript of the XITT in 1960. He conducted a survey asking if urban working Xhosa males preferred ancestral belief systems to Christianity. His results indicated that 55% of the sample indicated a preference for ancestral belief systems (Reader, 1960). This study appears to have created certain ideas of a roughly equal split in the Xhosa population

[44]The titles of these books: 'Literature between two worlds - the first fifty years of the Xhosa novel and poetry' (Zotwana, 1993); 'Hidden presences in the spirituality of the *amaXhosa* of the Eastern Cape and the impact of Christianity on them' (Mtuze, 1999); and 'The Heart of Redness' (Mda, 2000).

[45] First names are noted to be very significant in Xhosa cosmology and serve to identify, or foresee, a special characteristic or trait of the person (Wiesner, 2001; bar Magazine, 2019).

between ‘Red’ and ‘School’ people as seen in the assumptions of Mayer (1962)[46]. Through Mayer’s suggestions regarding ‘veiling’ (1962), I emphasise that Reader’s result should be taken as an underestimate (due to the complexities of ancestral ‘veiling’ and performance of ‘School’ identities). One also sees that Reader appears to have accepted the idea of the salience of a binary divide between Christian and ancestral belief. As will be discussed later, Lesley Bank forwards the idea, however, that the XITT favoured methods which overestimated the prevalence of ‘Redness’, since Monica Hunter had hardly found any ‘remnants’ of ‘Redness’ in her 1934 study (Bank, 2002c).

Numerous scholars have subsequently challenged the salience of this ‘Red’/’School’ divide and by default that true ‘School’ people ever existed in any great numbers (Mayer, 1962; Pauw, 1963; Zotwana, 1993; Mtuze, 1999; Raditlhalo, 2001; Mtuze, 2003; Nyaundi, 2011). The figure of 55% is therefore suggested to be an underestimate of the actual percentage of Xhosa people who are ‘Red at Heart’, due to the ever-present ‘veil’ regarding the ‘two-worlds divide’ and performed epistemological subservience to Western paradigms.

The overarching narrative of the shrinking ‘Red’ population (i.e. people who practice ancestral belief) that I grounded in the ‘vanishing cultures hypothesis’ however remained unchallenged until fairly recently. Wilson notes a general trend in the decrease of the rural Xhosa ‘Red’ population from 80% in 1881 to 45% in 1950 (1971, p. 75).

Studies either through simple assumption (Bank, 2002b; Bank 2002c; Ainslie, 2005; Ainslie, 2014) or, perhaps for methodological reasons (Cocks & Dold, 2008), indicate an idea that ancestral belief is waning, particularly in urban areas[47]. “The past decade has seen some ‘Red’ practices on the wane with respect to dress, ancestral religion, work parties and architecture” (Fay, 2015, p.1087). These narratives and figures present to a student approaching the field an idea that at least half, but likely far more according to Bank (2002c) of the current urban Xhosa population do not practice ancestral rituals. More recently Cocks, et al., (2016, p. 832) reported a considerably different and, an arguably, very useful initial figure of 92% of surveyed families as performing “cultural rituals” in a research site 170km away from East London (n=143).

[46] I note Mayer does not present statistics for the percentages of ‘Red’ and ‘School’ people, but introduces the idea that these categories each comprise roughly half of the Xhosa population. Mayer, importantly, also challenged the idea of a simple clear binary distinction between ‘Red’ and ‘School’ people and notes, as in the situation of Sizwe Banzi, that a great many people perform school identities for acceptability (Fugard, et. Al, 1972; Mayer, 1962).

[47] Cocks & Dold report that one-third of rural and half of urban households do not host [ancestral] rituals (2008, p. 304).

However, I contend it is likely ambiguous for the following reasons:

- Firstly, their study does not appear to differentiate between rituals to 'dialogue with ancestors' and 'social ceremonies' which are described as 'not talking' (*azithethi*, figuratively: they don't have a great significance). Such 'social ceremonies' include *imigidi* (the welcoming home parties that complete the male circumcision process[48]. Most importantly *Imigidi* and circumcision are also practiced by charismatic Christians (who choose not to live within an ancestral dialogue) and these practices are also at times termed by them to be *amasiko*; and
- Secondly, the use of the term 'cultural rituals' in their article can in itself be seen to be unclear and misleading since the term 'cultural' is itself heavily laden carrying with it a very long history of 'veiling'. As this thesis shows, the term 'cultural' comes out of a history of this epistemology being actively undermined historically by missionaries and even currently in the South African Constitution (Amoah & Bennet, 2008).

It is likely therefore that Cocks et al. (2016) presents a slight overestimate if read to be reporting on ancestor-related rituals[49]. I highlight that historical studies, through lack of precision and nuance in question construction, 'translation' or emic categorisation, have historically impeded a precise understanding of the history of Xhosa 'cultural' meanings and practices and thus identity. It appears that the percentage of people that follow ancestral belief is likely to fall somewhere between 55% and 92%, a clearer quantitative indicator in a site closer to East London might thus, in line with Nyaundi's call for a quantitative understanding of ancestral spirituality in South Africa (2011) be exceedingly useful. Indeed, this would appear far more useful than the current 5% national estimate for TAR that is presented by Statistics South Africa (2016).

[48] Such rituals do not carry the same significance and requirement for ancestral agreement as rituals that explicitly dialogue with ancestors.

[49] Since most of the paper by Cocks et al. (2016) speaks about the relationship between people, nature and the ancestors, this interpretation is likely.

3.3 Exploring the positionality of authors who researched the issue of 'Red' or traditional dimensions of identity among urban-dwelling *amaXhosa* in East London between 1934 and 2002

3.3.1 Monica Hunter, daughter of Lovedale: first study in the 'Xhosa in Town Debate'

Monica Hunter's work 'Reaction to Conquest' in 1936 is a logical space to start this section, as her fieldwork, in East London's East Bank Location[50], was the first study of urban African Anthropology in South Africa (Bank, 2013). It is important to note that this study takes place roughly 100 years after the beginning of the 'veiling' of ancestral belief by 'school' Xhosa (Zotwana, 1993). I however propose that due to her positionality her conclusion that urban East London was rapidly becoming devoid of cultural authenticity should not be seen as widely representative of all urban dwellers at the time or indeed as generally representative of Xhosa responses to 'urbanisation'. I posit, her work in this regard is useful rather as a historical document revealing the strength of the 'veil' in black urban spaces and the importance of its performance in accessing status (Mayer, 1962). I suggest that her results are perhaps more useful in revealing what was visible to her in light of her own positionality amid the complexities of 'School' and 'Christian' Xhosa traditional identities and spirituality. The more recent works by Andrew Bank (2008) and Leslie Bank (2013) have helped cast light onto previously veiled complexities of Hunter's urban fieldwork regarding her own positionality and the 'invisibility' of her research assistants in her work (Bank, 2008; Bank, 2013).

Monica Wilson (née Hunter) displays an understanding that by the 1970s rural 'Redness' had largely disappeared, as is revealed in a quote from the preface of the 3rd edition of 'Reaction to Conquest' (1936): that relates to the decision to remove the section focusing on her urban fieldwork from this book and to exclusively discuss her rural fieldwork, "What is in demand is a [Red} way of life that no longer exists." (Wilson, 1979, p. xiv-xv). One sees that here in the 1970s she 'now' expects to find her rural villages irrevocably changed by contact with Western 'modernity'. I propose that this small quote holds a wealth of information about Monica Hunter's own positionality, ideological framing and ideas about the field and the nature of 'modernity'. In the context of this thesis I posit that it also reveals her position regarding the 'two-world divide' and reveals a lack of awareness of the existence of the 'veil'. She described her entry into her fieldwork using the metaphor of being "a rat […] confronted with an Everest of Cheese […] in various stages of maturity […] or decay" (Hunter, 1933, p.27). The rural 'native reserve' she describes as being unripe, whereas the settlement of *amaMfengu* called

[50] See Appendix A for notes on historical reasons for the words 'Location' and 'Township'.

Auckland (or *eHala*) (25km from Alice) was 'ripe'. She imagined the 'cheese' on settler farms [where Blacks live close to the white farmer] to be 'mature'[51] and the 'cheese' of the urban native location as 'decaying'. Here Hunter expresses the implicit ideas of the time around cultural contact with Europeans, money and Western material goods as bringing about a decay in native cultures and the 'raw' purity of their culture, which is also seen in the framing of Malinowski's prominent works of the time (1935; 1945).

Monica Hunter conducted three months of fieldwork in 1931 (mid-February to mid-April) in East London's East Bank [Native] Location. During this time, she lived in a boarding house in East London's white areas[52]. Through her father's position as a missionary at Lovedale she received the public support of a leading trade unionist working in East London, Clements Kadalie for the field work as well as a leading Xhosa literary author, Church minister and first black member of the Cape parliament, Dr Walter Benson Rubusana[53]. Rubisana's Lovedale schooled wife, Bella (*Noni*) Rubusana (née: Kashe), is revealed by L. Bank to have assisted Hunter as a fieldwork assistant and interpreter (2013).

Hunter's ideological framing on urban dwelling Xhosa is a product of the tenets of the contemporary popularity of 'salvage Anthropology' (as seen in the work of Malinowski (1935)). Through Rubusana this ideological framing was combined with these established Xhosa literary themes on the rapid demise of cultural 'purity' as a result of colonial contact to help further cement the previously discussed three myths as reality[54]. I posit that the Rubusanas' under-recognised co-creation (or even 'invisibility') as mission-educated converts must be seen to have had a large impact on Hunter's manuscript. In this, one sees that the Xhosa literary and academic perspectives of the salience of an

[51] This contrasts with Mayer's interesting observation that 'Redness' was more intact and 'pure' among labourers living on white settler farms than in villages (1962). This highlights the extent to which Hunter based her assumptions around fieldwork on European ideas of 'truth' and theories of the effect of 'culture contact' on culturally 'static'/timeless Africans 'immature' until accessing time in the form of European contact. Such a contradiction, and the finality of Hunter's quote on the urban loss of traditional identities, affirms my contention that Hunter appears to have remained 'blind' to the existence of 'Redness' as a core, and the 'veiled' dimensions of identity and especially its continued importance in urban areas.

[52] Rather than as L. Bank (2002c) indicates with the Rubusana family in the native location.

[53] '*Mpilo*' Rubusana was born in 1858 on the farms of Somerset East. He started school when he was 16 at the London Missionary School in Peelton, near King Williams Town. At the age of 17 he was baptised and given a Christian name, his Xhosa name "was officially expunged and the traditional skin he normally wore was replaced with a white shirt as a marker of a shift from the traditional to the modern world" (Wikipedia, 2022, p. Walter Rubusana).

[54] The idea of cultural authenticity being lost over time (especially due to conditions surrounding urbanisation, money and material culture) is a strong component of Rubusana's 1906 publication '*Zemk' Inkomo Magwalandini*' (Rubusana, 1906) but also of a great deal of Xhosa literary writings of that period (Zotwana, 1993).

urban/rural divide are not necessarily two independent narratives which appear to agree, but are rather interwoven. The role of 'School' Xhosa writers in perpetuating this myth suggests it might actually be a single narrative largely grounded in metaphors of Western thought and education, perhaps as de Kock's (1992) work might suggest these as the key ideas of Lovedale from which both Rubusana and Hunter came.

Hunter appears able to speak some Xhosa as a result of her growing up at Lovedale, but subsequently noted that she was, "not fluent in Xhosa" when starting the fieldwork (Wilson, 2008, p.12). A. Bank notes that this lack of 'fluency' in Xhosa and her reliance on interpreters during her fieldwork was almost entirely covered up by Hunter in 1936 to make her manuscript fit better into Malinowski's style which prized 'complete linguistic fluency' and thus presented a 'complete' understanding of the research subject by the authoritative researcher (Bank, 2008).

3.3.2 Philip Mayer: a figure with a unique research positionality and embodied understanding of trauma

I argue conversely that Mayer's personal history enabled him to engage with much of the personal experience of participants in his study (1962) around racism, colonial oppression and 'veiled' aspects of identity. I feel his history has not been taken into account in the critiques of the XITT as being 'racist' and 'methodically unsound' and that these critiques were merely caught up in the theoretical fashions of the day. I feel that Mayer's particular set of experiences around identity and oppression, as a German-born Jew, was what gave his monograph the attention to linguistic detail and sensitivity to oppression, that appear to have been missed by many of his critics. As a German Jewish postgraduate student, he was evicted from his oral examination for his first PhD in Heidelberg, Germany by Nazi Brown shirts in 1933. He left Germany when Hitler came into power and moved to Palestine as a Zionist. After living in Palestine (1933–1939) he became a 'reformed' Zionist amid concerns of the dangers for the future of conflict of these two societies living side-by-side but who were not equipped with the skills to communicate or effectively understand each other. He immigrated to England in 1939 and pursued a PhD in Arabic studies. In understanding these aspects of his personal life, I suggest that the critique of his 1962 monograph was fairly simplistic.

Being German born and studying Arabic at an English university he was definitely at least trilingual[55]. This would no doubt have given him an acute awareness of translation theory and practice (both

[55] His motivation for studying Arabic emerged after a brief period in Palestine as a temporary Zionist. He had a wish to alert fundamentalist Jewish Zionists to the complexities and predicaments faced by their Palestinian neighbours. He found the ignorance of Zionists regarding Arab culture and socio-economic life of great concern

embodied and academic) and given him the edge over monolinguist South Africans (whom I argue are) often unaware of the complexities of translation and interpretation, in supervising a Xhosa language survey, albeit at a distance.

One of Bank's main critiques of the XITT research methods was that Mayer utilised unaccompanied Xhosa assistants for the quantitative investigations later in his study while he was absent from the research site (Bank, 2002a; Bank, 2002c). Mayer however highlights how this quantification was only used as a supplementary tool of in-depth interviews and that many of the interviews lasted one or more hours. Fundamentally, Mayer's work shows a very clear understanding of the existence of the 'two-worlds divide' that comprises 'veiled' identities and beliefs, and reflects on the need to transcend these normalised racial barriers that he notes were "denser" in urban than rural spaces (Mayer, 1962, p.30; 297). He suggests that unaccompanied Xhosa assistants were very necessary to avoid "[a white researcher] being given incomplete or misleading information [due to the presence of the 'veil' on ancestral spirituality and Apartheid complexities]" (Mayer, 1962, p.297). Bank's critique appears to not take into account that Mayer's study (1956–1959) was bookended by living for a total of eight months in rural Xhosa villages in an effort to ensure full understanding and "making sure that data are valid and […] representative" (Mayer, 1962, p.295), or that he personally surveyed at least 200 urban people with Xhosa assistants before relying on unaccompanied interlocutors. Retrospectively, the use of unaccompanied Xhosa assistants might be viewed, as Mayer notes, as a necessary strategy to ensure participant honesty (Mayer, 1962, p.297). This might also be seen as a point in the XITT's favour, rather than as a fault, when engaged from the perspective of a holistic historical context and as an acknowledgement of its complexity. I posit that this technique (attention to detail regarding language and 'translation' theory and practice) and the related recognition of the existence of the 'two-worlds divide' is one of a number of reasons which explains why the XITT was able to access information that was invisible to Hunter, and subsequently invisible to, or ignored by Bank. Bank's critique appears, like Magubane's (1973), to have been based on an insufficiently detailed reading of XITT, as noted by (Beinart, 1991).

(Spiegel, 1995). This led him to complete a PhD on Iraqi experiences of colonialism (Mayer & Macfarlane, 1983; Spiegel, 1995).

3.3.3 Lesley Bank's reception of Monica Hunter's East London research and the creation of a myth: the importance of linguistic understanding

L. Bank (2002a; 2002c; 2013) was the last author of the 'Xhosa in Town Debate'. He describes Hunter's Xhosa as "fluent"[56], however in 1979 Hunter reflected that her fluency was severely constrained the year before she started her urban fieldwork[57]. It is unlikely that she achieved a very high degree of fluency by the time she did her urban fieldwork in 1932. This can be seen through her East London field notes where it appears she had difficulty in discerning the differences between the 'Q' and 'X' clicks[58] and may additionally be substantiated through grammatical 'errors' identified in her Langa publication (Wilson & Mafeje, 1963)[59]. As mentioned previously, Andrew Bank (2008) highlights that her linguistic-ability and -independence were overstressed in her 1936 monograph Additionally, I note in light of the findings by de Kock (1992) that notions of status around the ability to speak English and related prestige regarding enlightenment and education creates the complexity where some Xhosa people might be insulted if one addresses them in Xhosa, feeling that one is assuming they are uneducated (and of little value) (Botha, 2012). I propose that, given Hunter's circumstantial focus on 'school people' (*amagqobhoka)* and interviews conducted at ladies' tea parties[60], a substantial portion of her East London work might well have taken place in English.)

> "Hunter's two primary advantages as a researcher were that she was 'fluent' in Xhosa, already had an excellent understanding of Xhosa and Pondo cultural practices, and had a secure social and protective base among the local [Black] elite on whom she could rely for support and information." (Bank, 2013, p.104)

In 2013 L. Bank unfortunately misses A. Bank's important 2008 finding regarding Hunter's limited abilities in Xhosa (Bank, 2008). Continuing with his 2002 assertion (Bank, 2002) that Hunter was 'fluent' in Xhosa during her time in East London L Bank suggests that she became 'fluent' in her months

---

[56] In line with much of the methodological discussion of this thesis an unqualified use of the term 'fluent' is dangerous, with a historical lack of understanding of the semantic complexity of Xhosa in white communities (Gilmour, 2006) and the added reality of a great many white South Africans who only achieve a pidgin ability in Xhosa but due to stereotypically shallow inter-racial interactions (Kashula, 1989), might readily be described as 'fluent' in white communities (Botha, 2012).

[57] Wilson interviewed by F. and L. Wilson, Hunterstoun, Hogsback, July 1979 in (Bank 2008).

[58] Here in Hunter's field notes she writes pagan (red) as both "*qaba*" and "*xaba*" (WC, uncat. East London Fieldnotes (Monica Hunter) in Bank, 2013, p113). This difficulty between hearing the difference between the X and Q clicks appears to be a common difficulty for Whites - even three other White women whom I met who, like Hunter, grew up on farms in Alice. Like in these four cases, Whites often pronounce Xhosa as "Qosa".

[59] Ngxabi points out that 'homeboys' is *abakhaya* not *amakhaya* (Ngxabi, 2003, p.97).

[60] Which remained unrecognised until A. Bank (2013).

in Auckland. Here, perhaps in line with lay assumptions about fluency (as one sees in a general lack of attention to translation methodology in Anthropological research (Bank. 2002a; Bank,2002b; Bank, 2002c; Ainslie, 2005; Ainslie, 2014)) that he might have the assumption that Xhosa is fairly simple and that one might develop sufficient fluency in a couple of months.

3.3.4 Further exploring Monica Hunter's own positionality

In terms of urban residents' social lives and leisure, Hunter's manuscript asserts that in urban spaces tribal practices were diminishing and losing favour and that tribal rituals were not held in town:

> "There is little Native dancing… Young people gather in private houses, particularly on Friday and Saturday evenings, for parties, but here European fox trots were more often performed than the old Bantu dances. And the music is European or American rag- time. About the street one more often hears ragtime hummed than an old Bantu song." (Hunter, 1936, p. 455)

Hunter also expressed concern about the 'speed' at which new urban migrants and families appeared to be Westernising:

> "All the paraphernalia of Western civilization is coveted." (Hunter, 1936, p. 455) "Raw tribesmen" were increasingly marginalised: "The values in town are European, not tribal. Status depends largely on wealth and education and these entail Europeanization ... Knowledge of tribal law, skills in talking, renowned as a warrior, and even the blood of a chief's family, count for comparatively little in town." (Hunter, 1936, p. 437)

I propose in light of these quotes that one sees that Hunter's analysis might be more aptly described as largely an investigation among 'School' people and the strict performance of 'School' identities within an urban space that ascribed status to education and owning Western furniture and clothing (Mayer, 1962).

I stress that language ability is important to recognise as a limitation of her work and in this particularly how her own positionality is veiled in her writing. An understanding of 'the veil' further includes a whole previously unrecognised layer of complexity regarding her white Christian missionary background and the normalised self-censoring of aspects of black identity in this mission environment, as discussed in this thesis[61]. As seen her writings clearly show that she carried the ideological premise that contact with 'Westernisation' and embracing of European cultural aspects of modernity (clothing and music and a desire for money) watered down cultural purity (Hunter, 1936, pp. 437, 455; Bank, 2002c). Hunter's decaying cheese analogy appears to also express distress at moral decay, particularly

[61] This relates to Zotwana's point that the 'strength' of Xhosa self-censorship would mean that even someone who could speak a high register of Xhosa but who did not have a 'deep' understanding of the culture would be blind to how much was censored in Xhosa literary work (and presumably also in everyday life) (Zotwana, 1993).

the 'immorality' of youth sexuality and the 'breakdown' of the family unit that she understood to be a result of urban living and the corrupting influence of money (Bank, 2008; Bank, 2013). Above all, this reveals a positivist ideology on the 'truth' of Christianity and the positional 'validity' of educated and 'enlightened' individuals to assess the cultural authenticity and morality of the 'less enlightened'.

Hunter appears to have conflated rituals (or what she calls 'native dancing') with entertainment, which perhaps follows a colonial idea of native dancing being wild, spontaneous, unstructured and casual (Frescura, 2015). It is unlikely that she saw these ritual 'dances' as being very structured or connected with the reasons (*izizathu*) that necessitate their performance[62]. Ancestral rituals are certainly not wildly spontaneous and disorganised occasions[63] (Frescura, 2015).

Hunter assumes that because 'native dances' are less frequent or 'prominent' in the urban space they are on the wane and less important to people than modern fashions. She was perhaps not aware that ancestral ceremonies are often infrequent occurrences involving extensive planning and preparation and that certain types of ancestrally symbolic traditional dancing are never done for fun or leisure, i.e. ritual ceremonies only happen with reverence and for a specific reason[64].

I propose that due to Hunter's background as a cultural outsider and the colonial history, these activities and dimensions of people's identities remained 'blinkered' and 'silent' and largely hidden from her view. This is, I feel, reflected in her description of her motivation for starting her research in a rural village *eHala*, located on the road to the Hogsback, where the Hunters had a family holiday home:

> "You see I'd looked at the outside of [those] communities for years [while growing up at Lovedale] I had travelled around Auckland [*eHala* village] and the countryside, and so often wondered what went on"[65].

[62] This conflates ritual with leisure and could perhaps be a historical reference for the designation of traditional spirituality as 'cultural practices'.

[63] The '*qaba*' assertion of the 'logical coherence' of a Xhosa cosmology (Mda interview in Lloyd 2001) refutes the gaze of Western civilisation which deemed 'wild-whooping savages' to be in a struggle for basic needs of survival (Marett, 1906) and viewed tribal cultures as operating from superstition and even instinct rather than rationality and a developed symbolism of a coherent and logical worldview.

[64] Additionally, encountering these in the field today depends very much on the time of year one is there for, and her stint Feb-April 1932 would appear not to coincide with either two: the yearly circumcision seasons or many end-of-year rituals. With the added complexity that, wherever possible, these are likely to have happened in village spaces rather than in town due to structural constraints as discussed later.

[65] Wilson interviewed by F. and L. Wilson, Hunterstoun July 1979 in (Bank, 2008).

I highlight this previous discussion of position as an outside observer in the spatial-landscape as being similar to her early memories of the Xhosa Soundscape as the: "the beautiful sounds of Xhosa hymns sung at services in Lovedale" (Wilson 2008 in Bank, 2008, p.561). Here I feel in this memory Hunter locates herself as an observer, or listener, rather than an active member of the chorus.

I propose these previous quotes show Hunter's positionality as very much located in the colonial world that lived alongside the Xhosa world and looked at it from a distance but remained an outsider to it. These insights disrupt L. Bank's simplistic appraisal of Hunter's Xhosa skills and her resultant "excellent understanding of Xhosa and Pondo cultural practices" (Bank, 2013, p.104) on which he goes on to base his exploration of the decline of urban Xhosa traditional identities over time.

I propose that in light of these findings Hunter's work was more a fairly tightly 'gate-kept' study of performance of 'school' identities through social dances and tea parties[66] and that, like other work critiqued in this thesis, can be seen to have been 'blinkered' to a whole 'world' of meaning due to the positionality of the researcher. The work of Andrew Bank (2008) and Lesley Bank (2013) helps one see the extent to which it was influenced by the involvement of Walter Benjamin (*Mpilo*) Rubusana and his wife, Bella in guiding, and perhaps blinkering, her urban lens (Bank, 2008; Bank 2013). Until A. Bank's 2008 work, the very positive reception of Hunter's work by L. Bank (in his position as the effective summarising voice on the 'Xhosa in Town Debate'), remained unchallenged in proposing that traditional identities and ancestral belief matter little to contemporary urban *amaXhosa*.

The incorrect assumption that Hunter had access to all spaces in the native location and a high level of "fluency in Xhosa" (Bank, 2002a, p.153) has meant that she has been judged as more successful in her fieldwork than Mayer's work in the XITT (Bank, 2002a; Bank, 2002c). L. Bank's 2002 assessments of Hunter's work, the XITT and Xhosa identity lack a nuanced understanding of complex factors around the 'veiling' of identity and responses to the epistemological violence of missionary education (de Kock, 1992; Zotwana, 1993).

I suggest, that Hunter's work should rather be seen for its value in relaying how her lens and background caused her to interpret the world and thus to be a complex fusion of her research experiences and grounding ideologies that were strongly influenced by her colonial and missionary background and in her own words: as a "Daughter of Lovedale" (Wilson (1979) in Bank 2008). In this way I stress that the value of her study primarily lies in giving further depth to a historical

[66] Such information adds a new perspective to the discussion of the 'Xhosa in Town Debate', as previously L. Bank describes that through W. B. Rubusana, Hunter had access to all sectors of the native location (2002c, p.153).

understanding of the difficulty of getting past the 'veil' and shows how little was visible to a researcher of her positionality at that time.

On this note, Bank's appraisal of Hunter as a "fluent" Xhosa speaker and thus as having completely reliable results (Bank, 2002c, p. 148), reflects a lack of understanding of the generalised historical limitations regarding the registers in *isiXhosa* that white people generally used and continue to use. This indicates that Bank was not aware of Hunter's reflections on feeling severely limited linguistically during that time. His appraisal does not carry the complexity of the difficulty for a white colonialist descendent of speaking Xhosa well, and the related effects of limited skills in Xhosa which cause Xhosa people to treat one with greater distance (Broster, 1967; Kaschula, 1989; Botha, 2012; McIntosh, 2018).

3.4 Marxist lenses and macro political assessments that disavowed the XITT (1970s-1990s)

Hunter's (1936) analysis of cultural identities appears to connect strongly with the academic and political narrative of the time surrounding urban 'Natives' becoming 'detribalised' as reflected in the work on the Northern Rhodesian Copper belt (Wilson, 1941-2; Mitchell, 1956). This looks at the macro political dynamics of 'tribal power' and fealties to home-area chiefs as proxy measure for individual traditional identity. This understanding was based on the concept of *ukukhonza* (being assimilated under the rural traditional political structures, literally: fealty) however, in these cases (like in the case of Sizwe Banzi) this macro '*khonza'* identity remains separate from one's clan affiliation and one's personal and 'spiritual' identity (Mkhize, 2019). This conflation of macro and personal concepts of identity in Hunter (1936) appears to have also resulted in, Stapleton, and Bank completely misunderstanding (or just missing) the significance of clans, and feel justified in making such chilling respective statements that Nguni clan identities are not 'static' and thus clan identities readily shift and change (Stapleton, 1996), or indicating that clans no longer matter to *amaXhosa* (Bank, 2002c). Saying otherwise was seen to align to apartheid ideologies of the primitiveness of black people. Mkhize terms the misunderstanding of clans by white historians, who proposed the idea that white missionaries invented *Mfengu* clan names (Stapleton, 1995; Stapleton 1996), as "perhaps the greatest historiographical travesty" of the 20th century (Mkhize, 2019, p. 16-17). I suggest the severity of the academic misunderstandings that are highlighted in this thesis is similar.

In a large part as seen with the examples above, due to the idea that adherence to traditional aspects of identity located black people in a static past, there was a complete dearth of research in South

African anthropology into cultural issues generally (Beinart, 1991; Barber; 2001; Becker, 2012) and ancestral belief particularly, especially in urban spaces, between 1970s and 2010s.

3.4.1.1 'Redness' and epistemological inequality

Hunter's study had been largely preoccupied with binary categorisation of *amaXhosa* as being either 'Red' pagans or 'School' people. In this climate:

> "'Reds' were seen to be resistant to taking on Western material culture and as rejecting Christianity and Western civilisation; and 'Schooled' people were seen to embrace Western material culture and "become civilised" (Opland, 1990, p. 104).

The XITT on the other hand had highlighted the problematic nature of a 'simple' binary definition. However, because it had challenged the culture contact paradigm and highlighted that 'Red' identities were not simply falling away in the face of valued 'School' identities it was labelled as essentialising a number of Xhosa as 'backward':

> "Celebration of Red identities in East Bank became problematic, especially since they [the authors of XITT] seemed to be suggesting that some Africans in the Eastern Cape were incapable, or at least unprepared, to modernise and preferred to develop along tribal or ethnic lines. They came to be accused, especially by scholars working outside of anthropology, of being apologists for apartheid" (Bank, 2002c, p. 147).

These critiques accused the XITT of acting to legitimatise ideas of developmental racial hierarchies, promoted by legislation of the Apartheid State through creating scholarship that supported ideas of the validity of the policies of racially categorised 'Separate Development'[67] (Magubane, 1973). However, this reaction to the findings in the XITT can be seen to have been related to the eurocentric idea of the singular trajectory of cultural evolution that gained popularity during the 1950s and into the 1960s (Gilmartin, 2009).

As a consequence of this strongly negative response there were almost no academic studies between the 1970s and 2010 (Barber, 2001; Becker, 2012) relating to issues surrounding Xhosa ancestral belief systems or ancestral rituals and 'cultural practices', particularly in urban areas, as a result of the acceptance of the truth of the vanishing cultures hypothesis and urbanisation being linked to notions of Westernisation (Beinart, 1991). "By the 1970s, exploring African traditionalism in the apartheid era was revealed as a potentially explosive exercise" (Beinart, 1991, p. 28).

[67] In 1958 Dr Hendrik Verwoerd became Prime Minister of South Africa. He transformed apartheid policy into a system referred to as 'Separate Development' with the Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act of 1959 creating 10 Bantu homelands/Bantustans in which this 'Separate Development' would take place (South African History online, 2015).

One might see a correlation between the state of emergency and unrest in townships after the mid-1970s where several anthropologists were forced to abandon urban work[68] and this period of 'silence'. While this is no doubt true in part it is important to stress that this 'silence' was, as discussed above, primarily influenced by the strong neo-Marxist theoretical climate of the time (Becker, 2012). These later explanations better explain why after 1994 there was not an immediate surge of anthropologists waiting eagerly with the tools to effectively engage with these topics and why, in line with Becker's argument, we only see this exploration appearing in the mid-2010s[69] (2012). Furthermore, studies at this time underplay the importance of ancestral belief (Ainslie, 2014).

Becker notes that in this time explorations of questions of culture were left entirely to literature and writers of plays and novels (2012). In this regard one sees the relevance of these explorations of 'school' identities and 'veiling' of true self in 'Sizwe Banzi is Dead' (Fugard, et al., 1972) (see Section 3.3) and the very the raw portrayal of the self-assumed superiority of 'school' identities in 'The Music of the Violin' (Ndebele, 1983). This emphasises the value of, and need for, current anthropological studies to engage with literary explorations that appeared during the time of this anthropological 'silence'.

During the early 2000s South African Xhosa literature experienced a watershed moment with the breaking of the previously-mentioned 160-year-old tradition of the Xhosa-language 'silence' on ancestral belief (in the English language space of the 'white world') (Mtuze, 1999; Mda, 2000; Raditlhalo, 2001; Mtuze, 2003). This very open challenge was amid growing rejection of imposed labels of inferiority and the embrace of 'Redness' *ubuqaba* as positive (in the Xhosa world), involving processes of epistemological reconstitution after epistemic violence and cultural trauma. Here, for the first-time, a number of Xhosa literary academics openly challenged and reacted to colonial labels and concepts that defined traditional cosmologies as primitive and backward, as well as to the idea that these were rapidly vanishing or needed to vanish for people to be able to be 'modern' as had been the popular academic idea since the 1940s (Wilson 1941-2).

This epistemological reconstitution challenged firstly, the idea that 'development' implicitly held the meaning of aspiring to and moving away from 'African-ness" towards Western 'white' ways of knowing and being, and secondly, that this would therefore necessitate a severance from traditional identities and world views that were regarded as inferior. This second challenge broke a much older narrative of the linear nature of 'modernity' as defined by the "Western present", which concluded that black

[68] Here see: Spiegel (1995).

[69] Here see Cocks (2016).

people would experience a severance from 'backward' traditional identities and cosmologies as part of the process of becoming 'enlightened' (Zotwana, 1993). De Kock (1992) notes that this second hegemony was a cemented discourse from at least 1827, with the founding of the Lovedale Ecumenical Mission Education Institute (School) in Alice in the Eastern Cape, for training black missionary assistants (See Section 3.2.1, Table 2).

The liberal backlash against the XITT "should be highlighted however as being" informed by a wide-spread acceptance of a contemporarily narrow ideology of the nature of 'modernity' as universal truth (Beinart, 1991, p. 27; Law, 2011), contained within a very narrowly blinkered academic tradition on the nature of 'social evolution' (Becker, 2012). This liberal reaction was unwittingly, but nevertheless completely situated, within a pre-defined and linear idea of cultural evolution.

Ultimately the only challenge that would be powerful enough to upset this cemented view of linear modernity (and re-recognise the relevance and continued existence of traditional dimensions of identity within modern urban spaces) would be the assertions by black Africans themselves (and especially *amaXhosa*) that first appeared around the early 2000s (Zotwana, 1993; Mtuze, 1999; Mda, 2000; Raditlhalo, 2001; Mtuze, 2003; Garuba, 2003; Mekoa, 2018). However, the degree of entrenchment of this hegemony of the nature of 'modernity' meant that even after these challenges scholars in the anthropological field continued to deny the existence, and or miss the importance, of these as core dimensions of urban Xhosa identity, even when explicitly citing these texts in publications (Bank, 2002b; Ainslie, 2014)[70]. Here these scholars were not widely heard because academia generally was not in a theoretical linguistic position to be able to 'listen'.

There has however been a challenge to readings of 'modernity' in recent years and greater recognition of a diversity of world views and expressions of identity in the present (Querejazu, 2016; Mignolo, 2018). Such critiques challenge the salience of the hegemony of Western modernity (Garuba, 2012), a linear unidirectional progression of time in which 'modernity' is severed irreconcilably from a traditional past (Fabian, 1983; Peires, 1987) and in which there cannot be continued dialogue between past and present.

This notion of the 'severance' from the past through the progression of time is challenged by Mda (2000) in his book 'Heart of Redness' (Jacobs, 2002) and by Henderson's (2011) study on 'Kinship and

[70] I note that, even post-2015 South African government policies and agencies continue to embrace these binary ways of thinking as demonstrated in the 2016 Religious Survey by Statistics South Africa. (The survey was designed in such a way that it precluded the idea that people might follow both Christianity and ancestral belief systems simultaneously (Statistics South Africa, 2016)).

AIDS in KwaZulu-Natal', where there is a constant dialogue between past and present towards informing the future, and even re-addressing and solving 'stuck' issues of the past. Here the "living dead" ancestors are the means, or mediums, of this dialogue (Berglund, 1975). They are from the past, but remain in the present in spirit and lead one into the future. In this way, events of the past can be interacted with and wrongs can be addressed. One's traditional origin and aspects of identity are constantly part of a dialogue that informs how one acts in the present and makes decisions influencing the future (Mda, 2000; White, 2010; Henderson, 2011).

3.5 The 'Heart of Redness' as a work of plagiarism?

Mda's 'Heart of Redness' has been criticised on charges of plagiarism (Offenburger, 2008) with whole sections of text and terminology shown to be taken from Peires' book 'The Dead will Arise' (1989). However, I wish to suggest that Mda uses the information in Peires manuscript in novel (beyond material) ways and weaves in his own 'creation' of a 'Heart of Redness' into the story, taking the 'skeleton' from Peires's manuscript and weaving deeper meaning and adding multiple interlocking and harmonising layers, characters and times that Jacobs likens to an *Umngqokolo* (Thembu overtone singing) song (2002).

In this, Mda is using this historical information for epistemological reconstitution, dialoguing the *zeitgeist* of disillusionment due to a failure of the 'enlightenment project' (Garuba & Raditlhalo, 2008, p.36), and therefore in this deconstruction of 'modernity' engages in storytelling that goes beyond unilinear concepts of time (Jacobs, 2002).

Through the concept of a Heart of 'Redness' Mda disrupts the notion of a *qaba/gqobhoka* binary going beyond surface labels to explore core concepts of self and problematizes the non-critical acceptance of new developments (with the idea that everything from the West is superior) is the result of the capturing of the mind by Bantu Education, as critiqued by Ndebele (1983). Here as part of grounding one's identity in *ubuqaba* one sees, in contrast to the Missionary and Apartheid state education attempts to discourage critical questioning in Black people (Jordan, 1940; Ndebele, 1983), a carefulness about simply going along with what politicians call 'progress' as being an unquestionably positive (Mignolo, 2011; Mignolo & Hoffmann 2017). Here *amaqaba* display agency and assess the benefits of proposed changes according to their long-term social and environmental sustainability (Mda, 2000).

I propose that many of the ground-breaking ideas in Mda's novel have not been received as such by the community of critics, because of the up until now largely unrecognized presence of the 'veil' on

ancestral belief and furthermore, a lack of understanding of Xhosa linguistic and cultural symbolism that has resulted in the book being received purely on a 'material' and etic basis (as seen in Bank, 2002b).

This thesis is perhaps the first that uses this understanding of Mda's work and its message of a 'Redness in one's heart' to describe ancestral belief as a 'core' aspect of identity, and then triangulates this idea with discussions of the existence of the 'veil' in Xhosa.

I argue that Offenburger's critique of Mda's novel in fact misses the 'deep' brilliance of the book through an inability to grasp the symbolism from a Xhosa linguacultural perspective where through intertextuality it creates a 'supernatural' ancestral dialogue with other prominent works on these issues, such as in (Jordan, 1940). Here, 'Heart of Redness' explores questions of intergenerational epistemological reconstitution between Jordan (1940) and Mda's (2000) characters. In line with Henderson's work (2011) Mda actively readdresses and resolves the 'disquieting' past to 'ease' spaces where these ancestors remain caught or 'stuck' and cannot be at peace thereby acknowledging or addressing the shadows that remain with the living.

3.6 Identity as multidimensional: a critique of the 'theoretical positionality' of Monica Hunter and Lesley Bank

As previously mentioned, Hunter (1936) and Bank (2002) focused on 'Red' and 'School' as being originally binary or 'polarising' identities, however research in the field of psychology in the early 2000s began to recognise people's identities as being multidimensional, with multiple overlapping layers much like an onion, rather than being constructed out of either/or binaries. The "conceptual model of multiple dimensions of identity depicts a core sense of self or one's personal identity" as the centre of the onion. With "Intersecting circles surrounding the core identity represent significant identity dimensions (e.g. race, sexual orientation and religion) [as the mid layers] and contextual influences (e.g. family background and life experiences) [as the outer layers]" (Jones & McEwen, 2000, p. 405). This conceptual framework of multiple dimensions of identities assists in understanding the age-old question (highlighted in Sizwe Banzi is Dead (Fugard et al., 1972) of how people can hold both 'Red' and 'School' dimensions of identity without these necessarily being in contradiction. This assumed binarisation has previously either hindered researchers' assessments of urban Xhosa identity (Hunter, 1936; Bank, 2002b; Bank 2002c) or been noted and challenged with nuance but not explained as to how it might work (Mayer, 1962; Pauw, 1963).

Hunter (1936) and Bank (2002a; 2002b; 2002c) were primarily concerned with material culture as: expressions of fashions in clothing and music, imported from Europe and America (Bank, 2002c) They

took for granted the idea that these expressions, which especially in urban spaces coincided with the loss of 'day-to-day' wearing of traditional clothing (that was from an etic perspective deemed as authentically Xhosa), meant that the urban wearers of these fashions would have necessarily lost their traditional authenticity or 'cultural purity'. This view followed the etic approach of measuring cultural change through material or technological proxies and thus, simply assumed that the people themselves would no longer define themselves as being traditional people or authentically Xhosa.

Both Hunter and Bank do not make allowance for the possibility that might people retain 'redness' as their core identity and thus continue to dress in these traditional outfits for ceremonial occasions or special reasons[71] or the complex need to 'veil' 'Redness' in town for acceptability. (Mayer, 1962; Fugard, et al., 1972; Mtuze, 2003; Ntombana, 2015).

3.6.1 Readings of identity as primarily 'fluid' and 'dynamic'.

L. Bank completed a PhD in 2002 and in the same year published two articles on the idea of 'Redness' from the same material: 'The Xhosa in Town Revisited, Home-made ethnography: Revisiting the Xhosa in Town trilogy', 'Beyond Red and School: Gender, tradition and identity in the rural Eastern Cape'.

- The first publication was a 'post-the-fact' that explored life in East London's East Bank through interviews with an undisclosed number of participants on what they remembered of their lives in the 1960s. For this he used historical photographs as an entry point to access information about the period 40 years earlier. This research was superimposed on research done to gather information for a community land claim after the removals of people from the East Bank to the newly created township of Mdantsane. The documented stories of youth fashion and dances at the local community hall caused him to conclude that the XITT had missed the cosmopolitan construction of youth identity through being too focused on the home space rather than on the streets and dance halls. Showing similarities between his own and Monica Hunter's (1936) findings, he concluded that the XITT had failed methodologically and overstated the importance and prevalence of 'Redness' (Bank, 2002c).

[71] Here, every male circumcision initiate wears a blanket and ochre. Additionally, after the 'passing out ceremony' they wear a particular 'traditionally' sanctioned formal outfit with ochre on their face while in general society for an extended period of time. In addition, they wear a hat and carry a stick as a mark of formal respect for their traditional origins. It is often asserted that it is not possible for a Xhosa male to be acknowledged as a man without this process and that due to the cultural pressures of Xhosa society individuals actually have very little personal choice in the matter (Papu & Verster, 2006; Ntombana, 2011).

- The second publication was based on his research on rural women's saving groups in MooiPlaas, a rural area outside East London. Here he used his observations, again with an undisclosed number of participants, to critique the novel by Mda's *'Heart of Redness'* (2000). In response he highlights that people, especially women, have created identities that are neither 'Red' nor 'School' and uses an example of a women from a previously 'School' family who enthusiastically leads a group who perform traditional 'Red" dances for paying tourists at a Xhosa cultural village. His results and experience of attending two ritual ceremonies allow him to conclude that rituals and identity have changed greatly and irreconcilably and are no longer traditional but have been re-articulated with a fusion of dynamic and modern aspects. He concludes that people are not wanting to "retreat into a heart of redness, but rather to enjoy their fair share of the benefits of modernity" (Bank, 2002b, p.633).

In unpacking the concepts of identity below one will see that L. Bank's assertions of the 'dynamic' 'fluid' and changing nature of Xhosa identities (Bank, 2002a; Bank, 2002b; Bank, 2002c) was completely 'locked' into theoretical ideas and meta-narratives of the unilineal nature of time, cultural progress and modernity.

Critical engagement using Brubaker and Cooper's framework also reveals that the focus of 'identity'[72] in Bank's study (largely occupied with clothing fashions, music and dancing) is rather 'self-concept'. Here, these concepts of self should be regarded as something other than "identity" as they relate to temporal, passing and peripheral dimensions of self-definition, rather than the 'lasting' and 'stable' fundamentals of self that are "deep abiding", "basic […] foundational" or "core" concepts of who one is (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, p.197).

Unfortunately, in the Xhosa context as this 'core' had historically been completely 'veiled' until the mid-1990s and because Bank's positionality, theoretical and epistemological orientation would have undoubtedly further alienated ancestral believers to the point of 'triggering' their well-practiced 'silence' of 160 years, he appears not to have seen this 'core' at all.

Using the model of multiple aspects of identity (Jones & McEwen, 2000) and Brubaker and Cooper's (2000) discussion of 'core' dimensions of identity, I critique the aforementioned preoccupations with material culture by Hunter and Bank as being surface issues (temporal and periphery) and like the very

[72] Characteristically postmodernist notions of the 'dynamic' notions of identity, characterised as: "unstable, multiple, fluctuating and fragmented" (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, p. 8).

outer layers of the onion, as compared with the central layers relating to deep identity. These follow the historical trend of measuring technology as a proxy for social evolution into civilization.

Furthermore, I note that while these central layers of identity were actively hidden from the 'white world' and not readily visible they were nonetheless there (Mayer, 1962; Botswana, 1993; Mkuze, 2003). In this way, I highlight the problem of surmising about the truth of participants' identities using proxy measures, and the complexity of addressing elements of identity that are not readily divulged.

In this way, I suggest that these changing clothing fashions represent 'periphery' dimensions of identity (Jones & McEwen, 2000) rather than the 'core' (most important and abiding) parts of the participants' concepts of self, as suggested by Bank (2002b; 2002c). The temporality of such aspects of the self, aptly expressed in Bank's own work quoting a participant on the shifting, "dynamic" "cosmopolitan" fashions in East London in the 1960s (in an interview conducted in 2001):

> "We were always watching out for something new, where the style was going. Like when the Vikings came first to the Peacock Hall in their gangster style. Suddenly, everyone was checking them out and it was not long before other youths on the streets were trying to imitate them. The same happened with the Panama hats ... it was a fashion for a time, then people got tired of it and looked for something new" (Bank, 2002c, p. 169).

An understanding of the historically normalised 'veiled' traditional and ancestral core of Xhosa identities that are deep, abiding and stable (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000), explains why Bank got so caught up in these 'proxies' on the outer layers of the metaphoric 'onion' (Jones & McEwen, 2000) as the only aspects of identity that he could readily access from his constrained Linguacultural engagement.

As the final voice on this history of scholarship Bank's use of the term identity might be summarised as being problematic for the following reasons:

- Firstly, it addressed temporal and peripheral issues of identity and ignored the lasting 'core' aspects of identity (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000);
- Secondly, it focused entirely on individual identity and ignored group identities, even discounting the significance of clans to *amaXhosa*[73] and missed the fundamental importance of this in concepts of social affiliation and communal identity for Xhosas, as shown in (Spiegel & Mehlwana, 1997);
- Thirdly, it does not appear that he asks his participants if after the intervening 40 years these styles of dress are still important to them or if they might currently value their clan

[73] See (Bank, 2002c, p. 162).

identities and perform ancestral rituals. Somehow he knows that they do not, but have changed irreconcilably because in their youth they wore Panama hats and watched American films. This appears to be more than enough proof in Bank's eyes; and

- Fourthly, the power of his assertions come from the fervour with which he perpetuates the universally 'normative' (and epistemologically violent) meta-narratives of 'modernity' and unilinear time that accepts the concept of traditionality as being stuck in an ethnographic past and not concurrent with life in 'modernity'.

It is important to note that Bank's position and epistemological arrogance was made powerful by, and has remained unchallenged due to, the meta-blind liberal South African position from the 1970s to mid-2010s. This 'slammed' any academic indication that black people might want to be 'different' from this Western norm, labelling such scholarship as racist and supportive of 'Separate Development' on which apartheid was largely constructed (Beinart, 1991; Becker, 2012)).

Lastly, Bank appears to make no effort to engage with emic categorisations located in '*isiXhosa'* and appears to miss a great deal, including importantly the very sacred, or spiritual, importance of the concept of 'home' for *amaXhosa* (as reflected in the title of (Bank, 2002c)[74]). Bank's explorations of 'Redness" and urban Xhosa identity appears to have been so completely lost in translation that they became a very useful set of historical documents in showing the position of Whites being 'blind' to the existence of a world 'under their noses'. In this way, his study helps contemporary readers see the extreme impermeability of the 'veil' and the impossibility to conceive of the existence of that world without engaging in Linguacultural methodologies.

3.7 An end to the 'Xhosa in Town Debate'?

Bank's influential publications have so far closed off discussion on this topic and figuratively ended the 'Xhosa in Town Debate'. They appear to have been received with a certain amount of authority (see Ainslie, 2005, p.23; Cocks 2006; Ainslie, 2014) and thus appear not to have not been unpacked or critically assessed.

My contentions with Bank's assessment of 'Red' identity follow four points on which he grounds his argument:

- The idea of unilinear cultural progress where 'Redness' is assumed to be displaced by contemporary styles and identity;

[74] 'Home-made ethnography: Revisiting the 'Xhosa in Town Trilogy'.

- Unilinear time where Bank positions traditional identities to be located in the unreachable past and outmoded in the millennium;
- 'Modernity' as taken by Bank to be a 'given'. Even though he attempts to avoid an idea of 'modernity' being the condition created by an evolutionary trajectory of the West, his writing reveals the difficulty of stepping out of this ontological reality. (This complexity is noted as the very crux of the 'modernity'/coloniality complex (Latour, 1993; Mignolo & Hoffmann, 2017)). In this way Bank's lens might be seen to preclude certain realities which do not align to that ideological grounding. This can be seen in his fervent insistence that his study participants do not follow ancestral beliefs or see importance in clan identities; and
- (Most disturbingly) Bank declines to unpack or define identity in his articles and, despite the existence of literature to the contrary, shapes his entire thesis on the 'fluid and dynamic' aspects of identity. He completely discounts that these dimensions are theorised to revolve around a more stable and 'abiding' 'core' of self (Jones & McEwen, 2000), while denying that more stable and fundamental aspects of Xhosa identity do exist. His work is completely blind to, and discounts the 'Redness' in people's hearts as being the 'core' part of themselves. Considering the context, one might see these oversights as 'excusable', especially considering that his research appeared so soon after the 'formal' end of a 160 year 'silence' on the importance of this 'Redness' with Mda's book (2000)[75].

It is very unfortunate that in his study approach Bank replicates the structural violence and epistemic arrogance historically visited on Xhosas for the previous two centuries. A further issue is that one gets the impression that he feels he is casting Xhosas in a positive light by showing them to be progressive and modern rather than 'stuck in the past' (Bank, 2002b; Bank, 2002c).

All these previous oversights are for me condensed in Bank's misreading of the concept of a "Heart of Redness" to be an isolated rural area into which one "retreat[es] into the 'heart of Redness" (Bank, 2002b, p.633), which in this vein involves a "retreat into the past" (Bank, 2002b, p.644) and a "retreat into cultural essentialism" (Bank, 2002b, p.649).

While Bank's work appears to have been regarded as a seminal publication on urban Xhosa identity and the authoritative voice on the XITT in the millennium, I posit that the value of his study lies in an apt depiction of the understandings of the white South African 'world' at the time. Here his attitude

[75] And that additionally it does not appear he had a diverse set of skills required to make people comfortable about letting him in beyond the 'veil'.

and ideas match the trend of the normality of white liberal "oblivion"[76] of just addressing the peripheral 'material' and 'surface' issues of identity, and being blinkered to a deeper and 'veiled' reality. Unfortunately, though he insists that his findings and ideas on identity comprised a core of contemporary Xhosa-ness, they overlooked the existence of a potential 'veiled' heart of the issue or set of core problems, sitting at the heart of the system. This is a sobering thought when reflecting on the realities of the historical importance of this 'veiling' in light of the incident when Bank apparently remains oblivious to the deep meaning of ancestral spirituality even when attending an ancestral ritual and seeing animals' horns displayed in the thatch of a rondavel and on a kraal[77].

However, where Bank's work might rightly 'stand trial' is on his theoretical approach regarding progress, linear time, 'modernity' and identity (all of which one sees had already been critiqued at the time of his writing) since these helped perpetuate 20 years of unnecessary misunderstandings and continued this structural and epistemic violence.

I am personally invested in this, following my own experience of being completely thrown by his publications, and felt that addressing ancestral belief and traditional identities was unacceptable in the academic space. I had to spend four years engaging Bank's theoretical, previously mentioned, issues one by one and gaining sufficient perspective on these theoretical stances. I now posit that there is absolutely no valid basis to his stance regarding the aforementioned four issues.

I feel I must include the factors which I feel reinforced his meta-blindness, namely: a lack of reflexivity on his own positionality, a lack of awareness of suitable methodologies (particularly with regard to his approach to language 'translation') and finally, as a result of this, a lack of awareness of the symbolic depth of *isiXhosa.*

Bank critiqued Mayer's work as a failure in methodology, having himself, ironically, designed a study which appears to have rendered people silent about who they were in their hearts. He now has to stand up to this robust critique himself. *Ungoku uyeza* (It [one's critique] has returned).

In response to this homemade classification, I argue that something homemade carries the implication of care and quality. Etic approaches to analysis might be critiqued as best seen, metaphorically, as

[76] On white oblivion, see (McIntosh, 2018).

[77] One sees this in relation to the normality of black self-censoring (shown in the example of the (traditional healer) student's hesitancy to disclose the symbolism regarding ancestral belief to me at the graduation ceremony in 2018 (see 4.2.3). Similarly as in the case of Bank, ancestral belief and presence were reverently reverberating in the soundscape where we were sitting but the Whites were just not equipped to hear.

'factory-made', theoretically-generic and through using 'mass-produced' concepts, categorisations and approaches as unfortunately ill-fitting.

3.8 Theoretical discussion approaching 'the elephant in the room' and 'getting the wheel out of the rut'': deadlocked epistemologies

In South Africa there are several realities which are considered to "just be how things are" or the state of normality, a 'un-questionable' status quo. This includes the difficulty of black and white people engaging on the topic of ancestral belief systems, to the extent that one might call it a 'taboo'. This followed the assumption that through 'Westernisation', education and 'modernisation' Blacks would not follow these practices or believe in these superstitions. If they did, however, it remained an indication that they had not fully taken on 'modernity' and 'remained' backward, superstitious and mentally inferior (Opland, 1990; Frescura, 2015).

One will see that adherence to ancestral beliefs and traditional identities created a set of circumstances where the 'inconvenient truth', located in the notion of white epistemological developmental superiority was that despite all the opportunities for 'advancement', civilising efforts, urban living, Westernisation, education and 'welcoming into Christianity and modernity', Blacks stubbornly remained as 'backward' as ever, retaining certain beliefs and practices and refused to progress or "[drink […] at] English fountains [of enlightenment]" (de Kock, 1992, p. 116).

In early models of equality that were based on being "blind to difference" (and which aligned completely to the Western ontological experience as ideologically neutral and universally relevant (Taylor, 1994), one sees how it became expedient for liberal whites to avoid referring to this 'inconvenient truth' which signalled inferiority in difference. One sees how mentioning ancestral beliefs thus developed into a 'taboo' area of conversation, i.e.: the elephant in the room, that was best avoided because it exposed the true (dare I say veiled) 'shadow' feelings[78] of superiority in white society, grounded in what I term a white ontological superiority complex (WOSC) (Peires, 1987; de Kock, 1992; Frescura, 2015; Poland, 2019).

Through an analysis of a diverse range of relevant historical literature (and in direct critique of the revisionist historiographical scholarship of the 1990s) I posit that the driver of the 'silence' and the 'void between the two-worlds' was an active response, grounded in black agency, that allowed the harnessing of economic success and/or survival within the reality of the colonial superpower, after

[78] Here see Demos (1955) on Karl Jung's the concept of 'Shadow' as the unacknowledged and 'uncomfortable' aspects of the self.

the Cattle-Killing and the collapse of Xhosa political and economic systems (1857), on their own terms[79]. Here, as is discussed throughout the thesis, rather than letting white missionaries define their identities completely as Cobbing (1988) and Stapleton (1995) appear to suggest, English names and simplistic Christian identities 'veiled' a rebellious heart and core of meaning, (as in the case of Sizwe Banzi, and also like him), keeping them safe from the epistemic violence of coloniality and the epistemologically arrogant and self-righteous narrative of this colonial super-power.

This situation may be described metaphorically as a wagon wheel that has been 'stuck in place' in a rut, and has largely remained unaddressed since the mid-1800s (Mayer, 1962). From the 1970s onwards 'accommodating' academics and Whites mostly just stopped talking about this 'elephant in the room' or inconvenient truth, and in this way just pretended that the wagon was not in fact stuck in a rut at all and ignored that the wagon was not going anywhere[80]. Here 'progressive' liberals' chose to be 'gracious and accommodating', since admitting this uncomfortable reality that Blacks held onto ancestral beliefs brought forth historical sub-texts that black people were mentally inferior[81] and "either incapable, or at least unprepared, to modernise" (Bank, 2002c, p.147). This was so severe that for a period of at least 40 years (1970s–2010s) academics completely avoided the issue of ancestral belief (Beinart, 1991; Becker, 2012). I suggest that after 2000 many studies focused only on the periphery of the 'silence' and did not approach the complex core, that lurked in the messy and unacknowledged shadow sides of the academic liberal psyche, grounded in the white ontological superiority complex, and which was too close to the bone of the implicit notion of the 'developmental' inferiority of blackness, to be addressed.

This impasse remains a 'messy problem' (Hancock, 2010) becoming more 'wicked'[82] as the key issue remains unaddressed. With South Africa's history of oppression (and additionally, a largely unprocessed history of 100 years of open war between Xhosas and Whites during the nine Frontier Wars (1779–1879) (Mayer 1962)) several authors comment that after 1994 Blacks and Whites needed

[79] See: Peires, 1989, p. 321; de Kock, 1992; Hofmeyer, 2006; Zotwana, 1993; Mtuze, 1999; Mtuze, 2003; Raditlahlo, 2001; Frescura, 2015; Ntombana, 2015; Poland, 2019.

[80] Here the Rainbow Nation narrative can be seen as necessary at a time of pretending that there weren't serious problems to avoid sparking a civil war (Msimang, 2015; Gachago & Ngoasheng, 2016; Liese, 2018; Smith, 2019a, Smith, 2019b). However, these authors call for this simple narrative to be put away now and replaced by deeper engagement that involves proper 'listening' and hearing of experience and epistemological dialoguing that is difficult, but vital.

[81] For more on this see (de Kock, 1992; Zotwana, 1993).

[82] "These wicked emerging problems were defined as complex, involving multiple possible causes and internal dynamics that cannot be understood in linear ways, and have very negative consequences for society if not addressed properly" (Peters, 2017).

to pretend that things were 'alright' in order to prevent tensions which might escalate into a civil war (Msimang, 2015). This promoted a simplistic national narrative of 'focusing on the [bright] future [of the New South Africa] not on the past' (Cobley, 2001)[83].

What is necessary is engaging in active epistemic 'de-linking', i.e. getting to the root of the problem and loosening the barriers that 'trap the wagon's wheels' or fallacies that cement these discourses (thus seeing them plainly for what they are), normative ideologies that enforce epistemological hierarchies (Mignolo, 2011). When, in line with Queer challenges to normativity, one stops believing in the developmental superiority of 'Western society' then much of the 'taboo' melts away. When one deconstructs the idea of the West as developmentally ahead, by removing the 'truth' of a singular trajectory of time and social evolution and 'modernity', then it becomes no problem that Xhosa people retain ancestral beliefs and traditional identities. In this I note that when one challenges this root epistemological problem then worries about 'essentialising' black people as primitive (Ainslie, 2014) or being culturally static (Bank, 2002b; Cocks, 2006) is put in perspective.

3.9 Methodologies

3.9.1 Reviewing methodologies of the past: looking back with the benefit of hindsight

The anthropological 'blind-spot' regarding the fundamental contemporary significance of traditional identities and ancestral belief can be seen to have been influenced by participants' sensitivity around speaking openly about these issues within white spaces. This is particularly relevant to spaces where the dominant ideologies express the time-bound' nature of these 'Red' identities and practices as compared to 'modernity' defining these as these 'backward'. As clearly shown in the subtexts of both Hunter and A. Bank (see Section 3.6) one sees the importance of the need for careful methodological processes and precise investigation when approaching these issues.

3.9.2 Methodologies that lacked nuance or emic cultural understandings of definitions and categories

An example of the importance of such awareness is revealed through the example of the differences between houses and homes, where home (*ikhaya*) requires ancestral presence and the performance

[83] Here see discussions on the 'stuckness' of white liberalism as shown by the #Im Staying movement in (Smith, 2019b; Van Tillburg, 2019; Zulu, 2019).

of particular rituals, whereas a house (*indlu*) does not[84]. This understanding unsettles Bank's critique of the XITT as being "home-made" (2002c) and thus presumably somehow inferior. Bank would appear to be unaware of the enormous symbolic significance of home spaces among *amaXhosa* and the relationship between home and home-making with ancestral presence, spirituality and identity. In essence, anything 'home-made' is imbued with the highest level of formality spiritual importance, reverence and symbolism.

In the same way, through using an etic approach, Hunter (1936) erroneously conflated rituals with entertainment, perhaps following a colonial idea of 'native dancing' being wild, spontaneous, unstructured and casual (Frescura, 2015). Through unpacking her growing up, she can perhaps be seen to have been influenced by the colonial notions of 'cultural practices' as immoral, driven by chaos, loose morals and depravity (Poland, 2019). In this way she did not take into account that performance of ritual practices in urban spaces were constrained by black people's urban living conditions and restrictive laws[85], as was recognised by Mayer (1962). One sees that without being directly based on an awareness of emic cultural categorisations, such research findings and assertions are in fact of very little value if read to access the participants' years and worlds of meaning. Studies that comprised only the researcher's gaze over a short time can be critiqued as being a typical Western 'snap-shot view' referencing subtle ideas of omniscience and the objective positionality of enlightenment (Kasfir, 1999). This is contrasted to an investigative style, like that of Mayer, which focuses on understanding processes and which uncovers relationality and 'process' from the participants' frame of meaning. This 'elongated' understanding necessarily incorporates the present as a point in a dialogue of past and future rather than an isolated frozen frame of a snapshot photo where one can lose context. (This idea will be addressed again later in the discussion on urban kraals see Section 5.2.4).

3.10 *Kufuneka siqhubhude abantu abadala* (recognising the work of those of old)

The metaphorical description of this research focus as "ground breaking" is not used lightly. I see this research as being an overdue follow-on from the truly ground-breaking studies, namely those that

[84] This nuance can be seen as lacking in the following publications or, where present, serves to facilitate misunderstandings of aspects relating to this general topic, such as perpetuating entrenched myths about the differences between urban and rural spaces, e.g. implying that ancestors cannot come to town, or that people only create an urban home if they no longer have a rural home (Cocks & Dold, 2006; Williams-Bruinders, 2013; Njwambe, et al., 2016; Njwambe, 2019; Williams-Bruinders, 2019).

[85] Perhaps most importantly, the conditions of urban living for black people (and fundamentally the impact of a 'Red'/'School' divide (Ntombana, 2015)) were not at all conducive to being able to publicly perform rituals in urban dwelling places. For more on this see (Mayer, 1962).

started this work of 'ploughing' in the hope that the ground might eventually be prepared for sowing seeds of true equality regarding identities and beliefs, bringing a real end to notions of Western superiority and the commonly accepted academic narratives on this. I refer to the following authors: (Zotwana, 1993; Mtuze, 1999; Dold & Cocks, 1999; Mda, 2000; Raditlhalo, 2001; Mtuze, 2003; Cocks, et al., 2006) as *"Ootshobisa"* (those who shake things up/get things moving). They initially worked the very hard, stony ground on their own before such work became 'theoretically' easy, as it is now through the work of prominent scholars who have explained the complex history of South African Anthropology or theorised on decoloniality.

This completes the review of the literature pertaining to this study. The thesis now moves on to discuss the methodology used to conduct this research.

4. Research methodology

4.1 Research methods

4.1.1 Research site – contextual issues

Initial Honours fieldwork in the research site in 2017 had given me an overview of how people conducted place-making rituals in urban yards and the focus of this research was able to build on this, be specific and culturally nuanced. This clear understanding allowed me to work with clearly defined Xhosa linguistic and cultural categories that added precision during analysis. This ensured very clear analysis of the findings and allowed for an effective combination of both quantitative and qualitative results to fit together well.

The three townships in the study site: Ginsberg, Zwelitsha and Sweetwaters[86] are located in King William's Town[87] (Qonce) and are described below.

Basic contextual descriptors (ten years old) from Census 2011 (Statistics South Africa, 2015) are given in Table 3:

Table 3: Basic contextual descriptors[88] for townships in the study site

Contextual descriptors	Ginsberg (1901)	Zwelitsha (1948)	Sweetwaters (1990s)
Area (sq. km.)	2.39	4.64	3.18
Population size	10 766	18 189	8 135
Population density (per sq. km.)	4 498	3 900	2 560
Number of households	3 204	5 413	2 535
Gender: female (%)	55	55	55
Gender: male (%)	45	45	45
Population group: Black African (%)	95	99	97
Language group: Xhosa (%)	90	93	85

[86] Sweetwaters (built to accommodate high levels of backyard shack dwellers in Zwelitsha) has further expanded since the 2011 census. It is called Beacon Hill in Statistics SA Census 2011 https://Census2011.adrianfrith.com)

[87] Early history of King William's Town (see Section 3.1.2, Table 1).

[88] Statistics SA Census 2011 https://Census2011.adrianfrith.com

4.1.2 Overview of the methods used

This Masters research is based on a culmination of an in-depth historical and literary investigation and a mixed-methods fieldwork approach that involved the use of both quantitative and qualitative research methods. This triangulation when used together, are recognised as facilitating understandings beyond the sum of their individual parts (Bernard, 2006, p. 136). The emphasis on co-creation of knowledge showed the value of this research for the participants themselves in terms of knowledge dissemination and policy changes[89].

The methods aimed at bringing nuanced and holistic 'ground-truthed' perspectives on the 'continued' significance and prevalence of ancestral belief systems and traditional dimensions of identity among urban dwelling *amaXhosa* in relation to historical anthropological studies. Although these studies stretch back to 1932, they, to a large extent, appear to have been unable to engage with the ontological realities and their importance for identity and well-being among urban *amaXhosa*.

Research for the literature review revealed new perspectives from previously disconnected information giving context to the findings and allowing them to tell a fuller story. These are presented within an historical context in order to understand the structural violence and epistemic trauma that precipitated the 'veiling' of traditional dimensions of identity and ancestral belief.

The initial focus in the fieldwork promoted a culturally holistic and deeper understanding to avoid 'blind-spots' and the risk of ambiguous results or 'half-truths'[90] which have both been a pattern of work on this topic stemming from a lack of precise embodied emic understanding (Hunter, 1936). I had explorative discussions with informants about practices associated with ancestral belief and about rituals relating to place- and home-making. Conducting multiple visits engaging with important parts of their identities helped to gain their trust. Through this I explored the otherwise often 'veiled' presence of ancestrally-related rituals and traditional dimensions of identity directly with the informants, as compared to basing my understanding on interpretations of urban Xhosa cultural expressions found in the literature

[89] The importance of this research focus was sincerely expressed again and again by participants during the interview process.

[90] I define 'half-truths' as being understandings which, through their location in English rather than 'in' Xhosa classifications and insufficient experiential knowledge, latch on to certain ideas that can only explain cultural phenomena part of the time. Another explanation of this is ontological collapse (Lotz-Sisitka, 2012). An example of this is the idea that ancestors do not come to town, as discussed in Section 4.1.2.2, or that Christians do not follow ancestral practices (Shackleton & Mograbi, 2020).

Attending multiple Xhosa ceremonies hosted by participants, in both urban and rural spaces, increased my understanding of these in context and I was able to appreciate their significance in home-making and place-rootedness. This also exposed me to the richness of language used to describe Xhosa identity and ritual practices.

The delineation of the focus of the study did not explore nuanced gendered differences on ancestral beliefs and traditional identity.

The following three considerations had a direct bearing on the methodologies used in this Masters research:

- Xhosa as the primary language of investigation among urban *amaXhosa;*
- The use of emic systems of categorisation to investigate traditional dimensions of identity ('Redness' at heart) of urban *amaXhosa*, in order to get beyond the 'veil'; and
- A critical reception of the 'vanishing cultures hypothesis' and other aforementioned 'myths' in the literature.

4.1.2.1 Beating around the bush: proxies that failed to engage with the core problems of the 'taboo'

At the start of the fieldwork the background of only addressing 'proxy' information, together with a lack of readily available supporting literature, meant that my interviews initially aimed to include all the previously mentioned 'proxies'. This was in order to prove the validity of these epistemologies to an unreceptive Western epistemology that assumed the universal truth of its views (Mignolo & Hoffmann, 2017).

In line with the previous trajectory of studies (Hunter, 1936, Magubane, 1973; Nyamende, 1991; Bank, 2002a; Bank, 2002b; Bank, 2002c) I felt I needed to offer statistical evidence to disprove the four myths (see Section 1.4). After unpacking the epistemological trauma and violence behind this 'veiling', first though engaging with creative literature and subsequently through academic theory, I realised there was no need to follow these 'side discussions', but to tackle the problem head on and identify and explain these previously unseen main contextual issues.

After this process and through finally identifying the three research questions in November 2021 (See Section 1.4) this research could fully step away from the 'need' to present 'proxy' information such as car ownership, economic status and education levels[91]. Additionally, with an explanation of the entire

[91] These important studies (Cocks & Wiesum, 2003; Cocks & Dold, 2004; Cocks, 2006; Cocks & Bangay, 2006; Cocks et al., 2006b; Cocks & Dold, 2008; Cocks et al., 2008; Cocks & Wiesum, 2014) looked to statistics to identify

complex system, it might now appear obvious that using 'proxies' to assess and prove a problem that is not fully understood or openly spoken about remains questionable, no matter how much statistical proof one collects.

Through naming these core issues (or shadows) I was able to and focus entirely on the centre of the problem, which has been 'blinkered' from view and not previously addressed[92].

This enabled finally being able to move away from using 'proxies' that circumvent the problem (but are still unable to break the entrenched Western doubt that results from operating within the confines of the unilinear progress of time and development of culture.

This thesis required going beyond the normal research process, not just asking if the issues were there but why they might not be fully visible and what underlies the tension around speaking about these topics in everyday interactions and anthropological studies.

4.1.2.2 Using Xhosa language idioms to understand emic cultural categories

The fieldwork space can be tricky regarding power relations, this is especially difficult in cultural spaces where education and the ability to speak English have been hallmarks of status (Davis, 1979; Zotwana, 1993; Machaba, 2005). In spaces of historical colonial exploitation having 'an education' has been a point of importance in being able to be employed in white collar spaces. Mayer notes that black people who benefit in this way may be stereotyped as looking after themselves at the expense of others and being accused as seeing themselves as superior (1962). This idea of using other people to succeed is especially important to consider when one's education relies on the participation of people who are poor and/or illiterate, Machaba notes how research participants don't necessarily understand the idea that research is for the common good and so might want to be paid, or might be inclined to participate thinking that they might get some form of employment as a result of participating (2005). Ainsley also talks about the difficulty of this position, "village residents view the researcher as essentially an educated and well-resourced intermediary who can, and indeed should, intercede on their behalf." (2005, p.16).

---

linear relationships with which to prove that ancestral belief remained important to people, in spite of their becoming educated, civilised and 'Westernised'. Thus, engaging but not illuminating the ideas behind the myths.

[92] In this way I stress that the results chapter, perhaps curiously, does not present the fundamental findings of the thesis, which would allow one to see the conceptual background to support the findings. It presents the key quantitative and qualitative thematic findings that emphasise and cosmically contextualise the relevance of the key findings and, through coming from a very diverse set of combined perspectives, throw light onto the centre of the matter, making the whole issue visible and allowing all readers to '*thungulula*' (in this case, shed the blinkers).

"Development is a reminder of what they are not. It is a reminder of an undesirable, undignified condition. To escape it they need to be enslaved to others' experiences and dreams (Esteva, 1992, p.6)"

During the three years in the field site (2017–2019) my Xhosa language proficiency improved greatly. While never fluent, I could begin to engage as a 'participant' in the interviews at the end of the 2018 fieldwork and much more in 2019, finally conducting parts of the quantitative interview myself. Being able to introduce myself, the research topic and the goals in Xhosa in linguistically and culturally appropriate ways put participants at ease, and emphasised my recognition of the importance of a good understanding of the '*isiXhosa*' for accurate research. This challenged the strong idea that English should be the language of investigation and the production of knowledge (de Kock, 1992). Conducting interviews entirely in Xhosa also helped reduce, and even metaphorically 'invert', 'normalised' power dynamics of a white researcher over black participants. Finally, our discussions emphasised that the purpose of this research was for the creation of knowledge that would 'benefit' Xhosa epistemologies and speak to participants' experiences.

This research is seen to have been able to bridge the 'void' between the 'two-worlds divide' primarily through using Xhosa as the language of investigation. Perhaps, most importantly, we addressed participants using their own core cultural identifiers, i.e. their clan identities (a marker of traditional respect). Discussions about the research landscape on a personal level meant that this research embraced co-creation of knowledge from the participants and interpreters. The research was thus different to other 'top-down'/etic research initiatives. As the white researcher I was not bringing answers or new information grounded in a saviour mentality of superiority, nor investigating an issue that I had previously identified as a research problem. Rather, in line with Grounded Theory, we were engaging with a problem that the participants had expressed and identified themselves, namely a lack of understanding, representation and epistemic equality surrounding ancestral beliefs and related expressions of traditional identities. The (completely oral) process of ensuring informed consent from the participants involved exploring what 'research' was, i.e. discussing the problem and how information collected by this research might assist with solving that problem. I stressed in these discussions that it might take a long time to see results. Here, unlike the norm surrounding governmental and NGO interventions in South Africa, we offered no unrealistic promises involving quick remedies or economically-based solutions. The strength of our position came from our integrity and authenticity and engaging with complexity rather than the simplistic and unsustainable previously-mentioned approaches. Historically Xhosa people, in interacting with mission societies, willingly agreed with Christian ideologies and avoided pointing out contradictions (while seeing right

through what was being said) in order to keep the milk sack (*imvaba)*[93] flowing to keep harvesting material value.

Our authentic stance affirmed the importance (epistemic validity) of this issue to people themselves and explored the visible consequences that result from a lack of clear academic knowledge of these issues (such as the absence of equal representation compared to Christianity in the media, in government housing policy and the 'unchecked' racist position of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA)[94].

Finally, our discussions explored how dissemination of accurate information regarding these issues might facilitate desirable changes in the long-term future. Through engaging in the importance of what is 'beyond material', we addressed the heart of the issue, its pain and complexity and perhaps symbolically 'righted' so many historical 'Black White' interactions that have needed to remain simplistic to 'get along'. Ways which people often take to be the only way one can interact with Whites. In these ways our sincerity and willingness to engage with complexity made this research different from how historically formal education has engaged with Xhosa identity and ancestral belief (de Kock, 1992; Mda, 2000).

Starting with the processes of informed consent the participants expressed appreciation of our approach of engaging exclusively in Xhosa. This reflected our disagreement with the positivist view that concepts would be directly 'translatable'[95] between a literate English academic context and an oral Xhosa context. This self-critique of my own academic positionality appears to have allowed a moving past the barrier of what, in a development context, Ainslie terms the 'inescapable structural violence' associated with White researchers doing 'research on' semi-literate Xhosa people (Ainslie, 2005).

What Ainsley and myself share is that by being 'White' one is immediately visible as related to the class of people who have exploited black people historically. From this assumption one is stereotypically more well off than black People, one most likely drives a car to the research site,

---

[93] *imvaba* (McLaren, 1936, p. 178) refers to the perception of a mission society as a source of supply.

[94] 'Structural violence' and the SPCA: The position of the SPCA as being against the ritual slaughter of animals can be seen as a continuation of the structural racism imposed by white ideologies of 'civilisation' versus native barbarism and the perceived inherent backwardness of black people (Ballard, 2010). The SPCA's historical ideological and epistemologically-biased alignment with colonial oppression must be recognised as such, in that often discussions on animal rights gives the otherwise inexpressible ideological views reflecting ideologies of a white ontological superiority complex.

[95] Here see Steven Pinker's concept of universal thought and translation (1994).

whether or not one owns one. One is likely to have people employed that assist one and after the research one may be able to find further employment for people (2005, p.19-20). In this regard Ainsley comments on that: “It seemed impossible […] to escape the structural violence that permeates the ethnographic enterprise” (2005, p.18). This is no doubt especially prevalent when all the researcher is interested in is material issues like one’s poverty and ‘lack of development’, which both affirm one’s ‘deficiency’ in comparison to the researcher.

Following the idea of the two worlds divide as separate ‘linguistic landscapes’ as described in Xhosa as *Esilungweni* (the place of English) and *EmaXhoseni* (the place of Xhosa-ness) one understands how conducting interviews in English as Ainsley did (2005, p.19) might exacerbate these previously discussed issues or structural violences. Botha’s work shows that speaking a shallow level of Xhosa and one is ‘authorative’ (as is stereo typically associated with farm owners) one will make these tensions even more pronounced (2012). It would appear thus that there is as Ainsley concluded no way to escape the default this positioning of historically power hierarchies, as both: educated and a white person. Here one sees that in his research Christian participants were very reluctant to admit that they performed ancestral rituals, giving the idea that ancestral belief was limited (2005, p.33).

To me perhaps the only way is to invert these power hierarchies and work entirely in the Xhosa space. What I mean by this is using entirely emic categorisations, for research categories. Developing an interview schedule entirely in Xhosa and most importantly discussing: informed consent, the process of research, research aims and intended outcomes in a culturally applicable way that encourages questions and queries. In these ways I believe one can express authenticity and gain participants trust, and joy in being able to tell you about the things that really matter to them rather than having to hide these. This appears to relate to what Mafeje calls for as the ‘replacement of Marxism with ethnography that is written from an African perspective’ (1996).

4.1.3 Process of developing the research questions

4.1.3.1 Development of the research questions

This thesis says not only what is ‘there’ and what is ‘veiled’ but in line with Mafeje’s (1997) call and perhaps, more importantly, it explains the metaphors behind these ecosystem dynamics. The salient point of the thesis is that urban spirituality and rituals, and ‘Red’ aspects of Xhosa identities, are not acknowledged in related academic literature, and have especially since the 1990s, even been actively dismissed as having disappeared. I posit that, due to the strength of what is termed ‘the two-worlds divide’, these beliefs and identities remained invisible to many researchers in urban areas and were assumed to be non-existent or fading.

The research questions followed a process of four stages (as set out below) to enable the reader to follow the path of enquiry and the slow movement to identifying the core issues. This also hopes to give a clearer picture of the complexity of the field and the anchorage of relevant literature.

First stage: Searching for literature to contextualise findings

When analysing the quantitative findings of my research in early 2020 I realised I would be unable to sufficiently contextualise these results within contemporary anthropological literature. I had to delve deeply into areas such an African-language literature and works of fiction (concerning the histories and ideologies of Christianity mission and Education), and engage with the critiques of the historical hegemony of Western theory and colonialism to explain my findings and my hunches.

In doing so I discovered the answer to the many questions that came to me as I conducted the fieldwork during 2018–2019:

1. Why does it appear that there has been no literature on 'Red' aspects of Xhosa identity and ancestral belief, particularly in urban areas, from the 1970s onwards?
2. Why were Xhosa people seemingly unwilling to speak about ancestral beliefs before 2000?
3. Why does ancestral belief seem to be a 'no-go' area, particularly in anthropological academia?
4. Why was there no literature on Xhosa home-making in general (and urban spaces in particular) using rituals involving ancestors?
5. Why, importantly, was there no apparent academic information about the centrality of ancestral belief and the importance of urban ritual practices in the creation of *ikhaya* (a home)?
6. Why were ancestral belief, clan identity and ritual practices portrayed by scholars as no longer important and non-existent?
7. Why since the 1990s were scholars convinced that Xhosa ancestral belief had died out?

While reading for the literature review in 2018 I investigated urban anthropological literature, stretching as far back as 1905, but without finding satisfactory answers to these questions. This led me to read into other fields and I investigated historical issues that extended back to the early days of Christian missionary activity from 1795 to 1859. I realised that in order to explore the questions above I needed to follow the interwoven threads of history in the South African context, and use them to explain the answers to the above questions.

Second stage: Identifying Xhosa and academic myths leading to understanding the crux of the research enquiry

In 2020 when confronted with the disconcerting discovery that the information, which was readily available, was largely at odds with the research participants' experiences I felt motivated to investigate this issue further and 'side with' the truths of the research participants. I decided not to take the textual ideas as truths, or alternatively take the 'simple route' of just focusing on other safe peripheral issues (on the edge of the wheel) while ignoring the [unspoken] discordance and avoiding addressing the existence of this major discrepancy.

This difficult decision, ironically, meant that I needed to bring together a written background or theoretical foundation with which to challenge these textual assertions, and to explain the contextual histories that had brought about these academic misunderstandings. Without this context, the significance of these issues would remain invisible and they could continue to be regarded as unimportant. This was the context of the 'silence' and invisibility of ancestral spirituality. I saw the need to be able to prove the existence of this, essentially making the 'invisible visible', and 'establishing' the great significance of these issues.

Due to the history of 'denial' just reporting on participants' worldviews and cosmologies as being different would not 'prove' this as an acceptable reality in the textual realm that comfortably discounted this ontological reality. Such research findings would be unlikely to be recognised as valid by proponents with grounding ideas from studies that had strongly discounted the existence of these realities.

Merely presenting the research findings on participants' experiences by using quantitative and qualitative data could possibly result in criticism from some academics whose methodologies might have caused them to become complicit in perpetuating the 'silence'. This could have resulted in critique from such academics having failed either theoretically or methodologically. These were the reasons for, and the method with which, the XITT was largely discredited and its highly valuable message ignored (see the critiques of Magubane, 1973; Bank, 2002a; Bank, 2002c).

In this way this study carries a strong methodological focus which necessarily unpacks my own positionality and also uses discussions of the theoretical history of South African Anthropology to situate the 'positionality' of historical studies.

Now after this very long period of searching for and eventually finding contextual information with which to triangulate the quantitative findings and qualitative insights, this thesis can support the validity of these points and their importance for life experiences of urban Xhosa. These insights are

based on a diverse academic and literary-foundation that constructs the historical context and illuminates this previously 'invisible' reality.

While the following research questions were not evident to me at the start of the research project in 2018, they emerged organically through interactions with informants during fieldwork (2018–2019). They only became ideologically 'acceptable' to write about through an in-depth exploration of literature (involving historical studies in the anthropological field and the theory of decoloniality) during 2020 and 2021). In the light of this, it is telling, that I only became comfortable to address 'Red' identities in 2020, and to use the term ancestral 'spirituality' in 2021.

The development of the final research questions was directly related to my identification (during 2018-2020) of the four common narratives (i.e.: urban/rural; 'Red'/'Schooled'; educated/uneducated and Christian/pagan divides) (and coming to see them as myths (both Xhosa and academic), rather than truths:

1. In Xhosa language spaces urban rituals and ceremonies are [seen to be] imbued with less sincerity and authenticity than those in rural areas;
2. The majority of *amaXhosa* [are deemed to] no longer adhere to these ancestral belief systems and aspects of identity. Where there is still adherence this is purely 'cultural' (does not carry spiritual authenticity) and has changed significantly as a result of Westernisation and modernisation[96];
3. Urbanised and educated *amaXhosa* [are deemed to] have moved away from ancestral belief and traditional aspects of identity and are now Christian [the essence of the 'veil']; and
4. People's ancestors are [deemed] not to be present in urban areas and are confined to rural spaces.

Third stage: Formulating interim research questions

Seeing these as myths led to my formulation of the following research questions which informed the research process.

[96] This myth falls in line with Xhosa literary patterns (as criticised by Zotwana ,1993) of not explicitly recognising the effect of spatial constraints and structural violences of Apartheid (for black people in urban spaces) on their ability to reveal ancestral beliefs and perform ancestral practices, making the people themselves responsible for the 'shortfalls' regarding ritual practices, rather than the system (Zotwana, 1993). I discuss later in the thesis that these are not really 'shortfalls' anyway.

1. What does the idea of [a] 'Heart of Redness' (Mda, 2000) allow in terms of understanding the academic 'blind spot' on Xhosa ancestral spirituality?

2. What is the prevalence of Xhosa ancestral spirituality in contemporary urban spaces in the Eastern Cape?

3. Have (Xhosa) ancestral beliefs and associated ritual practices remained resilient in urban spaces amid seemingly non-ideal structural constraints and historically very difficult conditions of the urban space?

4. How does one understand and explain 'Redness' in modernity?

5. Are Xhosa ancestral ritual practices and clan identities linked to spiritual well-being?

6. What tools, frameworks and skills are necessary to recognise the implicit integration of language, culture and cosmology in terms of 'Redness' as highlighted in sub-questions below?:

    a. How can historical literature, such as XITT and related urban Xhosa research (the 'Xhosa in Town Debate' in East London between 1932 and 2002), assist in understanding a 'silence' on 'Red' dimensions of Xhosa identity and ancestral practices?

    b. What will allow researchers to transcend the 'void of silence' regarding the 'continued' significance of ancestral beliefs for *amaXhosa*, and see the existence of, and develop an understanding for, the significance for the 'Red' dimensions of identity in urban 'modernity'?

Fourth stage: Development of final three research questions

These six questions were both 'asked' and 'answered' through the process of my research journey and are addressed in this thesis. Answering these peripheral/proxy questions was necessary for giving me clarity on the centre of the 'blind spot' on this topic. If one looks closely these questions sit on the periphery of the 'blind spot' (or wagon wheel).

Out of this process the following three final research questions were developed:

1. Is there a difference between urban and rural practices in terms of the sincerity and authenticity of adherence to ancestral ritual among *amaXhosa*?

2. Why has academic literature been largely 'blinkered' to, or unaware of, particularly among urban dwellers, the fundamental importance of ancestral belief systems and clan identities as core aspects of identity for *amaXhosa*?

3. Why have these core aspects of the identities and cosmologies been actively 'veiled' by *amaXhosa* for a period of 160 years (1840–2000)?

I would argue that the understandings which underlie the formulation of the final three research questions remain generally unrecognised in South Africa and that this thesis is the first to bring these perspectives together.

I attempt to explain, by means of two hand drawn diagrams in Figure 3 and 4 below, how these final three research questions sit at the core of the 'blind spot' and are the drivers of the complex system informing the 'taboos' that make up this unseen and unspoken set of issues that inform the answers to the original seven questions.

This complex system is depicted below as being represented by three interlocking concentric circles. The seven questions are located on the outer lines of each circle, with the centre where the circles overlap, being opaque. At a quick glance these seven questions, on the rims of the three circles, appear as a ring surrounding an invisible centre. In investigating these seven questions (that encircle the 'blind spot' from all sides) took me into the space beyond what can be seen in the visual world. Having to 'feel'[97] my way along these interlocking lines of the circles (that when connected the seven questions point to) brought me to the centre, the core of the issues *isiquba sonke* (that which drives everything else).

[97] 'Feel' is used in terms of the need to feel where one cannot see [e.g. that which is a thick mist], but also emphasising the importance of 'feeling' (listening with emotion) without the shield of rationality of linear logic.

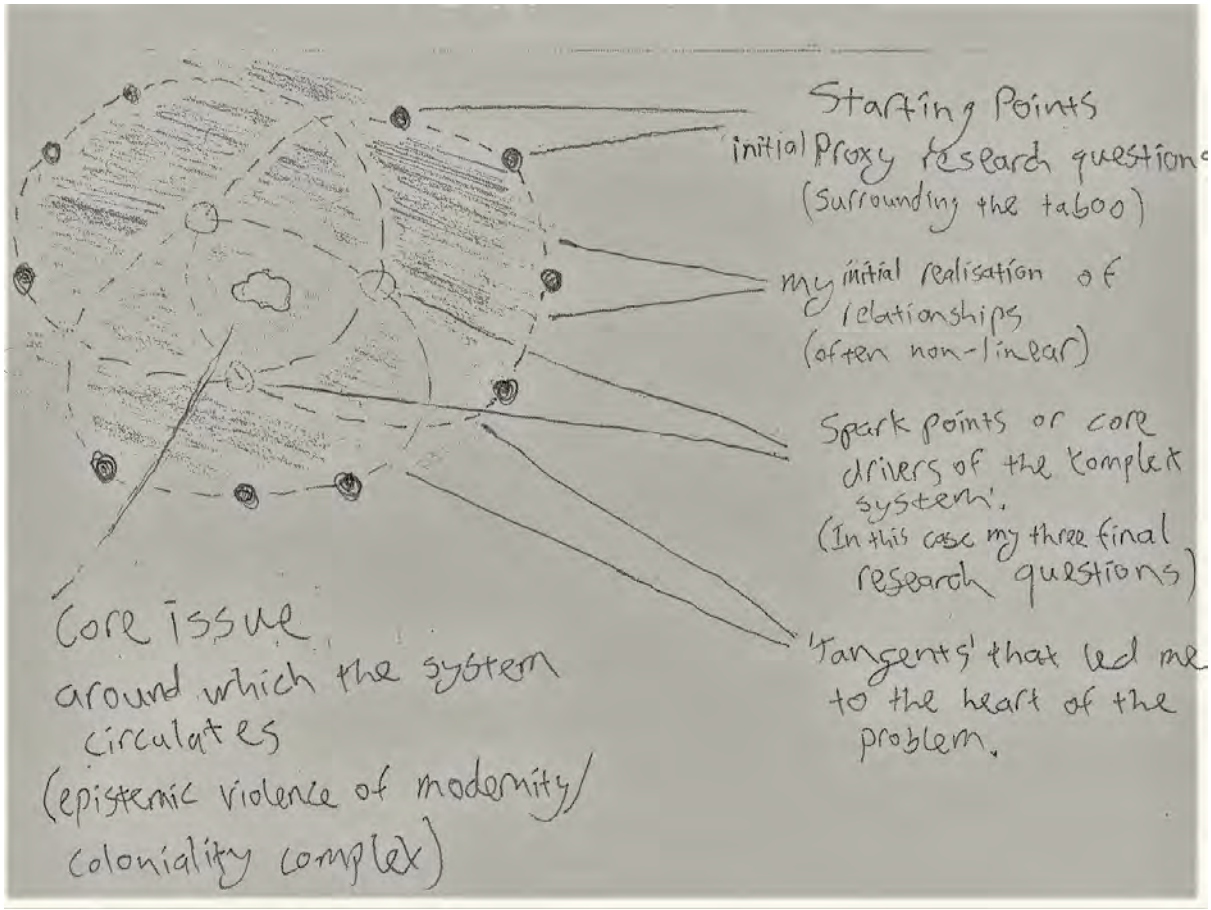

Figure 2: Diagrammatic representation of the relationship between the original seven research questions, using three interlocking concentric circles

Had I not engaged with all seven questions on the outside rim of the circle, surrounding the invisible core (which is covered by a layer of mist that is 'taboo'), i.e. if I had only addressed questions located on one third of the outside rim, I would likely have seen that the direction in which these questions led me to merely be a tangent leading away from these starting questions. However, these three 'tangents' evidently interlocked and showed an interrelatedness which connected to, and explained, the seven questions, clearly showing the core or heart of the issue. This understanding gave me the confidence to try to bring the whole complex to the light and show 'the elephant in the room' by giving an understanding of what drives the whole.

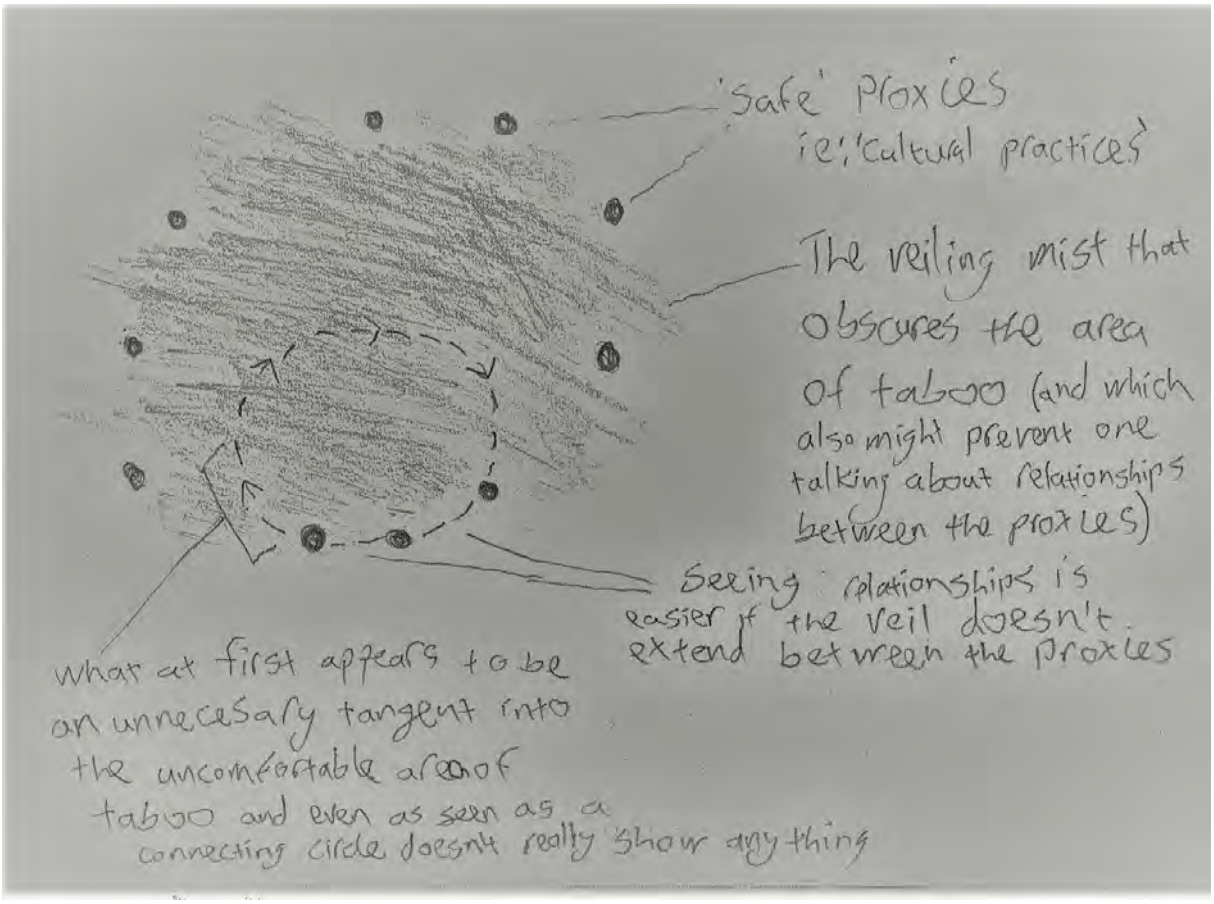

Figure 3: Diagrammatic representation of the 'invisible core', where the three tangents show the heart of the issue, thereby providing an understanding of the whole

4.1.4 Research team and issues of cultural 'translation'

4.1.4.1 Research team

The research team comprised myself, as the researcher, and three employed male interpreters. They were local residents from the research site in order to increase participant comfortability (de Oliverira Freitas, 2014).

- Dabula Maxam (DM): a man in his 60s and resident in Zwelitsha with whom I worked during 2017 (for my Honours fieldwork), 2018 and 2019. He has extensive experience with Anthropology students and research (since the early 2000s) and an uncanny knack for translating "sense for sense that includes unpacking the simultaneous multiple meanings and symbolism of Xhosa words and phrases 'at once' (perhaps like the multiple layers or diversity of voices characteristics of African Jazz [layered musical lines] that he appreciates so much). He has an excellent ability for consecutive interpreting, working with the participant's natural pauses to summarise and also indicating when the participant should take a break so that he can translate a section of speech. At times he even shows an ability

to interpret simultaneously, speaking quietly while the participant is speaking. He clearly indicates to the researcher where there is lack of clarity or where he is not exactly sure what is meant and this enabled me to see what to probe, or see what was possibly 'veiled'. He has a good ability to highlight when participants are using emotive or descriptive language giving a good understanding of *isihlonipho*. He is someone who is very sensitive to the feelings of others and especially the well-being of the elderly. In this regard it was at times difficult conducting long interviews with him interpreting due to his concern that our visit was causing fatigue and the participant was maybe too polite to express it (with the high levels of politeness of our older participants this was an important consideration). In the light of the Xhosa concept of *ukukweka* (avoidance of direct speech in Xhosa) he often appeared uncomfortable with my more direct probing to check up on something unclear or 'something not said'. This sometimes resulted in us finishing the interview prematurely or ceasing to probe a particular but important subject. Notably we often did not check with the participant if these anxieties were their reality.

- Mluleki Nkosi (MN): a man in his 40s and resident of Joza Township in Grahamstown/Rhini (Qalaqoyi) joined the project for 2019. He is a religious and spiritual individual very much involved in the Catholic Church and it was easy to engage with him personally on the spiritual aspects of the research. He participated greatly in a co-productive role in the interview design from a personally reflective space. His easy-going nature with people was very helpful and he had an amazing knack for probing unclear information by directly addressing or sensitively pointing out an apparent contradiction in participants' answers in a very calm, open and affirming way. This allowed for clarity without discomfort or cause for offence. Perhaps as a result of all his pastoral work, he has an incredible ability to put people at ease and be relaxed. Maybe through having less years of experience interpreting than DM or due to their different abilities, his short-term memory for the extended sections and clauses of participants' verbal answers was not as flowing. However, by 2019 my level of understanding of Xhosa had fortunately progressed to a point where I could ask him about words that I had not understood as parts of layer answers and descriptions. The interpretation was thus often a 'team effort' between us, which also helped me in building my Xhosa vocabulary. While not always giving the 'flowery' interpretations of DM, his precision and attention to detail in implementing the quantitative interview schedule was astounding and incredibly helpful. I am so grateful for his great commitment to ensuring we did each interview (even the very long initial pilots) precisely and methodically and completely. He had a great ability and interest in discussing interviews afterwards, always

remembering important aspects of interest to highlight and exploring how the participant seemed to have felt, or perhaps explored something that had 'not been said'. In these spaces of less time pressure his recall of the participants' responses was very good. Traveling with him, to and from the research site for each field trip, in 2019 was highly enjoyable, providing many opportunities for discussion and reflection that gave me an awareness of the emotions and deeper meanings of issues *esiXhoseni* (in the 'isiXhosa' space). Through this I was helped to be able to 'feel' and engage on a deeper level than just through words and English logic, as had previously been the case.

- The third interpreter (who will remain unnamed): a male resident in Zwelitsha was employed temporarily during Stage 1 (October 2018) to work with me for a period totalling three weeks while DM was away. This period helped me see the differences between a highly experienced interpreter and using a contact who is simply available. He, while arguably having the best grammatical command of English of the three interpreters, proved to be the least effective "conduit" of participant's views and experiences during interviews. In an interview he often wanted to give the explanations to my questions himself, or even to 'correct' participants and at times interrupted or contradicted participants resulting in the interview being side-tracked. He being a more flowing orator than even myself, often entered into very long and unsolvable political discussions about Whites. Even in general discussions he was someone who would take the floor and might not cease talking for a good 15 minutes strongly expressing his own ideas and opinions. While a very good and interesting informant in his own right, he was of little use in conducting interviews except for me to gain experience and perspective, together with more humility and a deeper respect for and appreciation of the skills and personal traits required for the job and a gratitude for DM and MN.
- Achieving a successful outcome with him, if at all possible, would have required extensive 'training' to convey my expectations during interviews, along with sharing potential techniques, or norms and standards, of 'interpreting'[98]. Broaching this was very difficult as he became angry, insisting that he was providing a very good service and that my issues stemmed from racism. Such training should not, and arguably cannot, be the role of the novice researcher (i.e. being required to be an interpretation 'expert' and trainer at the

[98] From my learnings on 'translation': goals, strategies and techniques from an Honours in German Studies (2018).

same time as being 100% committed to and using one's energy for collecting data in the field working 12 to 14-hour days).

I note that as a researcher I was fortunate to have had fairly extensive academic training and some professional practice in 'translation' myself, as well as exposure to interpreting theory, techniques, norms and standards of professional language practitioners. I was aware of linguistic issues, danger areas and the need for precision and clarity, having developed tertiary-level proficiency in German (through both four years of academic training and lengthy integrated language and cultural exposure, spanning eight years).

In the case of this temporary 'interpreter' I was fortunate to have already acquired a basic understanding of Xhosa through taking it as a first-year university subject in 2017 during my Honours research, and was a fairly discerning listener. Through this experience I came to see and fully appreciate the other two interpreters marked skill and the contribution of their years of experience acting as conduits of information between university research students and Xhosa participants, often on related topics of investigation.

4.1.4.2 Issues of cultural 'translation'

Through the process of implementing the research I became acutely aware of the importance of actively discussing the research methodologies with the interpreters on the research team in terms of making them co-creators of the process (Bernard, 2006). A result of this, and our commitment to giving situation-applicable explanations of the context and research goals, ensured participants' meaningful informed consent. The interpreters' efforts in this regard facilitated notable positivity and support from the participants. Here I note the importance of having thought through these issues carefully, initially within oneself, to be able to achieve this effectively. Bernard (2006) emphasised the importance of spending time thinking about the goals of the research, and [sufficiently] clarifying them in one's own head as well as with members of the research team (Bernard, 2006, p. 145), rather than rushing out into the field or questionnaire process.

I realised it is important to consider and identify any issues causing stress and tension [even within oneself] that could affect productivity. One example is the tension around people's vulnerability with regard to an ability to read and the ability to speak English. It is then important to create strategies to work around these issues, such as in designing the interview schedule to actively circumvent these troubles.

It was important in this respect to have the interpreter read the whole text of the research goals and not just summarise them or let the participant half-read the document themselves. During the early

stages of the research, we initially felt a need to hurry as they were anxious about using people's time and of tiring them. To mitigate this, I note the vital importance of 'embodying' traditional ways of being: sitting and discussing topics without appearing hurried or tense. Showing cultural knowledge and understanding, and acting in culturally appropriate ways helped to decrease such stresses and made the interviews relaxed and mutually constructive experiences where being 'lengthy' became polite. The design of the quantitative interview schedule was important, involving a variety of questions and including opportunities for pausing, and time for the participants to dream and imagine their ideal homes. Additionally, the interview process was appreciated by participants for its 'recognition' that these are issues that are usually talked about in an unhurried way and where justice cannot be done in a hurried conversation without sufficient time or context. The translated quotes below were fairly common closing comments from participants during the final unstructured discussion, or when discussing the length of the interview:

> "Yoh! As you can see, I can talk about these things all day, I enjoy these topics of conversation very much, and it reminds me of *ubomi bam, nobuntu bam* (my life-force and my humanity). Talking about these things makes me happy and proud as *umXhosa* (Xhosa person)" (Participant, November 2019).

> "It [the interview] clears the mind and makes one feel free, relaxed, yoh! They are nice things to talk about. I have enjoyed this interview, I feel free" (Participant, November 2019).

4.1.5 Field methods

4.1.5.1 Development of the research instrument

Development of the research instrument started with designing an in-depth semi-structured interview schedule (during the early stages of the research), followed by a final structured quantitative interview schedule to ensure absolute clarity around the main issues and themes. This enabled integration of the quantitative and qualitative approaches and then combining the results to facilitate a contextually rich understanding of the study site and a range of related issues.

The preliminary design was informed in part by discussions with my supervisors and I also used ideas for layout and structural design from a similar 'questionnaire' administered in Joza Township, Grahamstown/ Rhini (*Qalaqoyi*) and used in Cocks, et al., (2016).

Further input and suggestions arose from personal communication in 2019 with Jamie Alexander, who had had hands-on experience of administering this previously mentioned 'questionnaire', as well as extensive experience in researching Xhosa ancestral beliefs. From her suggestions, quantitative information was categorised wherever possible into set choices of categorical answers that could be circled by the 'questionnaire' administrator, increasing uniformity, accuracy and speed. The

'questionnaire' included both categorical and Likert-scale questions, with all questions having additional space for open-ended answers and additional information. Category choices were developed out of responses from the piloted versions of the 'questionnaire' and were adapted and edited until they captured all the necessary options and relevant (emic) categories (Bernard, 2006).

The interview schedule was initially designed in English. This English version was then piloted with one interpreter (DM), subsequently translated into Xhosa between myself and the second interpreter (MN) (through in-depth discussions), and finally typed out by myself. Grammar and spelling were checked multiple times (and continuously improved) by the initial interpreter (DM) as well as by a second experienced interpreter (MN) both in the written form and orally during further piloting. This involved a process of constant discussion among the research team about word meanings, resulting in improved precision and accuracy in terms of the order of the questions, choices of words and categorical answers (Bernard, 2006). We developed an oral explanatory information sheet in Xhosa, to facilitate informed consent, drafts of which were piloted and continuously improved and adapted[99].

The final 2019 research instrument in the form of an interview schedule[100] was created over a year and a half by the researcher and the interpreters, and further informed by interactions with key informants.

The process is summarised as follows:

- 2018: a preliminary interview schedule was developed for the semi-structured interviews (written in English and interpreted 'orally' into Xhosa during the interviews);
- 2018: the initial version of the structured quantitative interview schedule was piloted with 25 participants in two phases;
- Data from the 2018 semi-structured interviews and discussions were initially analysed thematically from March to May 2019 (Bernard, 2006). Results of these interviews were triangulated with the interview schedule to give greater depth and understanding to the significance of the quantitative results and prominent themes (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Tridade Medeiros, et al., 2014); and
- 2019: the final version of the quantitative interview schedule was developed and conducted with participants as an in-depth interview.

[99] (Refer to footnote 227 in Section 4.3.2).

[100] Also referred to as a 'questionnaire'.

4.1.5.2 Description of fieldwork (2018–2019): stages, dates and description

The fieldwork was conducted over a two-year period (2018 and 2019) between September and December each year, amounting to a total of 99 days in the field.

The time frame of the stages of research activity over the period 2018 to 2021 is summarised in Table 4 below. (See details of the eight stages of the research activity in Appendix C.)

Table 4: Time frame of stages of research activity (2018–2021)

Stage	Date	Description of research activity
1	Sept-Oct 2018	Gathering understandings of the lived experience of urban and rural residents, informing the qualitative stages of the research.
2a 2b	Nov-Dec 2018 Jan–May 2019	Reviewing fieldwork notes and identifying and choosing themes to focus on in the interview schedule.
3	June–Sept 2019	Development of the interview schedule on these themes, translation into Xhosa and initial piloting that acted as further investigation of the themes, editing and shortening.
4	Sept-Oct 2019	Final pilot in the research site and preparations and practice for enumerators to conduct the interview schedules and record participant responses alone.
5	Oct-Nov 2019	Process of conducting the final version of the interview schedule.
6	Jan–June 2020	Entering the data into a spreadsheet followed by quantitative analysis of themes and issues identified.
7	May–Sept 2020	Further literary investigation deemed necessary to situate the findings of the thesis and with which to create a concrete 'foundation' in order to ground and structure the study.
8	Sept 2020–Dec 2021	Writing up the thesis.

First year 2018: Stage 1 (Sept-Oct) and Stage 2 (Nov-Dec)

I spent 53 full days in the field (living in a rented room in Zwelitsha, Zone 7 for 43 days), with a median of 6-7 days per trip and a maximum of 10 days at a time. This time mainly involved semi- or unstructured visits to residents' houses to 'speak the landscape' and engage in anthropological processes of 'hanging out' and mentally mapping topics and the cultural and social landscape through conversation (Bernard, 2006, p. 139). Here I was mainly accompanied by an interpreter, except for a few days when I worked alone.

In summary during 2018 we visited 108 households (approximately 30–40 minutes duration). We visited 29% (31/108) of the households more than once. Sixteen of these were informants with whom we conducted multiple visits (i.e. between three to eight times). It is noteworthy that 13 of these developed into relationships of great meaning for me, with the fairly frequent visits leading to strong

friendships over the two years in the field becoming a bit like an *inqongu* (an intimate acquaintance or frequent visitor) (Mclaren, 1936. P.109).

Visits were made to four nearby rural villages where five unstructured village interviews (ranging from 20 minutes to 3 hours) were conducted.

During 2018 and 2019 I attended three rural and five urban 'cultural' ceremonies. I also gained insights on particular aspects of these topics during in-depth discussions with 13 notable hitchhikers to whom I gave lifts, and from two particularly important home visits in Joza Township, Grahamstown (*Qalaqoyi*) in 2019.

Second year 2019: Stage 2 (Jan–May); Stage 3 (June–Sept); Stage 4 (Sept-Oct); Stage 5 (Oct–Nov)

Of the 46 total fieldwork days in 2019, nine were spent piloting the interview schedule and 37 conducting the final interview schedule. These interviews typically took between 1.5 to 2 hours to complete. In order to enhance productivity and effectiveness during this time, one of the interpreters and I stayed in rented accommodation in town, rather than in the research site where constant electricity cuts and not having access to a fridge had proved difficult in 2018.

4.1.5.3 Sampling

The sampling unit was the participant household, defined as being that contained in the demarcated urban plot, where the formal interview took place. The rationale around sampling strategies used in the different stages of the fieldwork, i.e. stage 1 (explorative), stages 2, 3 and 4 (piloting of the interview schedule) and stage 5 (administering the interviews) are described below.

Where cluster sampling was used the target population was first divided into categories of clusters then the unit for study was selected from each cluster by random sampling.

In choosing between probability[101] and nonprobability[102] sampling I initially (during Stages 1,2,3,4) chose the latter for reasons of convenience, economy and time, understanding that this may result in

[101] "Probability sampling includes the following four methods of data collection: simple random sampling, systematic sampling, stratified sampling, cluster sampling" (Seaman, 1987, p.238).

[102] "Nonprobability sampling – major advantages are convenience, economy, and time, although these must be balanced against the risks [concerning reliability of results and bias] involved in not using probability sampling" (Seaman, 1987, p. 241).

sample bias[103]. During Stage 5 when administering the final quantitative interview schedule, I used a random probability sample of households.

Stage 1: Explorative: purposive nonprobability 'opportunistic' sampling

During the explorative stage of the fieldwork (Sept-Oct 2018), with informants 'speaking the landscape', purposive nonprobability sampling was used. A total of 87 households were visited during this explorative stage. This involved either going into houses on an ad hoc basis during transect walks of chosen streets or, while driving, stopping at households that possessed particular, very important, biocultural features related to the focus of the research (i.e. kraals, rondavels, wild olive trees and even vegetable gardens or plants for decoration). Such households were sought in order to unpack dynamics of place-making and the significance of these features amongst a diversity of participants (including practitioners engaged with ancestral beliefs, and those who were not). In this way we engaged with both permanent and temporary residents of these urban spaces. We also made a point of interviewing residents from households without any visual aspects of place-making in the yard such as fencing, i.e. 25% proportion of sample (n=61).

In addition to the 87 households, regular visits were made to the households of 12 key informants who had been particularly informative during the 20 days of fieldwork for my Honours (2017). They proved to be highly useful methodologically as they developed into a core group of informants from whom the research could, fairly early on, gain in-depth perspectives that required trust and longer-term relationships needed to gain access to sensitive and otherwise often 'veiled' information. Four others, recognised as 'experts' or interesting people (suggested through chain-referral by the interpreters or participants) were included to this group of key informants. The interactions with these 16 key informants (over the two years) included processes of discovering, or being shown (once I possessed sufficient knowledge to understand), the significance of ancestral belief and/or the importance of clans and traditional dimensions of people's identities. In particular, the key informants helped me to understand the complexities around having a strong traditional clan identity while at the same time being a 'saved' Christian, and how issues of differences in ancestral, and charismatic Christian belief between spouses or direct family members played itself out and was managed within households. These interactions provided the background for understanding categories of people,

[103] "Sampling bias may be reduced by: carefully identifying the target population, using valid and reliable measures, including scales, questionnaires, interview schedules, and trained interviewers applying meticulous care in tabulating and analysing data" (Seaman, 1987, p. 245).

nuance and complexities, and for knowing how to approach these sensitivities in a way that would make new participants feel heard, and be trusting and open regarding what was important to them.

Overall, I had significant lengthy personal research interactions with approximately 400 people[104] (272 formal and at least 130 informal[105]) on the topics of ancestral beliefs, related ritual practices and traditional aspects of identity. These interactions lasted for a minimum of half an hour and each deepened my arguably already extensive understanding of the research in terms of the high prevalence of ancestral belief and urban ritual practices connected with place-making and related traditional dimensions of identity. Through these interactions I was able to experience a diversity of perspectives, from a range of people with vastly different educational and socio-economic backgrounds, and gain an embodied understanding of the wide spectrum surrounding these issues. This assisted in later stages of the research as I was able to engage respectfully with people's points of view from different positions on this spectrum and drove my 'hunches' (see Section 3.3 Sizwe Banzi is Dead) and non-linear research directions.

A summary of formal discussions with 272 informants included:

- Preliminary discussions in 87 urban households during Stages 1 and 2: 2018 (31 people visited more than once and 16 became key informants);
- Discussions on place-making rituals with three residents of Joza Township Stage 2: 2018 – 2019 before piloting (two of these home visits were particularly useful);
- Semi-structured quantitative interviews with 145 informants during Stages 1 (2018) and 2: (2018–2019); and
- Interactions with 24 participants during pilot interviews and with 103 semi-structured quantitative interview participants during Stages 3 and 4 (2019).

Stages 2, 3 and 4: Pilot study: snowball and convenience sampling

Stage 2 entailed reviewing fieldwork notes and identifying and choosing themes to focus on in the quantitative interview schedule.

[104] Gender breakdown: 40% female and 60% male.

[105] Informal interactions consisted of: notable discussions away from the fieldwork site with 13 hitch hikers when travelling the one-and- a-half hour journey to and from the research site (who ranged from university graduates, students, and civil servants to less literate elderly people from rural and urban contexts) as well as people I engaged with on Rhodes campus during my everyday life in shops, in queues, on buses and planes (2018–2021).

4.1.5.4 Pilot study

The interview schedule was piloted in two phases:

- 1st Phase[106]: Snowball sampling to target specific categories of participants for 11 pilot interviews in Joza Township, Rhini and in Sweetwaters Township, Qonce (Stage 3: June to September 2019); and
- 2nd Phase[107]: Convenience sampling for a further 14 pilot interviews in Ginsberg Township, Qonce (Stage 4: Sept-Oct 2019).

The researcher was present at 96% (24/25) of pilot interviews.

4.1.5.5 Conducting structured interviews

Stage 5: Final quantitative interview schedule: random cluster probability sample

Structured interviews, using the final quantitative interview schedule (See Appendix D), were conducted on a random cluster probability sample of households (October and November 2019). The two township focus areas were divided into quadrants on Google maps and numbers were allocated for randomised selection. The random numbers were generated using a random number sheet. By starting from a randomly selected point on a street of the research site we aimed to obtain roughly 70% representation of households in the selected clusters/blocks of housing along a particular street.

Our strategy of working in housing clusters along streets and side streets that radiated out from single randomly-identified points on the map ensured that community members got to know who we were and what we were doing, ensuring their ease with our presence for interviews. This also served to increase our personal safety and that of the hired vehicle and our belongings (by having people who knew who we were, looking out for us in terms of the danger of being mugged). I note with current crime statistics in South Africa this is an important consideration.

We worked in two to three random-point clusters per housing-type (one in Zwelitsha and two in Sweetwaters), moving to a new cluster once we had reached a 'level of saturation'. Interviewing days

---

[106] Phase 1 aimed to ensure consistent coverage of households where ancestral rituals were practiced or not, as well as of residents of permanent and temporary households. This was important to cover the nature of the 'home' according to the emic definitions of the categories of *ikhaya* (home) and *indlu* (house). It is important to note that for a house to qualify as a permanent home it must be introduced to the family's ancestral lineages. (Temporary or rented houses are never called *ikhaya.*)

[107] Phase 2 aimed to test whether the interview design had missed certain categories of people and assisted in judging the saturation level of responses from these different categories. This helped to analyse the success of the interview design, as well as identifying areas of ambiguity and non-applicability of categorical answer options that might later create confusion in analysis, i.e. statements that were half true or not fully applicable.

ran from Tuesday until Saturday midday in order to, where possible, reduce a sampling bias against working people. In order to engage with participants while they were sober we did not schedule interviews on Mondays.

Structured interviews were held with 176 participants during Stage 5 (October and November 2019). Three to four interviews were conducted daily by the three members of the research team. After 'training' by the researcher, the enumerators administered some interviews alone, otherwise every second or third were accompanied. The researcher was present at 59% interviews (103/176), the remaining 73 interviews were conducted by Dabula Maxam (31) and Mluleki Nkosi (42) on their own.

Each interview schedule was checked by myself each evening, ensuring that I was familiar with the interviews done without me. I checked the answers, looking for missing information and for contradictions that did not match the 'normal' patterns. I checked if the enumerator had omitted questions and looked for errors in recording the answers. During the lunch break next day the research team discussed the previous day's interviews, correcting possible errors and adding additional contextual information to explain contradictions. This allowed for good record keeping and standardisation due to constant dialogue within the team. Care was taken to document as much extra qualitative information as possible in order to verify and situate the quantitative information. Where possible, extra information was written down in Xhosa using the participant's own words next to the specific answer. This also speeded up and increased the ease of capturing extra information during the interview, as well as preserving the 'depth' and symbolism of what was said during the interview.

At the end of the interview a token gift comprising tea, sugar and juice concentrate costing approximately R35-R40 was given to each participant.

4.1.6 Analytical methods

4.1.6.1 Data collection and recording interviews

Due to the large number of formal interviews (2018-2019), of approximately two-hour duration (n=305), I made the decision that audio or tape recording the interview and thereafter transcribing the recordings would prove ineffective. My good oral memory also meant that, given the circumstances, such an outlay of time on transcriptions would likely have little efficacy. This decision allowed for more time spent 'hanging out' with informants engaging in discussions and explorations of topics rather than in an office transcribing and translating.

As the researcher I was also uncomfortable with the potential negative impact of using a voice recorder, feeling that it might change the informal and relaxed nature of the interviews. This could

cause the participants to be concerned about formal processes (such as very real historical experiences of police interrogations during Apartheid) and worry about potential official covert investigations on issues of RDP housing allocation. Indeed, while conducting interviews, some participants expressed strong discomfort with questions relating to their permanence in the house. In all but one case this suspicion was alleviated by discussions putting participants at ease. The one participant elected to cease the interview at this point and we left. I use this background as an illustration of the additional potential difficulty of recording discussions (in terms of creating an atmosphere of trust).

I highlight the problem of effectively using audio recordings in a large study where the research student is not a 'deep' speaker of Xhosa and the transcriptions have to be outsourced to a 'translator' (especially in the context of the common presence of the 'veil' and normalised 'veiling' or symbolism within university spaces). De Kock (1992) has pointed out that because written Xhosa is a 'reduction' of the spoken form that loses much of the meaning, transcriptions can be flat and miss depth and symbolism contained in gesture, tone and emotion if not done with care (especially if the 'translator' was not present at the interview).

4.1.6.2 Data capture and organisation of data

The interviews were first filed in order of completion in chronological order. After choosing a segment of these for analysis they were entered into a single pre-designed Excel spreadsheet to hold all the available information collected (quantitative and qualitative).

All the data captured (i.e. everything recorded during the interview) were entered into one spreadsheet so that participants' answers were linked to other answers and could be compared with their other responses in cross checking. I began coding the interview schedules from last to first[108] until reaching thematic saturation on the delineated thematic focus points of the research.

The processes of electronic data entry were very thorough, with entry of each interview taking an average of two hours. Once entered each interview was cross-referenced with the interview number, including the participant's age, gender and relevant details. Each interview was checked twice to identify mistakes individually and then as a pair with the next interview (a total of three checks per interview). All activities and processes relating to data capture and entry were documented in an accompanying spreadsheet to ensure immediate clarity for checking the understanding of specific

[108] This followed the research team's ever improving set of skills and understanding of nuance.

information. Prominent themes and quotes were copied from their entered locations on the sheet and put into a second spreadsheet for quick referral and to assist with analysis.

4.1.6.3 Data coding

Initial advice on data coding for precision was obtained in September 2019 from a training session presented by Jeremy Baxter, Rhodes Statistics Department. The process of designing and laying out the data spreadsheet to facilitate data coding was informed by a discussion with Professor Suzanne Vetter (January 2020).

The five themes identified (from an analysis of 2018 data) and used in creating the 2019 interview schedule, were explored in depth both quantitatively and qualitatively to ensure the highest possible nuance, clarity and holistic understanding. The design of the coding/data sheet ensured that it could hold and cross reference all the data collected as well as additional points of understanding and interest.

4.1.6.4 Data analysis

In the interests of precision, I decided to start coding the last interview and work backwards. I chose to cease analysis of the 176 interviews[109] after coding the final third i.e. numbers 176 to 115 (n=61). This was due to time limitations[110] for data coding and analysis in early 2020. The 61 participant interviews analysed represent households from two randomly selected streets. The distribution of the interviews was slightly higher (54%) in Sweetwaters (33/61) than (46%) in Zwelitsha (28/61).

In terms of interviewer variability, I was present (with one of the two interpreters) for 43/61 (70%) of the interviews: 33 (54%) with Mluleki Nkosi and 10 (16%) with Dabula Maxam[111].

Quantitative data were analysed using descriptive statistics looking at percentages to understand prevalence of trends (Bernard, 2006). This entailed analysing the data fields from the interview schedule using descriptive statistics and looking at percentages to further unpack the prevalence of themes without, in following Professor Vetter's suggestion, getting overwhelmed and lost in issues of statistical significance. These trends were combined with quotes to illustrate participants' ideas and

[109] The amount of data collected exceeded what was required for the adapted focus of this thesis after the perspectives and analytical power added by the investigation of the literature. The remaining 115 interviews are being held for analysis in future research.

[110] Exacerbated by the disruption experienced during the strict five-week Covid-19 lockdown (Level 5: March - May).

[111] The interpreters conducted 30% (18/61) of the interviews alone: Mluleki Nkosi (10) and Dabula Maxam (8). The researcher was with one interpreter while the other worked alone, and then changed over.

realities and to help 'locate' the data, preventing what Magubane (1973, p.1706) refers to as disjointed conclusions that ignore contextual factors and important background information. Relevant qualitative information was used to add depth to understandings of the quantitative results by documenting quotes and perspectives of participants.

I suggest that the 61 participant interviews analysed served as a segment that reflects the significance of these issues to the total number of people with whom I interacted in-depth over the four years. Through my embodied experiences during the formal and informal interactions with these 400 individuals I 'felt/sensed' that these results proportionally match the views of this wider group, both thematically and 'numerically'.

4.2 Exploring researcher's positionality

4.2.1 Personal reflexivity: background[112]

This thesis follows the personal story of my journey as a young white South African male who ventured into the process of beginning learning Xhosa during 2017. It documents the process of discovering my 'voice' in the academic space and, as a person with dyslexia, that my ways of being were more naturally aligned with Xhosa styles of communication, as a culture of orality, than writing. It has only been through personal processes of developing epistemic trust in my own ways of being that I have been able to unpack and explain the complex set of factors addressed in this thesis.

I note that I identify significantly (in terms of my natural ways of thinking and speaking) with oral cultures and largely feel 'at home' in oral means of expression, sense making and sharing. Also, as I have dyslexia and might be termed a 'survivor' of the 'tyranny of literacy' (Ong, 2002). I arguably may have an embodied understanding of some of the epistemological violence and trauma that oral cultures have suffered under the notion of them being inferior to written means of expression (Foley, 1999). Here I feel I can perhaps understand the pain (experienced by many *amaXhosa*) of one's epistemological reality being defined as 'invalid' by people who cannot grasp the integrated-complexity of your understanding of the world and thus label you as mentally lacking (Zotwana, 1993), chaotic or disorganised (Frescura, 2015), justifying their denial of the validity of your epistemological difference and do not feel they 'have to listen' (Lipari, 2010).

[112] See Appendix A Clarification of terms used for explanation of terms Black and White in the South African context.

Having learning 'problems' (growing up as a primarily oral person in a 'written' education system) has arguably better equipped me with skills more commonly found in oral cultures such as auditory memory. However, the fallout has been that until understanding about cultures of orality[113] in 2021 I thought my primary way of being and explaining to be deviant, not direct or 'straight enough' and shameful[114]. Now, I propose that these oral skills and my disability were fundamental in helping me achieve an intermediate level of understanding and speaking Xhosa (between 2017 and 2021) and engage with Xhosa oral traditions and styles of communication that affirmed the research participants and removed the stresses and traumas around the epistemological violence of written texts visited historically on *amaXhosa* and Xhosa 'culture'. I posit that this unique skill set, otherwise termed a disability, is likely to have been the main factor that helped me to conduct this complex research, in a history of 90 years (1932–2022) of unclear and incomplete explanations on the same topic and in the same research area. (I note my oral memory for clan names and praises was important in this.)

I am not comfortably a visual person and I merely use the written medium to transfer meaning where it is absolutely necessary. I am generally not able to orientate myself on a page, or follow text in a linear way. (Visual people are generally able, in the 'two-dimensional space', to see where the information is located on a page in order to 'back loop' where necessary in the written text and avoid the need for oral cycles of repetition that are present in oral cultures when giving additional or new information (Ong, 2002)). Oral societies store information mentally rather than in texts. (The advantage is that oral people always have ready access to this knowledge[115], not having to look it up and thereby being able to readily combine this knowledge into complex systems in novel, non-linear ways, as considered an art form in Xhosa humour (combining lateral thoughts and perspectives into an idea (Dowling, 1996)). During 2018, while conducting the semi-structured interviews, this ability enabled me to access questions from memory without referring to written information[116].

[113] See: Ong (2002),

[114] Here I highlight the similarities of this experience with historical experiences of Xhosa-speaking children in Eurocentric education spaces that enforced notions of the epistemological inferiority of their own ways of being ultimately causing one to 'despise' that part of oneself (Zotwana, 1993; Opland, 2005; Botha, 2012; Poland, 2019).

[115] Here there is not the same danger of libraries burning down and textual knowledge being lost.

[116] This style affirmed, embodied and respected the Xhosa concept of *'ingqondo yemveli'* ("native/indigenous intelligence") where histories and knowledge are located in orality, which is often contrasted to book learning. In this way the research acknowledged the importance of traditional knowledge and traditional processes of teaching and learning.

I now recognise that while navigating a written education system I have experienced some fairly serious trauma to the extent that until recently, in 2021, I was not able to recognise and acknowledge my own epistemic validity of sense-sharing[117]. In the process of writing up this thesis I have been able to process deeply buried feelings of anger and frustration (around my ways of talking, explaining and understanding being discounted).

Arguably, I needed to go through this difficult personal and research process to be able to trust my own deeply embodied perspective before having the conviction to follow the strands (of my gut feelings and hunches) deep into the fading 'whispers' of literature, deep into the thorny and uncomfortable places where, being located in taboo, it is generally thought you should not go. What many others, perhaps uncomfortable with the non-linear movement away from what is within the 'silos', said was tangential and irrelevant. I needed the proof to trust my own gut feelings and embodied knowledge and to see epistemological validity in myself, in order to trust the process of venturing out to bring together the separate strands of the basket core so that they could become neatly wrapped together.

> How does one come to see the invisible? And then when one has seen it, how does one convince others that it is there and that what one is saying is true? Something the importance of which has been both 'veiled' and denied for so very long. The convincing might also take a long time (DH, personal thoughts, 2020).

This journey began in my Honours fieldwork with the discovery of the high prevalence of wild olive trees used culturally but growing wild and urban kraals in people's yards in the research site and realising the related importance of traditional aspects of identity for the urban dwellers[118]. I came to see what was invisible, and even discounted in relevant literature, but what I had felt to be an unspoken truth (i.e. the 'continued' importance of clan identities and ancestral beliefs as fundamental to who people conceive themselves to be). The three difficulties are as follows:

This reflexive section forms what might be called the heart of this thesis (the core that contains the emotive aspects for integrating understanding) and tells a story of my journey as a young white male, fifth generation English settler descendent and aspiring anthropologist. It contextualises my journey

[117] Being perceived as lacking against the norm has been traumatic, although in the context of this thesis I note the judgement of being labelled as 'backward' is only a problem if it is being measured against an entity which is considered developmentally 'superior'. Through processes of inverting one's perspective, if one can challenge the superiority of that entity, then you are no longer positioned as inferior. I note, with a humorous inversion, that Western cultures have judged other ways of being and knowing as inferior, because they cannot understand them and feel confused and overwhelmed by them. See Frescura (2015).

[118] Echoing Cocks' ground-breaking findings of the spiritual importance of kraals in rural areas (Cocks & Wiesum, 2003; Cocks & Bangay, 2006; Cocks, et al., 2006).

with prominent memories from my childhood and brings in important subsequent experiences that are connected with the process of discovering my place and my identity through beginning to accept as a reality my underlying embodied awareness of the 'two-worlds of being' in South Africa. This chapter attempts to get to the heart of things and the core issues at play surrounding inter-racial communication. It unpacks the journey of becoming able to accept these issues and listen deeply, acknowledging their complexity and being able to address much of what is otherwise considered too uncomfortable, or politically sensitive, to acknowledge as reality. This thesis has allowed me the opportunity to explore my own questions of identity, allowing me to build a sense of who I am and how I fit into this very complex country. I explore how my particular insights and set of skills have enabled this research journey and allowed me to find and bring together new perspectives and insights.

4.2.2 An introduction to the historical existence of the 'two-worlds of being'

While growing up, I experienced a sense, a lived reality, of there being "two-worlds" of meaning - an exclusively black one, comprising traditional belief systems, and an ideologically white one (and an academic one) that based its meaning on Western science, rationality and logic[119] which, focused more on material aspects of reality and was somewhat wary of the perceived 'chaos' (Opland, 2005) of the 'black world' of meaning. While recognising the existence of this I remained largely unaware of the extent to which the 'one world' held a grounding importance for many of my black peers and black people whom my family knew, and with whom my parents interacted, also referencing its existence as a 'tricky area'. As I grew up I became increasingly more aware of the difficulties of accessing that other world as a white person (especially noticing how black people would tense up around the topic) and a feeling that it was not really a realm where white people would be welcomed. I realised that it was a reality that one should not enquire about that would be intrusive to people's space and sanctity. I think that while black peers were initially more open regarding the existence of this other spiritual world, they began to 'veil' that part of their identity from Whites as they became older and more socialised into these 'two-worlds of being'[120].

[119] This is discussed in the literature review (see Section 4.1.1) regarding the historical materialist (Marxist) ignoring and active dismissing of issues of spiritual belief and the beyond-material importance of issues like identity. This is explored in relation to historical studies of Anthropology (1970s -1990s) that were enmeshed in the ideology of the definitive truth of a Western, purely material, frame of assessment, renegading spirituality as non-truth.

[120] "I mean, I'm 54 years old, [I see] the problems of South Africa [now] is not race, it's everything but race (emphasis), and it's purely misunderstandings and unintentional ignorance, especially from white people. But, (pause of emphasis) I understand the restrictions that white people have in terms of ignorance towards things

4.2.3 Adults socialised into remaining silent about black spirituality and its importance for identity

During my Honours graduation ceremony (2018) Dr Sizwe Mabizela, Vice-chancellor of Rhodes University, addresses the audience in the auditorium for the Thursday evening graduation. He starts his speech to open the event by saying "*Camagu*"[121]. Black members of the audience respond and repeat the greeting with deeply reverent enthusiasm, the Whites seem 'as ever' oblivious to what is happening. I turn to my Xhosa language tutor sitting in the row in front of me (who was graduating with Honours in Xhosa Language Studies). The previous year she had begun the process of initiation to become *igqirha* (an ancestral diviner) otherwise unmentioned in class but signified by her daily wearing of a white head towel. I ask her:

> "Does he mean that the ancestors are present here?" She looks fairly uncomfortable with my question and responds quickly, "He is just meaning celebrations…"

"Ohh, OK!" I say with that heightened-smile and pleasantly-surprised animation so characteristic of white people trying to show agreement in a 'racially' tense situation of confusion (Kaschula, 1995) (signalling potential judgement). This is particularly around the subject of "African 'culture' [or more appropriately spirituality] as being ontologically inferior. Here one worries that your query might be misinterpreted as implying that black people are less-than, primitive, superstitious, irrational and unintelligent.

The conversation ends abruptly and rather awkwardly with a lot 'unsaid' (see this in regard to anxiety and dangers of not checking in). She has not asked exactly what I mean nor responded with an explanation that indicates that a great many *amaXhosa,* as this thesis reveals (perhaps 83%), believe that their ancestors constantly accompany them in spirit and are always present in their lives[122], or that successes in black people's lives in South Africa are often understood to be aided by ancestral presence, guidance and benevolence.

---

so deep and so complex that we rather say: "no, it's inferior and it's backward and undeveloped". That's the defence of somebody who doesn't understand these things. […] and some cultures are so highly developed, for example the Eastern Cape Xhosa culture, it's actually a sin that it is not studied and exposed for the right reasons." (white male raised on a farm in the Free State, Afrikaans first-language speaker, February 2021)

[121] This is normally a request for ancestral appeasement and blessings, also a characteristic greeting used by *amagqirha* (*sangomas)* (traditional healers who work with ancestral divination). It is a phrase primarily associated with ancestral reverence. Its use also encodes a belief on the part of the speaker in the existence and importance of ancestors and the relevance of this for their identities. I had first come across the word during my 2017 fieldwork and was aware of its great significance.

[122] This is emphasised regarding black South Africans generally by Nyaundi (2011).

My question was complicated by our strongly socialised roles in the ever-present historical reality of the 'two-worlds divide', with patterns of communication arising out of firm historically-delineated boundaries of where one can go[123], and strong stereotyped white views of such beliefs as being 'things of the past' (Botha, 2012). Furthermore, this question was further complicated by a pervasively strong idea of the existence of an 'urban/rural divide', even in the Xhosa space of traditional 'authenticity'. This is taken as holding salience in the majority of academic literature, in Xhosa language historical literature and as a truth by many *amaXhosa*. This narrative largely confines 'authentic' ancestral practices to rural spaces, leaving one with the false idea that ancestors do not follow one to town, and rituals do not happen in town (Njwambe, et al., 2019), or that urban rituals are not authentic and urban practitioners are less sincere in their beliefs (Mongo-Mboussa, 1999). Indeed, many rural Xhosas whom I have spoken to, express this as true.

At this early stage of the research, I still largely accept this narrative as being true as a result of the literature that I have read to situate my Master's study[124].

What results from this interaction with my tutor feels like just more of the same, a "re-veiling of the curtain" and re-laying of the boundaries that prevent white people from really being exposed to and understanding that aspect of black peoples' lives[125]. Potentially interested and open-minded Whites who cannot 'hear' the existence of this world, remain oblivious and 'ignorant' of the current importance of ancestral beliefs for peoples' identities, which are continuously expressed all around them[126]. Just as has happened this evening with the Vice-chancellor's use of *Camagu.*

I had a strong feeling that Dr Mabizela (as the head of a previously white institution), by using the greeting "C*amagu*", was publicly signifying and emphasising a change in the stance of the university from its former enmeshed relationship with white ontological supremacy and resultant discounting of black cosmologies[127]. I highlight this action as part of a symbolic 'breaking the silence' regarding the 'continued' importance of ancestral spirituality that had been maintained by educated Nguni people

[123] In this regard, inter-racial interactions often focus purely on material issues, as discussed in Kaschula (1989).

[124] This literature, both academic and popular, presents the idea that ancestral practices are largely impossible or even seen by participants to be 'irrelevant' in urban spaces (Schönstein Pinnock, 1994; Magubane, 1998; Bank, 2002a; Bank, 2002c; Cocks & Bangay, 2006; Njwambe, et al., 2019).

[125] Botha (2012) highlights how white people, with a partial understanding, view some Xhosa spaces as being too sacred for entry and participation by white people.

[126] Very understandably, citing when one sees the complete lack of relevant statistics concerning the prevalence of ancestral belief in South Africa (Nyaundi, 2001).

[127] This suppression was from both a Christian missionary perspective (de Kock, 1992; Zotwana, 1993; Frescura, 2015) and the legal reality of the Witchcraft Suppression Act, Act 3 of 1957.

in institutional and academic spaces from 1840. I note however that this 'ground-breaking' event remained visible only to those who had access to the other world and who could understand the 'deep' significance of such an utterance, i.e. those who could 'hear'[128].

My interpretation of Dr Mabizela's action was substantiated in September 2020 when he delivered an address in Xhosa for the formal opening of a Xhosa-language Zoom Heritage Day event. (I note this address was delivered to a Xhosa speaking audience, the 'veil' removed.) He discussed the importance of *inkolo yesintu* (traditional ancestral belief systems) and their place in 'modernity' and Christianity. He expressed that in order to be a [psychologically] whole [black] person [in post-colonial South Africa] one needs an understanding of, reverence for, and pride in one's traditional and cultural origins. He noted that Rhodes University must be involved with national efforts by black people to challenge ideas of the inferiority/lack of relevance of black cosmologies, which have persisted [as structural racism/epistemological violence] in the education system (Mabizela, 2020). These public statements by Dr Mabizela served to highlight for me the importance and relevance of the focus of my Masters thesis for establishing some baseline of the prevalence of contemporary traditional, or 'Red' dimensions of identity in 'modernity'.

4.2.4 Stepping into the field and accessing the other world: the importance of knocking in the right way

In February 2018 when beginning this Masters research, I noticed that using certain Xhosa phrases such as calling "*nqonqo nqonqo" (knock knock)* in jest when entering the kitchen of the restaurant where I worked as a waitron, or using Xhosa phrases to ask for help, created an amused and very positive reception[129]:

> "Hey, who taught this guy?" said the thin black man, with short dreadlocks and the prison-type tattoos on his biceps and forearms. After looking around [presumably expecting a Xhosa person to be entering the kitchen] and fairly startled when he saw me.

My knowledge of the Xhosa language, cultural issues and behaviours appeared to make the Xhosa kitchen staff quite curious about me and much more friendly and open, dropping what could be

[128] In Xhosa one can use the word 'hear', such as in "*Wena u yeva?"* (Do you hear it?), to indicate an ability to understand and importantly to sense or feel something.

[129] Some of these insights came from conducting fieldwork for a month in my research site in 2017 and how many Xhosa (even silently) physically knock before entering a 'non-Xhosa' building or space even when it is empty of people.

described as a ‘guard of ambivalence’ that they carried with the other non-Xhosa and especially white waitrons.

“*Wena uyaphuma emfama?”* (Do you come from a farm?) asked maMonika* curiously.

Both comments above highlight the rarity of white people in urban spaces having any Xhosa linguistic abilities, or even basic cultural insights. An examination of the following two statements reveals what might be described as the ‘whole background’ for this thesis:

- The reality that most white people do not have sufficient understanding of Xhosa customs to be able to interact in an affirming way in this ‘world’, so this core dimension of being remains ‘veiled’ from them[130]; and
- Generally speaking, the only white people who have spent enough time immersed in Xhosa language-scapes (those who have grown up on farms and thus might possibly be able to start to enter into this world) carry the burden of a generalised prejudice as being historic exploiters of black people and for treating farm workers badly and carry an authoritative attitude. I have observed that the complexities of a 'white farm identity' cause many people with farming backgrounds to veil their ability to speak Xhosa or, secondly, the truth of where they learnt it during their initial interactions with black people. "I tell them at work [a governmental position] that I learnt Xhosa at school" (from a male who grew up on a farm, spoken to in August 2019). This is also noted in Botha (2012, p.153) regarding the difficult position of initiating an interaction in Xhosa as a white person regarding assumptions about you and that the black person responds in English with the concern of an assessment of inferiority. "Do you think that I can't speak English?" Due to a number of factors, such individuals often speak linguistically-limited Xhosa, which carries ideas of authority and ‘one-way’ ‘master/servant’ power dynamics in interactions[131] (Kaschula, 1989; Kaschula, 1995; Botha, 2012). These realities of a normalised complete lack of Xhosa

[130] In this way without these skills interactions often remain surface, simplistic or shallow, and ‘safe’ in the material world. Kaschula (1989) and Botha (2012) both show how an understanding of Xhosa encourages deeper and emotional experiences being shared.

[131] The development of such people’s linguistic and social abilities generally becomes fossilised by the process of ‘leaving the farm’ when going off to school and starting to move into ‘adult roles’ of responsibility, and normality of racial segregation that encoded different economic realities, stark power and social dynamics. As such, children of white farmers often speak a variant of a basic pidgin Xhosa and have limited cultural insights and often carry uncorrected ‘cultural’ misunderstandings (Botha, 2012). This ‘fossilisation’ of linguistic ability and social understandings is due to power dynamics surrounding historic farming labour relations, which seriously hinder their ability to improve linguistic capabilities and social or cultural knowledge after stepping into these crystallised roles and identities of adulthood (developed through 250 years of mutual interactions between whites and blacks) (Kaschula, 1989, p.100; Botha, 2012).

> language abilities among Whites, or limited abilities that then carry a strong underlying tension or concerns of possible miscommunication (Kaschula, 1995), further explain the pervasive nature of the divide in understanding between the 'white world' and the world of Xhosa spirituality. This final point contextualises the presence of the mentioned 'guard of ambivalence' around white people who cannot see the world [of core identities] and so have difficulty entering into that realm of real conversation that connects beyond the surface.

By this stage in my research journey (mid-2018) through taking Xhosa as an undergraduate credit and conducting much of my honours field work in Xhosa in 2017, I had gained enough grammatical and cultural knowledge surrounding Xhosa to, normally, not feel like an intruder uncovering secrets. Indeed, through expressing an understanding of parts of this holistic knowledge[132], I was able here to set these kitchen staff at ease when I asked about these things, allowing me to ask questions and start to self-direct further linguistic and cultural learning.

While working in the restaurant, I was sufficiently able to develop a knowledge of clans and clan praises and the details of certain rituals. Being at this stage of knowledge, people's previous discomfort with questions about 'cultural practices' and related aspects of identity changed to a curiosity and often a joy in sharing[133]. In this way, through a display of shared knowledge I was able to begin bridging the gap between the 'two-worlds divide'.

This entry point of personal interactions through figuratively 'knowing how to knock' and behave in this space[134] allowed me to interact with people's lived-realities and research beyond the limitations of the literature on such practices in urban spaces. Here I could actually develop an understanding of the reality of these issues on the ground by having in-depth discussions and making personal observations. In this way, through becoming comfortable and enacting ways of being that made others comfortable, Xhosas became more open and embracing of the research focus than I would have ever expected. These embodied skills allayed the anticipated difficulties that people would not readily

[132] See discussion on *hlonipha* (see Section 2.2.1).

[133] I explain this through affirmation of epistemological validity, acknowledging 'who I am' and 'what is important to me' (See Uys in the documentary series #Calledamoffie (Hermanus, 2020)). Furthermore, I highlight how this indicates a common ground (a shared/communal aspect) of knowledge and in some ways of identity and commonality (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000).

[134] See Kaschula (1989) on the importance of ways of 'behaving' in intercultural communication.

disclose such information (emphasised by other academics and students of the difficulties of pursuing similar research) as experiences of the 'two-worlds divide' when growing up.

The following quote is my own reflection (with a research participant in 2019) of this reality and the difficulty of learning more about this world if one does not have the skills to knock[135]:

> Although one might know the other world is there, it is as if it is always just behind a curtain. It is very uncomfortable to ask people what is on the other side of that curtain and they often appear uncomfortable on the topic to begin with. Anyway, how could they explain it to you if you can't see it [behind the curtain], especially if it is very intricate and complex, private and personal, and when anyway [due to language difficulties] you even battle to communicate about very basic things (DH, Personal reflection, 2019).

4.2.5 Disabled in the visual and written realm, enabled in the world of voice: engaging with a world that has remained largely unseen by academia and a critique of 'education'

In this section I give an explanation of being differently-abled with skills and abilities that I feel were fundamental in being able to conduct this Masters study. I explore how my skill set empowered me with an ability for "deep listening" to enable mostly effective 'inter-racial' communication and really dialogue as highlighted in McIntosh (2018). I am in essence an oral or auditory learner/communicator. This skill has been reinforced through experiencing learning difficulties with written text (i.e. dyslexia) throughout my education. This means that I have markedly slower reading and writing speeds and difficulty following lengthy text and linear textual arguments. This also negatively affects my written sentence construction, word order and spelling. These issues have at times been judged in educational spaces as revealing a lack of effort. I, however, see dyslexia as a potential asset if understood correctly, signifying an alternative set of skills, rather than just being a disability and giving a different perspective that allows an embrace of otherwise often silenced epistemologies and methodologies (Mignolo, 2011). For me this set of skills has enabled me to have a wider view of what signifies knowledge and a greater ability to listen to issues from the periphery.

4.2.5.1 A critical reception of my formal education and text as an ultimate truth

I have experienced learning difficulties with resultant institutionalised stigma and epistemological inequality with discounting of the way in which I best receive and share information as 'incorrect'. I feel that through this I have developed greater empathy for the many other groups of people who do

[135] The research participant had said that Whites (who have historically employed black people to work in their houses and gardens) "never tried to learn about these things" and remain uninterested. "They could have just asked their maid or gardener who works for them" (November, 2019). I felt this statement did not engage with the complexity and difficulties of the issue at hand.

not fit into these narrow brackets of skills (or 'privilege') that enable easier success and recognition within this learning system. I have also developed a strong awareness of, and resistance to, patterns of just accepting the Western literate norm as the most 'correct' way of being. These experiences have given me an acute awareness of not basing my judgements of people's worth, value and even intelligence on their success in the narrow and constrained system of formal education, and/or economic success. These are highlighted to be subtle, pervasive and entrenched perceptions in Western society (Groenewald, 2004; Prior, 2007; DiAngelo, 2018) and, by intentionally 'stepping out' of them, I am able to minimise much of the involved hierarchical positioning of the educated colonial-self in relation to others along the 'Great Chain of Being' (Wilber, 1993).

4.2.6 Auditory skills for language learning and awareness of cultural translation

Furthermore, my sharpened auditory ability greatly assists me in the process of learning new languages. This experience of 'discovering' (through the process of learning a language) the systems that encode culture and ways of interpreting the world gave me an awareness of the simultaneously multiple ways in which languages encode symbolism and meaning (Agar, 1994; Lantolf, 2007). This hands-on experience highlighted that 'translation' requires a high level of awareness, precision and continuous recognition of the multiple and different meanings and implications that word-choices carry in the source and target languages. One always needs to be conscious of the difficulty of finding a balance between 'word for word' (direct 'translation') with an understanding of the sense symbolism and metaphorical relationality that an utterance carries in the source language (Gerding-Salas, 2000). Here, recognising that where 'translations' 'fall short', one needs to supply extra information, as explanations or footnotes, to enable effective transfer of meaning. An awareness of 'translation' theories (during undergraduate and honours studies) gave me an awareness of internationally recognised standards for 'adequate translations' and how much of the general South African attitude to 'translation'[136] falls short of this (Kaschula, 1995; Mash, 2006), and misses out on recognition of the high level of specificity and specialisation needed to act as an interpreter and translator (Mackintosh, 1999; Moeketsi & Wallmach, 2005; Mash, 2006). This stemmed from, and was perpetuated by, a colonial disregard of the linguistic complexity of African languages as being "like the sounds of animals … primitive" (Gilmour, 2006, p. 37). These factors are epitomised by colonial grammar books

[136] Here, following South African lay norms, the word 'translation' and also 'translator' is deliberately used as a generalised and problematic term for both written and verbally-based linguistic transfer which, in the South African context, goes to undervalue and confuse the different skill sets required for translation in specific professions.

mistakenly portraying African languages as 'simple' and 'easy to master', just like the Africans who spoke them (Deumert, 2014).

Through starting to engage in processes of language learning (in 2011)[137] and having to express myself in a language other than my own, I had to face up to and challenge and acknowledge, my ingrained prejudice that people who battle to express themselves in English are somehow less 'thinking' or less 'analytical' than myself (not expressing their thoughts or views as eloquently or with as much nuance in English as I felt I was able to). This new perspective highlighted to me the need to interview people in the language which they speak best and ensure a very deep level of understanding, and commit to 'real listening' to what they were saying (Ratnam, 2019). This is an example of recognising aspects of my own 'epistemological arrogance' (Medina, 2013) and realising the importance of 'deep listening'[138] (Lipari, 2010; McIntosh, 2018).

This dialectic of the 'ultimate truth' of the written word and as a result of Christian dogma, where the Bible and missionary education and Western worldviews are 'universally applicable', can be seen to be very strongly cemented in the ideologies of the history of education in South Africa[139] (Zotwana, 1993). These influences were responsible for creating the categories and implicit hierarchies of *amaqgoboka* (educated enlightened, civilised) and *amaqaba* (rough, backward and ignorant) in which such ideologies regarding the primacy of written Western knowledge are shown to be strongly prevalent (Prior, 2007; Law, 2011).

I tend to agree with the critique of Socrates (as written by Plato) of writing as a means for communication that it causes forgetfulness (Wolf, 2007) and while 'efficient' as a technology (enabling words to 'travel' over long stretches of space and time and impacting many people) it opens itself up

[137] During a year working in London, playing street music and hitchhiking in Europe.

[138] I suggest this skill set of auditory, non-textual abilities may have been lacking in certain studies in the 'Xhosa in Town Debate', particularly those of Hunter (1936) and Bank (2002a,2002b, 2002c). I posit that in these studies this 'disability' of the established academic world around not being unable to 'hear' or 'listen' beyond the confines of Western epistemological experience, resulted in an inability to 'see' the existence of a peripheral 'world' that existed beyond the textually and theoretically acceptable norms of the time. I note that these realities would have no doubt surrounded them, unseen, during their fieldwork. In the case of Bank one sees that this ancestral world was actually 'under his nose'. (See Bank's discussion of sitting in a rondavel, in (Bank 2002b.))

[139] In light of the descriptions by (Jordan, 1940; de Kock, 1992; Zotwana, 1993; Mda, 2000; Poland, 2019) of the role of Lovedale and mission-inspired Western education in creating an inferiority complex of Blackness and belief in the complete superiority of everything Western, one sees the strong idea of Western knowledge being the ultimate truth. Here 'education' can be critiqued as creating a 'captive mind' of colonialism and feeding into the 'academic dependency' of the developing world on the global north. A captive mind carries "unwavering adherence" to Western ideologies and theories, and is a mind that is "imitative and uncreative and whose thinking is based on Western categories and modes of thought" (Alatas, 2003).

to greater opportunities for misinterpretations and misunderstandings (than clear, personal oral communication) as a result of this 'dis-embodied' efficiency (reduction of tone, pitch, emotion and body language (de Kock, 1992)). Here one also sees the presence of the colonial dialectic of the 'undeniably good' nature of literacy[140]. This attitude to 'progress' often involves the non-critical acceptance of technologies and Western-framed theories (Alatas, 2003) in that they are constructed as an 'unstoppable wheel' of unilinear progress and 'advancement' (Mda, 2000) and follows what Peires (1987) highlights as a Western ontological conceptualisation of time as a singularly-linear entity that 'can only move forward' so 'one has to move with the times'.

In this reading of time, if one does not embrace such 'advancements' one would be permanently 'left behind', becoming vulnerable and lacking agency due to being unable to harness these technologies. I contend that the previously mentioned concepts and ideologies have been responsible for the stereotypical White[141] assumption that black traditional beliefs and identities are dwindling in 'modernity'[142].

> [To conduct real participatory research, you have to be able] to say (to traditional and non-literate people) you know more about certain things [than me as an academic] and your knowledge holds value … and to really authentically mean it. I mean, a lot of academics say it because it is fashionable, but don't mean it [emphasis]. Accommodating other cultures and their way of knowing, and ways of discussing it, would go a long way to bridging the gap [in this country] (Discussion with Xhosa male PhD student, April 2021).

4.2.7 Transcending the 'divide': using my insights of language to address emic categorisations and approach the research with high intra-cultural level of nuance

Being able to articulate the research goals and approaches in Xhosa and use emic cultural categorisations caused participants to embrace the importance of this research and the need for mutual respect and dignity on what to them was a "greatly significant topic", a topic that for many of them lay at the core of who they are.

I felt through entering into the 'second world' by using emic-categorisation of identity and language the essence of this research became more about shared common humanity, showing respect and

[140] See critique on the Eurocentric notion of 'pre-literate societies' (Ong, 2002).

[141] Here one sees that this is not only a White assumption but in Xhosa spaces too, and reveals the effect of the *gqobhoka* (epistemologically pierced) 'School' experience on 'Black' thoughts.

[142] This position of the researcher as omniscient is based on the colonial mentality of 'positional superiority' (or dominion) from being more culturally 'advanced and developed', defining a higher position on the *Scala Nature* or 'Ladder of Being'. This notion of 'positional superiority' is often noted to be so deeply ingrained in the psyche of the Western researcher that it remains unrecognised and subconscious (Prior, 2007).

acknowledging the epistemic validity of an often-disregarded spirituality and related dimensions of identity. The research focus moved to a 'beyond-material', or even sacred importance to the research participants, in terms of sharing a space of mutual acknowledgement of peoples' deep humanity. This involved my willingness to understand their self-defined identities and spiritualties, these issues that for so long had been, and even continue to be, misrepresented and discounted by colonial ideologies grounded in notions of white superiority. This research became of beyond material importance to participants and we got out of the rut of only talking about surface material issues of service delivery, expectations from government and that I, as a white person, would be obligated to give people money and alcohol in exchange for the novel chance of having an interaction with them.

After I experienced this personal change and gained the skills with which I could articulate this to participants the work became seen by participants as dignified and highly important. No longer just something that could be manipulated for short-term hedonism and personal material gain, but rather as something that they felt invested in and which held importance for them beyond material value[143]: a research topic that they were motivated to be involved with as they felt it held a great deal of benefit to all *amaXhosa*. In this regard, a highly significant aspect of this research for participants was gaining hope for an eventual change of the entrenched reality of a normalised white prejudice and dismissive attitudes of superiority regarding traditional practices and beliefs. They hoped for the eventual non-biased acceptance of these beliefs and aspects of identity as important and valuable (rather than just trying to make the most out of this unchangeable situation and ask for a beer). A chance to change the attitudes of Whites to rituals was interestingly seen by many participants as the most powerful and important potential result of our research in just presenting clear and nuanced, unbiased understandings[144].

The research became about seeing and acknowledging each other for who one really is, affirming shared humanity, and recognising core identity and showing respect for that. When people saw this they realised the potential of such work to encourage changes that promoted dignity in black/white interactions and allowed for bridging of these two separated worlds. Many participants saw the direct

[143] Here see (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000) how issues of identity are not tied to economic self-interest but are more foundational, deep and abiding.

[144] This helps one conceive of the emotional 'weight' of the conditions that caused the 'silence', ideologies that are highlighted by (de Kock, 1992; Zotwana, 1993; Opland, 2006; Poland 2019). This level of normalised misunderstanding, or being misrepresented by Whites as a constant reality, was brought home to me by the reaction of a *sangoma* after she had read the book 'Voices of the Forest' that I had lent to her. "No, I've read it and it is all true [despite being written by Whites]."

applicability of this research for engaging with and healing the 'deeper than material' wounds in South Africa. Some expressed great gratitude for us taking it on.

4.2.8 Exploring validity in relation to the researcher's positionality

4.2.8.1 'Veiling: claiming validity of self and self-censoring

In writing this thesis I have had to confront 'validity of self', and accept my own validity embracing the way I unpack, understand and express thoughts and issues as being 'enough' and acceptable. I have had to come to terms with others not understanding me and trying to silence my authentic voice and 'thought journeys' to fit in with their reductionist, linear modes of acceptability when they cannot see the complex whole of the problem[145]. I experienced a feeling of 'shutting myself down' before fully writing in my way or verbally finishing my explanation, allowing myself to be 'pulled straight' by the system and by my internal voices of self-doubt. Through not having time to complete my thought or process, and not having the trust in my own epistemological experience, I felt that my thoughts were chaotic, disorganised, tangential and irrelevant. I even felt that I was not working hard enough, as I was unable to show or even understand my processes in terms of linear progress. In this I have now developed the patience and self-understandings letting myself speak long enough to tell the full story and trust the circular 'journeying' of my thoughts. Through these processes I became better able to understand the 'normalised' experiences of participants to epistemological violence and in the Xhosa context, understand the presence of the 'veil'.

4.3 Discussion of issues relating to the methodology of this research

4.3.1 Urban research

4.3.1.1 Choice of urban yards as research site: focal point of ritual practice and place-making

The urban yard space offers a useful site to explore Xhosa expressions of the significance of the relationships with ancestors and the importance of traditional aspects of identity that are performed in these spaces. The urban yard may be problematised, from the outside, as removed from the rural perspective or as a somewhat 'dichotomous' and contradictory image of ritual practices. However, yards are a central and very visible public point of ancestral and social ritual practices and activities of place-making. This involves the slaughtering of livestock in highly symbolic kraal spaces, the use of wood fires for cooking ritually-slaughtered meat, the use of symbolically important plants, and

[145] See Botha, 2012.

preparing *umqombothi*. During the performance of rituals, yards are very visible gathering spaces of clan's people, relatives and community members, many dressed in traditional clothing where formalised behaviour codes and high levels of politeness are required[146]. I highlight yard spaces can be understood to be important sites in which to assess and discuss urban performance of ritual practices.

Further advantages of researching these aspects out of their previously idealised rural context are that the researcher is able to:

- Easily see the effort put into sourcing rare resources that are not available in the immediate environment, including firewood, kraal-making materials, kraal manure and branches from *umnquma* (wild olive) on which to place sacrificial meat;
- Observe and explore how economic means affect a family's ability to realise traditional ideals for rituals. The length of time taken to save up for these occasions, especially by people who are economically constrained and do not have livestock, allows the researcher to see the great significance that this holds for them personally; and
- Observe how people respond to spatial constraints and 'make do' with strategies such as having temporary kraals, using the main house where a rondavel is not available, and even borrowing the kraal space of a neighbour or community member in the case when one does not have a space of one's own in which to conduct rituals.

4.3.1.2 Urban research site: barriers and enablers regarding the notion of an 'urban/rural cultural authenticity divide'

Participants often explain urban, ritual-related practices in relation to an 'authentic' village standard and highlight the differences and explicitly refer to shortfalls or compromises which exist in the urban space as revealing a lack of sincerity. One common theme of these is to describe temporary kraals as "makeshift kraals" or even "make-believe kraals"[147]. Many people with rural ties expressed concern that I would be researching these things in a township and not be seeing them in their 'authentic' rural state:

> "No, if you are looking for those [cultural] things you must visit villages – that is where you will see them properly … a proper *ubuhlanti* and lots of *amagoqo*. In my village you will learn

[146] These ritual spaces also serve to show and embody traditional Xhosa dimensions of identity through clothing, knowledge, formalised language and behaviours.

[147] Referred to as a "mock kraal" in historical literature (Cook, 1931).

about all of those cultural things." (Discussion of research focus with interested Xhosa woman, around 50-year-old, April 2019]

These responses revealed an important theme of the presumed salience of urban/rural divide[148], the history of which I was able to unpack through piecing together clues from early academic literature.

Rurally-anchored participants often implicitly addressed this dichotomy when hearing about my research topic and sites.

One may ask how one can assess entities which seem so 'out of place' and, if they are present, they often do not match up to the 'real' or 'authentic' rural standard.

The entrenched idea of a divide between the interpreted authenticity of rural and urban ritual practices helps one see that urban 'cultural practices' are characterised by necessary compromises to the 'purity' of an event due to a number of factors: structural circumstances such as urban space constraints and overcrowding of informal shacks, lack of ownership of dwellings or of access to nature and animal resources. Historically, literature shows that urban performance of rituals was made very difficult by the intersecting effects of these previous 'structural violences' that especially affected black people in urban spaces. Importantly, these included the Group Areas Act[149] and policies of Influx Control[150]. In the discussion this is shown to have been largely responsible for creating, or reinforcing, the idea of an 'urban/rural cultural authenticity divide'[151]. However, rather than the stereotypical idea that urban people have less respect for - or are less committed to - the 'correct' performance of rituals and "take short cuts", this research highlights that responses to these constraints show an adaptability of ritual practices around making reasonable compromises. I term this 'negotiated authenticity', which emphasises the tremendous importance of these practices in practitioners' lives, enabling their continuing to conduct ceremonies that have value for their well-being and identity[152]. Here the shortfalls are acknowledged and explained (apologised for) through dialogue with ancestors, but the essence of the ceremony is maintained as seen in (Mayer, 1962, p. 152). This further highlights the need to overcome unavoidable constraints while maintaining authenticity. Through this one sees the

[148] See (Zotwana, 1993).

[149] Legislation passed 7 July 1969.

[150] As part of the Native Urban Areas Consolidation Act (No.25 of 1945).

[151] Shown by Zotwana to be a construct of missionary discourse and education grounded in the assumption of unilinear cultural development (1993).

[152] These adaptations to urban spaces in fact stress the opposite of the stereotyped negative value judgement - they show a great commitment and sincerity for ancestral belief.

adaptability of ritual practices, which is linked to the pragmatism of ancestors (who, having lived on the earth, understand the difficulties and constraints that are faced by the living). This is thus mediated through the living dialogue between people and their ancestral spirits (Mayer, 1962).

In this, one can negotiate the disruption to authenticity caused by shortages in 'biocultural' resources or shortfalls[153] but maintain a reverence for the essence of the ceremony. This dialectic of the "urban/rural cultural authenticity divide" and the related concept of "negotiated authenticity" of the urban space serves, in fact, strongly emphasises the importance of ancestral belief and traditional identities of urban *amaXhosa* as being significant for intangible, beyond-material reasons, but primarily for the maintenance of *impilo* (holistic well-being).

The idea of 'traditionally authentic' or 'pure' ceremonies, if understood with nuance (rather than leaving the researcher with the stereotypically negative idea about the adherence of urban *amaXhosa* to ancestral beliefs), can be seen to give the researcher a chance to initiate useful discussions concerning people's choices under materially constrained conditions. This also offers a lens to look at contemporary and historical performance of rituals in the context of urban living being historically greatly restricted by the structural violence and policies of the Apartheid State. In this sense, choices under imperfect and constrained conditions cast light onto the drivers behind ceremonies and the sincerity of belief behind the 'continuation' of ritual practices.

4.3.2 Strategies for sharing information regarding informed consent

Consent is a continuous and ongoing process. The signing of informed consent forms in research studies can be contentious and needs careful handling.

Early on in the study I became sensitive to a tension and vulnerability that some participants felt around the ability to read, and to speak English[154] as noted in Botha (2012). Here, I observed that if participants initiated speaking English, even if their proficiency was severely limited it was difficult for the 'translator' to politely mediate a transfer into Xhosa and the interview limped along politely with generalisations and lacking much nuance, frustratingly lost in 'a lack of translation'. I note here that some interpreters appear better at negotiating and defusing this dynamic than others. Some participants, especially if they assumed that there would be some direct material benefit to them,

[153] These often relate to difficulties in obtaining certain plant materials or not having permanent kraal structures or rondavels as a result of "less space than would be ideal".

[154] Here one sees the often unaddressed fallout of the historic idea that English is the language of education, being upper-class, holding knowledge and enlightenment, that stemmed out of missionary education at Lovedale (de Kock, 1992; Poland, 2019).

wanted to communicate with me in English presumably to show themselves as more 'valuable' (de Kock, 1992). Ironically this then affected my ability to actually engage the participant on the meanings of the study and explain that it was not just some potential handout or 'Tender project' in which they should rush to be included. [Here, ironically while participants may not have been fully willing to listen they could say they were misled, or starting to put the researcher into a corner for money, say they 'had not been told'.] I had also heard of difficulties from related studies where participants had indicated they wanted to 'read' the information sheets, explaining informed consent to themselves, to avoid being seen as illiterate and then were not able to, or did not, read them fully. This then caused difficulties and confusion and a loss of face for the participants when they did not understand the purpose or value of the interview. While doing my Honours research (2017) I had felt uncomfortable with the 'translator' always hurriedly summarising (in two or three sentences) a very lengthy and detailed informed consent form written in English, in his hurry to get on with an interview and 'not waste [the participant's] time'.

Two years later, in the 2019 pilot study, the same 'translator' created his own points when hurriedly summarising the very carefully structured and translated Xhosa language consent information. Here his summarised explanation erroneously implied that 'anonymity' meant that all the information gathered in the study was "not for public consumption [and] just for the student's degree" and exclusively for the personal benefit of the student and not the greater public. This misinformation regarding the goals of the research and implications (in that it is extractive) are examples of how participant confusion can occur through poor 'translation' methodology. These are perhaps connected with instances in a previous study involving this same interpreter, where participants felt exploited by the researcher.

My experiences described above could have created serious misunderstandings or unfulfilled expectations. I had decided for this reason that the in-depth interviews in 2019 should be conducted entirely in Xhosa, expressly avoiding any English, secondly that they would be conducted completely verbally to ensure that participants understood everything and were able, at all times, to check on issues that were not clear to them, without losing face. Having the translator carefully read the whole informed consent sheet was important, rather than just giving it to a participant to glance through, which could result in misunderstandings and perhaps mean that a participant actually did not have a full understanding of the study[155].

[155] [This also brings up questions about the interviewees understanding and feelings regarding the purpose of research perhaps in terms of my discomfort around wasting peoples' time.]

I had also decided (and motivated in my ethics application) that in this context among people with varying levels of literacy, signed consent forms would be problematic and could serve to undermine the equality of the interview process creating unproductive power relationships (in a historic sea of complex power dynamics surrounding formal documentation, education and race).[156]

In this context, and in the situations discussed above, it is important for the university administrative process not to embrace Eurocentric paradigms of research ethics uncritically[157], but to take into account: the importance of discussion and verbal agreement with the research participants; be aware of the hugely fraught position of participants signing official forms with their full name and identity number, the reasons for which may not be clear; as well as being sensitive to perspectives regarding the history of South Africa.

In this research it was not just a matter of having an informed consent form signed as an external requirement that defined the ethical nature of our approach. I think we would never have had the depth of interactions that we did achieve if we had followed the formal method.

In this context it is noteworthy that three of our participants had previously had misunderstandings with student researchers from our project at Rhodes and expressed anger towards them:

- One participant, in spite of having signed informed consent forms with the previous student, proved very difficult in our interactions;
- Another, having interpreted the previous student's research as extractive and only benefitting the student, accused us of wasting people's time and stealing people's cultures. She was unfortunately not willing to hear our perspective and engage in discussion:
- "You are stealing people's cultures and going to sell books overseas … and you will get a good job from this, but what will we get? No, it's a waste of my time" (2019); and
- The third, a man who was convinced that the previous student had stolen money out of his bank account by taking down his name, ID number (for the informed consent form) and GPS-ing the location of his house, asked us for the interview sheet and tried to rip it up, telling us very angrily to "Get out!" of his house. It was only when we were again standing

[156] [The common perception aired in the university space concerning the consent forms is that it enables the student's supervisor to check up on the student and "cover the university's back".]

[157] In this regard see Mignolo on 'De-linking from Eurocentric concepts of universal truths and reconstituting of previously suppressed epistemologies' (2011).

on the street that we were able to pacify him and convince him of our authenticity, after which he let us back in and we completed the interview on a pleasant note[158].

I note that the poor communication from previous students had resulted in these participants' misunderstandings and anxieties. I highlight that such research should place emphasis on making sure the participants really understand the purpose and goals. The main aim of the 'consent process' should be to enable discussion, in a non-threatening and relaxed way, and should not focus on following externally devised, administrative requirements that are anyway likely to create anxiety and alienate the (often semi-literate) participants.

As mentioned, conversing in English was liable to cause difficulties. This related to people's willingness to fit into historically normalised, unequal roles of racial or educational 'classroom' power dynamics, sometimes out of politeness and especially if it was perceived that there is a chance of personal material benefit from involvement in the study. This results in the participant as 'learner' not questioning or interrogating the researcher as 'teacher' where there appear to be contradictions[159]. In this way undiscussed dynamics, misunderstandings and uncorrected presumptions can result from the conversational inequalities as patterns of patterns of 'normalised' interracial interactions, as highlighted by (Kaschula, 1989).

In contrast to this, exclusive use of Xhosa as the language of investigation offered clarity and the opportunity for participants to actively engage in questioning, even acting as co-producers of the research. Using people's clan names exclusively offered a strategic anonymity where people remained officially 'unidentifiable' but also allowed for a deeply personal and respectful interaction[160]. This use of culturally appropriate forms of reverence and respect serves to affirm people and offers a way to explore traditional dimensions of identity and its importance to them.

Lastly, the use of Xhosa as the language of research and clan names helped people to become interested, some reflecting that this made them want to be involved, saying to themselves: ("Hang on,

[158] Without the clarity of our explanation about informed consent and our fortuitous chance knowledge of people from his home village, this situation could have turned very nasty indeed. I note that it did turn nasty for two Rhodes research students who, in the same township, had to go to the local Police Station to clear up concerns among a group of angry residents [led by our most supportive participant] about whom they were working for and not being child traffickers.

[159] As seen historically from dynamics of mission Christianity and education (de Kock, 1992: Zotwana, 1993; Poland, 2019).

[160] Colonial ignorance/discounting of the Xhosa clan system meant that people's clans were not formerly documented when colonialists recorded/created surnames.

this is about something significant") [Is this person willing to listen, to understand me?] (Participant, November 2019]. Fundamentally this use of Xhosa served as an act of 'epistemic reconstitution' to 'elevate' Xhosa to a language of importance and to show our real commitment to the research topic.

The design of an oral and cultural appropriate 'confirmation of consent' (that included an explanation of the research aims and goals) ensured support for through participant understanding as well as a process of follow-up reiteration and reflexion in an informal but relaxed and culturally appropriate manner, at the end of the interview. This no doubt added to a common expression by participants afterwards: "*Hayi amajita, akhonto… ndiziva ndonwabile, ndinekhululeko*" (No gentlemen, there is nothing [wrong with this], I am feeling overjoyed, I feel free). (Participant, November 2019)

In summary, this study focused on the participants giving informed consent verbally and the research team showing honesty, authenticity and full disclosure in terms of the choice to discuss the study goals and informed consent entirely in Xhosa. This was intentionally not mediated by official forms and signing, especially in a context of communities with lower levels of literacy, general stresses and negative experiences associated with bureaucracy and written information.

The process of informed consent happened in two stages:

1) A carefully constructed initial description that explained consent, anonymity, goals and aims of the research, potential outcomes and the possibility to skip questions or even cease participation was given.

2) The secondary process of confirming participants' continued consent and understanding happened as a less formal discussion at the end, not written down as a script, but following a set pattern developed through the pilot study that covered three salient points:

    - Firstly, the value of the research for highlighting the significance of rituals and access to nature for peoples' *impilo* (well-being), as well as the potential importance of this knowledge in the future planning of state-subsidised housing (see Section 2.4.1 RDP housing), rather than the current pattern of just total clearing of natural vegetation, without allocating green space;
    - Secondly, that significant findings of the research would be disseminated in both English and Xhosa print and radio media. Here we spoke about the hope that this would highlight the significance of these issues for people and challenge their general lack of recognition in media and in government policy; and
    - Thirdly, we explored the value of providing clear and correct information around ancestral belief and ancestrally-related rituals to white people in order to challenge

certain negative stereotypes by Whites (based on a lack of clear knowledge concerning these beliefs and aspects of identities) that cause problems for *amaXhosa.* (This third point was sometimes received quite emotionally).

This final discussion also served to signal a tying-up of the interview in a friendly manner and start the process of '*ukucela indlela' (*to ask for the road) leaving and saying goodbye (Bernard, 2006, p. 164). We initiated this discussion by asking in a rather self-reflective and humorous way if the participant perhaps had some questions for us – sort of suddenly "turning the interview on its head". This signified an end to the formal process which we had directed, indicating that we were now free to just chat. Ideally the participant would inquire about aspects of the research goals, then we would discuss the set of the three memorised points.

In cases where the participant was hesitant to ask about the potential outcomes of the research, which was fairly often, we then asked if they would like us to explain these to them. Our explanation then prompted other questions and points of discussion or sharing of experiences from participants, and usually an overwhelmingly positive expression that they had enjoyed the interview and the interaction. Most participants expressed resounding support for the focus areas of the research and the process of the interview ensuring that we were speaking to ordinary people directly in order to understand and reflect their perspectives. (This is in the context of politicians often claiming the right to speak on peoples' behalf but not being at all in touch with their ideas and realities and patently pursuing their own generalisations and agendas in the name of the people[161].) Participants appreciated that the research goals showed respect for them by not just making generalisations about black people, or only interacting with people of a certain age, gender, economic standing or political affiliation, and not holding a bias around a hierarchy of beliefs as is the historical experience of Whites (de Kock, 1992; Poland, 2019). Most important, I think, was our authenticity and honesty and that participants could feel that we were not using their answers for our own personal economic benefit or for our own political agendas. Emphasising that this was not about this Masters degree, but rather the importance of the full story.

[161] Here, as in the interview with Minister Nathi Mthethwa regarding the name change of Grahamstown, *Qalaqoyi* to Makhanda (SABC News, 2018), one contrasts our careful house-to-house approach with the common political sprouting of the 'community consultation' rhetoric, only to have Mthetwa unwilling to give clarity or be pinned down as to where, when and with which particular community such processes took place. These sorts of untruths, relating to 'the will of the government presented in the name of the people' can make the people whose 'voices' are being used, quite angry. One looks at the four consecutive days in which this same town was shut down by mainly Xhosa residents in 2021, demonstrating that people do get angry.

This secondary process of revisiting the informed consent thus allowed for a clear bookending of the interview, in the Xhosa culturally-appropriate model of 'coming full circle' to close a conversation. It allowed for a period of informal discussion that moved into an organic process of saying goodbye, tying up any loose ends to ensure that there were no misunderstandings, and leaving in peace, as is implied in the metaphor of *'ukucela ndlela'* (asking for the road).

This ensured that the interview was not only a formal process of one-way questioning but a polite dialogue and chance for self-expression, ensuring clarity in understanding from all sides, openness and a mutual feeling of peace, or as many participants put it, "feeling free". Importantly, it also meant that (in contrast to my previous colleagues) we and other researchers can go back in peace.

4.3.3 Ethical standards and accountability

This study was conducted in a manner which went beyond the requirements of Rhodes University Ethical Standards Policy, and Anthropological Specific Guidelines for Ethical Research from the Anthropological Society of Southern Africa (Anthropology Southern Africa, 2005; Rhodes University Ethics Standards Committee, 2014).

4.3.3.1 Summary of context-specific, ethical considerations through the use of culturally appropriate tools

- Anonymity: This research found that using clan identities (instead of names) allowed for very close personal interactions while avoiding using information that could trace participants. This approach was additionally considered highly respectful and was affirmed by participants as very appropriate to the topic of the study.
- Commitment to participants as individuals: This study focused on a commitment to being true to the stories and views of the participants, from information gathered from individuals that aimed to understand their contexts and backgrounds. Participants were pleased that the research treated them as valuable individuals with nuance, rather than just as a means to access numerical data. In this way the research balanced a quantitative and qualitative perspective.
- Not prioritising one belief: In aiming to understand people's perspectives and stressing that the research did not prioritise or favour one type of belief was greatly appreciated by participants. The importance of approaching all beliefs with equality in the context of the previous disregard for ancestral beliefs by white colonialism (and the current tension surrounding charismatic/'saved' Christians who do not follow ancestral beliefs) was highlighted. While this thesis has focused primarily on examining the significance of

ancestral beliefs, the experiences and perspectives of 'saved' Christians were valued for contextualisation of the variety of categories of belief and as adding a deeper holistic understanding of the nature of traditional dimensions of identity for charismatic Christians.

4.3.4 Interpretation/'translation'

The two main interpreters involved in the interviews had a knack for "speaking the landscape" and a willingness to share their thoughts and points of view with the researcher after interviews. They did this to help add to my understandings and illustrate issues, but without over-riding the essence of what the participant had said and were always careful not to present their thoughts as overarching truths. Working with them assisted me to gain different perspectives, gathering understandings or feelings relating to each of their particular areas of strength. Both of them had an ability to be cognisant of their own positionality, opinions and ideas when interpreting, and as much as possible tried to stay true to the ideas of the participant, which I came to appreciate greatly. Their adaptability and amenability (or skill at relating to new people after entering these people's households) was certainly a skill which I think even a formally trained interpreter might battle to match. I definitely feel I benefitted greatly from experiencing two different people with their own skills, strengths and ways of interpreting. Their commitment, interest and involvement were invaluable in the data collection for this Masters research.

4.3.5 Methodological techniques resulting from cultural and linguistic knowledge

> "Ok, *amadoda ndiyabulela … nisemaThsaweni apha, thina siya phuma eFrankfort*" (Ok, gentlemen. Thank you, [responding to our formal introduction] you are at a home of the Tshawe clan, we originally come from Frankfort (a nearby village)). (Participant, October 2019)

When following the norms of traditional 'idealised formalities' as part of sanctioned greetings and related introductions in Xhosa (i.e. enquiring about clan identities and familial geographical origins while at the same time inquiring about the location of the home and whether it is just a temporary dwelling), followed on well and was accepted as best possible practice. The 'strategy' of introducing ourselves in Xhosa, giving our geographic origins as well as the interpreters' clan names, served as a very good way to engage people on issues of ancestral belief, conducting urban rituals and exploring the importance of clan names and traditional identities. These introductions in Xhosa showed a reverence for traditional ways of being and served to put participants at ease and reduce potential stress when seeing that I could speak enough to follow in Xhosa.

I noted furthermore that it was of great importance to follow the cultural norm of politeness when entering peoples' houses after knocking, calling out the vital phrase "*nqonqo nqonqo"*, and once being

invited in with "*ngena*", to immediately sit down on the couch in silence before the host greets and indicates that we should announce ourselves and state our business. Such an approach embeds one in the *isiXhosa* world encourages a culturally appropriate discussion which is normally in-depth and takes time, not hurrying or starting with direct questions. It appeared that when discussing these issues in this way, as opposed to our English interviews people were very happy to spend an extended time on the topic.[162]

On this note, throughout the research process, we did not use audio/voice recorders. Despite initially thinking it would be 'required' by the university (to prove the validity of the data to external observers), I felt that an audio recorder would make us all (the research team and the participants) uncomfortable and position the interviews as 'externally' motivated and monitored. The interview was able to be positioned as being more of a personal interaction of trust and accountability that was emphasised by the use of clan identities. Among other things I felt that a tape-recorder would cause the interviews to be hurried, placing them into Western conceptualisations of time, directness and create a feeling of a power imbalance so closely connected to participants' experiences of extractive research and being exploited.

Through focusing on traditional modes of discussion in Xhosa, I feel we facilitated an important ambience of trust and transcended ideas of power dynamics, dispelling concerns that the research was extractive. Metaphorically, rather than 'capturing' information, we could listen and hear, being personally compelled to make sure we had understood correctly and were able to represent people's views honestly and authentically. This research allowed for the necessary time on both a macro (project wide) scale, as well as in each individual interview, to reach points of conversation, or understanding, in an organic mode of culturally-appropriate investigation that did not bluntly ask for decontextualized answers (Magubane, 1973). The approach was 'circular' discussion and inquiry incorporating context and individual points of nuance. My personal skills in this regard were engaged in listening and gathering themes, active theme-engagement, using memory of people's personal circumstances in asking questions, and bringing questions down to individual levels of experience, was highly appreciated by participants as actually engaging with who they were and remembering their histories. This process involved taking time to get to know respondents, particularly those key

[162] This went against the conventions of correct research process that emphasises not taking up 'unnecessary' time of participants, positioning the research as a disturbance or inconvenience in the schedule of the participant that would detract from their productivity and an assumption of taking more than giving back. The participant responses show their 'beyond-material' and emotional gain from their involvement.

informants in the early stages of the research where we sometimes only 'found things out' about their ancestral spirituality after four or five visits.

In this regard, I realised the importance learning Xhosa words as a metaphorical 'lens' to see how certain categories of ceremonies interlink and to learn about their flow, becoming aware of the subtle differences between categories of ceremonies. Through being able to attend some rituals (2018-2019) I was able to experience the energy involved and feel the 'sincerity of belief' regarding the importance of the success of the ritual for the *impilo* (well-being) of the family (which is often 'veiled' to the outsider). I feel that through this participation I became able to understand the living dialogue with 'ancestors as the living dead', appreciating the importance of this dialogue for the participants.

Through this appropriately-paced approach participants were able to see that we valued them and their opinions, and were not just trying to commercialise knowledge or exploit them. Important in this regard was learning and remembering people's clan names, histories and understanding their responses through their own contexts. In turn, I feel I also gained the trust and understanding of the participants, and was not seen merely as another white person but as an individual, who also needed to be heard and understood with nuance.

Through this extensive process of investigation and continuously deepening understanding, I feel we limited potential 'blind spots' and reduced the danger of missing important issues, or analysing information through a Western lens of understanding all of which has been called "ontological collapse" (Lotz-Sisitka, 2012).

4.3.6 Reliability and validity

This attention to detail regarding language increased the reliability of this Masters research through increasing the nuance with which participants spoke about these issues. However, I do acknowledge that in the circumstances of my limited understanding of Xhosa, and less than perfect conditions for interpretation, important factors could have been missed. I do however highlight that the extensive number of interviews and related interactions is likely to have mitigated this.

An additional point for consideration is that as the research team were all male, it might be argued that this could have resulted in certain gendered influences regarding our findings. Such a research design has to assess whether it might exclude specific information pertaining to females. I posit that this Masters research did not contain gendered sensitive information or taboos and that these are topics that are readily spoken about across genders. In this regard as our focus was on the depth of ancestral belief and family adherence to ritual, I see no need for concern regarding a potential lack of female representation or perspectives for the data presented.

4.3.6.1 Validity and notes on validity of epistemologies

Here, I highlight the importance of a holistic approach in terms of language and facilitating cultural categories when explaining statistical results. Magubane, perhaps too harshly, critiqued Mayer's study by saying that: "Surveys tear out minor facts to be able to "juggle and manipulate information" (Magubane, 1973, p. 1706).

I felt it was important not to compromise the quality and nuance of the data analysed, in favour of quantity, as an attempt to prove the importance of ancestral belief with statistical 'validity'[163]. This ensured maximum specificity and nuance of documented responses and the greatest possible accuracy and holistic understanding.

Furthermore, my integration of the missionary history (educational and colonial) (See Section 3.7) with the quantitative and qualitative results helps to understand the long-standing academic acceptance of the ideas of the 'Red'/'School' and urban/rural divide, regarding adherence to ritual practices. Through this holistic understanding one can see the reasons/drivers behind the academic 'blind-spot' and 'silence' regarding the 'continued' significance of ancestral belief by a majority of urban dwelling and educated *amaXhosa*[164]. These understandings are vital for revealing the position of this Masters research and highlighting the issues raised to be of core importance for contemporary Xhosa identities in urban space.

Without discussions throughout the study with approximately 400 informants[165], I would not have had the 'epistemological trust' in the truth of these issues and in myself, to engage in 'epistemological disobedience' from the norms reported in the literature of this field. Through the emotional importance of this topic to these informants, I found commitment to invest the massive amount of time needed for understanding, unpacking and expressing the findings of these ontological realities and epistemological experiences. The sheer number of interactions gave me trust in my own embodied knowledge, hunches and gut feelings, and led me to have the courage and patience to search through theory and literature in a sea of taboo and 'silence' which enabled me to theoretically explain the processes which participants were, and had been, engaging in. This trust in my processes

[163] The 61 participant interviews analysed represent households from two randomly selected streets of the study site and comprised the final third of interviews completed (n=176).

[164] A great part of this understanding is situated in a discussion of the theoretical history of concepts of linear 'modernity' and Western enlightenment that underpinned the colonial 'project'.

[165] Comprising 305 formal and at least 95 informal informants.

allowed me to then start to "*veca*" (weave these separate areas of academic literature together, to tell a full story).

4.3.6.2 Vista and thoughts on epistemic validity

Much of the success of this study involved acknowledging the validity of participants' epistemologies. This was something which most participants had never before experienced from a white person[166]. This was highlighted to me in a surprised comment from Vista, a participant (perhaps 'guide' approx. 53 years old) throughout the entire process of this fieldwork, at the end of my Honours research in 2017: "You are asking me these questions in the way that you are going to do these rituals yourself."

In this I understand him to have meant that I took this important part of his identity 'seriously'[167]. This level of participant 'comfortability' and trust through 'actually' engaging with participants' beliefs as an 'acceptable truth' must be seen as a strong reason for the findings of this study being valid, timeous and 'whole' (in terms of being able to engage with complexity). Here, I highlight the importance a comment from a Xhosa woman and PhD student in April, 2019: "I feel you are approachable [through using the Xhosa greeting "Sisi" and] by acknowledging the existence of 'that world' in the way you do, you are showing: firstly that, you know it is there, secondly that you understand it, and thirdly, that you think it holds value."

The significance of what was communicated in these two passing comments has only fully sunk in now in November 2021 when I unpacked and understood the concept of epistemological violence, trauma and trust, around feelings of personal validity. Here I see how having had some experiences of 'violence' around my own ways of learning, thinking and understanding (and explaining) the world perhaps allowed me greater sensitivity and willingness to let go of the 'certainty' of a one-world view and universal truth. This enabled me to know (in my own body) the pain of someone feeling that their world view and way of being is deemed not relevant or acceptable. It also shows the value of embodiment of a researcher's experiences and highlights how such authenticity around belief and feeling of others' experience has been instrumental in facilitating this research (See Section 4.2).

[166] In this, the research was able to go beyond the fairly usual 'veil' on ancestral spirituality and was welcomed with resounding support.

[167] It also followed the cultural pattern of a younger male in an urban Xhosa community asking a respected and experienced 'cultural mentor' for information about a ritual that he would be hoping to perform. Indeed, in many ways he was right because four years later (August 2021) my family did a similar ritual to that which he had been describing, formally installing or welcoming ancestors into the home.

4.3.7 Applicability

Due to the small number of interviews analysed (n=61) this study is not immediately generalisable to *amaXhosa* in other areas in South Africa. This research shows that the site-specific presence of ancestrally-related home-making activities in other urban areas would be greatly affected by macro-trends of the permanence of residence. However, it does give an indication of previously unknown numbers (Nyaundi, 2011). These findings are strengthened by the triangulation of historical academic and literary perspectives that this study has drawn on (as an aspect of methodology) to frame and emphasise their significance. Since King William's Town is a medium sized town, directly surrounded by villages and rural areas of the former Ciskei, it is likely that 'place-making' results are not comparable with larger cities and areas where greater proportions of the population are temporary residents. However, I propose that adherence to clan identity and ancestral belief is likely to follow similar trends among people who identify as being Xhosa, as indicated in this study. Here aspects are very unlikely to be site-specific[168].

4.3.8 Limitations of this Masters research

- The researcher's constrained linguistic ability in the language of investigation is an unavoidable limitation in a study of this nature. This was largely, although not completely, dealt with through clear attention to detail in investigations of language symbolism and consistent use of Xhosa terms and standardised choice of vocabulary. This was followed by the careful development of the purely Xhosa in-depth structured interview schedule and the systematic administration of interviews across interpreters, together with mental cross-checking of responses among the large sample of the 'formal' informants (n= 305) during analysis.
- Limited time for data analysis during 2020 reduced the number of participant interviews that were analysed (n=61). However, due to the use of triangulation with a strong qualitative base including lengthy fieldwork and participant observation, with the literary and theoretical insights 'discovered' and explored in the recording and writing up, I posit that this has not affected the applicability of the results.

[168] This is corroborated by a diverse, albeit sparse, recognition of the importance of ancestral belief and clan identities (see Spiegel & Mehlwana, 1997; Jadezweni, 1999; Cocks, et al., 2016; Nyaundi, 2011) as well as a strong feeling [by the author] that the statistical analysis in this study may match trends observed in his wider interactions with Xhosa people.

- The delineation of the focus of the study resulted in gendered differences in ancestral belief and related complexities not being explored or reported upon.

4.4 Discussion of methodology for anthropological research

In this section I discuss learnings from the process of conducting this Masters research which have a bearing on future anthropological research in the field of ancestral belief and traditional dimensions of identity among urban *amaXhosa*.

4.4.1 The importance of self-reflection and reflexivity to position methods of research in anthropology for accurate results

As previously highlighted, historical urban Xhosa cultural studies have lacked important information on the methodological approaches, as well as on the researcher's own positionality and how certain ideologies, experiences and skills might have influenced their findings. A clear reflexive exploration helps to dismantle the previously accepted position of the researcher as an omniscient and objective force (Prior, 2007).

In addition, ongoing reflection and awareness of factors that could affect the subjectivity of the research are essential.

In this regard, I have detailed the methods and strategies used in this thesis, highlighting the care taken regarding use of language and cultural 'translation' (see Section 3.2.4). I have unpacked my own positionality in the reflexive (see Section 3.3.1) and have included reflections on the areas of strengths of the 'interpreters' that relate to the findings (see Section 5.1.4).

4.4.2 Language and cultural considerations

I have expressed that in South Africa, in contrast to other countries, language and cultural transfer is erroneously generally regarded an uncomplicated area and not a skill requiring a great deal of expertise. Perhaps the widely held notion that 'any black person can translate'[169] has been a significant factor that has contributed to 'translators/interpreters' historically being invisible in anthropological studies[170] as seen in L. Bank (2002a) and Ainslie (2005).

[169] Here see Andrew Bank regarding 'translation' and the historical under-recognition of the role of black field assistants in anthropological research since the 1930s (Bank, 2008).

[170] Stemming out of the idea that African languages were simple and uncomplicated, like the people who spoke them (Gilmour, 2016; Poland, 2019).

'Hiding' or silencing the importance of 'translators' has been identified historically as related to popular techniques of emphasising the position of the anthropologist as an omniscient force, who could make judgements regarding 'truth' [from the position of objective Western truth influenced by the work of Malinowski] (Bank, 2008). The pivotal role of 'translators' in successful research has often been underplayed from both this historical bias as well as the national lack of recognition of the complexity involved in this task, and other multiple factors needed for a 'successful translation' (Anthonissen, 2008; Gile, 2009).

A. Bank emphasises that recognition of their influence and input is vital for the subjective understandings of the lens and findings of the research (Bank, 2008). This aspect can certainly be seen as not generally discussed or sufficiently explored in the previous studies on urban Xhosa 'cultural' expressions. It appears that too little attention has been paid to these cultural and linguistic intermediaries and processes of cross-cultural and cross-linguist investigation, which has impacted on the reliability of such studies (Hunter, 1936; Bank, 2002a; Bank, 2002b; Bank, 2002c).

This thesis argues that the academic vehemence of certain publications by scholars that has served to perpetuate the 'blind-spot' on the significance of ancestral belief and clan systems[171], is connected with this lack of attention to linguistic aspects of methodologies (and to clear descriptions of methodologies in general), as well as to the positionality of the "researcher–'translator'–participant" relationship triad. The lack of recognition of language practitioners in research nationally, and the importance of linguistic nuance, appears to have allowed certain studies to claim an authority to speak to much more than their methodologies addressed, without being challenged in this regard. (Bank, 2002b, Bank, 2002c).

4.4.2.1 Using emic categorisation through a linguistic perspective for effective Nguni cosmological research

Dold and Cocks in '*Izaci namaqhalo esiXhosa'* (Xhosa sayings and idioms) emphasise the importance of engaging with language and knowledge of landscapes held in and mediated by language, metaphor and symbolism (Dold & Cocks, 2006). Both Berglund and Ngubane, in their seminal works on Zulu cosmological patterns, show the effectiveness of a methodology grounded in emic cultural categorisation of language (Berglund, 1975; Ngubane, 1977). Notably, both these authors are native Zulu speakers (even through Berglund would be classified as 'White') and avoid the difficulties of translation and the difficulties of getting access 'beyond the veil'. On the other hand, recent studies

[171] [See Mfengu Debate and Stapleton 1995; 1996.]

that use linguistic approximations and English concepts as categories of investigation serve to give unclear results and present misleading information (Bank, 2002c; Nattrass, 2005; King, 2012). Bank, while emphasising that ceremonies are not important to urban people (and indicating where he has been positioned in terms of the 'silence') lumps all types of 'cultural practices' and activities under very generalised categories such as "tribal rituals" (Bank, 2002c, p. 152). This misses out, for instance, on the clear distinction that participants make, in Xhosa, between ancestral and 'social' ceremonies.

4.4.2.2 Beyond binaries of an external view and into nuance

Post-2000 urban Xhosa 'cultural', spiritually-related, studies appear to have been severely hampered by undealt with colonial histories or 'shadows' (Macfarlane and Marshall, 2021b). Historically white anthropologists appear to have placed too much emphasis on ill-fitting binary categorisations, such as the 'Red/School' binary and 'urban/rural divide'. This can be seen as a construction of reality through binary (and Manichean) thinking, grounded in the philosophical ideas of Descartes and the narratives of European processes of enlightenment of the 16th and 17th centuries, that move away from 'traditional beliefs' towards religion, and then from religion towards being secular (Macfarlane and Marshall, 2021a). It is important to note however that practitioners of ritual, grounded in TAR, have historically not categorised such beliefs as a religion, but rather as an aspect of identity inextricably connected with life, lineage and identity which manifests itself as part of the everyday. Furthermore, that rural and urban spaces do not hold implicit differences between the authenticity and sincerity of ancestral beliefs and traditional dimensions of identity.

From this discussion of the research methodology, the thesis now analyses and presents the results of the study.

5. Results

5.1 Introduction to the presentation of results

Following the perspectives of the literature review and the methodological approaches, the results of this study are given below.

5.2 Quantitative and qualitative results

The quantitative and the qualitative results of this Masters research are described in terms of the three research questions (see Section 1.5) that were borne out of the following five themes identified from an analysis of 2018 data) (see Section 3.2.5.5):

- Ancestral belief;
- Home-making;
- Kraals;
- Plants used in rituals; and
- Clans and clan names.

5.2.1 "Lifting the veil" in understanding the results

It is now the time to "*phuma egusheni*" (come out of the sheepfold, figuratively to speak openly and directly about a problem[172] which is otherwise being avoided, i.e. 'the elephant in the room'):

The following explanation unpacks why the reported quantitative analysis is 'focused' on the above five themes and why this results chapter is different from that of a conventional thesis where the core problems were already identified in the literature. The quantitative results in this thesis form only a very small part of the full 'findings' with a large part of the 'new' findings being located in the literature review. In this respect it has been necessary to unravel a very complex problem that linear/non-lateral thinking appears not to have not been seen to exist. Historical investigation on 'cultural' belief was needed to deal with the 'proxies' of this problem that (seemingly) did not have the embodied knowledge background and theoretical backing to speak about the core issues, i.e. the epistemological violence and the corresponding existence of the 'veil'. I note that the 'veil' explains why the spiritual importance of kraals was overlooked[173] in literature on *amaXhosa* until Cocks' rediscovery of the beyond-material importance of these structures (Cocks, et al., 2006: Cocks, et al., 2008).

The concept of a 'veil' over core aspects of ancestral/spiritual identity is a useful metaphor in that it explains why 'viewers' will only be able to see and address the peripheral factors surrounding the issue, since the core is 'veiled' and hidden from view. In this one finds an explanation for earlier studies on *amaXhosa* not engaging directly with these issues, but having to use 'proxies' (often involving material culture) to investigate 'cultural practices' (Hunter, 1936; Bank, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c). This meant that these researchers had to make objective decisions about these issues on behalf of 'less-enlightened black people' because, among other factors, without the researcher showing an understanding of and respect for ancestral belief, participants are often unwilling to speak openly on the subject.

[173] See (Palmer, et al., 2000; Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004).

5.2.2 Value of rituals for expressing ancestral belief

These results highlight the value of rituals for "dialoguing, displaying and affirming" traditional 'Red' dimensions of identity in urban yard spaces. While such residents live in the everyday, in what might be termed material 'modernity', ritual practice is a time of revering lineage relationships through enacting a connection with traditional ways of living and expressing respect for ancestral spirits. These findings quantitatively emphasise the significance of these practices for residents' own beliefs for accessing *impilo* (well-being).

5.2.2.1 The presence of ancestral belief systems in urban spaces

A total of 87% of the 61 participants reported holding a belief in the existence of ancestors as spiritual beings that remain present after death, this is typified in the '*hlonipa'* description of ancestors as *abantu abangabonwayo* (those people that are not visible):

- 77% of participants[174] defined their belief in ancestors as "strong", while 82% reported that their immediate families conducted rituals involving dialogue with ancestors (n=61).

A total of 75% of the participants (n=61) belong to churches that accept the existence of ancestors and ancestral rituals, while 25% belong to 'charismatic' churches that reject ancestral belief. However, 21% of members of charismatic churches reported doing ancestral rituals anyway. Several other participants mentioned having left charismatic churches, giving their main reason as being uncomfortable with the negative attitude of these churches to ancestral beliefs.

5.2.2.2 Imvelaphi ngesintu as a core dimension of identity for being a "whole or complete person"

These findings illustrate the value of traditional practices and ancestral reverence in urban spaces:

a) 88% of participants disagreed (with 85% expressing 'strong disagreement') (n=61) [175] to the statement: '*amaXhosa* need to leave *imvelaphi ngesintu* (traditional identity/origin) behind to be modern and successful people'; and

[174] Of interest is that of the 90% participants who self-classified as being members of a church (n=61), 72% self-classified their belief in their respective churches as "strong".

[175] The numbers on a five-point Likert scale: strongly disagree 52/61, disagree 2/61, strongly agree 2/61 and not applicable 5/61. Charismatic Christians chose not to comment on these types of questions.

b) 79% of participants disagreed[176](with 74% disagreeing strongly to the statement) (n=61)[177]: 'I see *amasiko* [in this case, ancestral rituals] and *imvelaphi ngesintu* [traditional dimensions of identity] as things of the past, not of the future[178]:

When asked if it was positive for them to be likened to *umntu wakudala* or *umntu wamandulo* (a person of the past, or from the commencement, the origin), 84% of participants were in agreement (n=61).

More than three-quarters (77%) of the participants (n=61) emphasised that they felt very strongly protected by their ancestors in their dwelling spaces, an idea that carries the concepts of one's ancestors surrounding one in spirit and looking out for you, 80% felt that there were ancestors present at 'this house' (n=61).

The findings emphasise the 'continued importance' of revering and knowing one's 'Red' origins as a vital dimension of identity and a grounding feature for contemporary urban *amaXhosa*. The findings challenge the idea that people are embarrassed, or ashamed, by these aspects of identity, or that through seeing them as something that is not able to be integrated into the future, they are forced to abandon them. This pride and importance of *imvelaphi ngesintu* appears to be the core dimension on which to build a complete (or whole) and psychologically healthy identity, in 'modernity', and is emphasised by (Ntombana, 2015; Mabizela, 2020). Instead of people's traditional identities being 'shed' as part of urbanisation and disappearing in modernity, as per the 'vanishing cultures hypothesis', these origins reflect great pride and remain of fundamental importance in contemporary urban spaces.

[176] I realised that the difference of 11% of participants responses between statements a) and b) was related to participants who, despite being very heavily invested in traditional dimensions of identity and ancestral belief, appeared convinced of the salience of the myths of the 'urban/rural divide in authenticity' and felt that authenticity would be lost in the future. I suggest that this is due to the prevalence of these myths rather than their sincerity regarding their own ancestral belief. This shows the vital importance of clear information to challenge these myths which, I observed, serve to make ancestral believers feel isolated and alone.

[177] The numbers on a five-point Likert scale: strongly disagree 45/61, disagree 3/61, neither agree nor disagree 2/61, agree 3/61, strongly agree 3/61, not applicable 5/61.

[178] This is often the expressed opinion of charismatic Christians who abstain from ancestral practices. It expresses the idea that affirms the historical relevance of their practices in the past but not any more in an era of 'modernity'. These individuals show respect for, and pride in, historical and traditional identities but maintain an exclusively modern contemporary identity, while displaying their 'Xhosa-ness' through their knowledge.

5.2.3 Home-making

A major finding of this thesis highlights that in Xhosa-linguaculture 'home-making' involves the performance of rituals involving formally installing ancestors (*ukumisa ixhanti*) in a dwelling space and introducing oneself to the community of residents (*ukuzazisa*).

5.2.3.1 Dialogues of 'Redness' as part of creating a home (ikhaya)

In this regard the ownership of a residence, or having residential permanence, is considered vital to be able to conduct any ancestral ceremonies including "home-making" rituals involving slaughter[179]. The findings indicated two options in terms of beginning the process of creating *ikhaya*:

i. *Ukuzazisa ngesintu*[180] (announcing themselves to their ancestors in the new home and the creation of *umizi* (a homestead)) consists of hosting a traditional ritual to formally call one's ancestors and the symbolic brewing of *umqombothi*. This would be followed by a second ceremony *ukuvula umzi/ukumisa ixhanti* (to open the homestead/ raise the kraal's tethering pole [construct the kraal]) involving building a symbolic kraal in which to slaughter a cow or goat and as a site for ancestors to reside. Conducting this process also shows one to be 'Red-at-heart' or a traditional person, and brings one into contact with, and affirms ties to, one's clan's men and women in the new community, (90% of the sample indicated that they would choose to announce in a traditional way (n=61)).

ii. Another option is to conduct an announcement and house opening in a 'saved Christian' way *ukuzazisa ngecawa* (to announce in a church way referred to as *idinara,* from the English word for, and a 'civilised' concept of a 'dinner'). This is generally without *umqombothi* or other alcohol and without a requirement for- or highly discourages the symbolism of- slaughtering in the kraal. Meat may either be bought or slaughtered without following any ritualistic procedure. These events are interestingly described as being prepared *ngesilungu*[181] (in a

[179] Meat for an ancestral ritual must never be bought, only slaughtered in the family kraal.

[180] *Isintu:* (literally: *isi-ntu* the 'language', or customs of *Ntu*- (the primogenitor of all Bantu groups)) this refers to practices that follow the ways and customs of ancestors.

[181] Rather than *ukupheka ngesiXhosa/ngesintu* (cooking in the Xhosa way/ancestral way), which requires cooking using firewood and *imbiza yesiXhos'* (cast-iron "Xhosa" pots) that affirm the idea of reverence of traditional origins by enacting them.

White way), meaning that food that can be cooked on gas and eaten at tables, (10% of the sample chose this second option of a Christian announcing[182] (n=61)).

Both sets of the home-making rituals involve the participation of neighbours and the community. A total of 77% of the households (n=61) predict to have announced themselves in this house within the next two years. This appears to closely align to the 72% of residents who are permanent occupiers of their households (n=61), with the remaining 28% being temporary. From discussions with participants the 5% shortfall could potentially be explained by people who expected to secure the house permanently in the future (see shortfall: 77%-72%). This is relevant because ownership of a residence, or permanence, is considered by all participants as vital to be able to conduct traditional "home-making" rituals involving slaughter.

5.2.3.2 The ideal urban home: kraals and rondavels in the urban yard

When participants were invited to imagine an ideal urban home, unhindered by financial or spatial constraints, 75% chose to have a rondavel (n=61). This finding emphasises the importance of the rondavel as a structure that displays a traditional identity and is also prized for conducting ritual practices.

Of the 61 households only two currently had rondavels (3%), indicating that urban rondavels are fairly rare but definitely not unknown[183]. While conducting the final interviews in Zwelitsha we were unable to interview a third household that had both a rondavel and a permanent kraal, as the occupants were preparing for a ceremony. However, we observed that generally there were at least two or three rondavels per Zone in Zwelitsha. During the two years of field work I observed 11 urban rondavels. In all cases the rondavel remained unoccupied during the year, functioning primarily as a ritual space.

Not surprisingly houses with rondavels frequently had cars and the original house had been extended, suggesting that building rondavels, to be used exclusively for rituals, is only a possibility for those with higher income levels.

[182] It is interesting to note that all participants anticipated holding an event for neighbours, clan's people and community members to announce. This shows concepts of group identity in *Ubuntu* and *ubu-melwane* (good neighbourliness).

[183] In 2018 there were two households that had rondavels in one small street in Zone 7 Zwelitsha, close to the house where I was staying. One of these was thatched and the other had a permanent kraal, was partly thatched and covered with zinc.

5.2.4 Kraals and rondavels

In recent literature the kraal has been revealed as a site of 'cultural' (and spiritual) significance (Ngxabi, 2003; Cocks & Wiersum, 2003; Cocks et al. 2006b). Construction and maintenance of a kraal is shown to be an outward display of Xhosa identity and of the significance of ancestral belief for the residents (Cocks, et al., 2006b). Kraals are noted as being like temples to the paternal ancestors of a homestead (Berglund, 1975). These understandings help one see beyond the material and utilitarian lens of kraals as only enclosures for livestock, and explore deeper motivations for the maintenance of these structures in households that do not keep livestock. Cocks' 're-discovery' of the spiritual significance of kraals post-2000 appears to have developed out of questioning as to why village homesteads that did not have livestock continued to invest energy and finances in building and maintaining permanent kraals (Cocks, 2006; Cocks, et al., 2008)[184].

5.2.4.1 Urban yards as primary sites for assessing urban 'Redness'

These research findings present strong evidence for the final "deconstruction" of the assumed salience of the 'divide' in ancestral belief, and the assumed divide between the authenticity of ritual practices in urban and rural spaces. I will stress that the actual prevalence of urban kraals can be argued to match the rural 'standard', but have remained invisible for reasons relating to the structural violence of Apartheid (in terms of spatial and legal constraining factors) and the epistemological violence of Christianity (which played itself out in the 'veiling' of ancestral belief within Xhosa communities (Ntombana, 2015)). This Masters thesis proposes as a major finding that despite the prevalence of the discussed 'myths' there is no difference in the sincerity of urban and rural adherence to ancestral belief ritual practice and also of 'Red' identities.

5.2.4.2 Kraals as sites of ritual activities that dialogue 'modern' identities with traditional origins

One can view urban yards as a primary site of performance of urban 'Redness' in terms of its importance for identity and ancestral belief. The construction of urban kraals is thus a key indicator to whether a household is performing rituals in that space. Of the participants 69% had either already constructed a kraal (49%) or planned to construct a kraal within the next two years (20%) (n=61)[185].

---

[184] Cocks' evidence for this assertion of the spiritual significance of the kraal space comes out of a study done among Zulus (Berglund, 1975).

[185] 31% of households do not foresee constructing a kraal (n=61). This can be seen to align to the 28% of households that classify their current residence as temporary or uncertain as to the permanence. (Here I note that 18% of the sample say this house is not a home it is just a dwelling place (*eyiyindlu nje*). The remaining 10% are uncertain about their permanence).

As already discussed, faced with the space constraints as a reality of urban living and a history of illegality of urban slaughtering and 'veiling' of traditional identities, these kraals are often temporary structures. Of the kraals already constructed, 33% were permanent and 67% were temporary (n=30). Temporary kraals usually consist of a circle of thorn branches packed to about shin height, with a gap at the entrance. After the ceremony the structure is removed or burnt and the space goes back to being a patch of lawn or bare swept earth. In all cases, however, the ground of the 'temporary kraals' remains hallowed throughout the year as a place to talk to ancestors (n=20). These structures are not just "mock" (Cook, 1931) or "makeshift" kraals (wording which serves to discount them as less authentic or which carries the judgement of them being 'shortcuts'[186] and imbued with less sincerity or respect in line with the strength of the myth of the urban/rural ancestral belief divide).

When invited to 'imagine their ideal urban home (where they would have sufficient space and money to satisfy all their needs and desires': 89% of the 61 participants chose to have a kraal in their yard, with the majority (78%) of these choosing permanent kraals and the remaining 12 homesteads (22%) choosing temporary kraals (n=54).

5.2.4.3 Iintlanti ezingabonwayo (kraals that remain unseen): temporary thorn-branch urban kraals on invisibly hallowed ground - a 'new' discovery

I argue that this thesis may for the first time document the 'prevalence' and significance of temporary kraals in urban Xhosa spaces. In this regard, I refer to the importance of seeing them, temporary kraals, in the context of the 'process'[187] of homemaking (from an emic perspective) and as being 'permanent features'. This approach to processes of homemaking and ritual that integrates the past, present and future of the yard as a ritual space, rather than just a view of the present, therefore helps quantify their use in urban spaces. While the presence of urban temporary kraals has been mentioned before I critique these engagements as remaining rather superficial and lacking nuance very seriously as discussed later on (Cocks & Dold, 2006. p. 68) and fairly limited discussions in Mayer (1962) and Pauw (1963)[188]. These findings indicate that the existence of temporary kraals has not been effectively documented before, and that their prevalence has not previously been very effectively understood.

---

[186] This description comes from discussions with a participant in November 2018.

[187] Long-term photographic exposure shutting movement rather than a 'snapshot' view through an etic lens that due to their invisibility is not able to see their presence and assumes they are not there or do not hold lasting significance. Here I reiterate that these places are sites of communication with ancestors even when there is no kraal.

[188] Mayer and Pauw noted the use of temporary kraals for slaughter of animals for ancestral rituals, but they did not attempt to quantify the prevalence of such structures (Mayer, 1962; Pauw, 1963). I note that for Mayer and

Temporary kraals can be seen as a feature of Xhosa ancestral belief in the research site. It is evident from this research that even though the structures are temporary, once erected these spaces were deemed 'permanent' by participants and seen as sacred.

I note that, despite the spatial constraints, the ground of 50% of the temporary kraals were used exclusively for rituals involving ancestral communication (n=30). These are effectively 'permanent kraals' that were just 'invisible'. However, one sees as a result of being temporary these 'kraals' are invisible unless seen when a ritual is being conducted. Thus, when compared to the normal vistas of villages, where as many as 70–80% of homesteads are likely to have kraals[189], the casual viewer will 'see' the urban spaces as largely devoid of this highly symbolic marker of traditional Xhosa identity[190]. This is expressed in the Xhosa idiom: "*Imizi ayifani, iyafana ngenthlati kuphela*" (Homesteads are not alike, but all share the singular similarity of the kraal, also to mean that a homestead requires a kraal to be a homestead) (Interview, Rhadebe, September 2018).

I propose that the apparently impermanent nature or urban "makeshift" kraals is likely to have influenced intercultural researchers, and even *amaXhosa,* to miss out on understanding the prevalence of urban kraal spaces (within a historical context of an active 'veiling' of ancestral beliefs before the 2000s (Ntombana, 2015)) and the spiritual significance imbued in these 'empty' patches of the yard by urban residents. I submit that this reality is an adaptation to urban constraints, yet feeds into the prevalent stereotype that urban spaces are devoid of traditional identities and ancestral belief. Additionally, I argue that the temporary kraal might have, especially historically, served as a 'veiling' act, allowing families to avoid being labelled as *amaqaba*[191]. When one reflects that 69% of the sampled participants expected having a kraal by 2021 and that, given ideal conditions, 89% of them would choose to have a kraal in their ideal urban home (with 78% of these preferring a permanent kraal (n=54))[192]. One sees there are no grounds for perpetuating the idea of an urban/rural divide regarding ancestral belief and traditional identities. This proves the urban/rural divide to be a myth. One realises that if one could 'see' temporary kraals (as a map overlay) in the research site currently one would not visually distinguish these urban spaces from the vistas of kraals in villages.

Pauw to quantify the prevalence of urban kraals would have been difficult due to the illegality of urban slaughtering at the time and the great 'veiling' of ancestral belief (Mayer, 1962).

[189] Here see (Cocks, et al., 2006; Cocks, et al., 2008).

[190] See (Cocks, et al., 2006) regarding the role of the kraal in signalling traditional male identity.

[191] See (Mayer, 1962; Ntombana, 2015).

[192] Cocks and Bangay appear to overlook the existence of permanent urban kraals altogether (2006).

I posit an incomplete understanding of the urban tradition of temporary kraals contributes to the prevalent stereotype that, in the words of one informant from 2018, "urban ritual practices are not conducted properly". I posit that their temporary nature also causes both academic and lay people, including some *amaXhosa* themselves, to underplay the significance of ritual practices for urban dwellers because 'permanent' urban kraals are relatively rare, i.e. only 16% of the participants (n=61). One might safely say (in line with Ntombana (2015) on 'veiling') that urban 'Redness' is largely invisible unless a ritual is being held[193]. This suggests that the prevalence of urban ritual practices is continually underestimated, from both emic and etic perspectives. Here, without understanding the prevalence and nature of temporary kraals the casual onlooker is likely to make an assessment based on the visibility of kraals between rural and urban spaces. They may conclude, in line with pervasive ideas in Xhosa literature, that urban spaces have a lower prevalence of ancestral belief and traditional identities[194]. This also highlights the undeniable impact of Apartheid urban housing planning on the spiritual expressions of urban *amaXhosa* and on creating a stereotype of an urban lack of adherence to ritual practices.

The choices around location of the kraal pointed further to the significance of the kraal space to residents and its importance for identity. This is especially relevant when considering the space constraints associated with allocation of RDP yard space and historical township overcrowding.

Of the nine households that used their temporary kraal as "multipurpose" space, eight expressed that it was not "an ideal situation" as space was needed for other things, with only one participant stating that it did not matter. Participants (2019) expressed the following:

> "Ideally the place of kraal would remain undisturbed, we have no choice. It is a problem, due to the shortage of space."
>
> "We use *ixhanti* as the pole for the letter box. For that matter, we always speak there even though that space is used for other purposes."
>
> "We use that space for hanging washing, as you can see."
>
> "Truly speaking, we are not supposed to do gardening [in the kraal area] but we do not have space."

[193] On the 'veiling' of traditional identities and ancestral beliefs in urban spaces, I note the words of one 18-year-old male participant (Nov 2019): "My father told me never to show my depth of belief in ancestors to my friends, that only if they attend our ceremony will they see how strongly I believe in these things."

[194] See the interview in which Mda affirms his idea of the salience of the urban/rural divide in (Mongo-Mboussa, 1999).

It is significant in this regard that 85% of the participants (n=61) agreed with the following research statement: 'There are sicknesses that cannot be cured by biomedicines (hospitals and clinics) but can only be cured through *amasiko* (ancestral rituals), *amaggirha* (ancestral mediums) and *amayeza yesintu* (ancestrally-related plant medicines)'.

This result shows the deep significance of ancestors in maintaining beyond-physical aspects of *impilo* (well-being) for what appears to reflect the worldviews of a great many *amaXhosa.* This result gives perspective to the previously mentioned 'body' of literature that emphasises the importance of ritual practices and ancestral beliefs in maintaining *impilo* or a "fullness of life" (Berglund, 1975; Ngubane, 1977; Berg, 2003; White, 2010; Dold & Cocks, 2012; Möller, et al., 2015). This adds a quantitative strength to these studies and furthermore indicates the sincerity of belief by many participants about ancestors and ancestral rituals giving them *impilo* and ensuring their holistic health and good fortune.

5.2.4.4 Clans and clan names

> "There are many people I know here in *Makhaza* (*Khayalitsha*) [a township of Cape Town], but I don't know their names (that is first names or surnames). We men call each other by our clan names, so that names are not important. What is really important is the clan name, and to a lesser extent the place of one's origin." (Spiegel & Mehlwana, 1997, p. 36)

"[By calling out my clan praises you are] acknowledging where I come from. It makes me feel fresh [enlivened]." "You are addressing who I really am." (Quote from informant, November 2018)

5.2.4.5 The importance of clan identities for understanding dimensions of 'Redness' and contemporary urban 'Red' identities

The importance of clans, clan names and clan identities are highlighted as something which people use to affirm their traditional roots and origins of 'Redness' in urban 'modernity'. A relationship of reverence with one's origins and heritage is emphasised as being vital in order to be a well and complete whole person in a post-colonial context (Mabizela, 2020). Here one sees that dimensions of 'Red' identity or even that "a Redness at heart" is very much connected to the pride that resonates from addressing people's clan identities, names and praises. Through becoming aware of the varied clans and multiple names and praises of each family, one becomes aware of the great significance of these in all Xhosa interpersonal interactions[195], and their importance in affirming identity and showing respect and reverence. Clan's people are seen as being kin. Participants expressed strong clan-based

[195] You begin to see and hear them everywhere – written on the woollen beanies of older men (Mayer, 1960's), written above people's house numbers and on the windscreens of minibus taxis,. They are also constantly used as greetings on Xhosa radio stations whether addressing topics of Christianity or a talk hour on legal advice.

friendships and that clan belonging was important in terms of community relationships, with clan's people in one's community often reported as adding to one's joy. In terms of the two research statements:

> 'I see clans and clan names as an important part of who I am': 93% of the participants agreed strongly, 5% agreed and 2% neither agreed nor disagreed (n=61); and
>
> 'clans people improve my experience of this place': 80% of the participants strongly agreed, 10% agreed, 2% neither agreed nor disagreed, and 11% said it was not applicable to them and that they were not aware of clan's people around them (n=61)[196],[197]

The findings revealed the fundamental importance that clan identity holds for the participants in that clan identities are regarded as being very important in terms of reverence for one's traditional origins and an affirmation of one's identity[198]. Clan identity is the ultimate reference of one's 'Redness' as *imvelaphi ngesintu* (traditional origins). I suggest that clan identities, names and praises are inextricably connected with ancestral belief. Praising locates and affirms the individual within their ancestral lineages. Saying clan names and praises is reported as causing a warmth and joy in participants' bodies, which can be seen as creating a resonance between the person and their ancestors and causing the stirring of ancestral spirits and symbolic warmth of joy within one. Clan identities and a living dialogue with *okoko* (ancestors) can be expressed as living within a cosmological social network, where one sees the depth of spirituality intertwined with clan identities and the living ancestral dialogue located in clan names and praises.

[196] Through having met so many people in the research site, the research team were normally able to point out someone from their clan within the surrounding two or three blocks.

[197] [These people were often new arrivals or did not have much social contact with neighbours and the community (where we observed there were likely to be some clan's people). We noted that quite a few of these participants locked their gates during the day, which was otherwise fairly unusual.

[198] This was generally less important to people who choose not to have a relationship with ancestors and thus had 'severed' themselves from their ancestors through becoming 'born-again' or 'saved'. "I am not worshipping those [ancestors] by saying the names and praises, I am just acknowledging that they existed." Most 'saved' people attached less fundamental importance to their clan identities, although often citing the practical importance for young people to know clan identities in order to be able to avoid entering into 'incestuous' sexual unions during their lives. Here sexual intercourse with a member of one's own clan (Fathers clan – patrilineal), one's mother's clan (matrilineal) or grandmothers' clans is considered a taboo.

5.3 Crossing the river / research experiences

With this background, I reiterate the aptness of a 'two-worlds' metaphor by one of the interpreters (MN) after discussions. His description of interactions being located in either one or the other of these worlds, as depicted below, depending on who one is interacting with:

> Firstly, the world of white people, employment and the material economy, perhaps where these black people are known only by their "white names" (i.e. John, Monica, Victoria, Gideon); and
>
> Secondly, the world of clan identities (where the same people are respectfully called *Jali*, *Mamdlani*, *Mampondo*, *Umgqwashu*); and thus the world of ritual and ancestral reverence, where a core dimension of one's identity is rooted in one's traditional origins and one's lineage, on performing ritual practices and in clan membership, as well as the presence of one's ancestors as a protecting and guiding force in one's life. This 'core' traditional identity is aptly defined as having "*intliziyo yobobomvu*" (a heart of 'Redness'/or a 'Redness' at heart) with one's 'Redness' as the core of who one is (Mda, 2000). Even while not constantly wearing the 'Red' clothing, the main maker of 'Redness' in etic colonial and missionary categorisations[199], or living completely within the 'purity' of the material culture associated with 'Redness'. Constant wearing of 'Red' clothing was used historically as the primary means of assessing adherence to 'Red' identities (Hunter, 1936; Bank, 2002a,2002b,2000c). Rather, people retain a reverence for these things as dimensions of *imvelaphi* (one's origins and identity), wearing them with pride on special occasions and feeling that wearing them connects them with ancestors and their origins. Participants note that wearing 'traditional' clothing shows reverence for ancestors. Articles used for rituals and what are defined as traditional forms of clothing[200], make up part of 'who *amaXhosa* feel they are' (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000).

[199] Here one can see the possible context around the strongly positive response to Reader's question to East London's black labourers about preferring to wear a blanket over Western clothing, in terms of its meaning for personal dialogue and affirmation of one's traditional identity. Also in this regard, as Mayer indicates, wearing a blanket would be an important requirement for traditional festivities and not, perhaps, as a disengaged academic might have presumed, something that would be worn every day (Reader, 1960; Mayer, 1962).

[200] The relationship of these with 'Red' aspects of identity is seen in how these are named and referred to in idiom: *imbiza yesiXhosa* (Xhosa pots); *abantu bomgquba* (people of the kraal manure); *ihlati yesiXhosa* (Xhosa forest); u*mthi wekhaya* (a tree of the home); *ukutya wesiXhosa* (Xhosa food cooked in cast iron pots over a fire); *utywala wesiXhosa* (Xhosa alcohol).

Through this research I have been able to show in an integrated way how ‘Redness’, ancestral beliefs, notions of ‘modernity’, unilinear unidirectional time and progress (that ground assessments of the hierarchical superiority of the West) form the centre of an interwoven spiral of complex issues regarding race and discussions of decoloniality in South Africa.

This concludes the findings. These findings are discussed in the concluding chapter in in four parts, namely introducing the findings, highlighting the key findings, considering the implications of these for further research, and finally wrapping up with closing thoughts.

6. Conclusion

6.1 Introduction to the discussion of the findings

This Masters research presents for the first time in urban Xhosa anthropological scholarship the historical context of the narrative of 'Redness' being incongruent with 'modernity' and explains why ancestral beliefs are often not considered to be readily prevalent in the Xhosa population.

This thesis claims to give nuanced and quantitative indicators on both ancestral belief systems and traditional dimensions of identity among a sample of urban dwelling *amaXhosa*[201] due to a contemporary openness regarding ancestral belief and the careful attention to detail regarding language-based emic categorisation. These results are posited to be the first in depth depictions of ancestral belief and the existence of traditional dimensions of identity among urban *amaXhosa* since the beginning of the studies involved in the 'Xhosa in Town Debate' (starting 1936).

6.2 Key findings of the research

The fundamental findings include the existence of the 'veil', the 'silence', the 'vanishing cultures hypothesis' and the background drivers for the four myths that caused the need for previous research to focus on all the 'proxy' issues because the central problem was 'veiled' and one was unable to speak about it.

The background is given in the section on the researcher' positionality (See Section 4). These novel and major findings are explained through the literature review (See Chapter 3) and the quantitative and qualitative results (see Chapter 5).

The following four key findings are discussed here in relation to urban *amaXhosa* in the research site based in King William's Town (Qonce).

6.2.1 Lifting the 'veil' on ancestral beliefs through Xhosa language emic perspectives

Knowledge of translation theory, Xhosa language perspectives, or at least an acknowledgement of the complexities of language and 'translation', are essential when researching the importance of ancestral belief and traditional identity to ensure an insightful understanding of emic categories of self-definition. This is especially important when engaging in the complexities of urban living and the

[201] In the greater East London Region, now termed the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality.

entrenched ideas of missionary and Western-inspired divides on 'urban/rural and 'educated/uneducated' binaries in terms of adherence to these ancestral beliefs and identities.

This Masters research shows: firstly, that the 'veil' is there[202] and secondly, that these mythical binary categories, in fact, hold little value for understanding the dynamics and have merely been part of maintaining the 'veil' for performed epistemological subservience for acceptability. This can be seen in Hunter's and Bank's 'methodological shortfalls'[203]. Engaging with these emic categories allowed me to go beyond the void and academic 'blind spots' and to 'discover' the importance of the aspects of identity hidden by the 'veil', including the concept of a 'Redness at heart'. I show that this 'veiling' was a strategy for protection of core aspects of identity from the epistemological trauma of Western coloniality and 'modernity', and allowed the users to fit into the demands of an epistemologically violent society[204] (Taylor, 1994). These emic understandings gave me the tools with which to unpack these complex and, up until now, unacknowledged problems and denials of the epistemological validity of Black worldviews and experiences.

6.2.2 Adherence to ancestrally-related practices and rituals associated with home-making

This thesis provides a strong qualitative understanding of the meanings and significance of these ancestrally-related practices in the lives of the participants for their *impilo* (well-being) and identity. Importantly, it gives a clear overview of the previous qualitative points that combined with quantitative indications of the prevalence of ancestral spirituality. The fullness of the thesis allows for ancestral belief, clan identity and processes of home-making to be seen to be inextricably intertwined, *Kakhulu!* (To a great extent).

In presenting the in-depth research into literature in the fields of history, the academic discussion of Xhosa literary texts and the theoretical epochs and trends[205] (located in previous academic 'blind

202 "[T]he most important thing of course is that your fieldwork has obviously been comprehensive and, and you have been welcomed in, beyond that barrier of mist [...] which does [emphasis] exist". Marguerite Poland, author of historical-fiction of the missionary/Xhosa history in the Eastern Cape (Personal communication, October 2021).

204 Here see the relevance of the themes in the play 'Sizwe Banzi is Dead' (Fugard, et al., 1972).

205 These were necessary to explain the core, or hinging issues, of this Masters research and explain and justify its relevance.

spots'[206]) it is possible to understand the background to these issues not being isolated to this research study site but rather as reflecting experiences of Xhosa 'society' in general.

In terms of providing information about home-making in RDP housing (the starting point of this research journey) the results of this thesis highlight importantly that place-making activities related to ancestral belief are only conducted by 'permanently' settled people rather than by migrants or 'temporary' urban dwellers. This understanding appears previously not to have been clear in urban academic literature, arguably because of the presence of the 'veil'. Such an understanding fairly negates a simplistic 'lay' critique of the RDP programme which was based on the idea that it only constructed houses and not homes, when this in fact this depends on participant's personal circumstances and the presence of their ancestors and can be seen to have no relationship with the structural design of the housing.

This critique was situated in a lack of awareness regarding language and emic categorisation, as mentioned above. This finding emphasises how common it is for academic and Western perspectives to front Western epistemologies and concepts as normative regarding acceptability around ways of being as universally relevant (Law, 2011; Mignolo, 2011; Mignolo, 2018).

6.2.3 'Continued' significance of 'Redness at heart' and ancestral spirituality in 'modernity'

The 'continued' significance of a 'Redness at heart' and ancestral spirituality among urban-dwelling *amaXhosa,* as core dimensions of identity, are shown in this thesis to have remained a fundamentally important factor in 'modernity', and as a grounding cosmological orientation in discussions of decoloniality and "epistemological reconstitution" (Mignolo, 2018). I argue that this thesis has documented for the first time in a consolidated way, the presence of ancestral belief and traditional identities in Xhosa urban spaces in the last 180 years (1840–2020)[207].

6.3 Implications of the findings for further research

6.3.1 Xhosa language perspectives are important for further research on ancestral belief and traditional identity of *amaXhosa*

An awareness of the need for attention to detail in Xhosa Linguaculture is shown to be essential in research that approaches the sensitivity of this core importance of ancestral belief and traditional

[206] Or at least 'blinkered spots', as the answers were there but were seen as disconnected and separate issues.

[207] For backing around this fairly strong claim, see (Nyaundi, 2011).

identity. This history emphasises the need for the researcher not to judge the 'purity' of people's material culture by external 'objective' assessments, but to be able to ask and listen, in dialogue with the people themselves. The researcher requires both the skills to 'ask' and to 'hear', but also the cultural and historical awareness to ensure that people feel comfortable enough to 'tell'. Perhaps most importantly in this process is the researchers' willingness to acknowledge their own positionality, and accept being still unknowing, using this to 'de-link' from the notion that one's education granted one the keys to ultimate truth, so pervasive in the Western experience (Mignolo, 2011). This requires a willingness to let go of a great number of 'comfortable', and unquestioned, concepts.

With the above in mind, one sees the relevance of the adapted focus of this thesis in 'constructing a foundation' for future research that is able to accurately reveal the widespread prevalence of such beliefs and dimensions of core identity among *amaXhosa* and (eventually) of all black South Africans.

'Constructing a foundation' for further research in this thesis requires the need to:

- Firstly, reveal the academic 'blind spot'; and
- Secondly, explain the reasons for the historic lack of academic attention to these, 'core' and fundamentally important, aspects of identity, epistemologies and ontologies.

6.3.2 Definitions of 'Red' and 'School' in previous studies lacked emic cultural categorisation or awareness of the 'veil'

> (I suddenly thought to myself: "No man! Perhaps people were just calling themselves 'school' when he [Lesley Bank] was interacting with them") (Personal thoughts in 2020).

The categories of 'Red' and 'School' are shown to be related to a construction to help navigate the difficulties of achieving acceptability and success, and 'veiling' inconvenient realities in white controlled spaces (Zotwana, 1993) This was further complicated by colonially-inspired ideas of class and status around being civilised (Magubane, 1973; Mda, 2000). Bank problematises 'Red' and 'School' categories as historical administrative colonial labels in his critique of Mayer in the XITT (Bank, 2002c), but then uses these categories, without really unpacking them from an emic perspective[208]. He insists that people have gone beyond these categories (and traditional dimensions of identity)

[208] At a time of the hidden presence of ancestral belief systems, and a national 'silence' regarding the importance of clan identities.

(Bank, 2002b; Bank, 2002c) without really seeing that many people never actually fitted into the 'School' category but used it as a cloak[209].

Despite this acceptance of an epistemological defeat and, at least on the surface, an acceptance of having to 'engage the beast' of colonialism[210] on its own terms (Peires, 1989), one sees through this thesis and with the vital confirmation by the XITT (and the writings of some black scholars) that attachment to the grounding importance of ancestral beliefs and related concepts of lineage-based identity appears to have remained important all along for a great many *amaXhosa*. However, there remained a definite, but very (textually) visible minority, who became 'fully' converted, 'pierced', and epistemologically or psychologically defeated (Jabuvu, 1960)

Now since a time of self-governance (1994) one sees a more open expression of these beliefs and dimensions of identity and a challenging of the pejorative label of *iqaba* to even be something that is expressed with pride and which is 'retained' even by the highly educated, like the character Camagu in Mda's book (2000). In this one can understand, and challenge[211] as a process of epistemological reconstitution, the apparent contradiction of naming these people (as highlighted by one of the interpreters) as "*amaqaba afundeleyo" (*'Reds' who are 'Schooled').

The aforementioned assessments of a lack of sincerity of rituals and ancestral belief among 'Westernised' urbanites is a very prevalent theme in Xhosa works of fiction (Zotwana, 1993). The strength of this emic narrative has been updated in this thesis as related to a complex triad of issues involving:

- Adherence to Western educated identities in town (Fugard, et al., 1972);
- 'Veiling' of ancestral beliefs in education and church spaces (Zotwana, 1993; Ntombana, 2015); and
- Historical realities and necessary adaptations relating to the structural difficulties of hosting ceremonies in urban spaces as in having relatives attend (due to restrictive influx laws), the cramped conditions of yards, a lack of plant and animal resources, and difficulties presented by the illegality of brewing, of slaughtering, and the lack of home ownership.

[209] Bank's definition of 'School' is people who do not believe in ancestors and do not value traditional parts of identity.

[210] Comprising mainline Christianity, Western clothing, education and Western notions of modernity and status.

[211] As a process of epistemological reconstitution (Mignolo & Hoffmann, 2017).

To me these adaptations reveal the importance of maintaining the essence of these practices and the identity that it informs for urban *amaXhosa.* It also reveals the value or even necessity of urban planning which would allow for a best possible fit of historically rural, 'cultural practices' in urban spaces. As our interviews with participants concluded, one said:

> "This fit of *imvelaphi yesintu* (traditional identities) and urban life would not be easy but we need to start thinking about it, to imagine it [urban living] as a holistic issue, and then co-operatively create a set of solutions that would be conducive to a great number of traditional people." (35-year-old male participant, November 2019)

6.3.3 The emic concept of 'Redness' at heart

'Redness' at heart is directly linked to ancestrally-related spiritual rituals and the embodiment of ancestral lineages in the form of clan identity. This thesis reveals that this worldview is a cosmic reality for a vast majority of the participants. The quantitative data indicate that this is likely to be reflective of the lived realities of the wider urban Xhosa population in King William's Town (Qonce) and perhaps of the wider Xhosa population as well.

This thesis explains, the emic concept of "a 'Redness' at heart" for understanding and explaining responses to epistemological violence and trauma. The resultant 'veiling' of core dimensions of identity can be understood as 'epistemological disobedience'. Mda's concept of 'The Heart of Redness' (2000) gives the answers to my initial exploratory questions (see Section 4.1.3) that started this in-depth investigation:

- Firstly, why has most academic literature been unaware of the fundamental importance of ancestral belief systems and clan identities among *amaXhosa*? and
- Secondly, why have these core aspects of people's identities and cosmologies been actively veiled?

To find the answers I needed to establish and then prove that these beliefs and identities had not just 'disappeared', without being labelled racist or essentialising or portraying people as 'culturally static'[212] and most importantly as this thesis presents that people did indeed actively 'veil' themselves.

6.3.4 Clan identity and ancestral belief are inextricably linked and were 'veiled'

This thesis highlights the inextricability of ancestral beliefs and clan identities as an explanation for understanding why the importance of clan identities was 'veiled' alongside ancestral belief and why

[212] Here see Bank (2002) and as further discussed in Nielsen (2013).

these have only become commonly used in public spaces since the late 1990s. One sees that the importance of clan names and praises were hidden/'veiled' from the time of the Xhosa Cattle-Killing (1856–1858) until the 2000s, due to two historical 'silences' related to coloniality (1840–2000) and liberal academia relating to notions of 'modernity' (1970–2000). This further explains why so few Whites have an understanding of clan names and their importance, that *amaXhosa* almost always express wonder at one's question (Opland, 2005) and why Bank stresses that clans were of little value (Bank, 2002c p.161).

6.4 Closing thoughts

This thesis has highlighted the previously unrecognised existence of 'the veil' and also the subsequent reclamation of *ubuqaba* (pride in, and an open expression about clan names and ancestral beliefs). Novel theories, from the ground-breaking Latin American school of 'decolonial' theoretical exploration, indicate how these two Xhosa responses as "epistemological disobedience" and "epistemological reconstitution" can be understood to stem from the 'normalised' epistemological violence and suppression grounded in coloniality. Post 2000, there is widespread openness about, and reclamation of 'Redness', changing notions of 'Red' epistemologies as invalid[213]. One sees in the light of this theoretical view that the Xhosa world is, and arguably has always been in an applied sense, very much 'up to date' with, if not ahead of, the latest assertions and theoretical explorations surrounding discussions of decoloniality (Mignolo, 2018). What has prevented the 'white world' from recognising these rebellions against epistemological oppression and ideological hegemony for what they are, has been a lack of applicable Western theories and an entrenched idea of supremacy which could not face the thought that the rest of the world might not in fact be following the historical linear trajectory of the West. And as a result, the 'white world' has remained 'blinkered'.

I highlight that ancestral spirituality presents an interestingly holistic or 'interlinked' and decentralised spirituality (one which dialogues one's lineage and place in the cosmos), giving believers a sense of 'placed-ness' within the beyond-material 'cosmological social network' of clan identities, and even nature. Furthermore, the spiritual protection and 'sense of place' offered to one by ancestors are bolstered by the understandings of benefits of ancestral rituals to group and individual psychological health. I note that in this way TAR offers many, if not all, the focus points of neo-pagan or new age belief that people in countries that have largely rejected formal religions (as part of the Secularisation

[213] Being defined by missionaries and colonials as primitive, unenlightened and backward, and ancestral beliefs as heathen or even demonic.

Thesis) are now looking to find (Hope & Jones, 2006; Hutton, 2013; Purcell, 2015). These focus points include: a holistic approach to health; involving dreams; balancing the material and non-material (including the individual as part of a community); a dialogue with the natural world and with one's own origins; and an opportunity to heal intergenerational traumas and wounds, acknowledging the existence of and enabling dialogue with an ancestral/spiritual realm (Cusack, 2009; Grunder, 2014; Purcell, 2015).

In this way I highlight that the West might be poised to return to certain 'modern' beliefs that have been safeguarded by *amaqaba* ('Reds'). This is an important perspective as it inverts the idea of 'modernity' as the epistemic property of the West, and in line with what Mignolo sees as a necessary inversion of perspective to be able to confront coloniality, turns the hegemonic idea that the West is at the forefront of time and progress on its head. *Yiqikili!* (it has turned somersault).

6.4.1 "Breathing in": concluding personal thoughts on the findings

This section acts in harmony with- and as a metaphoric response to- the section "Breathing out" in Appendix B.

This Masters thesis reveals the continued significance of ancestral belief systems, adherence to ritual practices, and clan membership as a reality for a majority of urban *amaXhosa* interviewed in this study. These findings challenge the notion that such aspects of identity and ancestral belief had largely disappeared and were almost non-existent in the urban space. It challenges the idea of the 'Red'/'School' divide and reveals the actual number of so-called 'School' people (people who have chosen to separate themselves from ancestors and, in modern terms, become 'born again') to be far less than has been assumed to be between 50% and 96%, in previous academic literature that is related to this field (Hunter, 1936; Mayer, 1962; Pauw, 1963; Bank, 2002c).

This Masters research, on the other hand, reports a low percentage of 10% of individuals and 2% of households (n=61) that are completely separated from ancestral belief and are exclusively charismatic Christians. Of course, with the current understanding of the strength of the 'silence' regarding the "two-worlds divide", together with the 'veiled' reality of the 'continued' importance of ancestral belief systems as being the normality of life for many *amaXhosa*[214], one can understand that the real number

[214] This refers to performing a complete 'School' identity, especially for official purposes, in church and formal spaces of education and bureaucracy (Mayer, 1962, p. 5;30; Ntombana, 2015).

of 'authentic' 'School' people would have been vastly lower than any estimate or research that came out of realities linked to the normality of 'veiled' core identities.

The literature that followed the XITT appeared to continue seeing 'School' people as representing half of the urban population, as implied by (Reader, 1960; Mayer, 1962, p. 4). Through the assumed salience of the "vanishing cultures hypothesis" regarding a disappearance of traditional aspects of identity and belief systems resulting from linear cultural development, it appears that authors in the 1990s and 2000s understood the number of authentic 'School' people, at that time, to have become far greater than half of the population. These authors considered 'pure' traditional 'Reds' (externally defined by categories of material culture) to be a dwindling and now representing only a small minority in urban spaces (Schönstein Pinnock, 1994; Magubane, 1998; Bank, 2002c).

A careful re-reading of Mayer's assertions, however, leaves us with the thought that perhaps there were never that many people who were truly 'School'[215], that 'School' was for many just a performed identity of abandoning traditional identities among mission-educated and white-collared black people to satisfy the demand to become 'civilised' and 'progress' into a Western 'modernity' (Hornborg, 2015; Poland, 2019).

This performed identity, depicted in Athol Fugard's play '*Sizwe Banzi is Dead*' as just an ill-fitting suit that, being baggy, allows one to comfortably keep traditional identities and ancestral belief systems (here represented by the long Xhosa smokers' pipe) intact and safely 'veiled', while enjoying the material comforts of Western cultures such as the fashionable cigarettes of town. In the play, the people of home (the family, neighbours and community who know the true identity of Robert *Zwelinzima*) recognise that traditional aspects of identity, clan connections and ancestral belief carry very strong importance.

When Sizwe Banzi, 'veiled' from the structural violence and tyranny of the apartheid state, in the identity of Robert *Zwelinzima* pulls out his pipe for the photograph he is referencing a Xhosa idiom and saying to all who know the symbolism, "*Ewe, Mfundini, ndisayitshaya lonqawa*" (Indeed, my fellow, I still smoke this pipe.) The play emphasises that the *amaXhosa* still hold their traditional belief/origin - a belief in ancestors and a pride in one's origins of *imvelaphi ngesintu* - defining themselves as "*amaXhosa anetliziiyo zobubomvu*", as people with 'Red' hearts and traditional identities (despite living in a material culture of 'Western modernity').

[215] If to be 'School' meant abandoning all aspects of traditional identity and ancestral belief systems, this Masters research then suggests that a relatively small proportion of the population qualify as 'School' people, with 93% of the participants having a strong connection to their clan identities (n=61).

If one realises now that Sizwe Banzi was never really dead and that the hidden ancestral beliefs never actually disappeared, to be completely replaced by Christianity, then traditional Xhosa identities never faded away in the face of cosmopolitan fashion, and through critical frameworks on colonial ontologies one sees that there never was 'modernity'. This Masters research suggests that there never were a great many pure 'School Xhosa'. Through these new understandings, it is possible to move past the debate, finally going beyond 'Red' and 'School', because, in the way I see it, we no longer require them in this post-apartheid time, where people should be able to be open about their identities and beliefs without concern of pejorative judgements. The 'veil' can finally be lifted and ancestral beliefs, and related issues of identity, should not be seen as primitive and unenlightened or applicable only to a bygone time. We now have the tools to understand and accept people's multiple dimensions of identity and revere the 'continued' importance of ancestral belief systems and traditional aspects of people's identities.

Being able to "see it, understand it, and acknowledge that it has value"[216] in order that such core issues of identity can be recognised, understood and accepted. Instead of assuming the "Heart of Redness" to be an isolated rural place of "cultural essentialism" or 'purity', we can all understand the importance of acknowledging and revering the "Redness at heart" as a dialogue with traditional dimensions of identity in a post-colonial space. And hopefully, through greater learning about such things, some of us can be more open and others of us more open-minded.

6.4.1.1 Phele phela ngentsomi (that is the end of our tale).

And so ends this complex and 'ground breaking' story. Perhaps I only ever really needed to say that: "ancestral beliefs and related clan identities do exist in contemporary urban Xhosa communities, *ngamandla!*" ([they exist] with great strength). And that in fact they (being components of "Redness") remain "very strongly" rooted as core dimensions of a great many urban dwellers' basis for meaning and identity. Furthermore, there is no basis to continue differentiating between Christianity/ancestral beliefs, urban/rural, or educated/uneducated people. And that should be the end of the story!

However, due to the taboos and the multitude of often unexpressed interlinking factors, this story is not able to be that short. This is because understanding this story (and why it is even a story significant enough to be worth the telling[217]) requires an overt understanding of all the related factors that we

[216] These were the words of a female Xhosa PhD student who expressed what she valued about my cultural knowledge of the cosmology of *"isiXhosa"* and aspects of her identity, and how it made her more comfortable and open with me as a white male (April, 2019).

[217] In May 2019 a senior academic at Rhodes University said to me, "Well, what is new about your study? We know that Xhosa people practice these cultural rituals, [so] what does your study give that the previous ones

are often only partially aware of. Without addressing them consciously it is difficult to really understand why we are in the situation that we are in (Macfarlane and Marshall, 2021b).

- If it had been a clearly defined problem from the beginning, located within a 'relaxed' space of dialogue, and not involving conveniently ignored and uncomfortable taboo issues, 'blinkered' from view and located between the established silos of academic literature;

Then it is likely that I could have simply reported that "ancestral beliefs, related rituals and clan identities remain strongly significant to urban-dwelling *amaXhosa.*"

However, in the current complex situation, such a statement would have just left the critical thinking reader with more questions than answers.

I say this because, ironically, none of these findings are in fact new and they actually merely repeat much of the work methods and focus of Mayer and Pauw from the XITT studies conducted in the late 50s and early 60s.

have not?" Little did we know then how much was actually 'unknown' or misunderstood, and how much this thesis has been able to say that is new.

7. Bibliography

#calledamoffie. 2020. [Film] Directed by Oliver Hermanus. South Africa: Portobello Productions.

Adendorff, R., 2002. *"Fanakalo".* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Adesina, J., 2013. Bernard Makhosezwe Magubane (1930–2013): An intellectual appreciation. *South African Review of Sociology,* 44(3), pp. 83–90.

Agar, M., 1994. *Language Shock: Understanding the Culture of Conversation.* New York: William Morrow and Company.

Agnoletti, M. & Rotherham, I. D., 2015. Landscape and biocultural diversity. *Biodiveristy and Conservation,* 24(13), pp. 3155–3165.

Ahlin, L., 2015. The growth of alternative therapy: A valid argument against the secularisation thesis?. *Journal of Contemporary Religion,* 30(3), pp. 399–413.

Ainslie, A., 1999. When 'community' is not enough: Managing common property natural resources in rural South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, *16*(3), pp.375-401.

Ainslie, A., Kepe, T., Ntsebeza, L., Ntshona, Z. and Turner, S., 2002. Cattle ownership and production in the communal areas of the Eastern Cape, South Africa.

Ainslie, A., 2005. Farming cattle, cultivating relationships: Cattle ownership and cultural politics in Peddie District, Eastern Cape. *Social Dynamics,* 31(1), pp. 129–156.

Ainslie, A., 2014. Harnessing the ancestors: Mutuality, uncertainty and ritual practice in the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa. *Journal of the international African Institute,* 84(4), pp. 530–552.

Alami, A., 2013. Dialectics of desire, victimhood and postcolonial migrancy in Tahar Ben Jelloun's 'Leaving Tangier'. *South Central Review,* 30(2), pp. 1–31.

Alatas, S., 2000. Intellectual imperialism: Definition, traits and problems. *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science,* 28(1), pp. 23–45.

Alatas, S., 2003. Academic dependency and the global division of labour in the Social Sciences. *Current Sociology,* 14(5), pp. 599–613.

Albuquerque, U. P., de Medeiros, P. M. & Santos de Almeida, A. L., 2014. Principles in inferential statistics applied to ethnobiology and ethnoecology. In: U. P. Albuquerque, ed. *Methods and Techniques in Ethnobiology and Ethnoecology.* New York: Humana Press, pp. 413–432.

Albuquerque, U. P., Paiva de Lucena, R. F. & Machado de Freitas Lins Neto, E., 2014. Selection of research participants. In: U. P. Albuquerque, L. V. Fernandes Cruz da Cunha, R. F. Paiva de Lucena & R. R. Nobrega Alves, eds. *Methods and Techniques in Ethnobiology and Ethnoecology.* New York: Humana Press, pp. 1–15.

Albuquerque, U. P., Ramos, M. A., Paiva de Lucena, R. F. & Alencar, N. L., 2014. Methods and techniques used to collect ethnobiological data. In: U. P. Albuquerque, L. V. Fernandes Cruz da Cunha, R. F. Paiva de Lucena & R. R. Nobrega Alves, eds. *Methods and Techniques in Ethnobiology and Ethnoecology.* New York: Humana Press, pp. 15–38.

Alexander, J., 2019. *Discussion on questionnaire design and people's openness about Ancestral belief systems* [Interview] (21 June 2019).

Alfaisal, H., 2011. Indigenous epistomology and the decolonisation of postcolonialism. *Studies in Social and Political Thought,* 19(-), pp. 24–40.

Altman, J., 2012. *People on Country: Vital landscapes, indigenous futures.* Annandale, NSW: The Federation Press.

Amit, V., 2002. Reconceptualizing communities. In: V. Amit, ed. *Realizing Community.* London: Routledge, pp. 1–20.

Amoah, J. & Bennett, T., 2008. The freedoms of religion and culture under the South African constitution: Do traditional african religions enjoy equal treatment?. *African Human Rights Law Journal,* 8(-), pp. 357–375.

Anderson, E., Carleton, R., Diefenbach, M. & Han, P., 2019. The relationship between uncertainity and affect. *Hypothesis and Theory,* 10(Article 2504), pp. 1–17.

Anderson-Levitt, K.M., 2014. Significance: recognizing the value of research across national and linguistic boundaries. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, *15*(3), pp.347-354.

Anon., 1948. *Spectator*.

Antell, K., Strothmann, M. & Downey, J., 2013. Self-censorship in selection of LGBT-themed materials. *Services Quarterly,* 53(2), pp. 104–107.

Anthonissen, C., 2008. On interpreting the interpreter - Experiences of language practitioners mediating for the TRC. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses,* 3(3), pp. 165–188.

Anthropology Southern Africa, 2005. Ethical guidelines and principles of conduct for anthropologists. *Anthropolgy Southern Africa,* 28(3&4), pp. 142–143.

Appiah, K., 2006. *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a world of strangers.* New York: Norton & Company.

Ashford, A., 1991. The Xhosa cattle killing and the politics of memory. *Sociological Forum,* 6(2), pp. 581–592.

Aston Philander, L. E., Makunga, N. P. & Platten, S. J., 2011. Local medicinal plant knowledge in South Africa preserved by ?. *Human Ecologies,* 39(-), pp. 203–216.

Attride-Stirling, J., 2001. Thematic networks: An analytic tool for qualitative research. *Qualitative Research,* 1(3), pp. 385–405.

Attwell, D., 2005. *Rewriting Modernity: Studies in Black South African literary history.* Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press.

Baderoon, G., 2012. *The Provenance of the term 'Kafir'in South Africa and the notion of Beginning.,* Cape Town: Health, University of Cape Town.

Bae, C. S., 2007. *Ancestor Worship and the Challenges it Poses to the Christian Mission and Ministry.* Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Pretoria .

Ballantine, C., 2004. Re-thinking 'Whiteness'? Identity, change and 'White' popular music in post-apartheid South Africa. *Popular Music,* 23(2), pp. 105–131.

Ballard, R., 2004. Middle class neighbourhoods or 'African kraals'? The impact of informal settlements and vagrants in post-apartheid White identity. *Urban Forum,* 15(1), pp. 48–73.

Ballard, R., 2010. 'Slaughter in the suburbs': Livestock slaughter and race in post-apartheid cities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 33(6), pp. 1069–1087.

Bank, A., 2008. The 'Intimate Politics' of fieldwork: Monica Hunter and her African assistants, Pondoland and the Eastern Cape, 1931-1932. *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 34(3), pp. 557–574.

Bank, A. & Bank, L., 2013. City Dreams, Country Magic: Re-reading Monica Hunter's East London fieldnotes. In: *Inside African Anthropology: Monica Wilson and her interpreters.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 95–128.

Bank, A., 2015. Fathering volkekunde: race and culture in the ethnological writings of Werner Eiselen, Stellenbosch University, 1926–1936. *Anthropology Southern Africa*, *38*(3-4), pp.163-179.

Bank, L., 2002a. *Xhosa in Town Revisited: From urban anthropology to an anthropology of urbanism.* Unpublished PhD thesis : University of Cape Town.

Bank, L., 2002b. Beyond red and school: Gender, tradition and identity in the rural Eastern Cape. *Journal of Sotuhern African Studies,* 28(3), pp. 631–649.

Bank, L., 2002c. Home-made ethnography: Revisiting the "Xhosa in Town" trilogy. *Kronos,* 28(-), pp. 146–171.

Bank, L., 2007. Rythms of the yards: Urbanism, backyards and housing policy in South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies,* 25(2), pp. 205–228.

bar Magazine, 2019. *Noxolo Grootboom: The linguistic legend of our time - part 2.* Film interview: bar Magazine.

Barber, K., 2001. Cultural reconstruction in the new South Africa. *African Studies Review*, *44*(2), pp.177-186.

Barnard, A., 2000. *History and Theory in Anthropology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barthel, S., Crumley, C. & Svedin, U., 2013. Bio-cultural refugia safeguarding diversity of practices for food security and biodiversity. *Global Environmental Change,* 23(5), pp. 1142–1152.

Basso, K., 1988. "Speaking with names": Language and landscape among the Western Apache. *Cultural Anthropology,* 3(2), pp. 99–130.

Basso, K. H., 1996. Wisdom sits in places: Notes on a Western Apache landscape. In: S. Feld & K. Basso, eds. *Senses of Place.* Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, pp. 15–32.

Basson, A., 2009. The dream truths of Notrose Komile. *Mail and Guardian*, 5 June, p. online.

Batello, C. et al., 2010. *Gardens of Biodiversity.* Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

Becker, H., 2012. Anthropology and the study of popular culture: A perspective from the Southern tip of Africa. *Research in African literatures*, *43*(4), pp.17-37.

Beinart, W., 1991. Speaking for themselves. *African Studies,* 50(1), pp. 11–38.

Beinart, W. & McGregor, J., 2003. *Social History and African Environments.* Oxford: James Currey.

Bell, D., 2009. Embedded in history: Camagu's amaXhosa (sic) identity in Zakes Mda's 'The Heart of Redness'. *Moderna Språk,* 2(-), pp. 19–26.

Ben Jelloun, T., 2009. *Leaving Tangier (Translator: Linda Coverdale).* New York: Pengiun Books.

Bennett, K., Cochrane, A., Mohan, G. & Neal, S., 2015. Listening. Emotion. *Space Soc.,* 17(1), pp. 7–14.

Bennet, T. W., 2011. Introduction. In: T. W. Bennet, ed. *Traditional African Religions in South African Law.* Cape Town: UCT Press, pp. ix–xxxi.

Berg, A., 2003. Ancestor reverence and mental health in South Africa. *Transcultural Psychiatry,* 40(2), pp. 194–207.

Berglund, A., 1975. *Zulu Thought-patterns and Symbolism.* 1st ed. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Berkes, F., Feeny, D., MaCay, B. & Acheson, J. M., 1989. The benefits of the commons. *Nature,* 340(-), pp. 91–93.

Bernard, H. R., 2006. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches.* 4th ed. Oxford: AltaMira Press.

Bernard, P., 2001. *Sacred water sites and indigenous healers in Southern Africa: The need to protect indigenous knowledge and resource rights.* Saskatchewan, University of Saskatchewan.

Bezuidenhout, E., 2010. *Evita's Kossie Sikelela.* Cape Town: Umuzi.

Bhabha, H., 1994. *The Location of Culture.* New York: Routledge.

Bhana, D., de Lange, N. & Mitchell, C., 2009. Male teachers talk about gender violence: "Zulu men demand respect". *Educational Review,* 61(1), pp. 49–62.

Bhargava, R., 2013. Overcoming the epistemic injustice of colonialism. *Global Policy,* 4(4), pp. 413–417.

Bhatti, M. & Church, A., 2000. 'I never promised you a rose garden': Gender, leisure and home-making. *Leisure Studies,* 19(3), pp. 183–197.

Bhatti, M. & Church, A., 2004. Home, the culture of nature and meanings of home gardens in late modernitiy. *Housing Studies,* 19(1), pp. 37–51.

Biko, S., 1978. *I Write What I Like.* Johannesburg: Picador Africa.

Birama, P., 2005. *African Traditional Culture and Modernity in Zakes Mda's 'The Heart of Redness'.* Cape Town: University of the Western Cape (unpublished Masters thesis).

Birdsall, S., 1996. Presidential address: Regard, respect and responsibility: Sketches for a moral geography of the everyday. *Annual Association of American Geographers,* 86(4), pp. 619–629.

Birks, M. & Mills, J., 2015. *Grounded Theory: A practical guide.* London: SAGE Publications.

Bizley, W., 2004. Unsung heroes: The trek oxen and the opening of Natal. *Natalia,* 34(1), pp. 50–61.

Block, D., 2017. Positioning theory and life-story interviews: Discursive fields, gaze and resistance. In: S. Bugga-Gupta, A. L. Hansen & J. Feikberg, eds. *Identity Revised and Reimagined.* Cham: Springer, pp. 25–39.

Bloom, K., 2009. *Ways of Staying.* Johannesburg: Picador Africa.

Boas, F., 1889. On alternating sounds. *American Anthropologist*, *2*(1), pp.47-54.

Bondi, L., 2005. Making connections and thinking through emotions: Between geography and psychotherapy. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 3(4), pp. 433–448.

Bondi, L., 2009. Emotional knowing. In: R. Kitchin & N. Thrift, eds. *International encyclopedia of human geography.* s.l.:Elsevier, pp. 446–452.

Bondi, L., 2009. Teaching reflexivity: Undoing or reinscribing habits of gender?. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education,* 33(3), pp. 327–337.

Booi, B. N. & Edwards, D. J., 2014. Becoming a Xhosa healer: Nomzi's story. *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology,* 14(2), pp. 1–12.

Botha, L., 2012. *Discourse of Language Acquisition and Identity in the Life Histories of Four White Men, Fluent in isiXhosa.* Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Cape Town.

Brähre, E., 2007. *Money and Violence: Financial Self-Help Groups in a South African Township.* Leiden: Brill.

Brisset, C., Leanza, Y. & Laforest, J., 2013. Working with interpreters in health care: A systematic review and meta-ethnography of qualitative studies. *Patient Education,* 28(2), pp. 270–289.

Broodryk, J., 2006. The philosophy of ubuntu: Some management guidelines. *Management Today,* 22(7), pp. 52–55.

Brook, I., 2003. Making here like there: Place attachment, displacement and the urge to garden. *Ethics, Place & Environment,* 6(3), pp. 227–234.

Brook, I., 2010. The importance of nature, green spaces, and gardens in human well-being. *Ethics, Place & Environment,* 13(3), pp. 295–312.

Brosius, J. P. & Hitchner, S. L., 2010. Cultural diversity and conservation. *International Social Science Journal,* 61(-), pp. 141–168.

Broster, J. A., 1967. *Red Blanket Valley.* Johannesburg: Hugh Keartland.

Brown, K., 2016. The use of medicinal plants in Rio de Janeiro's urban periphery: An analysis of communities engagements with policies. *Journal of Ethnobology,* 36(4), pp. 861–880.

Brown, R., 1973. Anthropology and colonial rule: Godfrey Wilson and the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Northern Rhodesia. In: T. Asad, ed. *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter.* New York: Humanities Press.

Brown, R. & Lenneberg, E., 1954. A study in language and cognition. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 49(3), p. 454.

Brubaker, R. & Cooper, F., 2000. Beyond "identity". *Theory and Society,* 29(1), pp. 1–47.

Bruce, M., 1908. *The New Transvaal.* London: Alston Rivers.

Bruce, S., 1996. Religion in Britain at the close of the 20th century: A challenge to the silver lining perspective. *Journal of Contemporary Religion,* 11(3), pp. 261–275.

Bruce, S., 2013. Post-secularity and religion in Britain: An empirical assessment. *Journal of Contemporary Religion,* 28(3), pp. 369–384.

Buchmann, C., 2009. Cuban home gardens and their role in social-ecological resilience. *Human Ecologies,* 37(-), pp. 705–712.

Bührmann, M. V., 1984. *Living in Two Worlds: Communication between a white healer and her black counterparts.* Cape Town: Human & Rousseau.

Buijs, G., 2012. 'Home is where the heart is': Negotiating the construction of identity for Xhosa women migrants in Thokoza Hostel, Durban circa 1985. *Alternation,* 19(1), pp. 151–172.

Burbidge, M., 2007. The big beef: Tony Yengeni stabbing a bull has reignited the debate around the sacrificial slaughtering of animals. *Mail & Guardian*, 26 January, p. (online).

Burger, J., 1943. *The Black Man's Burden.* London: Victor Gollancz Ltd.

Bylund, E. & Athanasopoulos, P., 2017. The Whorfian time warp: Representing duration through the language hourglass [Swedish and Spanish]. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General,* 146(7), pp. 911–916.

Cahill, T., 1995. *How the Irish Saved Civilization.* Dublin: Nan A. Talese.

Caillon, S., Cullman, G., Verschuuren, B. & Sterling, E., 2017. Moving beyond the human-nature dichotomy through biocultural approaches; including ecological well-being in resilience indicators. *Ecology and Society,* 22(4)(27).

Caldwell-Harris, C., 2019. Our language affects what we see. *Scientific American*, 15 January, p. online.

Calvino, I., 1988. *Six Memos for the Next Millennium (Charles Eliot Norton Lectures).* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvad University Press.

Campbell, S., 1998. *Called to Heal: Traditional healing meets modern medicine in southern Africa today.* Johannesburg: Zebra Press.

Campbell, S., 2011. *Stages on Pages: A comparative study of Pieter-Dirk Uys' one man shows as an autobiographical alternative to memoir.* Unpublished Masters thesis: University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Canclini, G., 1995. *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for entering and leaving modernity.* Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press.

Carton, B. & Morell, R., 2012. Zulu masculinities, warrior culture and stick fighting: Reassessing male violence and virtue in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 38(1), pp. 31–53.

Carver, D. H., 2007. The Xhosa and the Truth and Reconciliation Commision: African ways. *Tribal Law,* 8(-), pp. 34–51.

Casasanto, D., 2008. Who's afraid of the big bad Whorf? Crosslinguistic differences in temporal language and thought. *Language learning,* 58(-), pp. 63–79.

Casasanto, D., 2012. Whorfian hypothesis. In *Oxford Bibliographies Online: Anthropology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chadwick, O., 1975. *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Ninteenth Century.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Chan, J., Pennisi, L. & Francis, C. A., 2016. Social-ecological refuges: reconnecting in community gardens in Lincoln, Nebraska. *Ethnobiology,* 36(-), pp. 842–860.

Cillers, P., 1998. *Complexity and Postmodernism: Understanding complex systems.* London: Routledge.

Cindi, F., 2015. *Amathole Museum.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.museum.za.net/index.php/imvubu-newsletter/83-nompendulo-high-

school-massacre-20th-anniversary
[Accessed 21 October 2017].

Clarke, S., 2021. Gen Z is deconstructing religion and finding faith. *Vice*, 18 Febuary, p. online.

Clifford, J & Markus, G (Eds.). 1986. *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography.* Berkeley, CA: University of Calafornia Press.

Clifford, J., 1989. The others: Beyond the 'salvage' paradigm. *Third Text,* 3(6), pp. 72–78.

Coates, J., Gray, M. & Hetherington, T., 2006. An eco-spiritual perspective: Finally, a place for indigenous approaches. *British Journal of Social Work,* 36(-), pp. 381–399.

Cobbing, J., 1988. The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo1. *The Journal of African History*, *29*(3), pp.487-519.

Cobley, A., 1987. *'On the Shoulders of Giants': The black petty bourgeoisie in politics and society in South Africa, 1924–1950.* London: ProQuest.

Cobley, A., 2001. Does social history have a future? The ending of apartheid and recent trends in South African historiography. *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 27(3), pp. 613–625.

Cock, J., 1980. *Maids and Madams: A study in the politics of exploitation.* Johannesburg: Raven Press.

Cocks, M., 2006. Biocultural diversity: Moving beyond the realm of 'indigenous' and 'local' people. *Human Ecology,* 34(2), pp. 185–200.

Cocks, M., Alexander, J. & Dold, T., 2013. Inkcubeko nendalo: A bio-cultural diversity schools education project in South Africa and its implications for inclusive indigenous knowledge systems. *Journal of Education for Sustainable Development,* 6(2), pp. 241–252.

Cocks, M., Alexander, J., Mogano, L. & Vetter, S., 2016. Ways of belonging: Meanings of nature among Xhosa-speaking township residents in South Africa. *Journal of Ethnobiology,* 36(4), pp. 820–841.

Cocks, M., Bangay, L., Shackleton, C. & Wiersum, F., 2008. 'Rich man poor man' - inter-household and community factors influencing the use of wild plant resources amongst rural households in South Africa. *The International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology,* 15(3), pp. 198–210.

Cocks, M., Bangay, L., Wiersum, K. & Dold, A., 2006. Seeing the wood for the trees: The role of woody resources for the construction of gender specific household cultural artefacts in non-

traditional communities in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. *Environment, Development and Sustainablity,* Volume 8, pp. 519–533.

Cocks, M. & Dold, A., 2004. A new broom sweeps clean: The economic and cultural value of grass brooms in the Eastern Cape. *Forests, Trees and Livelihoods,* pp. 33–42.

Cocks, M. & Dold, A., 2006. Cultural significance of biodiversity: The role of medicinal plants in urban African cultural practices in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. *Journal of Ethnobiology,* 26(1), pp. 60–82.

Cocks, M. & Dold, A., 2008. The cultural use of the Wild Olive Tree by the amaXhosa people in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. *Journal for the Study of Religion, Nature & Culture,* 2(3), pp. 292–309.

Cocks, M. L., 2006. *Wild Resources and Practices in Rural and Urban Households in South Africa: Implications for biocultural diversity conservation.* Unpublished PhD thesis: Wageningen University.

Cocks, M. L. & Bangay, L., 2006. The significance of natural resources to urban households: Implications for bio-cultural diversity in South Africa. In: M. Cocks, ed. *Wild Resources and Cultural Practices in Rural and Urban Households in South Africa.* Wageningen: Wageningen University, pp. 145–198.

Cocks, M. L. & Wiersum, K. F., 2003. The significance of biodiversity to rural households in Eastern Cape Province, South Africa. *Forests, Trees and Livelihoods,* 13(-), pp. 39–58.

Cocks, M. & Wiersum, F., 2014. Reappraising the concept of biocultural diversity: A perspective from South Africa. *Human Ecology,* 42(5), pp. 727–737.

Cole, E. &. F. T., 1968. *House of Bondage.* London: The Penguin Press.

Collins English Dictionary, 2020a. *Collins Dictionary - nonlinear.* [Online]
Available at:
https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/nonlinear#:~:text=If%20you%20describe%20something%20as,directions%20at%20the%20same%20time.

Collins English Dictionary, 2020b. *Collins Dictionary - unilinear.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/unilinear

Collinson, M. A., Tollman, S. M. & Kahn, K., 2007. Migration, settlement change and health in post-apartheid South Africa: Triangulating health and demographic surveillance with national census data. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health,* 35(-), pp. 77–84.

Conklin, B., 2002. Shamans versus pirates in the Amazonian treasure chest. *American Anthropologist,* 104(4), pp. 1040–1061.

Cook, P., 1931. *Social Organisation and Ceremonial Institutions of the Bomvana.* Cape Town and Johannesburg: Juta.

Copi, I., Cohen, C. & Flage, D., 2006. *Essentials of Logic.* 2nd ed. Upper Saddle River, NS: Pearson Education.

Crawford, J., 2015. *The Poetic Edda: Stories of the Norse Gods and Heroes.* Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company.

Crezee, I. & Grant, L., 2013. Missing the plot? Idiomatic language in interpreter education. *International Journal of Interpreter Education,* 5(1), pp. 3–16.

Crigler, R., 2018. No laughing matter? Humour and the performance of South Africa. *South African Theatre Journal,* 2(3), pp. 155–171.

Cristoforetti, A. G. F. & Rodeschini, G., 2011. Home sweet home: The emotional construction of places. *Journal of Aging Studies,* 25(-), pp. 225–232.

Crockett, A. & Voas, D., 2006. Generations of decline: Religious change in 20th-century Britain. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion,* 45(4), pp. 567–584.

Cross, J. E., 2001. *What is Sense of Place.* Fort Collins, Colorado State University.

Cuerrier, A. et al., 2015. Cultural keystone places: Conservation and restoration in cultural landscapes. *Journal of Ethnobiology,* 35(3), pp. 427–448.

Cusack, C., 2009. The return of the goddess: Mythology, witchcraft and feminist spirituality. In: d. https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004163737.i-650.93, ed. *Handbook of Contemporary Paganism.* Leiden: Brill, pp. 335–362.

Dahl, Ø., 1995. When the future comes from behind: Malagasy and other time concepts and some consequences for communication. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *19*(2), pp.197-209.

Damba-Hendrik, N., 2015. *Councillor must fall, say King William's Town protesters.* [Online] Available at: https://www.groundup.org.za/article/councillor-must-fall-say-king-williams-town-protesters_3524/
[Accessed 04 June 2018].

Darwish, A., 1999. *Transmetrics: A formative approach to translator competance assessement and translation quality evaluation for the New Millennium.* Victoria, Australia: RMIT University.

Daum, A.W., 2020. Alexander von Humboldt. Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain. A Critical Edition. Edited with an introduction by Vera M. Kutzinski and Ottmar Ette. Translated by J. Ryan Poynter, Kenneth Berri, and Vera M. Kutzinski. With annotations by Giorleny Al. *Dynamis*, *40*(2), pp.530-533.

Davidson-Hunt, et al., 2012. Biocultural design: A new conceptual framework for sustainable development in rural indigenous and local communities. *SAPIENS,* 5(2), pp. 33-45.

Davies, R.J., 1981. The spatial formation of the South African city. *GeoJournal*, *2*(2), pp.59-72.

Davies, S. B., 2007. Raising the dead: The Xhosa cattle-killing and the Mhlakaza-Goliat delusion. *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 33(1), pp. 19-41.

Davis, R.H., 1979. School vs. Blanket and settler: Elijah Makiwane and the leadership of the cape school community. *African Affairs*, *78*(310), pp.12-31.

Davis, W., 2010. Last of their kind. *Scientific American,* 303(3), pp. 60-67.

Dawjee, H., 2019. We don't know what to do with Heritage Day so we braai. *Sunday Times*, 22 September, p. online.

Dayimani, M., 2020. 538 textile factory workers fired. *News24*, 14 July, p. online.

de Kock, L., 1992. Drinking at English fountains: Missionary discourse and the case of Lovedale. *Missionalia: Southern African Journal of Mission Studies,* 20(2), pp. 116-138.

de Oliverira Freitas, F., 2014. Indigenous populations: Some perculiarities. In: U. P. Albuquerque, L. V. Fernandes Cruz da Cunha, R. F. Paiva de Lucena & R. R. Nobrega Alves, eds. *Methods and Techniques in Ethnobiology and Ethnoecology.* New York: Humana Press, pp. 213-238.

Demos, R., 1955. Jung's thought and influence. *The Review of Methaphisics,* 9(1), pp. 71-81.

Deumert, A., 2013. Xhosa in town (revisited) - space, place and language. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language,* 2013(222).

Deumert, A., 2014. South Africa's Language ecology - heirarchies, hegemonies and resistances. In: V. Vandenbussche, ed. *Language Ecology of the 21st Century: Social Conflicts in their Linguistic Environment.* Oslo: Novis, pp. 209-38.

Deutscher, G., 2010. *Through the Language Glass: Why the world looks different in other languages.* s.l.:Metropolitan Books..

De Wet, C., 1994. Resettlement and land reform in South Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*, *21*(61), pp.359-373.

De Wet, C. and Holbrook, G., 1997. Regionalisation of the household: a temporary phase or a longer-term trend?. *De Wet, C. & Whisson, M. op. cit*.

Di Venere, 2019. *The Heart of Redness: An Ecocritical Point of View on Zakes Mda's South Africa.* Unpublished Masters thesis: Universita Ca'Foscari Venezia.

DiAngelo, R., 2018. *White Fragility.* New York: Beacon Press.

Dicke, B., 1936. *The Bush Speaks: Border life in old Transvaal.* Pietermaritzburg : Shuter & Shooter.

Dictionary of South African English, 2020. *Dictionary of South African English.* Online ed. Grahamstown: Dictionary Unit of South African English.

Dinwoodie, D.W., 2006. Time and the individual in Native North America. *New Perspectives on Native North America: Cultures, Histories, And Representations*, pp.327-48.

Dold, A. & Cocks, M., 2002. The trade in medicinal plants in the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa. *South African Journal of Science,* 11-12(-), pp. 589-597.

Dold, A. & Cocks, M., 2012. *Voices from the Forest.* 1st ed. Auckland Park: Jacana Media.

Dold, T. & Cocks, M., 1999. Imithi yamasiko culturally useful plants in the Peddie District of the Eastern Cape, with specific reference to Olea europea subsp. africana. *Plantlife,* 21(-), pp. 24-26.

Dold, T. & Cocks, M., 2006. Izaci namaqhalo esiXhosa: Xhosa idioms and proverbs referring to plants. *Veld&Flora*, June, pp. 86-88.

Douglas, M., 1966. *Purity and Danger: An analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo.* 7th ed. New York: Praeger.

Dowling, T., 1996. *The Forms, Functions and Techniques of Xhosa Humour.* Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Cape Town.

Drahos, P., 2011. When cosmology meets property: Indigenous people's innovation and intellectual property. *Prometheus,* 29(3), pp. 233-252.

du Preez, M., 2010. *Of Tricksters, Tyrants and Turncoats: More unusual stories from South Africa's past.* s.l.:Penguin Random House South Africa.

du Toit, B., 1980. Religion, ritual and healing among urban Black South Africans. *Urban Anthropology,* 9(1), pp. 21-49.

du Toit, C., 2014. New directions in urban spiritualities: Beyond zero-sum readings. *Theology,* 117(4), pp. 243-248.

Duncan, G., 2018. Tiyo Soga (1829-1871) at the intersection of 'universes in collision'. *HTS Theological Studies,* 74(1), pp. 1-12.

Earle, T. & Spriggs, M., 2015. Political economy in prehistory: A Marxist approach to Pacific Sequences. *Current Anthropology,* 55(4), pp. 515-544.

Edwardian Farm. 2010. [Film] Directed by S Elliot, C Michell, N Benson. United Kingdom: Lion Television.

Eiken, O., 2015. *Negotiating Urban Spaces: Xhosa migrants' movement in and through Cape Town's social and spatial structures, South Africa.* Bergen: University of Bergen.

El Hamel, C., 2002. 'Race', slavery and Islam in Maghribi Mediterranean thought: The question of the Haratin in Morocco. *The Journal of North African Studies,* 7(3), pp. 39-42.

Elands, B. et al., 2015. Policy interpretations and manifestations of biocultural diversity in urbanised Europe: Conservation of lived biodiversity. *Biodiversity and Conservation,* 24(-), pp. 3347-3366.

Elkins, C., 2022. *Legacy of violence: A history of the British empire*. New York: Knopf.

Ellis, E., 2020. 'They should hang their heads in shame': Court affirms that Makana Municipality must be dissolved. *Maverick Citizen*, 22 May, pp. online: https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-05-22-they-should-hang-their-heads-in-shame-court-affirms-that-makana-municipality-must-be-dissolved/.

Emery, M. R. & Hurley, P. T., 2016. Ethnobiology in the city: Embracing the urban ecological moment. *Journal of Ethnobiology,* 36(4), pp. 807-819.

eNCA News, 2021. *The life and times of Noxolo Grootboom.* Film interview: eNCA.

Engels, F., 1884. *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (Translated into English: 1902).* Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co..

England, K., 1994. Getting personal: Reflexivity, positionality, and feminist research. *Prof. Geogr.,* 46(1), pp. 80-89.

Ens, E., 2012. Vital landscapes, Indigenous futures. In: J. Altman & S. Kerins, eds. *People on Country.* Leichhardt: The Federation Press, pp. 45-64.

Erlank, N., 2017. 'Brought into manhood': Christianity and male initiation in South Africa in the early 20th Century. *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 43(2), pp. 251-265.

Euler, R.C. and Dobyns, H.F., 1971. *The Hopi People*. New York: Indian Tribal Series.

Everatt, J., Steffert, B. & Smythe, I., 1999. An eye for the unusual: Creative thinking in dyslexics. *Dyslexia,* 5(1), pp. 28-46.

Evers, T.M. and Hammond-Tooke, W.D., 1986. The emergence of South African chiefdoms: an archaeological perspective. *African Studies*, *45*(1), pp.37-41.

Expresso live, 2012. Evita Bezuidenhout does weather. *ExpressoMobi*, 15 June, p. online.

Fabian, J., 1983. *Time and the Other: How anthropology makes its object.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Fanon, F., 1952. *Black Skin, White Masks.* New York: Grove Press.

Faulkner, N., 2007. Gordon Childe and Marxist archaeology. *International Socialism,* 28 September, Issue 116, p. online.

Fay, D., 2011. Cultivators in action, Siyazondla inaction. *Trends and potential in homestead cultivation in rural Mbhashe Municipality, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Riverside*.

Fay, D., 2013. Neoliberal conservation and the potential for lawfare: New legal entities and the political ecology of litigation at Dwesa–Cwebe, South Africa. *Geoforum*, *44*, pp.170-181.

Fay, D.A., 2015. 'Keeping Land for Their Children': Generation, Migration and Land in South Africa's Transkei. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *41*(5), pp.1083-1097.

Feld, S. & Basso, K., 1999. *Senses of Place.* Sante Fe: School of American Research Press:.

Fenton, R., 2015. 'Ubuqaba' and 'ubuGqobhoka': Reading Zakes Mda's 'Heart of Rednesss' through a post-developmental lens. *South African History Online,* p. online.

Ferguson, J., 1999. *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and meanings of urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt.* London: Berkeley.

Fihla, G. L., 2003. *The Life History of Z. S. Zotwana.* Unpublished Masters thesis: University of Cape Town.

Fisher, P., 1997. The Pixel: A snare and a delusion. *International Journal of Remote Sensing,* 18(4), pp. 679-685.

Fishman, J., 1982. Whorfianism of the third kind: Ethnolinguistic diversity as a worldwide societal asset (The Whorfian Hypothesis: Varieties of validation, confirmation, and disconfirmation II). *Language in Society,* 11(1), pp. 1-14.

Finlay, L., 1998. Reflexivity: an essential component for all research?. *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 61(10), pp.453-456.

Foley, J., 1999. What is a sign. In: A. MacKay, ed. *Signs of Orality.* Leiden: Brill, pp. 1-27.

Fortes, M., 1938. Essay on culture contact as a dynamic process. In: L. Mair, ed. *Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 24-55.

Fordham, F., 1953. *An introduction to Jung's psychology*. Penguin Books, London.

Fourie, L. & Lumsden, G., 1960. Employment and wages: Chapter 7. In: D. Houghton, ed. *Economic Development in a Plural Society.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Francis, M. D., 2010. The crossing: The invention of tradition among San descendents of the Drakensberg, Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa. *African Identities,* 8(1), pp. 41-54.

Freeman, C., Dickinson, C., Porter, S. & van Heezik, Y., 2012. “My garden is an expression of me”: Exploring householders' relationships with their gardens. *Journal of Environmental Psychology,* 32(2), pp. 135-143.

Frescura, F., 2015. Architecture, a case of hopeless failure: The role of missionaries in the transformation of South Africa's indigenous architecture. *Journal for the Study of Religion,* 28(2), pp. 64-86.

Frith, A., 2011. *Ngxingxolo: Main place 272021 from Census 2011.* [Online]
Available at: https://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/272021
[Accessed 27 January 2021].

Fromm, E., 1994. *The Art of Listening.* New York: Constable and Robinson.

Fugard, A., 1983. *Notebooks 1960-1977.* Johannesburg: Donker.

Fugard, A., Kani, J. & Ntshona, W., 1972. *Sizwe Banzi is Dead.* Cape Town: Serpent Players.

Gachago, D. & Ngoasheng, A., 2016. South Africa's 'rainbow nation' is a myth that students need to unlearn. *The Conversation*, 19 October, p. online.

Gade, D., 2001. The languages of foreign fieldwork. *Geographical Review,* 91(1-2), pp. 370-379.

Galluzzi, G., Eyzaguirre, P. & Negri, V., 2010. Home gardens: Neglected hotspots of agrobiodiversity and cultural diversity. *Biodiverse Conservation,* 19(-), pp. 3635-3654.

Garibaldi, A. & Turner, N., 2004. Cultural keystone species: Implications for ecological conservation and restoration. *Ecology and Society,* 9(3), p. online.

Garuba, H., 2003. Explorations in animist materialism: Notes on reading/writing African literature, culture and society. *Public Culture,* 15(2), pp. 261-285.

Garuba, H., 2012. On animism, modernity/colonialism, and the African order of knowledge: Provisional reflections. *e-flux journal,* 26(-), pp. 1-9.

Garuba, H., 2013. Economic development and cosmological re-involvement: From necessity to sufficiency. In: L. Green, ed. *Contested Ecologies: Dialogues in The South on Nature and Knowledge.* Cape Town: HSRC, pp. 28-42.

Garuba, H. & Raditlhalo, S., 2008. Culture. In: S. Shepherd & S. Robins, eds. *New South African Keywords.* Johannesburg: Jacana, pp. 35-46.

Gavin, M. C. et al., 2015. Defining biocultural approaches to conservation. *Trends in Ecology & Evolution,* 30(-), pp. 140-145.

Geertz, C., 1962. The rotating credit association: A "middle rung" in development. *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* 10(3), pp. 241-263.

Geertz, C., 1973. Chapter 1/Thick Description: *Toward an interpretive theory of culture. The Interpretation of Cultures*: *Selected Essays*, New York, Basic Books.

Geib, C., 2021. To speak of the sea in Irish. *Hakai Magazine*, 17 March, p. online.

Gerding-Salas, C., 2000. Teaching translation: Problems and solutions. *Translation Journal,* 4(3).

Gifford, E., 2015. *The Many Speeches of Chief Seattle (Seathl): The manipulation of the record on behalf of religious, political and environmental causes.* Scotts Valley: CreateSpace Publishing.

Gilbert, A., 2002. Scan globally; reinvent locally: Reflecting on the origins of South Africa's capital housing subsidy policy. *Urban Studies,* 39(10), pp. 1911-1933.

Gile, D., 2009. *Basic Concepts and Models for Interpeter and Translator Training.* Amsterdam: Jon Benjamin Publishing Company.

Gilili, C., 2021. Decolonising environmentalism and climate change. *Mail and Guardian*, 22 May, p. online.

Gillman, L.N. and Wright, S.D., 2020. Restoring indigenous names in taxonomy. *Communications Biology*, *3*(1), pp.1-3.

Gillman, L.N. and Wright, S.D., 2020. Restoring indigenous names in taxonomy. *Communications Biology*, *3*(1), pp.1-3.

Gilmartin, M., 2009. Colonialism/Imperialism. In: C. Gallaher, et al. eds. *Key Concepts in Political Geography.* London: Sage Publications, pp. 115-123.

Gilmour, R., 2006. *Representing Languages in Colonial South Africa.* New York: Springer.

Glanville, E., 1894. *A Fair Colonist.* London: Chatto & Windus.

Glick Schiller, N., 2016. Positioning theory: An introduction. *Anthropological Theory,* 16(2-3), pp. 133-145.

Gluckman, M., 1960. Tribalism in modern British Central Africa. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines,* 1(1), pp. 55-70.

Gon, P., 1982. The last frontier war. *South African Military History Journal,* 5(6).

Google Maps, 2017. *Google Maps.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.google.com/maps/place/Zwelitsha,+5608,+South+Africa/@-32.9178104,27.4011416,14z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x1e66ba63ab361f4d:0xf300174ffba2cf45!8m2!3d-32.9184606!4d27.4262714
[Accessed 01 October 2017].

Gordon, R.J. and Spiegel, A.D., 1993. Southern Africa Revisited. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, pp.83-105.

Gouws, A. & du Plessis, L., 2000. The relationship between political tolerance and religion: The case of South Africa. *Emory International Law Review,* 14(-), pp. 657-660.

Govender, T., Barnes, J. M. & Pieper, H., 2011. Housing conditions, sanitation status and associated health risks in selected subsidized low-cost housing settlements in Cape Town, South Africa. *Habitat International,* 35(2), pp. 335-342.

Green, L., 2013. *Contested Ecologies: Dialogues in the South on nature and knowledge.* Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Greenway, J., 1964. *The Inevitable Americans*. New York: Knopf.

Greider, T. & Garkovich, L., 1994. Landscapes: The social construction of nature and the environment. *Rural Sociology,* 59(1), pp. 1-24.

Grobman, G., 2005. Complexity Theory: A new way to look at organizational change. *Public Administration Quarterly,* 29(3), pp. 350-382.

Groenewald, T., 2004. A phenomenological research design illustrated. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods,* 3(1), pp. 42-55.

Gründer, R., 2014. Neo-pagan traditions of the 21st Century: Re-inventing polytheism in a polyvalent world-culture. In: J. Schlehe & E. Sandkühler, eds. *Religion, Tradition and the Popular: Transcultural views from Asia and Europe.* Bielefeld: Verlag (2014 transcript), pp. 261-282.

Gumperz, J. & Levinson, S., 1996. Introduction to part III. In: *Rethinking linguistic relativity.* s.l.:s.n., pp. 225-231.

Gundaker, G., 2016. Edenic gardens and African landscapes. In: V. Wimbush, ed. *Refractions of the Scriptural: Critical orientation as transgression.* New York: Routledge, pp. 121-149.

Gupta, A., 2012. *Red Tape: Bureaucracy, structural violence, and poverty in India.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Hall, S., 2018. Old and new identitites and old and new ethnicities [1991]. In: D. Morley, ed. *Essential Essays Volume 2. Identity and Diaspora.* Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 41-68.

Hamann, G. A. & Ivtzan, I., 2016. 30 minutes in nature a day can increase mood, well-being, meaning in life and mindfulness: Effects of a pilot programme. *Social Inquiry into Well-Being,* 2(2), pp. 34-46.

Hamilton, C., 1870. *Sketches of Life and Sport in South-Eastern Africa.* London: s.n.

Hammond-Tooke, W.D., 1963. Kinship, locality, and association: Hospitality groups among the Cape Nguni. *Ethnology*, *2*(3), pp.302-319.

Hammond-Tooke, W.D., 1970. Urbanization and the Interpretation of Misfortune: A Quantitative Analysis1. *Africa*, *40*(1), pp.25-39.

Hammond-Tooke, W.D., 1974. The Cape Nguni witch familiar as a mediatory construct. *Man*, *9*(1), pp.128-136.

Hammond-Tooke, W.D., 1985. Descent groups, chiefdoms and South African historiography. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *11*(2), pp.305-319.

Hammond-Tooke, D., 1995. Philip Mayer 1910-1995. *African Studies,* 54(2), pp. 116-120.

Hancock, D., 2010. *Tame, Messy and Wicked Risk Leadership.* London: Gower.

Handler, R., 1990. Boasian anthropology and the critique of American culture. *American Quarterly*, 42(2), pp.252-273.

Hanson, S., 1997. The secularisation thesis: Talking at cross purposes. *Journal of Contemporary Religion,* 12(2), pp. 159-179.

Harmon, D., 1995. The status of the world's languages according to ethnologue. *South West Journal of Linguistics,* 14(-), pp. 1-28.

Harms, N., 2015. *Gender Performativity in South African Films with Reference to Leon Schuster's Comedies (1993-2012).* Unpublished Masters thesis: University of Pretoria.

Harper, D., 2001. *Etymology Online Dictionary.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.etymonline.com/word/boy
[Accessed 26 May 2021].

Hastrup, K. & Olwig, K. F., 1997. Introduction. In: K. F. Olwiq & K. Hastrup, eds. *Siting Culture: the Shifting Anthropological Object.* London: Routledge, pp. 1-14.

Hayles, N., 1991. *Chaos Bound: Orderly Disorder in Contemporary Literature and Science.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Haynes, D., 2017. *Does home garden modification facilitate a sense of belonging? The effect of modification of the home garden on place making and place attachment during resettlement.* Unpublished Honours thesis: Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

Haynes, D., Cocks, M. & Shackleton, C., 2018. Biocultural features of urban gardens and yards enhance place-making and belonging in South Africa. *Langscapes Magazine,* 7(1), pp. 10-14.

Hayward, J., 2018. *"We are white": Oral tradition, documented history and molecular biology of Xhosa clans descended from non-African forebears and their expression of this ancestry through the idiom of ancestor religion.* Unpublished PhD thesis: Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

Henderson, P., 2011. *AIDS, intimacy and care in rural KwaZulu-Natal: A kinship of bones.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Herder, J.G., 1784. *Materials for the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*. Modern History Sourcebook, New York.

Hermanus, L., 2019a. *Celebrate the Johnny Clegg in You! Part One,* Johannesburg: Khaya fm.

Hermanus, L., 2019b. *Celebrate the Johnny Clegg in You! Part Two,* Johannesburg: Khaya fm.

Hernandez, B., Hidalgo, M. & Salazar-Laplace, M. H. S., 2007. Place attachment and place identity in natives and non-natives. *Journal of Environmental Psychology,* 27(-), pp. 310-319.

Herselman, S., 2007. 'Health care through a cultural lens': Insights from medical anthropology. *Current Allergy & Clinical Immunology,* 20(2), pp. 62-65.

Hewat, M., 1906. *Bantu Folk Lore: Medical and General.* Cape Town: Miller.

Hidalgo, M. & Hernandez, B., 2001. Place attachment: Conceptual and empirical questions. *Journal of Environmental Psychology,* 21(-), pp. 273-281.

High, C. & Shackleton, C. M., 2000. The comparative value of wild and domestic plants in home gardens of a South African village. *Agroforesty Systems,* 48(-), pp. 141-156.

Hill, R., Cullen-Unsworth, L. C., Talbot, L. D. & McIntyre-Tamwoy, S., 2011. Empowering indigenous people's biocultural diversity through World Heritage cultural landscapes: A case study from the Australian humid tropical forests. *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* 12(6), pp. 571-591.

Hirst, M., 2005. Dreams and medicines: The perspective of Xhosa diviners and novices in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology,* 5(2), pp. 1-22.

Hobongwana-Duley, H. Y., 2014. *Exploring Indigenous Knowledge Practices Concerning Health and Well-being: A case study of isiXhosa-speaking women in the rural Eastern Cape.* Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Cape Town.

Hofmeyer, I., 2006. Reading debating/debating reading: The case of the Lovedale Literary Society, or why Mandela quotes Shakespeare. In: K. Barber, ed. *Africa's Hidden Histories, Everyday Literacy and Making the Self.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp. 258-277.

Holbrook, G., 1996. Lessons to be learned from two irrigation schemes. *Development Southern Africa*, *13*(4), pp.601-609.

Holbrook, G., 1997. Water of life: the social effect of an irrigation scheme. *South African Journal of Ethnology*, *20*(1), pp.39-42.

Hope, C., 2020. *Interview with Marguerite Poland* [Interview] 2020.

Hope, T. & Jones, I., 2006. Locating contemprary British paganism as Late Modern culture. *Journal of Contemporary Religion,* 21(3), pp. 341-354.

Hornborg, A., 2015. The political ecology of the technocene: Uncovering ecologically unequal exchange in the world-system. In: C. Hamilton, C. Bonneuil & F. Gemenne, eds. *The Anthropocene and the Global Environmental Crisis.* Routledge: London, pp. 57-69.

Howel, E., Reinking, D. & Kaminski, R., 2015. Writing as creative design: Constructing multimodal arguments in a multiliteracies framework. *Journal of Literacy and Technology,* 16(1), pp. 2-36.

Humboldt, W.V., 1820. Ueber das vergleichende Sprachstudium in Beziehung auf die verschiedenen Epochen der Sprachentwieklung. *Ders: Über*.

Hunter, M., 1936. *Reaction to Conquest: Effects of contact with Europeans on the Pondo of South Africa.* London: W. M. Macmillan.

Husselman, M. & Sizane, N., 2006. *Imifino: A guide to the use of wild leafy vegetables in the Eastern Cape.* Grahamstown: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University.

Hutton, R., 2013. *Pagan Britain.* London: Yale University Press.

Hyatt, S., 1914. *The old transport road.* 1st ed. London: Andrew Melrose, Ltd.

Ideland, M., 2018. Science, coloniality, and "the great rationality divide". *Science & Education*, *27*(7), pp.783-803.

Ingold, T., 2000. Ancestry, generation, substance, memory, land. In: T. Ingold, ed. *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill.* London: Routlege.

Ingold, T., 2009. The textility of making. *Cambridge Journal of Economics,* 34(-), pp. 91-102.

International Society of Ethnobiology, 2017. *International Society of Ethnobiology: an alliance for biocultural diversity.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.ethnobiology.net/what-we-do/core-programs/global-coalition-2/declaration-of-belem/
[Accessed 1 November 2017].

Jabavu, N., 1960. *Drawn in Colour.* London: John Murray.

Jacobs, J., 2002. The Heart of Redness: The novel as umngqokolo. *Kunapipi,* 24(1), pp. 224-236.

Jadezweni, M., 1999. Two Xhosa praise poets in performance: The dawn of a new era. *University of Leipzig Papers on African Languages and Literatures Series,* 06(-), pp. 1-22.

Jager, E.D. and Gitywa, V.Z., 1963. A Xhosa Umhlwayelelo ceremony in the Ciskei. *African Studies*, 22(3), pp.109-116.

Jaggar, M., 1989. Love and knowledge: Emotion in feminist epistemology. *Inquiry,* 32(2), pp. 151-176.

Janmohamed, A., 1985. The economy of Manichean allegory: The function of racial difference in colonialist literature. *Critical Inquiry,* 12(1), pp. 59-87.

Jeffers, C., 2013. Appiah's Cosmopolitanism. *The Southern Journal of Philosophy,* 51(4), pp. 488-510.

Jenkins, E., 2007. *Falling into Place: The story of modern South African place names.* Cape Town: New Africa Books.

Jeppie, S. and Diagne, S.B., 2008. *The meanings of Timbuktu*. University of Cape Town.

Jonas, P., 1986. Clanship as a cognitive orientation in Xhosa world-view. *South African Journal of Ethnology,* 9(2), pp. 58-66.

Jones, S. & McEwen, M., 2000. A conceptual model of multiple dimensions of identity. *Journal of College Student Development,* 41(4), pp. 405-414.

Jordan, A., 1940. *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya.* Alice: Lovedale Press.

Kamwendo, G., 2015. Towards a vibrant African languages industry in the era of the African Renaissance. *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies - Multi-, Inter- and Transdisciplinarity,* 10(1), pp. 141-152.

Kaschula, R., 1989. Cross-cultural communication in a north-eastern Cape farming community. *South African Jounal of African Languages,* 9(3), pp. 100-104.

Kaschula, R., 1995. Cross-cultural communication in the Eastern Cape with particular reference to law courts. *South African Journal of African Languages,* 15(1), pp. 9-15.

Kasfir, S. L., 1992. African art and authenticity: A text with a shadow. *African Arts,* 25(2), pp. 40-53,96-97.

Kasfir, S. L., 1999. African art and authenticity: A text with a shadow. In: O. Oguibe & E. Okwui, eds. *Reading the Contemporary: African Art from Theory to the Marketplace.* Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 88-113.

Kashima, E. & Kashima, Y., 1998. Culture and language: The case of cultural dimensions and personal pronoun use. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology,* 29(3), pp. 461-486.

Keikelame, M. & Swartz, L., 2015. 'A thing full of stories': Traditional healers' explanations of epilepsy and perspectives on collaboration with biomedical health care in Cape Town. *Transcultural Psychiatry,* 52(5), pp. 659-680.

Kepe, T., 1999. The problem of defining 'community': Challenges for the land reform programme in rural South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, *16*(3), pp.415-433.

Kidd, I., Medina, J. & Pohlhaus, G., 2017. *The Routledge Handbook of Epistemic Injustice.* New York: Routledge.

King, B., 2012. "We pray at the church in the day and visit the sangomas at night": Health discourses and traditional medicine in rural South Africa. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 102(5), pp. 1173-1181.

Kopenawa, D., 1992. Yanomami in Peril: An interview with Davi Kopenawa, Yanomami. *Multinational Monitor,* 13(9), p. online.

Kostelnik, M., Soderman, A. & Whiren, A., 2004. Developmentally appropriate curriculum: Best practices. In: M. Hall, ed. *Early Childhood Education.* Pearson: Columbus.

Krige, E., 1957. *The Belief System of the Zulus (1st edition, 1936).* Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Schooter,.

Kuile, C., 2019. How Gen Z is solving America's crisis of isolation. *Pacific Standard*, 6 May, p. online.

Kulundu, I., 2018. Think piece: Intersectional resonance and the multiplicity of being in a polarised world. *Southern African Journal of Environmental Education,* 34(-), pp. 91-100.

Kuper, A., 1988. *The Invention of Primative Society: Transformations of an illusion.* London: Routlegde.

Kuruneri-Chitepo, C. & Shackleton, C. M., 2011. The distribution, abundance and composition of street trees in selected towns of the Eastern Cape, South Africa. *Urban Forestry & Urban Greening,* 10(3), pp. 247-254.

Kurzwelly, J., Rapport, N. and Spiegel, A.D., 2020. Encountering, explaining and refuting essentialism. *Anthropology Southern Africa*, *43*(2), pp.65-81.

Kuznar, L. A., 2002. Symbioses amoung Navajo herders, plants, and livestock . In: J. R. Stepp, F. S. Wyndham & R. K. Zarger, eds. *Ethnobiology and Biocultural Diversity.* Athens, Georgia: The International Society of Ethnobiology, pp. 464-477.

Lady Duff-Gordon, 1864. *Vacation tourists and notes of travel in 1862-3 (Vol.III Letters from the Cape by Lady Duff-Gordon).* London: Macmillan & Co..

Laird, S. A., Awung, G. L., Lysinge, R. J. & Ndive, L. E., 2011. The interweave of people and place: Biocultural diversity in migrant and indigenous livelihoods around Mount Cameroon. *International Forestry Review,* 13(3), pp. 275-293.

Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M., 2003. *Methaphors We Live By.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lantolf, J., 2007. Re(de)fining language proficiency in light of the concept of "languaculture". In: H. Bymes, ed. *Advanced Language Learning: The contribution of Halliday and Vygotsky.* London: Continuum, pp. 72-92.

Last, M., 1979. Review of Harriet Ngubane (1977): Body and mind in Zulu medicine: An ethnography of health and disease in Nyuswa-Zulu thought and practice. *International African Institute,* 49(2), p. 211.

Lategan, L. G. & Cilliers, E. J., 2014. The value of public green spaces and the effects of South Africa's informal backyard rental sector. *WIT Transaction on Ecology and the Environment,* 191(-), pp. 427-438.

Latour, B., 1993. *We Have Never Been Modern.* Brighton: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Lave, J. & Wenger, E., 1991. *Situated Learning: Legitimate peripheral participation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Levine, M. and Howe, B., 1985. The penetration of social science into legal culture. *Law & Policy*, *7*(2), pp.173-198.

Law, J., 2011. *What's wrong with a one-world world?.* Middleton, Connecticut: Paper presented at the Centre for the Humanities, Wesleyan University.

Lee, B., 2019. Structural violence. In: B. Lee, ed. *Violence: An interdisciplinary approach to causes, consequences, and cures.* New Jersey: Wiley Blackwell, pp. 123-138.

Lee, P., 1996. The Whorf theory complex. *Amsterdam and Philedelaphia: John Benjamins*.

Léglise, I. & Migge, B., 2007. Language and colonialism: Applied linguistics in the context of creole communities. In: M. Hellinger & A. Pauwels, eds. *Language and Communication : Diversity and Change. Handbook of Applied Linguistics.* s.l.:Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 297-338.

Lelyveld, J., 1968. Introduction. In: E. &. F. T. Cole, ed. *House of Bondage.* London: The Penguin Press.

Levenson, Z., 2014. We are humans and not dogs: The crisis of housing delivery in post-apartheid Cape Town. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology,* 58(-), pp. 14-22.

Lewis-Williams, D. & Pearce, D., 2005. *Inside the Neolithic Mind: Consciousness, cosmos and the realm of the gods.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Lewis-Williams, J., 2000. *Stories that Float from Afar: Ancestral folklore of the San of southern Africa (No. 5)..* s.l.:New Africa Books..

Lichtenstein, H., 1812. *Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806 (translated by Anne Plumptre).* London: Henry Colburn.

Liese, T., 2018. The rainbow nation myth: Dreaming of a post-racial South African society. *Institute for Global Dialogue*, 1 October, pp. 1-14.

Lipari, L., 2010. Listening, thinking, being. *Communication Theory,* 20(3), pp. 348-362.

Livingston, R., 1963. Perception and commitment. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, *19*(2), pp.14-18.

Lizarralde, G., 2008. Unexpected negative outcomes of community participation in low-cost housing projects in South Africa. *Habitat International,* 32(-), pp. 1-14.

Lloyd, D., 2001. The modernization of redness: Review essays. *Scrutiny2,* 6(2), pp. 34-39.

Loh, J. & Harmon, D., 2005. A global index of biocultural diversity. *Ecological Indicators,* 5(-), pp. 231-241.

Lotz-Sisitka, H., 2012. The 'social' and 'learning' in social learning research: Avoiding ontological collapse with antecedent literatures as starting points for research. In: H. Lotz-Sisitka, ed. *Views on Social Learning Literature: A monograph for social learning researchers in natural resources management and environmental education.* Grahamstown/Howick: Environmental Learning Research Centre, Rhodes University / EEASA / SADC REEP.

Loughery, J., 1998. *The Other Side of Silence - Men's Lives and Gay Identities: A twentieth-century history.* New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Mabizela, S., 2020. *Umtitho wenyanga yamafa emvela - Iinkolo nenkcubeko* [Interview] (23 September 2020).

Macfarlane, A. & Marshall, R., 2021a. *Basic paradigms over the last 500 years- Alan Macfarlane,* Cambridge: University of Cambridge.

Macfarlane, A. & Marshall, R., 2021b. *Arrogant Injuries Caused by Trying to Apply Western Political Concepts.* Cambridge: University of Cambridge.

Mackintosh, J., 1999. Interpreters are made not born. *Interpreting,* 4(1), pp. 67-80.

Macmillan, H., 2000. From race to ethnic identity: South central Africa, social anthropology and the shadow of the holocaust. *Social Dynamics*, *26*(2), pp.87-115.

Madubuike, I., 1976. *A handbook of African names*. Washington: Three Continents.

Mafeje, A., 1975. Religion, class and ideology in South Africa. In: *Religion and Social Change in Southern Africa: Anthropological essays in honour of Monica Wilson.* Cape Town: David Philip & London: Rex Colling, pp. 164-184.

Mafeje, A., 1997. Who are the makers and objects of anthropology? A critical comment on Sally Falk Moore's 'Anthropology and Africa'. *African Sociological Review,* 1(1), pp. 1-15.

Mafeje, A., 1998. Conversations and confrontations with my reviewers. *African Sociological Review,* 2(2), pp. 95-107.

Maffi, L., 2005. Linguistic, cultural and biological diversity. *Annual Review of Anthropology,* 34(-), pp. 599-617.

Maffi, L., 2007. Biocultural diversity and sustainablity. In: J. Pretty, et al. eds. *The Sage Handbook for Environment and Society.* London: Sage Publications, pp. 267-275.

Maffi, L., 2014. Introduction. In: L. Maffi & D. Ortixia, eds. *Biocultural Diversity Toolkit, vol 1 - Introduction to biocultural diversity.* Salt Spring Island: The George Wright Society; Terralingua, pp. 4-5.

Maffi, L., 2018. *Language, culture and the environment: Thinking out of the silos (audio visual presentation).* Vancouver: The University of British Colombia (Language Science Talks series).

Magubane, B., 1973. The "Xhosa" in town, revisited urban social anthropology: A failure of method and theory. *American Anthropologist,* 75(-), pp. 1701-1715.

Magubane, P., 1998. *Vanishing Cultures of South Africa: Changing customs in a changing world.* New York: Rizzoli.

Magubane, P. & Klopper, S., 2005. *AmaNdebele.* Cape Town: Sunbird Publishing.

Mahlatsi, M., 2021. Stop romanticising unethical black leaders. *Sowetan Live*, 02 June, p. online.

Mail and Guardian, 2021. Desmond Mpilo Tutu. *Mail and Guardian*, 31 December, p. 10.

Majeke, N., 1952. *The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest.* Pretoria: Society of Young Africa.

Maldonado-Torres, N., 2007. On the coloniality of being: Contributions to the development of a concept. *Cultural Studies,* 21(2-3), pp. 240-270.

Malinowski, B., 1935. *Coral Gardens and their Magic: A study of the methods of tilling the soil and of agricultural rites in the Trobiand Islands.* London: Routledge.

Malinowski, B., 1945. *The Dynamics of Culture Change: An Inquiry into Race Relations in Africa.* New Haven: P. Kaberry.

Malinowski, B., 1946. *The Dynamics of Culture Change.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Malone, C., 2001. *Neolithic Britain and Ireland.* Stroud: Tempus.

Malotki, E., 1983. Hopi Time: A linguistic analysis of the temporal concepts in the Hopi language. In: W. Winter, ed. *Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs.* Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton Publishers.

Mangcu, X., 2015. Whites Can Be Black. City Press< >(accessed 9 September 2016)..

Manona, C., 1988. *The Drift from the Farms to Town: A case study of migration from white-owned farms in the Eastern Cape to Grahamstown.* Unpublished PhD thesis: Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

Manona, C., 1998. Land tenure and use: perspectives from a village in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie*, pp.77-89.

Marett, R., 1906. Review of 'The Origin of Worship: A study in primitive religion', by Rafael Karsten. *Folklore,* 17(2), pp. 246-248.

Marias, E., 2007. *The Rain Bull and Other Tales from the San.* Cape Town: Human & Rouseau.

Maroyi, A. & Mosina, G., 2014. Medicinal plants and traditional practices in peri-urban domestic gardens of the Limpopo Province, South Africa. *Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge,* 13(4), pp. 665-672.

Marx, K., 1994. From the critique of Hegel's Philisophy of Right. In: J. O'Malley, ed. *Karl Marx: Early Political Writings (Translator: Annette Jolin).* New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-27.

Mash, B., 2006. The effects of a language barrier in a South African district hospital. *South African Medical Journal,* 96(10), pp. 1084-1087.

Masterson, V. A., 2016. *Sense of Place and Culture in the Landscape of Home: Understanding social-ecological dynamics on the Wild Coast, South Africa.* Stockholm: Stockholm Resilience Centre.

Mathez-Stiefel, S., Boillat, S. & Rist, S., 2007. Promoting the diversity of worldviews: An ontological approach to biocultural diversity. In: H. B & R. S, eds. *Endogenous Development and Biocultural Diversity: The Interplay of Worldviews, Globalization and Locality.* Leusden: COMPAS, pp. 67-81.

Matshoba, M., 1979. *Call Me Not a Man.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Matsika, R., Erasmus, B. & Twine, W., 2013. Double jeopardy: The dichotomy of fuelwood use in rural South Africa. *Energy Policy,* 52(-), pp. 716-725.

Matthes, E., 2016. Cultural Appropriation without Cultural Essentialism?. *Social Theory and Practice,* 42(2), pp. 343-366.

Mayer, P., 1962. *Townsmen or Tribesmen.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Mayer, P., 1980. The origins of two rural resistance ideologies. In: P. Mayer, ed. *Black Villagers in an Industrial Society.* Cape Town: Oxford Univeristy Press.

Mayer, P. & Macfarlane, A., 1983. *Interview with Philip Mayer.* [Sound Recording] (Ayabaya).

Mayer, P. & Mayer, I., 1974. *Townsmen or Tribesmen.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Mbebe, K., 2018. Whites cannot be Black. *Theoria,* 65(154), pp. 24-47.

Mbiti, J., 1976. Response to B. Ray's African Religions. *Worldview,* 19(11), pp. 56-57.

McAllister, P., 1985. Beasts to beer pots—migrant labour and ritual change in Willowvale district, Transkei. *African Studies*, *44*(2), pp.121-135.

McAllister, P.A., 1989. Resistance to 'betterment' in the Transkei: A case study from Willowvale district. *Journal of southern African studies*, *15*(2), pp.346-368.

McAllister, P., 1997. Ritual and social practice in the Transkei. *African Studies,* 56(2), pp. 279-309.

McGarry, D; Weber, L; James, A; et al., 2021. The pluriversity for stuck humans: A queer ecopedagogy and decolonial school. In: J. Russell, ed. *Queer Ecopedagogies: Explorations in nature, sexuality, and education.* Cham: Springer Nature, pp. 183-218.

McGee, R.J. and Warms, R.L. eds., 2013. *Theory in social and cultural anthropology: an encyclopedia*. Sage Publications, London.

Mcgrory, M., 1985. To be white, female and anti-apartheid. *The Washington Post*, 28 July, p. online.

McIntosh, J., 2018. Listening versus Lingwashing: promise, peril, and structural oblivion when white South Africans learn indigenous African languages. *Signs and Society,* 6(3), pp. 475-503.

Mckay, J., 1871. *Reminiscences of the Last Kafir War: Illustrated with numerous anecdotes.* Grahamstown: Richards, Glanville & Co.

McKenna, P., 1997. *Schizophrenia and Related Syndromes.* Hove: Psychology Press.

McLaren, J., 1936. *A Consise Xhosa-English Dictionary.* London: Longmans, Green and Co.

McLaren, P., 2020. *Discussion of personal experiences of the 'Two-Worlds Divide' in a space of rural immersion* [Interview] (24 October 2020).

Mda, Z., 2000. *The Heart of Redness,* Cape Town: Oxford Univesity Press.

Mda, Z., 2013. *Sometimes there is a Void: Memoirs of an outsider.* Johannesburg: Penguin.

Medina, J., 2013. *The Epistemology of Resistance: Gender and racial oppression, epistemic injustice, and resistant imaginations.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Mekoa, I., 2018. Thabo Mbeki's 'African Renaissance': A critique of its theory and practice. *African Renaissance,* 15(1), pp. 9-28.

Merculieff, L., 2002. Linking traditional knowledge and wisdom to ecosystem based approaches in research and management: Supporting a marginalized way of knowing. In: J. R. Stepp, F. S. Wyndham & R. K. Zarger, eds. *Ethnobiology and Biocultural Diversity.* Athens, Georgia: McNaughton & Gunn, pp. 523-548.

Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, 2022. *"Affect".* [Online]
Available at: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/affect
[Accessed 17 January 2022].

Mfecane, S., 2016. "Ndiyindoda" [I am a man]: theorising Xhosa masculinity. *Anthropology Southern Africa,* 39(3), pp. 204-214.

Mignolo, W., 2003. *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, territoriality, and colonization.* Michigan: University of Michigan Press.

Mignolo, W., 2007. Delinking: The rhetoric of modernity, the logic of coloniality and the grammar of de-coloniality. *Cultural Studies,* 21(2-3), pp. 449-514.

Mignolo, W., 2009. Epistemic disobedience, independent thought and decolonial freedom. *Theory, Culture & Society,* 26(7-8), pp. 159-181.

Mignolo, W., 2011a. Epistemic disobedience and the decolonial option: A manifesto. *Transmodernity,* 1(2), pp. 44-66.

Mignolo, W., 2011b. *Modernity, The Darker Side of Western.* New York: Duke University Press.

Mignolo, W., 2018. On pluriversality and multipolar world order: Decoloniality after declonisation: de-westernization after the Cold War. In: B. Reiter, ed. *Constructing the Pluriverse: The geopolitics of knowledge.* Durham (USA): Duke University Press, pp. 90-116.

Mignolo & Hoffmann, A., 2017. *Interview - Walter Mignolo/Part 2: Key concepts.* online: E-IR.

Mills, W., 1995. Missionaries, Xhosa clergy and the supression of traditional customs. In: H. Bredekamp & R. Ross, eds. *Missions and Christianity in South African History.* Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, pp. 153-171.

Mitchell, J., 1956. Urbanisation, detribalisation and stabilisation in Southern Africa. In: *Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa south of the Sahara.* Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), pp. 693-711.

Mitchell, N. & Buggey, S., 2000. Landscapes and cultural landscapes: Taking advantage of diverse approaches. *The George Wright Forum,* 17(1), pp. 35-46.

Mkhize, N., 2019. In Search of Native Dissidence: RT Kawa's Mfecane historiography in Ibali lamaMfengu (1929). *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies - Multi-, Inter- and Transdisciplinarity,* 13(2), pp. 92-111.

Mndende, N., 2020. *Umtitho wenyanga yamafa emvela - Iinkolo Nenkcubeko: Inkolo nengqiqo* [Interview] (23 September 2020).

Moeketsi, R. & Wallmach, K., 2005. From sphaza to makoya!: A BA degree for court interpreters in South Africa. *International Journal of Speech, Language and the Law,* 12(1), pp. 77-108.

Moleah, A., 1993. *South Africa: Colonialism, apartheid and African dispossession.* Pietermartizburg: Disa Press.

Molema, S., 1920. *The Bantu: Past and present.* Edinburgh: W. Green & Son, Limited.

Møller, V. & Radloff, S., 2010. Monitoring perceptions of social progress and pride of place in a South African community. *Applied Research Quality of Life,* 5(-), pp. 49-71.

Möller, V., Roberts, R. & Zani, D., 2015. The personal wellbeing index in the South African isiXhosa translation: A qualitative focus group study. *Social Indicators Research,* 124(-), pp. 835-862.

Mongo-Mboussa, B., 1999. Interview with Zakes Mda by Boniface Mongo-Mboussa. *africultures: les mondes en relation*, 31 December, pp. online: http://africultures.com/interview-with-zakes-mda-by-boniface-mongo-mboussasouth-africa-5428/.

Montini, L., 2014. How money changes your empathy and compassion for others. *Inc. Magazine*, 7 Jan, p. online.

Moodie, T.D., 1992. Ethnic violence on South African gold mines. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *18*(3), pp.584-613.

Moodie, T.D., 2005. Maximum average violence: underground assaults on the South African gold mines, 1913–1965. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *31*(3), pp.547-567.

Moolla, R., Kotze, N. & Block, L., 2011. Housing satisfaction and quality of life in RDP houses in Braamfischerville, Soweto: A South African case study. *Urbani izziv,* 22(1), pp. 138-143.

Morange, M., 2002. Backyard shacks: The relative success of this housing option in Port Elizabeth. *Urban Forum,* 13(2), pp. 3-25.

Morgan, L.H., 1877. *Ancient Society; Or, Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery... to Civilization*. MacMillan & Company, London.

Moreira-Slepoy, G., 2002. The essentialist representation of the colonial subject in colonial discourse. *Post Script Org,* 25 March.pp. 1-12.

Moshenska, G., 2015. Curated ruins and the endurance of conflict heritage. *Conservation and Management of Archaeology,* 17(1), pp. 77-90.

Mpahlele, E., 1964. The fabric of African cultures. *Foreign Affairs,* 42(4), pp. 614-627.

Msimang, S., 2015. The end of the Rainbow Nation myth. *The New York Times*, 15 April, p. online.

Msindo, E., 2018. *City Press.* [Online]
Available at: https://city-press.news24.com/Voices/long-and-endless-wait-for-rdp-houses-20180223
[Accessed 3 May 2018].

Mtheku, R., 2003. *The Examination of Zakes Mda's 'The Heart of Redness' (2000) Within a Historical Context.* Unpublished Masters thesis: University of Durban-Westville.

Mthethwa, B., 2014. "God must send Jesus again": Zuma. *Times Live*, 31 December, p. online.

Mtuze, P., 1999. *Hidden Presences in the Spirituality of the amaXhosa of the Eastern Cape and the Impact of Christianity on Them.* Unpublished Masters thesis: Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

Mtuze, P., 2003. *The Essence of Xhosa Spirituality and the Nuisance of Cultural Imperialism: Hidden presences in the spirituality of the amaXhosa of the Eastern Cape and the impact of Christianity on them.* 1st ed. Florida Hills [South Africa]: Vivlia.

Mtuze, P., 2004. *Introduction to Xhosa Culture.* Alice (South Africa): Lovedale Press.

Mtuze, P., 2018. *Verbal interview at Mtuze's home in King William's Town* [Interview] (September 2018).

Mukerji, C., 2002. Material practices of domination: Christian humanism, the built environment, and techniques of Western power. *Theory and Society,* 31(1), pp. 1-34.

Nabhan, G. P., Pynes, P. & Joe, T., 2002. Where biological and cultural diversity converge: Safeguarding endemic species and languages on the Colorado plateau. In: J. R. Stepp, F. S. Wyndham & R. K. Zarger, eds. *Ethnobiology and Biocultural Diversity.* Athens, Georgia: McNaughton & Gunn, pp. 61-71.

Naidu, E. & Isaacson, M., 2009. *I0L News.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/how-to-build-quality-houses-for-r55-000-466848
[Accessed 1 August 2018].

Narayan, U., 1998. Essence of culture and a sense of history: A feminist critique of cultural essentialism. *Hypatia,* 13(2), pp. 86-106.

Narotzky, S., 2016. On waging the ideological war: Against the hegemony of form. *Anthropological Theory,* 16(2-3), pp. 263-284.

National Department of Housing, 2006. *Annual Report 2005-2006.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.dhs.gov.za/Content/Documents/Annual%20Report%202005-2006/Annual_2005-2006_low%20res_p1-13.pdf
[Accessed 23 October 2020].

Nattrass, N., 2005. Who consults sangomas in Khayelitsha? An exploratory quantitative analysis. *Social Dynamics,* 31(2), pp. 161-182.

Naude, J., 2005. The cultural turn in South African translation, subversion and resistance. *Acta Academia,* 37(1), p. online.

Nazaruk, M., 2011. Reflexivity in anthropological discourse analysis. *Anthropological notebooks*, *17*(1).

Ndebele, J., 1983. *Fools and Other Stories.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Ndebele, J., 1991. *Rediscovering the Ordinary: Essays on South African literature and culture.* Johannesburg: COSAW.

Nee, S., 2005. The Great Chain of Being. *Nature,* 435(429), p. 429.

Neethling, B., 2008. Xhosa first names: A dual identity in harmony or in conflict?. *Names*, *56*(1), pp.32-38.

Nelson, J., 2013. *Before They Pass Away.* Kempen: teNeues Verlage.

Nelson, J., 2020. *The Last Sentinels.* Amsterdam: Jimmy Nelson.

Nemudzudzanyi, A., Siebert, S. J., Zobolo, A. M. & Molebatsi, L. Y., 2010. The Zulu muzi: A home garden system of useful plants with a particular layout and function. *Indilinga African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems,* 9(1), pp. 57-72.

Nesi, P., 2020. *Umtitho wenyanga yamafa emvela - Iinkolo nenkcubeko: Inkcubeko nokunyanga ngesiNtu* [Interview] (23 September 2020).

Neuman, L. W., 2014. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches.* 7 ed. Harlow: Pearson.

Ngcoza, K., 2021. *From poverty to university; Journeys, challenges and opportunities.* Qalaqoyi (South Africa): Rhodes University (Inaugural lecture).

Ngcukana, L. & Huisman, B., 2016. Mandela presents new wife. *City Press*, 29 March, pp. https://city-press.news24.com/News/mandela-presents-new-wife-20160326.

Ngubane, H., 1977. *Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine.* New York: Academic Press.

Ngxabi, N., 2003. *Homes or Houses?: Strategies of home-making among some amaXhosa in the Western Cape.* Master's thesis: University of Cape Town.

Nielsen, C., 2013. Franz Fanon and the Negritude Movement: How strategic essentialism subverts. *Callaloo,* 36(2), pp. 342-352.

Ninez, V., 1987. Household gardens: Theoretical and policy considerations. *Agricultural Systems,* 23(-), pp. 167-186.

Nixon, J., 1982. *Among the Boers: Or, notes of a trip to South Africa in search of health.* new edition ed. London: Remington and Co.

Nixon, J., n.d. *Among the Boers.* s.l.:s.n.

Njwambe, A., Cocks, M. & Vetter, S., 2019. Ekhayeni: Rural-urban migration, belonging and landscapes of home and in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 45(2), pp. 413-431.

Njwambe, A. T., 2016. *Essence of Home: relevance of home and the assertion of place amongst Centane migrants, South Africa.* Unpublished Masters thesis: Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

Noah, T., 2011. *Crazy Normal.* Johannesburg: Black Sheep Films.

Norberg-Hodge, H., 1991. *Ancient Futures: Learning from Ladakh.* 1st ed. San Fransisco: Sierra Club Books.

Ntombana, L., 2011. *An Investigation into the Role of Xhosa Male Initiation in Moral Regeneration.* Unpublished PhD thesis: Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth.

Ntombana, L., 2015. The trajectories of Christianity and African ritual practices: The public silence and the dilemma of mainline or mission churches. *Acta Theologica,* 35(2), pp. 104-119.

Ntsabo, 2017. *The Daily Vox.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.thedailyvox.co.za/get-rid-rubbish-ward-councillor-mihlali-ntsabo
[Accessed 04 June 2018].

Nuttall, S. and Michael, C.A. eds., 2000. *Senses of culture: South African culture studies*. Oxford University Press, USA.

Núñez, R.E. and Sweetser, E., 2006. With the future behind them: Convergent evidence from Aymara language and gesture in the crosslinguistic comparison of spatial construals of time. *Cognitive science*, *30*(3), pp.401-450.

Nyamende, M., 1991. Who really cares if the ancestors are angry? A.C.Jordan's The wrath of the ancestors 'Inqgumbo yeminyanya'. *South African Journal of African Languages,* 11(4), pp. 119-124.

Nyaundi, N. M., 2011. African traditional religion in pluralistic Africa: A case of relevance, resilience and pragmatism. In: T. W. Bennett, ed. *Traditional African Religions in South African Law.* Cape Town: UCT Press, pp. 1-19.

Offenburger, A., 2008. Duplicity and plagiarism in Zakes Mda's 'The Heart of Redness'. *Research in African Literatures,* 39(3), pp. 164-199.

Ong, W., 2002. *Orality and Literacy: The technologising of the word.* London: Routledge.

Opland, J., 1990. The publication of A.C Jordan's Xhosa novel, 'Ingqumbe yeminyanya (1940)'. *Research in African Literatures,* 21(4), pp. 135-147.

Opland, J., 2002. The early career of DLP Yali-Manisi, Thembu imbongi. *Research in African Literatures,* 33(1), pp. 1-26.

Opland, J., 2005. *The Dassie and the Hunter: A South African meeting.* Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Opperman, E. J., Cherry, M. I. & Makunga, N. P., 2018. Community harvesting of trees used as dens and for food by the tree hyrax (Dendrohyrax arboreus) in the Pirie forest, South Africa. *Koedoe,* 60(1).

Orwell, G., 1938. *Homage to Catalonia.* London: Secker and Warburg.

Ottenheimer, H., 2009. Review of spelling and society: The culture and politics of orthography around the world. *Language Documentation & Conservation,* 3(2), pp. 247-252.

Oxford, 2014. *Isichazi-magama sesikolo: School Dictionary.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.

Palmer, R., Timmermans, H. & Fay, D., 2000. From conflict to negotiation. In: *Nature Based Development on South Africa's Wild Coast.* Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, p. 321.

Papu, J. & Verster, P., 2006. A biblical, cultural and missiological critique of traditional circumcision among Xhosa-speaking Christians. *Acta Theologica,* 26(2), pp. 178-189.

Paton, A., 1948. *Cry, The Beloved Country.* London: Jonathan Cape.

Pauw, B. A., 1963. *The Second Generation: A study of the family among urbanised Bantu in East London.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Pauw, B. A., 1974. Ancestor beliefs and rituals among urban Africans. *African Studies,* 33(2), pp. 99-111.

Pauw, B. A., 1975. *Christianity and Xhosa tradition: Belief and ritual among Xhosa-speaking Christians..* 1st ed. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Peires, J., 1986. 'Soft' believers and 'hard' unbelievers in the Xhosa cattle-killing. *The Journal of African History,* 27(3), pp. 443-461.

Peires, J., 1987. The central beliefs of the Xhosa cattle-killing. *Journal of African History,* 28(1), pp. 43-63.

Peires, J., 1989. *The Dead will Arise: Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle Killing.* Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Peires, J., 2004. Frankenstein visits the Eastern Cape. *South African Historical Journal,* 51(1), pp. 224-242.

Perez, E. & Tavits, M., 2017. Language shapes people's time perspective and support for future-oriented policies. *American Journal of Political Science,* 61(3), pp. 715-727.

Perlman, P., 2016. *Johnny Clegg on Today with John Perlman,* Johannesburg: Khaya fm.

Perry, W.R., 2002. Archaeological Correlates of the Settler Model. *Landscape Transformations and the Archaeology of Impact: Social Disruption and State Formation in Southern Africa*, pp.21-45.

Perry, W.R., 2002. Toward an Archaeology of Impact. *Landscape Transformations and the Archaeology of Impact: Social Disruption and State Formation in Southern Africa*, pp.139-157.

Peters, G., 2017. What is so wicked about wicked problems? A conceptual analysis and a research program. *Policy and Society,* 36(3), pp. 385-396.

Peters, M. & Keating, C., 2007. SPCA to charge Yengeni for animal cruelty. *IOL*, 21 January, p. (online).

Peterson, G., 2000. The human actor in ecological-economic models, political ecology and ecological resilience: An integration of human and ecological dynamics. *Ecological Economics,* 35(-), pp. 323-336.

Pettigrew, S., 2000. Ethnography and Grounded Theory: A happy marriage?. *ACR North American Advances,* 27(-), pp. 256-260.

Philipps, T., 1827. *Scenes and Occurrences in Albany and Caffer-land [his letters, publ. anonymously].* London: William Marsh.

Pierre-Louis, K., 2017. The language you speak changes your perception of time. *Popular Science*, 9 May, p. online.

Piff, P., 2013. *Does money make you mean?.* TedxMarin: TEDtalks.

Pilane, P., 2021. Khomo e kopanya lichaba: Exhibition reads Soweto's livestock farming as a form of resistance. *arts24*, 20 April, p. online.

Pinker, S., 1994. *The Language Instinct: How the Mind Creates Language.* s.l.:Perennial.

Plieninger, T., Kohsaka, R., Bieling, C. & Hashimoto, S., 2018. Fostering biocultural diversity in landscapes through place-based food networks: A "solution scan" of European and Japanese models. *Sustainablity Science,* 13(-), pp. 219-233.

Poland, M., 2019. *A Sin of Omission.* Cape Town: Penguin Random House.

Poland, M., Hammond-Tooke, D. & Voigt, L., 2003. *The Abundant Herds: A celebration of the Nguni cattle of the Zulu people.* Vlaeberg: Fernwood Press.

Posey, D., 1999. Cultural and spiritual values of biodiversity: a complementary contribution to the global biodiversity assessment. In: D. A. Posey, ed. *Cultural and Spiritual Values of Biodiversity.* London: UNEP and Intermediate Technology Publications, pp. 1-19.

Posey, D., 2001. Biological and cultural diversity: the inextricable, liked by nature and politics. In: L. Maffi, ed. *On Biocultural Diversity: Linking language, knowledge and the environment.* Washington, DC: Smithson. Inst. Press, pp. 379-396.

Posey, D. & Dutfield, G., 1996. *Beyond Interlectual Property Rights: Towards traditional resource rights for indigenous people and local communities.* Ottawa: IDRC.

Pratchett, T., 1991. *Witches Abroad.* London, UK: Gollancz.

Pretty, J. et al., 2009. The intersections of biological diversity and cultural diversity: Towards integration. *Conservation & Society,* 7(2), pp. 100-112.

Preuss, K. & Dixon, M., 2012. 'Looking after country two-ways': Insights into indigenous community-based conservation from the Southern Tanami [region of Central Australia]. *Ecological Management & Restoration,* 13(-), pp. 12-15.

Price, N., 2012a. *The Children of Ash: Cosmology and the Viking universe.* Ithaca: Cornell University.

Price, N., 2012b. *Life and Afterlife: Dealing with the dead in the Viking age.* Ithaca: Cornell University.

Price, N., 2012c. *The Shape of the Soul: The Viking mind and the individual.* Ithaca: Cornell University.

Priestland, D., 2013. *Neoliberalism, Consumerism and the End of the Cold War.* Oxford: Oxford Press.

Prior, D., 2007. Decolonising research: A shift toward reconciliation. *Nursing Inquiry,* 14(2), pp. 162-168.

Purcell, H., 2015. *Imagining Albion: Fantasy, Enchantment and Belonging in Contemporary British Paganism.* Unpublished PhD thesis: The Open University.

Querejazu, A., 2016. Encountering the pluriverse: Looking for alternatives in other worlds. *Revista Brasileira de Politica,* 59(2), p. online.

Quijano, A., 1989. Paradoxes of modernity in Latin America. *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society,* 3(2), pp. 147-177.

Quijano, A., 1995. Modernity,identity and utopia in Latin America. In: J. Beverly, M. Aronna & J. Oviedo, eds. *The Postmodernism Debate in Latin America.* New York: Duke University Press, pp. 201-216.

Quijano, A., 2007. Coloniality and modernity/rationality. *Cultural Studies,* 21(2-3), pp. 168-178.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., 1922. Some problems of Bantu sociology. *Bantu Studies,* 1(3), pp. 38-46.

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R., 1930. The social organization of Australian tribes. *Oceania*, *1*(1), pp.34-63.

Raditlhalo, S., 2001. 'Vanishing cultures?' Authority, authorising and representation in South African photography: A review article. *Kronos,* 27(-), pp. 249-260.

Raditlhalo, S., 2008. Rewriting modernity. *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies,* 9(2), pp. 225-231.

Rao, R. R., 2002. Tribal wisdom and conservation of biological diversity the Indian scenario. In: J. R. Stepp, F. S. Wyndham & R. K. Zarger, eds. *Ethnobiology and Biocultural Diversity.* Athens, Georgia: The International Society of Ethnobotany, pp. 84-94.

Ratnam, C., 2019. Listening to difficult stories: Listening as a research methodology. *Emotion, Space and Society,* 31(1), pp. 18-25.

Rattray, D., 1997. *Day of the Dead Moon - The Story of the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879.* Dundee, South Africa: Fugitives' Drift Publication.

Ray, B., 1976. *African Religions: Symbol, ritual, and community.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Reader, D., 1960. *The Black Man's Portion: History, demography and living conditions of East London.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Redford, K. & Brosius, J. P., 2006. Diversity and homogenization in the endgame. *Global Enviromental Change,* 16(-), pp. 317-319.

Redford, K. H., 1991. The ecologically noble savage. *Cultural Survival Quarterly,* 15(1), pp. 46-48.

Repstock, A., Gu, J. & Rada, D., 2017. *I am Sami.* online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-c18xNxFUSY.

Rhodes University Ethics Standards Committee, 2014. *Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee Handbook.* Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

Richardsson, A. & Stein, J., 1993. Personality characteristics of adult dyslexics. *Studies in visual information processing,* 3(-), pp. 411-423.

Richards, T., 1997. *Creativity and Problem Solving at Work.* 3rd ed. Aldershot: Gower Publishing.

Richman, J. & Johnson, S., 2007. *Mandela: An audio history.* New York: Radio Diaries.

Rigato, E. & Minelli, A., 2013. The Great Chain of Being is still here. *Evo Edu Outreach,* 6(18), p. online.

Risager, K., 2006. *Language and culture: Global flows and local complexity*. Multilingual Matters, Bristol.

Risager, K., 2012. Linguaculture and transnationality: The cultural dimensions of language. In: J. Jackson, ed. *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Intercultural Communication.* London: Routledge, pp. 101-115.

Ross, F. C., 2010. *Raw Life, New Home: Decency, housing and everyday life in a post-apartheid community.* 1st ed. Cape Town: UCT Press.

Rowe, J. S., 1994. Ecocentrism: The chord that harmonizes humans and earth. *The Trumpeter,* 11(2), pp. 106-107.

Rubusana, 1906. *Zemk' Inkomo Magwalandini!.* 2nd ed. London: Messrs. Butler & Tanner.

Rusch, N., 2016. Sounds and sound thinking in |Xam-ka !au: "These are those to which I am listening with all my ears". *Cogent Arts and Humanities,* 3(1), pp. 1-16.

SABC NEWS, 2012. Evita Bezuidenhout- "Adapt or fly". *SABC*, 10 Apr, p. youtube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=16f6LvfvPJU.

SABC News, 2018. *Grahamstown now officially Makhanda: Nathi Mthethwa.* Johannesburg: SABC News.

SABC News, 2019. *Johnny Clegg's long-time musical partner Sipho Mchunu pays tribute.* Johnanesburg: SABC.

SABC News, 2021. *Noxolo Grootboom farewell: Doyen of isiXhosa News bows out after 37 years at SABC.* @FullViewSABC: SABC News.

Salzman, P.C., 2002. On reflexivity. *American Anthropologist*, *104*(3), pp.805-811.

Sandeman, E., 1880. *Eight Months in an Ox-wagon: Reminisences of Boer life.* London: Griffith & Farran.

Sanjek, R., 1991. Ethnographic present. *Man, New Series,* 26(4), pp. 609-628.

Sapir, E., 1929. The status of linguistics as a science. *Language,* 5(4), pp. 207-214.

SATI, 2007. *South African Translators Institute.* [Online]
Available at:
http://translators.org.za/sati_cms/index.php?frontend_action=display_text_content&content
[Accessed 25 Sept 2017].

Saule, N., 2020. *Umtitho wenyanga yamafa emvela - Iinkolo nenkcubeko: Inkcubeko nenkolo ngokusekela kuncwadi* [Interview] (23 September 2020).

Savage, M., 1986. The imposition of pass laws on the African population in South Africa 1916-1984. *African Affairs*, *85*(339), pp.181-205.

Scannell, L. & Gifford, R., 2010. Defining place attachment: A tripartite organizing framework. *Journal of Environmental Psycology,* 30(-), pp. 1-10.

Schönstein Pinnock, P., 1994. *Xhosa: A Cultural Grammar for Beginners.* Cape Town: African Sun Press.

Seaman, C. H. C., 1987. *Research Methods: Principles, practice, and theory for Nursing.* Norwalk, Connecticut: Appleton & Lange.

Sewlall, H., 2003. Deconstructing empire in Joseph Conrad and Zakes Mda. *Journal of Literary Studies,* 19(3-4), pp. 331-344.

Shackelton, C. M. et al., 2014. Low-cost housing developments in South Africa miss the opportunities for household-level urban greening. *Land Use Policy,* 36(-), pp. 500-509.

Shackleton, C. & Mograbi, P., 2020. Meeting a diversity of needs through a diversity of species: Urban residents' favourite and disliked tree species across eleven towns in South Africa and Zimbabwe. *Urban Forestry & Urban Greening,* 48(126507).

Shackleton, C. M., Paumgarten, F. & Cocks, M. L., 2008. Households attributes promote diversity of tree holdings in rural areas, South Africa. *Agroforestry Systems,* 72(-), pp. 221-230.

Shackleton, C. & Shackleton, S., 2004. Use of woodland resources for direct household provisioning. In: M. Lawes, H. Eeley, C. Shackleton & B. Geach, eds. *Indigenous Forests and Woodlands in South Africa; Policy, people and practice.* Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, pp. 195-225.

Shapiro, W., 1991. Claude Lévi-Strauss Meets Alexander Goldenweiser: Boasian Anthropology and the Study of Totemism. *American Anthropologist*, 93(3), pp.599-610.

Sharp, J.S., 1981. The roots and development of Volkekunde in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *8*(1), pp.16-36.

Sharp, J., 2008. Mafeje and Langa: The start of an intellectual's journey. *Africa Development,* XXXIII(2), pp. 153-167.

Shaw, W., 1860. *The Story of my Mission in South Eastern Africa.* London: Wesleyan Mission House.

Shepherd, R., 1941. *Lovedale South Africa.* Alice: Lovedale Press.

Shiva, V., 2001. Special report: golden rice and neem: Biopatents and the appropriation of women's environmental knowledge. *Women's Studies Quarterly,* 29(-), pp. 12-23.

Simango, J. & Segalo, P., 2020. Re-imagining psychology: An Africanist perspective. *Alternation,* 27(1), pp. 67-85.

Simbao, R. K., 2006. Amandebele: book review. *de arte,* 74(-), pp. 61-64.

Sinxo, G., 1922. *Unomsa.* Alice, South Africa: Lovedale Press.

Sisulu, M., 2017. *Daily Sun.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.dailysun.co.za/News/National/i-paid-r15-000-for-nothing-20171129
[Accessed 05 June 2018].

Smith, T., 2019a. Stop looking at Heritage Day through Rainbow-Nation-tinted glasses. *Sunday Times*, 22 September, p. online.

Smith, T., 2019b. The #ImStaying movement means well but it's tainted with a lack of self-awareness. *Sunday Times*, 13 October, p. online.

Smit, W., 1998. The rural linkages of urban households in Durban, South Africa. *Environment and Urbanisation,* 10(1), pp. 77-87.

Soga, J. H., 1922. *The ama-Xhosa,.* Alice, South Africa: Lovedale Press.

Soudien, C., 2013. Foreword: Transforming scholarship: Conversations across the global South. In: L. Green, ed. *Contested Ecologies: Dialogues in the South on nature and knowledge.* Cape Town: HSRC Press, pp. xi-xvi.

South African History online, 2015. *South African History online.* [Online]
Available at: www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-separate-development-south-africa.
[Accessed 2 November 2021].

Southall, A. & Gutkind, P., 1957. *Townsmen in the Making.* Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research.

Spectator, 1961. 14 July, p. PLACEHOLDER.

Spiegel, A., 1995. Death notice: Ulrich Philip Mayer. *Anthropology News,* 36(3), pp. 42-44.

Spiegel, A. & Mehlwana, A., 1997. *Family as Social Network: Kinship and sporadic migrancy in the Western Cape's Khayalitsha.* Pretoria: HSRC.

Spiegel, A. and de Wet, C., 2017. Patrick Alister McAllister (1948–2016). *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 40(1), pp.69-71.

Spivak, G., 1988. Can the Subaltern speak?. In: C. Nelson & L. Grossberg, eds. *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture.* Basingstroke: Macmillan Education, pp. 271-313.

Squires, A., 2009. Methodological challenges in cross-language qualitative research: A research review. *International Journal of Nursing studies,* 46(2), pp. 277-287.

Staff, G., 1994. The changing face of the South African city: From urban apartheid to the deracialization of space. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 18(3), pp. 377-391.

Stapleton, T., 1995. Oral evidence as a pseudo ethnicity: The Fingo debate. *History in Africa,* 22(-), pp. 358-369.

Stapleton, T., 1996. The expansion of a pseudo-ethnicity in the Eastern Cape: Reconsidering the Fingo "exodus" of 1865. *International Journal of African Historical Studies,* 29(2), pp. 233-250.

Statistics South Africa, 2001. *Census 2001: Primary Tables South African Census '96 and 2001 Compared,* Pretoria: Statisitcs South Africa.

Statistics South Africa, 2006. *Migration and urbanisation in South Africa,* Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

Statistics South Africa, 2014. *General Household Survey 2013,* Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

Statistics South Africa, 2015. *Census 2011: Population dynamics in South Africa.* Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

Statistics South Africa, 2016. *Community Survey 2016 in Brief,* Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

Sterling, E. J., et al., 2017. Biocultural approaches to well-being and sustainability indicators across scales. *Nature Ecology & Evolution,* 1(-), pp. 1798-1806.

Steward, J.H., 1972. *Theory of culture change: The methodology of multilinear evolution*. University of Illinois Press, Champaign.

Stewart, J., 1884. *Address to Lovedale Literary Society.* Alice, South Africa: Cory Library Archive, Grahamstown.

Steyn, M., 2001. *"Whiteness Just Isn't What It Used to Be": White identity in a changing South Africa.* Albany, New York: SUNY Press.

Stinnett, G., 2018. *Trauma and the Credibility Economy: An analysis of epistemic violence and its traumatic functions.* Unpublished Masters thesis: Illinois State University.

Stolton, S., Dudley, N. & Randall, J., 2008. *Natural Security: Protected areas and hazard mitigation.* Gland: WWF International..

Storm, L. E., 2002. Patterns and processes of indigenous burning: How to read landscape signatures of past human practices. In: J. R. Stepp, F. S. Wyndham & R. K. Zarger, eds. *Ethnobiology and Biocultural Diversity.* Athens Georgia: International Society of Ethnobiology, pp. 496-510.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J., 1994. Grounded Theory methodology: An overview. In: N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln, eds. *Handbook of Qualitative Research.* s.l.:SAGE Publications, Inc., pp. 273-284.

Sunday Times, 1973. Magazine Section. *Sunday Times*, 18 February.

Sweet n Short. 1991. [Film] Directed by Gray Hofmeyr. South Africa: Toron Koukus Troika.

Szomjas-Schiffert, G., 1996. *Singing Tradition of Lapp Shamans.* Budapest: Akademiai Kiado.

Tanyillo, D., Laconsay, C. & Wedler, H., 2020. Visualization without vision: How blind and visually impaired students and researchers engage with molecular structures. *Journal of Science Education,* 24(1), pp. 1-23.

Taylor, B., 2018. BioInsitutes and biocultural conservation: Empire and irony in the motion picture Avatar. In: R. Rozzi, ed. *Biocultural Conservation..* Berlin: Springer, pp. 71-72.

Taylor, C., 1994. The politics of recognition. In: C. Taylor, ed. *Multiculturalism.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 1-49.

Taylor, D. & Anderson, G., 2020. Culinary cultural conservation and cultural keystone food groups: Concepts in ethnobotany. *Human Ecology,* 48(-), pp. 189-198.

The Citizen, 2020. Manhood must wait: Virus delays South African circumcision rituals. *The Citizen*, 14 August, pp. online: https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/society/2341524/manhood-must-wait-virus-delays-south-african-circumcision-rituals/.

The Mercury, 1994. A look at King's colourful history. *The Mercury*, 3 March, p. 6.

Thorp, C., 2018. Thoughts on 'thinking strings'. *Southern African Humanities,* 31(1), pp. 79-92.

Thumbran, J., 2017. Separate Development and Self-Reliance at the University of Pretoria. *Kronos*, *43*(1), pp.114-114.

Tickell, O., 2018. Living well in the non-materialist world: Oliver Tickell meets Rupert Sheldrake, scientific 'heretic' and spiritual advocate. *Resurgence & Ecologist,* Issue 306, pp. 14-16.

Tilley, C., 1994. *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, paths and monuments.* Oxford: Berg.

Timeslive, 2018. *Herald Live.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.heraldlive.co.za/news/2018-05-24-councillors-in-court-for-allegedly-selling-rdp-house/
[Accessed 04 June 2018].

Tongco, D. C., 2007. Purposive sampling as a tool for informant selection. *Ethnobotany Research and Applications,* 5(-), pp. 147-158.

Tonkin, B., 2002. *Pratchett takes swipe at Tolkien as he wins his first award.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/news/pratchett-takes-swipe-at-tolkien-as-he-wins-his-first-award-184067.html

Tracesofwar, 2017. *Traces of War.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.tracesofwar.com/sights/90292/Memorial-International-Brigades-Berlin-Friedrichhain.htm
[Accessed 13 April 2017].

Translators-Without-Borders, 2017. *Translators without Borders.* [Online]
Available at: https://translatorswithoutborders.org/volunteer/
[Accessed 25 September 2017].

Tridade Medeiros, M. F. et al., 2014. Oral history in ethnobiology and ethnoecology. In: U. P. Albuquerque, L. V. Fernandes Cruz da Cunha, R. F. Paiva de Lucena & R. R. Nobrega Alves, eds. *Methods in Ethnobiology and Ethnoecology.* New York: Humana Press, pp. 59-74.

Turner, N., 2001. 'Humorous names, verbal weapon'. *South African Journal of African Languages,* 21(3-4), pp. 449-458.

Turpin, 2021. *Vago.* [Art] (Everard Read Gallery).

UNESCO, 2014. *The Florence Declaration on Heritage and Landscape as Human Values,* 2014: ICOMOS.

Uys, P., 1982. *Adapt or Dye.* Johannesburg: Syrkel.

Uys, P.-D., 1999. *DeKaffirnated.* Durban: Elizabeth Sneddon Theatre.

Uys, P.-D., 2001. *Foreign AIDS.* Cape Town: On Broadway.

Uys, P.-D., 2002. *Elections and Erections.* Cape Town: Zebra Press.

Uys, P.-D., 2014. *Adapt or Fly.* Cape Town: Evita se Perron.

Van den Hoof, B., Schouten, A. & Simonovski, S., 2012. What one feels and what one knows: The influence of emotions on attitudes and intentions towards knowledge sharing. *Journal of Knowledge Management,* 16(1), pp. 148-158.

van Tilburg, L., 2019. #ImStaying Facebook group growing and plans to create business opportunities. *Biz News*, 22 October, p. online.

Vanclay, F., 2008. Place matters. In: F. Vanclay, M. Higgins & A. Blackshaw, eds. *Making Sense of Place: Exploring concepts and expressions of place through different senses and lenses.* Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press, pp. 3-11.

Vaughan, I., 2002. *The Diary of Iris Vaughan.* s.l.:Stormberg.

Vermeulen, H.F., 2006. The German Invention of Völkerkunde. *The German invention of race*, pp.123-145.

Vice, S., 2010. "How do I live in this strange place?". *Journal of Social Philosophy,* 41(3), pp. 323-342.

Vidal, J., 2012. *The Guardian.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/jul/22/two-sea-shepherd-whale-hunt-protesters-arrested-in-faroe-islands
[Accessed 17 April 2017].

Vincent, A. & Ross, D., 2001. Learning style awareness. *Journal of Research on Computing in Education,* 33(1), pp. 1-10.

Voas, D. & Crockett, A., 2005. Religion in Britain: Neither believing nor belonging. *Sociology,* 39(1), pp. 11-28.

Vogl, C. R., Vogl-Lukasser, B. & Puri, R. K., 2004. Tools and methods for data collection in ethnobotanical studies of home gardens. *Field Methods,* 16(3), pp. 285-306.

Volg-Lukasser, B. N. & Caballero, J., 2002. Homegardens of Maya migrants in the district of Palenque, Chiapas, Mexico: Implications for sustainable rural development. In: R. Stepp, F. S. Wyndham & R. K. Zarger, eds. *Ethnobiology and Biocultural Diversity.* Athens, Georgia: McNaughton & Gunn, pp. 631-647.

Volg-Lukasser, B. N., Volg, C. R. & Bolhar-Nordenkampf, H., 2002. Homestead composition on small peasant farms in the alpine regions of Osttirol (Austria) and their role in sustainable rural development. In: J. R. Stepp, F. S. Wyndham & R. K. Zarger, eds. *Ethnobiology and Biocultural Diversity.* Athens, Georgia: McNaughton & Gunn, pp. 648-658.

Wagner, G. E., 2002. Why plants have meanings. In: J. R. Stepp, F. S. Wyndham & R. K. Zarger, eds. *Ethnobiology and Biocultural Diversity.* Athens, Georgia: McNaughton & Gunn, pp. 659-667.

Walker, O., 1948. *Kaffirs are Lively: Being some backstage impressions of the South African democracy.* London: Gollancz.

Ward, S., 2003. On shifting ground: Changing formations of place in anthropology. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology,* 14(1), pp. 80-96.

Warner, M., 2011. *Fear of a Queer Planet : queer politics and social theory.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press..

Wauchope, I., 2008. Primative native customs. In: J. Opland & A. Nyamende, eds. *Isaac Williams Wauchope, Selected Writings 1874-1916.* Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, pp. 321-2.

Webster, A.C., 1991. *Land Expropriation and Labour Extraction Under Cape Colonial Rule: The War of 1835 and the" emancipation" of the Fingo* (Doctoral dissertation, MA (History)--Rhodes University).

Weiner, J., 2002. Between a rock and a non-place: Towards a contemporary anthropology of place. *Reviews in Anthropology,* 31(1), pp. 21-27.

Westermeier, C. M., 2012. *Selling the crisis: British and German advertising during the 1970s.* Unpublished Masters thesis: Univiersity of Birmingham.

White, H., 2010. Outside the dwelling of culture: Estrangement and difference in postcolonial Zululand. *Anthropological Quarterly,* 83(3), pp. 497-518.

Whorf, B., 1940. *Science and Linguistics.* Indianapolis, IN, USA: Bobbs-Merrill.

Whorf, B., 1956. Benjamin Whorf. In: J. B. Carroll, ed. *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf.* s.l.:MIT Press.

Whorf, B.L., 1941. Languages and logic. *Foundations of Cognitive Psychology*, *707*.

Wieser, M., 2018. Buried layers: On the origins, rise, and fall of stratification theories. *History of Psychology,* 21(1), pp. 1-32.

Wiesner, A., 2001. Zakes Mda: novelist, music producer, bee-keeper, etc.. *Andre Wiesner Writer (andrewiesner.com)*, pp. online: http://andrewiesner.com/articles/category/culture/45-zakes-mda-novelist-music-producer-bee-keeper-etc.

Wikipedia, 2009. *Wikiwand.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.wikiwand.com/en/International_Brigades
[Accessed 13 April 2017].

Wikipedia, 2021. *Gay Pride.* [Online]
Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gay_pride
[Accessed 15 November 2021].

Wikipedia, 2021. *Terry Pratchett.* [Online]
Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terry_Pratchett
[Accessed 23 November 2021].

Wikipedia, 2022. *Walter Rubusana.* [Online]
Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walter_Rubusana

Wilber, K., 1993. The Great Chain of Being. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology,* 33(3), pp. 52-65.

Willemse, H., 2010. Aboriginal Southern African storytelling and the shaping of early Afrikaans literature. *Journal des africanistes,* 80(1), pp. 93-106.

Williams-Bruinders, 2013. Making spaces or building places? A look at social sustainability in low cost housing, Port Elizabeth, South Africa. *Enviromental Economics,* 4(3), pp. 51-58.

Williams-Bruinders, L., 2019. *The Social Sustainability of Low-Cost Housing: The role of social capital and sense of place.* Unpublished PhD thesis: Nelson Mandela University, Port Elizabeth.

Williams, D., 1978. *Umfundisi: A biography of Tiyo Soga 1829-1871.* Alice, South Africa: Lovedale Press.

Williams, P. K., 1991. Ancestor Worship: The religion of Africa. *Truth Magazine*, 16 May, pp. 300-301.

Wilson, G. B., 1941-2. *An essay on the economics of detribalization in Northern Rhodesia, Parts 1 and 2,* Rhodes-Livingstone Papers No.5 (1941) and No.6 (1942): Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.

Wilson, M., 1979. *Reaction to Conquest.* 3rd Edition abridged ed. Cape Town: David Philip.

Wilson, M., Kaplan, S. & Maki, T., 1952. Social Structure. In: D. Hobart Houghton & E. Walton, eds. *Keiskammahoek Rural Survey: Volume 3.* Pietermaritzburg: Shooter & Shooter.

Wilson, M. & Mafeje, A., 1963. *Langa: A study of social groups in an African township.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Wilson, M., 1971. *Religion and the transformation of society: A study in social change in Africa* (Vol. 15). Cambridge university press, Cambridge.

Winterhalder, B. & Smith, E. A., 2000. Analysing adaptive strategies at twenty five. *Evolutionary Anthropology,* 9(2), pp. 51-72.

Wolf, M., 2007. *Proust and the Squid.* New York: Harper Perennial.

Wright, S.D. and Gillman, L.N., 2022. Replacing current nomenclature with pre-existing indigenous names in algae, fungi and plants. *Taxon*, *71*(1), pp.6-10.

Yaqub, H., 2018. Embracing development and conserving environment: Ecocritical study of Zakes Mda's 'Heart of Redness'. *International Journal of English: Literature, Language & Skills,* 6(4), pp. 44-52.

York, K., 2014. *The Heart of Redness and So Far From God: Cultural difference in the age of globalization.* Unpublished Masters thesis: Calafornia State University, San Marcos.

Ziter, C., 2016. The biodiversity-ecosystem service relationship in urban areas: A quantitative review. *Oikos,* 125(doi:10.1111/oik.02883), pp. 761-768.

Zituta, H. M., 1997. *The spatial planning of racial residential segregation in King William's Town: 1826-1991.* Unpublished Masters thesis: Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

Zobolo, A. M. & Mkabela, Q. N., 2006. Traditional knowledge transfer of activities practised by Zulu women to manage medicinal and food plant gardens. *African Journal of Range & Forage Science,* 23(-), pp. 77-80.

Zotwana, S. Z., 1993. *Literature Between Two Worlds: The first fifty years of the Xhosa novel and poetry.* Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Cape Town.

Zotwana, S. Z., 1994. *Imijelo Yegazi.* Pretoria: Skotaville Publishers.

Zulu, A., 2019. The idealism of #ImStaying has its limits. *Mail & Guardian*, 10 October, p. online.

8. APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

A: Clarification of terminology used

Stylistic explanation of use of the term Xhosa

I have chosen the stylistic use of the term Xhosa when addressing the language of Xhosa speakers, rather that the stylistically liberal '*isiXhosa*'. I highlight that the word *isiXhosa* describes both the linguistic and cultural systems (often not recognised by users of the former) and could be argued as just as open to misinterpretation as 'Xhosa'. When I am describing cultural or cosmological systems, I clarify these after the word 'Xhosa' by using the appropriate noun determiner. This choice is also out of personal preference as, due to the differences in emphasis on the syllabic structures of the two languages, I also find that the "*isiXhosa"* does not flow as well when said in English. For example, if writing in a pattern that followed the linguistic emphasis *is'Xhos'* in which the final vowel is under-stressed, it would not cause the same disruption of flow as when fairly often over-stressed by English speakers. However, when transcribing in Xhosa or where reflecting the use of participants' hybridisation or code-switching, I use the appropriate noun-class signifier[1] (i.e. *um* (sing*), imi* (pl) or *isi* (sing) *izi* (pl)). In this thesis *isiXhosa* is reserved exclusively when referring to concepts of Linguaculture: where language and culture can be seen as intertwined in creating a worldview (Fishman, 1982). In this way the term *isiXhosa* epitomises both the concepts of Biocultural Diversity and Linguaculture.

[1] I am of the opinion that use of this terminology pays lip service to 'transformation' but does not necessarily transform one's mind and grounding metaphors rather attempting to allay the reality that most white South Africans are unable to speak Nguni and 'Bantu' languages.

My view is that using the noun class signifier 'isi' when writing in English promotes a continuation of subtle historical ideologies of Western epistemological superiority around racial and linguistic hierarchies that see black people and black languages as requiring the protection and patronage of benevolent Whites, as located in the white saviour complex (Frescura, 2015). I feel this reinforces the position of a researcher as an all-powerful and omniscient force (Groenewald, 2004; Prior, 2007). (These historical ideologies, where white academics have historically made 'objective' conclusions about the purity of African cultures, are discussed later in this thesis.) I highlight that English does not see languages (that could be seen to be on equal footing), such as German (Deutsch), Italian (Italiano), Spanish (Español) as needing similar treatment.

Here one sees the relevance of the ideas of epistemological superiority of English over African languages in South Africa in the civilising project of missionary education which aimed to save the heathen (de Kock, 1992). By signifying my positionality through the use of this strategy I intend to show a deeper engagement in linguistic and cultural knowledge, distancing myself from the historical position of the white academic researcher as being omniscient.

Clarification of terms

(Words and phrases are listed alphabetically)

Black and White: This thesis makes use of the terms in their South African context:

Blacks refers to people who are descendants of Sintu (Bantu) speakers in South Africa and Whites refers to descendants of 'Europeans'. When used as nouns on their own both these words are capitalised (e.g. a Black/Blacks a White/Whites), but when used as an adjective (e.g. black people) both of these, black and white, are written with small letters[2]. The classifications in South Africa for these groups generally relies on an assessment of skin pigmentation to establish/establish a shared or different 'belonging'. This creates a shared experience or "a strong solidarity amongst the blacks on whom the white racism seeks to prey" (Biko, 1996, p. 96)[3]. This thesis acknowledges a history where 'race' was seen to determine differences in behaviour and cognition through the idea of Euro-America and English as the most 'advanced' created hierarchies of being (Wieser, 2017). As can be seen in this thesis, racial discrimination is similar to the epistemic inequalities faced by research participants where 'whiteness' (white epistemologies and ontologies) is constructed as normative and superior (i.e. here see the classification 'non-whites') and through Taylor's exploration of equality, one sees that referencing difference then implies inferiority (1994). Subsequent drives for equity (such as the queer and *qaba* 'movements' for epistemological re-cognition and reconstitution) involve actively claiming previously 'othering' labels with pride and demand a recognition and celebration of 'difference'. In this way this thesis maintains there is only a problem with referencing 'race' if one is metaphorically caught up in the salience of the pervasive and hegemonic White ontological superiority complex (WOSC) that, due to its pervasiveness regarding metaphors of 'development' and 'progress' and meta-narratives around the idea of education, is very difficult to extricate oneself from. This thesis does not agree with or use the concept of 'race' as in the eugenics sense, determining one's mental capabilities or predisposing one to certain behaviours. It would, however, be naïve to try to pretend that racial categories and habitual categorisation of people are not 'real' in South Africa. [To quote a black Botswanan national in his early 20s who went to Hilton College (one of South Africa's most

[2] This thesis critiques the approach of capitalising 'Black' and not capitalising 'white' (Baderoon, 2012) in the same way that it problematises the common use of isiXhosa in English as an action which stems from a grounding contained in 'hierarchies' in which Blacks require the protection of Whites.

[3] Here I note that a recognition of the epistemic violence visited on 'Khoi/San' peoples involving the loss of language and cosmology (Lewis-Williams, 2000) in addition to the yet unrecognised similarities between '|Xam bushman cosmologies and language with Xhosa' and certain 'coloured's' history of linguistic, epistemic and ontological destruction by colonisation, would place them in the category of having certain shared experiences that place them as 'black'.

expensive high schools) whom I spoke to in November 2021: “Racism is just CHRONIC in South Africa when I arrived here in grade eight it was like WOW!!!! Everything is about race. It just wasn’t the same in [our racially integrated school in] Botswana.”]. In this thesis I use these categorisations mainly to reference ‘positionality’ in these two very separate ‘worlds’ of experience and understanding (Matshoba, 1979). Here ‘race’ relates to shared or othered identity in the context of our much practiced ‘immediate’ assumptions around shared experience, knowledge, epistemic and ontological groundings. [In this way this thesis agrees with the idea that Whites might theoretically, or at least ontologically, be able to be ‘black’ if they share sufficient of these aspects of experience of epistemological and ontological common ground with blackness being ‘a mind set’ (Biko, 1996, p.52; Mangcu, 2015). However, practically, due to the structural violence and experiential history of immediate judgement of inferiority based on skin colour, I think this blackness is very seldom complete, as displayed in Botha (2012). Due to our history of cemented adult racial categories, this would likely be a more peripheral aspect of identity rather than a core one (Jones & McEwen, 2000). Mbebe (2018) maintains that white people ‘becoming’ black is something in “bad faith” and would be an attempt to shrug off the responsibility of the past, to conveniently forget their positionality when it suits them[4] (2018, p.15). However, I contend that the neo-Marxist material assessment of privilege in Biko (1996) and Mbebe (2018) (as well as the history of scholarship from the 1970s–90s that denied Black ontological experiences), construct privilege from purely a material sense involving Whites’ economic and legal privilege and greater freedom from the violence of the State. While fundamentally important, I contend that this valid critique that Whites can retreat back into their privilege when its ‘convenient’ does not acknowledge the inability of Whites to be granted access to and understand deep humanity, community and personhood of the Ubuntu construct that comes from an understanding of clans and ancestors[5]. I contend that this focus on material privilege prevents Whites

[4] “The white person who self-identifies as Racially Black on the basis of her allegiance to the struggle of black people and her experience of discrimination aimed at non-whites is an act in bad faith by denying her facticity in favour of the idea that she is pure transcendence. This white person avoids the unpleasant truth that her phenotype and the historicity that accompanies it is her facticity; it is a circumstance in which she involuntarily finds herself. She attempts to avoid the unpleasant truth that she may only transcend her facticity not by denying it but by taking responsibility for it.” (Mangcu, 2018, p.40). […] Biko highlights (1996, p.24) “that no matter what a white man does, the colour of his skin - his passport to privilege - will always put him miles ahead of the black man. Thus, in the ultimate analysis, no white person can escape being part of the oppressor camp”. Whites can choose to “forget about the problem [of racial oppression] or take their eyes off the eyesore. On the other hand, in oppression the blacks are experiencing a situation from which they are unable to escape at any given moment.” (Biko 1996, p.24).

[5] “[Interacting with black people using clan names] Yoh its fucking phenomenal (emphasis) [to experience that connection] hey… Ehh look at me now, I’m getting goosebumps, just thinking about it. It’s really another world.” (Discussion with white man from a rural background in his 50s, January 2022).

from changing their ontological orientation[6] even if they want to, where privilege in a capitalist system only positions one to pursue a life of Coloniality (Mignolo, 2009). Here I feel this prevents Whites from actually grasping the beyond-material pain of epistemological inequality and violence and being able to take full cosmic responsibility rather than just pretending.

Biocultural Diversity (BCD): BCD is a theoretical framework that recognises that historically language, culture, and nature are interlinked and inseparable, arguing that these developed alongside one another as an integrated matrix (Maffi, 2018).

Community of practice (CoP): A group of people who share a common concern. The concept was first proposed by the cognitive anthropologist Jean Lave and educational theorist Etienne Wenger in their 1991 book 'Situated Learning' (1991). Wenger expanded on the concept in his 1998 book 'Communities of Practice' (Wenger, 1998).

Emic: How a society views itself, i.e. reality as perceived by the members of that society (Price, 2012a).

Epistemic disobedience: Involves epistemological de-linking from the otherwise accepted salience of the singularly, universally applicable nature of Western (seen as stemming from Greek and Latin) categories of thought. As such de-linking implies, epistemic disobedience that disrupts the otherwise constant search for "newness" of ideas and technologies, which assumes that these are inherently better, just on account of their newness and position on a unilinear assessment of the passing of time. Epistemic disobedience disrupts the notion of the salience of the civilisation narrative that 'begins' in Greece and positions the West as rightfully superior (de Kock, 1992; Mignolo, 2011).

Epistemic injustice/violence: "Epistemic injustice [also called epistemic violence] refers to those forms of unfair treatment that relate to issues of knowledge, understanding, and participation in communicative practices. These issues include a wide range of topics concerning wrongful treatment and unjust structures in meaning-making and knowledge producing practices, such as the following: exclusion and silencing; invisibility and inaudibility (or distorted presence or representation); having one's meanings or contributions systematically distorted, misheard, or misrepresented; having diminished status or standing in communicative practices; unfair differentials in authority and/or epistemic agency; being unfairly distrusted; receiving no or minimal uptake; being co-opted or instrumentalised; being marginalised as a result of dysfunctional dynamics; etc." (Kidd, 2017, p.1). I highlight that internalisation of this discounting of the validity of the epistemologies of the colonised

[6] "The dispossession meted out by white racism targets those who are non-white, and it is the foundation of the political, economic, social, and epistemic privilege of those who are White. It is an ontological oppression that requires an ontological resistance". (Mbebe, 2018, p.15).

by the colonised (Bhargava, 2013), is an instrumental factor of Coloniality in the internalised inferiority complex affecting the colonial subject addressed in Fanon (1952). Being unwilling to listen to, or acknowledge the validity of these epistemologies is an example of this violence (Lipari, 2010).

Epistemic trauma: On encountering repeated epistemic injustice (silencing or discounting of one's way of knowing), affected persons practice coerced self-silencing. Epistemic injustice can take away one's ability to make sense of, understand or 'experience as true', the experience. Through not being able to 'know' their own experience, they cannot speak it (Stinnett, 2018).

Etic: The views of society from the outside (i.e. the objective position) linked to the idea of Western superiority (Mignolo, 2011; Law, 2011).

Functionalist Anthropology: Studied the role of certain practices in the functioning of society. Starting after the 1st World War, this was a revolutionary development as it allowed the analysis of cultures without an implicit value judgement of Euro/American cultural superiority that had previously followed Ethnology which had classified societies based on where they were on a ladder of evolution from simple to modern, complex and sophisticated, with the 'West as the best' (Macfarlane & Marshall, 2021a). Functionalism allowed that through sustained fieldwork, the researcher could observe the phenomenon and try and assess how it fulfilled necessary functions in society (Macfarlane & Marshall, 2021a). Despite this change one sees that the metaphorical grounding of the *Scala Naturae* as a very persistent meta-narrative remains ever present and perhaps one of the central metaphors of meaning to the western world (Wilber, 1993; Nee, 2005 Rigato & Minelli, 2013). Here this positionality appearing out of a positivist idea on the nature of knowledge and enlightenment allowed the researcher to discount the subject's ontological orientation in favour of a Western explanation, i.e. while the researcher's culture was not necessarily superior but their knowledge still was. This has created a pervasive notion where the educated researcher is more knowing, more thinking, than the research subjects (Groenewald, 2004; Prior, 2007).

Linguaculture: A concept that like biocultural diversity recognises the intertwined relationship between the language and culture (Agar, 1994), where to have knowledge of a culture one needs to know that culture's language, which contains the information of how this language conceives of the world (Risager, 2012). Here one cannot really know a language without knowledge of the culture expressed by that language (Davis, 2010).

Location and Township: Historical note on terms: When speaking of the 'two-worlds divide', a focus of this thesis, the terms 'Location' and 'Township' describe the spatial realities in the South African landscape. They underpin the reality of a 'divide' in mutual understanding between these worlds.

Location: "Location: (Obsolete): an area of land granted in 1820 to a group (or 'party') of British settlers on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony" (Dictionary of South African English, 2020). The use of 'Native Location' indicates the normalised presence of a separate living area for black people separate from, but adjacent to, white locations[7]. It is noted that the term 'Townships' later became the preferred term to avoid the pejorative use of 'Location'[8] (Dictionary of South African English, 2020). The following quotes give the historical context:

> "At seven o'clock at night the 'curfew' bell tolls. After that every kaffir found in the town, or away from his location, is put in 'trunk,'[sic] as the goal is denominated throughout South Africa (Sandeman, 1880, P.31)";
>
> "The natives are not allowed to live in the town, but reside in a 'location' assigned to them outside it (Nixon, 1882, p.131)";
>
> "The coloured races have their own locations, customs and schools, and the laws regarding colour are very stringent (Bruce, 1908, p.12)";
>
> "The native population lived outside the township, in a filthy collection of hovels called the Location (Hyatt, 1914, p.72)"; and
>
> "The term, 'location' is deliberate: Since the African is regarded as an abstraction, without status or meaning in society, his physical displacement is also defined vaguely, rather than in terms of an entity whose inhabitants have legal rights and real responsibilities (Cole & Flaherty, 1968, p.54)."

Township: For a white South African the real risk of entering a township is something more terrible [..] than the remote chance that he may be assaulted [...] Seeing black South Africans in their sprawling encampments could, just possibly, raise one or two questions about the set of principles that decree this lopsided form of social organization (Lelyveld in Cole & Flaherty, 1968, p.8). How many White South Africans have ever set foot inside a township, or have counted the hours workers spend going to and from work? (Sunday Times, 18 Feb 1973). The term township originally referred to all spatially laid out planned living areas with black townships being called "Bantu Townships" in the 1930s. From the 1940s it appears to have gained an exclusively 'black' meaning (Dictionary of South African English, 2020). While originally referring to any urban settlement the term 'township' now carries an implicit meaning of formally planned black areas as a result of racial

[7] This normalised reality of racial separation is reflected in Iris Vaughan's childhood dairy (1958) (written between 1887 and 1906) on her experiences growing up in several small Eastern Cape towns under the Winterberg. Here she mentions the geographically separate locations for the natives and coloureds that are also separate from whites' dwelling areas.

[8] The Xhosa/Nguni word *Kasi*, comes from the Afrikaans *Lokasi*, which stems from the above English colonial term.

segregation and through this usage, for me, epitomises the concept of the two different ‘worlds’ of understanding (Matshoba, 1979). The contemporary use of the phrase "the township" largely describes a largely 'homogeneous' idea of a black area that is separate (linguistically, culturally, economically and spatially) from the white realities of town and where white people seldom venture or have knowledge. This plural usage ‘townships’ first appears in South African English in the 1970s (Dictionary of South African English, 2020). Perhaps the plural usage became useful as a euphemism for, or way of avoiding, talking about "black areas". This usage was also perhaps influenced by the naming of Soweto (South Western Townships) an amalgamation of township areas to concentrate, control and house the Johannesburg black labour force in the 1960s (Gorodnov, 1998, p.58).

The term ‘township’ therefore carries a ‘vagueness’, a potential reference to these places as 'mythically-homogeneous', reflecting perhaps the lack of knowledge about this ‘world’ by Whites in South Africa.

Ontological collapse: The notion of ‘ontological collapse’ is highlighted in Lotz-Sisitka et al. (2012, p.61) and explains how symbols and social processes become objectified through cultural-etic reification and alienation from understanding located in language can result in these being abstracted and distant from the immediate context, cosmology and worldview.

Place-making and home making: place-identity and place attachment: Place-making involves the process, or series of integrated processes, in which spaces are imbued with sensory attachments, memories and experiences, both purposefully and unintentionally, which cause ‘spaces’ to be transformed into ‘places’ in people's minds (Brook, 2003). These spaces are imbued with place-attachments and place-identities which define the individual's or group's relationship with them. A well-recognised concept of place-making and creating place-attachments and place-identity (in English Linguaculture) is the process of transforming areas of a dwelling into a home through ‘home-making’ to enable "feeling at home" in the space – making here like there (Brook, 2003). What much of the critique of the RDP programme has not taken into account is that concepts of 'home' and home-making are not necessarily completely translatable from English concepts. This academic history follows on from a strong idea in South Africa that English, and Christian, concepts exist as neutral, objective and universal truths (de Kock, 1992) and relates to a history of a lack of academic attention to concepts of diversity in cross-language and cross-cultural translation (Bank, 2008). A major finding of this thesis highlights that in Xhosa Linguaculture 'home-making' involves the performance of rituals involving formally installing ancestors in a dwelling space and introducing oneself to the community of residents.

‘Redness’ or ‘Red’ at heart: Refers to traditional people who smear red ochre on their bodies and faces. They are referred to derogatively as *amaqaba* (smearers of ochre), and respectfully as *abantu bembola embomvu* (people of the red ochre).

Salvage anthropology (or savage ethnography): A so-called era in which the discipline tried to document and 'rescue' cultures and cultural artefacts of a culture's 'pure' ethnographic present before the 'primitive' cultures in question passed away, became extinct or culturally 'polluted' through contact with the 'modern' world and material cultures of Western industrialisation (Nelson, 2013; Nelson, 2020). Such an approach was influenced and affirmed by the disciplines of early anthropologists, such as Malinowski (1935). This trajectory of study can be seen to be formed firstly, on the primacy of the written world as a historical record that surpasses oral cultures and secondly, notions of unilinear development and ‘vanishing cultures hypothesis’. Both of these issues are noted to affirm the idea of the salience of the superiority of Western epistemologies and ontologies over indigenous or local ones.

‘Schooled’ people: Refers to *amagqobhoka* who are stereotyped as enlightened, educated and who wear Western styles of clothing as a symbol of adoption of their aspects of Western ‘civilisation’ and acceptance of the epistemological superiority of Western education and thought. *Amagqobhoka* are people who have been ‘pierced’ epistemologically broken or shattered.

Structural violence: Is an indirect form of violence where structures of a society prevent the basic needs of certain individuals or groups from being met. I note that this can be connected with epistemic injustice and violence. However, because these acts of violence are impersonal, and, embedded within wider structures, they tend to be overlooked as simply the normal realities of life (Gupta, 2017).

Ukuthungulula (verb): the first opening of the eyes of puppies of kittens (figuratively gaining the ability to conceive of something).

The *‘thungulula* metaphor (the process of puppies opening their eyes for the first time) is very apt for describing the three main themes of this research: Firstly, the unacknowledged presence of the 'veil', in the sense of grasping that its presence is often 'beyond the comprehension' of those whose eyes have not yet opened. In line with Smith’s description of whites as ‘blinkered’ (2019), this could explain the denial by white people of, or their inability to conceive of, the significance of this other world. Secondly it introduces the idea that just because one cannot 'see' something or understand the connection, it does not mean that it is does not exist. This helps break down the idea that Western rationality and linear logic hold all the keys to truth; Thirdly it emphasises, like the concept of ‘*hlonipa,* the need for epistemological humility and a willingness to listen deeply, i.e. to graciously accept not

knowing and engage in processes of slow comprehension. In essence it describes the concept of a complex system and the need to sit in a space of receptive curiosity and non-judgement, like a puppy, until one understands the extent of the system and its multiple connections so that one's eyes can finally 'open' to see it all as one frieze, or to view the visual depiction discussed in the puzzle metaphor.

An understanding of unilinearity and non-linearity is essential in understanding this body of work:

Unilinear - "developing in or involving a series of stages, usually from the primitive to the more advanced", and

Nonlinear - "does not progress or develop smoothly from one stage to the next in a logical way. Instead, it makes sudden changes, or seems to develop in different directions at the same time." (Collins Dictionary, 2021).

APPENDIX B

B: "Breathing-out" – the release of otherwise constantly held tension: personal reflections on the ever-palpable void and times of transcendence

Two personal experiences while staying on a family farm near Cathcart while writing up this thesis in early 2021 are given below to illustrate both the void between the white and black ways of being, and transcending it:

> Our interaction is fairly tense, he being an older man of 40, says, "*Molo* sir", to me who is 28, although he has known me (during our visits to the farm) since I was a small child. I only know his first name, but I can put Bra before his name to be polite. He takes off his hat, perhaps just to see me properly in the sun – I'm not sure. Our talk is constrained by the concern and awareness of a lack of each other's cultural contexts and understandings (the ever-present danger of misunderstandings and possible offence), and even more so by not being able to shake hands in the time of Covid-19. After some polite joking about raking grass I say to him, in Xhosa, "But what is your clan name?" "*NdingumKomasi*", he says in a deep reverent tone. I respond "OK …," following with the praise, which I enjoy the sound of so much, "*gqu gqu gqu*" (the three rifle shots[1]). "*Ehh*", he actually slaps me on the back in a friendly manner. We are now comfortable, he is affirmed, and that we won't be interacting in a demeaning or uncomfortable way is now clear … we can both breathe out. As I walk away (heading to the place of the 'white world' in the farm house), he calls "Sure, Boeti". We have affirmed the social age hierarchies that underlie mutual respect and he in turn affirms me in my place in society, as a younger but respected male.
>
> The following response was from a second farm labourer to whom I attempted to explain my research in Xhosa after he asked, "so Duncan, *uyaphangela ngoko? Uqqibile euniversity*?" after which I gave him a copy of the research interview schedule 'questionnaire' in Xhosa to read. His response when we met again later was, "*Nda fundile iphepa yakho, ndizoyibuyise na? Hayi eyiyonto yikubalulekhile kakhulo, kakhulu…* Keep it up." (I have read your paper [questionnaire], should I bring it back? No, it is a very important issue, extremely important… keep it up)."

English, and written language, unfortunately does not come close to relaying the significance of what he said and the depth of his feeling, the look on his face, that deep reverent and resonating emphasis of the Xhosa "*kakhulu*…" When its meaning is far stronger and far more significant than the raised tone of an exclamation mark could ever be, (which would just reduce the dignity of what is being said).

[1] Relating to an oral historical description of a battle in a forest. This praise might just potentially come from the forest fighting during the 9th Frontier War (1877–1879) and seems to have been largely unknown and unacknowledged by white South Africans since then. [This is just a creative thought and requires careful research to say anything substantial].

His hesitancy and slight pause before saying the English phrase, 'keep it up', the importance of it to him in 'crossing' from Xhosa to really express the value (in my language), the value of continuing with such research and following through with its great potential. I experience the empathy with which he relays that such research is not easy, especially in the 'white world' and with my people, where there has always been denial and normalised prejudice.

From his face I interpreted a depth of appreciation at being seen and a hope that things "so fundamentally important to one's core aspects of identity" might be able to be "recognised, understood and accepted" as having value (in the future). A look to say, "Maybe after all we can change things". 'To bridge the gulf, the chasm, (the Fractiverse)[2]' and to be able to meet on equal terms and with mutual respect and trust from our respective sides of the void. A look to say, "Yes, maybe we can change things, and the ways of being with each other that we did not choose, but which have been in place for so long, so many shared lifetimes of our people". A look that allowed me to see him, to see into a core part of his meaning, to the marrow (*umongo*). A look of openness and acceptance that did not have to pretend that the void was not there. I wanted to cry.

[2] Fractiverse is a term used by Law to describe the different ontologies and cosmological experiences or realities of life that culture and language enable, and that a Western "one-world-view" understanding of the cosmos does not actually represent universal truth (Law, 2011).

APPENDIX C

C: Methodology: Description of research site. Time frame of eight stages of research activity (2018–2021)

C1 Description of research site

Ginsberg the smallest and oldest of the townships, was established in 1901 incorporating Tsolo village ('native location') on the west bank of the Buffalo River (the other side of the river to King William's Town). It is now surrounded by Ciskei villages, the names of which become familiar in people's discussions of their origins and rural ties. Ginsberg was created to officially reduce the risk of Bubonic plague to the white population by moving all black people from the centre of the town to the other side of the river. One section of Ginsberg carries the social memory of this experience of dispossession being called *eJuliwe* (where we were thrown) (Zituta, 1997).

Zwelitsha (new world/nation) the largest of the three townships was built in 1948 on the site of the King William's Town horserace track, to house workers for the Good Hope Textiles (now Da Gama factory)[228] which at the height of apartheid employed 8 000 workers. It is incongruous that there is a double-lane boulevard flanking palm trees in Zwelitsha leading to the old Ciskei Bisho[229] Parliament, presidential and ministerial residences, and now occupied by the Eastern Cape Department of Education. This is a vestige of Zwelitsha's history and perhaps shows the complexities of status and imbued self-importance required to legitimise 'a black puppet president of a white government'[230].

[228] When heading to where I stayed (from September to end December 2018) in Zwelitsha's Zone 7, I passed the hulking Da Gama Textile factory, designed as a blueprint of apartheid policy by the Native Affairs Department to bring factories to the people in the homelands. The sheer size of the factory structure, at one time employing 8,000 workers, makes an impression when arriving in the townships of Zwelitsha or Sweetwaters for the first time. The factory space is now akin to being a sleeping giant, taking up an enormous area with a work force of 720 workers (Dayimani, 2020). However, it still produces the original Shweshwe cloth, a vestige of the historically imported German print and style of female dress, now deemed by lay people as traditional/pure Xhosa culture. Beyond the factory's sludge treatment dams is a village Tshatshu, named after 'Jan' Tshatshu, a Chief and early Christian convert. On the other side there is an area where people occupied land (*Endloveni*), the place of the elephant like angry elephants, which is called the plots/sites (*Ezizenini*).

[229] Bisho situated 3 km from King William's Town was the capital of the Ciskei and is now the provincial capital of the Eastern Cape of South Africa.

[230] This dialectic of the status afforded by Western symbols, goods and material infrastructure, as a vital aspect of *ubugqobhoka* (a convert), is explored in (Mayer, 1962; Magubane, 1973; Poland, 2019). This may be seen as a result of the concept of an idea of an internalised inferiority of 'Blackness' and is so aptly described in the original meaning of *igqobhoka* as someone who is (epistemologically, psychologically) pierced or has a hole through them (Jabavu, 1960). For more of the internalisation of the inferiority of Blackness, see (Fanon, 1952; Ndebele, 1983).

This entrance road has a grander feeling than the narrow dirt roads on the non-arterial routes in the township, which despite being built in the 1950s, 60s and 70s still do not have street names and many remain unpaved.

The following creative expressive writing took place after conducting initial stages of fieldwork (December 2018) in King William's Town, Qonce.

> *Zwelitsha* is where I feel the most "at home". I have a sense of place there having spent most of my fieldwork (2018 and 2019) having lived here, and I can recognise most place names and many people. As an old and well-established township it appears to have a largely friendly atmosphere. As many areas do not have street names, houses use an Erf number. In directing people, mainly use informal historical area names of shops, taverns and well-known characters to explain where they live, lodge or have family. One soon learns that: Zone 9 is called 'Beirut' by (old)-'timers' due to high levels of unrest and the burning of suspected police and informants' houses during the time of the Bisho massacre (7 September 1992), which occurred at the same time as the oil well fires in Iraq of the heavily televised Gulf War. Zone 6 was named *EmaKatkati* (the place of the Cathcarters) reflecting that many of its residents moved from farms around Cathcart at the time this zone was built in the 1960s.

Zwelitsha is affectionately referred to as "*Zwezwe"* by some participants, now living in Sweetwaters, who trace their movement to town through the different zones in which they lived, noting that the way people speak who are from "*Zwezwe*" gives them a homely feeling (memories of nostalgia of the community/closeness of the cramped conditions of Zwelitsha in the 1970s and 1980s). For many, Zwelitsha is important as a place of their own, even if dangerous at times. Sloping down towards the Buffalo River many places in Zwelitsha have views on to natural areas along the Buffalo River and the villages over the river on the hills. Beyond that there are old fields mostly covered in thorn trees which with the evening setting sun and the quiet, at first impression, gives me a wonderful feeling of well-being and calmness. Zwelitsha is now a fairly quiet place after the construction of Sweetwaters Township.

Sweetwaters the newest township RDP housing was built in 1990s to accommodate the overflow of people who lived in crowded backyard dwellings in Zwelitsha. It comprises mainly 2-room RDP housing. However, more recent 4-room RDP's (2005 - present) have two bedrooms, a lounge/kitchen, a shower and toilet. One section of the 4-room structures had rain tanks and were pre-fenced, until embezzlement of the "greening" project funding caused a halt to the initiative, say residents. Participants speak about Sweetwaters not being planned to have all necessary amenities. It has only one school and so while considerably larger than Zwelitsha, many students commute every day into Zwelitsha for school. It has no police station and had no formal parks or natural spaces until 2019 when a soccer field was built. These, and the lack of involvement from the (long-standing, non-resident councillor), are some of the reasons that during my field work in 2018 residents blocked the

surrounding access roads with large boulders until they were dispersed by anti-riot police with rubber bullets and the obstructions cleared. This complexity affirmed my gut feeling of concern about gaining permission from councillors as 'gatekeepers' as part of the ethical requirement from the University. I also noted that some councillors were involved in corruption in RDP housing allocation.

C2 Time frame of eight stages of research activity (2018–2021)

Stage 1: (September–October 2018) Entering the field, "speaking the landscape"

This involved gathering information for the preliminary questionnaire through semi-structured discussions, around a preliminary interview schedule. My oral memory meant that I could ask these questions in a flowing and instance-appropriate order without the need for referring to the paper and creating a feeling of officialdom or external motivation for the study, but rather emphasising personal interest and motivation.

In the early stages, these questions were translated into a semi-standardised verbal Xhosa version by Dabula Maxam, and during interviews he would interpret participants' answers back into English using a very flowing technique that blended simultaneous and consecutive methods of interpretation. During this time, and through these processes, I was able to vastly improve my own capabilities with and understanding of Xhosa which benefitted the study building on having taken a year-long course in 2017 and a four-month intensive verbal course in 2018. These processes of being active in the process of 'translation' allowed for me to be constantly picking up vocabulary and learning how issues were referred to symbolically in language. Through this process of 'speaking the landscape' with participants, I was able to gain an idea of the internal cultural categories of issues which our research focused on (Basso, 1988).

This research stage was conducted through doing transect walks of chosen areas and driving about in the different areas of the research site. This initial phase consisted of conducting random house visits, with an initial focus on houses that had rondavels, kraals or *amaXhanti*, wild olive trees or particular types of plants visible concerning residents' efforts at place-making and associated with ritual practices. Additionally, we made efforts to interview households with no place making to understand people who were in places temporarily, renting or uncertain of their permanence, to understand what practices people conducted at particular households, and whether a household was considered a home or just as a house, and whether there were differences in terms of ritual activities conducted at other urban or rural homes. These visits normally lasted between 40 minutes and one hour.

After developing an intentionally Xhosa cultural approach for these visits, we were fairly easily able to reach our research topics as a natural and organic transition from polite introductions and questions

of clan identities and familial geographical origins and processes of place making in urban spaces. This culturally condoned form of introduction often spontaneously facilitated discussions around when people had arrived here, and whether or not this was considered to be a home and if they had performed or planned to perform rituals of place-and home-making in this household.

Such an approach is regarded as traditionally formal and polite and is information that is readily given and allows for the building of a polite relationship and effective engaged research. Here, through starting with personal introductions and questions of "what is your clan?" And "where does your family come from?" served to initiate relevant discussions, but perhaps more importantly to put people at ease with me as the researcher due a feeling of shared knowledge and understanding, in a context of whites not generally knowing or understanding such aspects of identity and the related systems of ancestral belief. Asking about and using clan identities to address and identify people, became apparent as a very effective "personal but also anonymous", culturally condoned and respectful, method of conducting research. This method also immediately showed the traditional focus of the study, and its reverence for traditional aspects of identity and additionally that it was not aligned with official investigations of corruption around the allocation of housing.

Furthermore, my interest in clan systems and clan praises and my excellent memory for names and faces meant that I was able to remember a great number of the clan names of participants which when seeing and greeting them again after an extended period, caused me to become very endeared to them. Engaging with this system of self-categorisation also aided in building mental map of networks of clans-people and clan-based kinship relationships in the township space that helped us, among other things, prove our authenticity, waylaying fears that we were investigating fraudulent allocation of RDP housing. An understanding of this otherwise invisible, but fundamentally important system of self-categorisation, allowed us to understand dynamics of ritual attendance and assistance between *abamelwane* (here: [extended]-neighbours) especially those concerning clan relationships between people in township sections. This helped me unpack systems of social networking and social-cohesion and -rootedness that appear to have been missed out in studies that do not engage with these self-defined categories of cultural identity and might be constrained to investigating tangible and material issues (Williams-Bruinders, 2013).

Where possible in the early stages of the research we tried to conduct multiple follow-up visits to re-explore and go deeper into topics discussed, second and third interviews would focus on discussing the relevant aspects of a participant's life history and arrival at this household in relation to the focus points of the semi-structured interview schedule. Subsequent visits and extended discussions helped develop trust and a sense of comfortability with participants. This stage focused on both RDP housing

settlements as well as more wealthy categories of housing in older townships with some visits to purchased suburban houses and areas of residence for civil servants. This allowed me to gain an understanding of the variety of place making strategies and understand the role of both: house ownership and economic means in being able to perform rituals at a place of residence. These visits consisted of constructing an understanding of the mental landscape surrounding issues of ancestral belief and traditional aspects of identity, gained through understanding the life histories of the research participants and the extent of their participation in ritual practices. During these interviews, I made notes in small pocket booklets and would add to these notes during discussions over lunch time or while driving with Dabula Maxam (the translator). These discussions often involved explorations about deeper meanings of what participants might have said and the use of symbolic Xhosa in describing or relaying this. These notes were typed up in the evenings after fieldwork, detailing who had been visited that day and a summary of what they had said.

Stage 2a: (November–December 2018) Piloting and analysis

This involved preliminary piloting of the draft questionnaire and initial analysis of qualitative fieldwork into themes.

The initial exploration of the themes through semi-structured interviews and discussions had helped to cement the questions of inquiry and establish a firm understanding revealing that we had reached a point of saturation in participant's responses. Our inquiry focused on becoming more nuanced and specific to understand the specific variation in the clarity of the prevalence shown by having reached a point of saturation. As time progressed, I began to focus more and more on structuring the interviews, by following the initial schedule and exploring the best order in terms of ensuring flow. From this initial interview schedule, I constructed a second interview template and we conducted two pilot interviews, as the final part of the 2018 research, covering the full template with two well-known participants (these interviews lasted about two hours each). I was now able to work through my research notes compare these to the results of the general interviews.

Stage 2b: (January–May 2019) Unpacking meanings from the fieldwork notes

This happened during the time of relative quiet after the business of back-to-back fieldwork. Focused on understanding themes that appeared. These were compared with the piloted questionnaires to look at gaps and ambiguities that required further understanding and nuance, and the subtleties of language needed with which to unpack these understandings. I also used this time to develop a clear and concise description of the project focus and goals and possible outcomes, which when translated into Xhosa and served to introduce the questionnaire to participants and acted as the information for

informed consent. This was arguably the most important aspect of the questionnaire in terms of ensuring participant understanding and ensuring, clarity and alleviation of any anxieties. It also allowed me to summarise and conceive of the project as a whole, so that the goals and potential results, outcomes or impacts were clear to me and I was able to express them in a clear, concise and confident way. This description, I feel was largely responsible for the strong support from our participants and the good motivation and teamwork on behalf of the research team.

Stage 3: (June–September 2019) Development of the final questionnaire, translation and piloting

This stage of the research involved turning all the understandings of the qualitative research into a coherent research instrument that would be able to accurately quantify these issues in a nuanced way and avoid misunderstandings or generalisations. It had to use clear cultural and linguistic categories, and I felt it also needed to be conducted fully in Xhosa and had to have very carefully chosen translation of words and concepts to ensure continued validity and with which to maintain nuance. I reconstructed and redeveloped the second version of the questionnaire and spent a month and a half translating the questions with the project's second main translator and interpreter, Mluleki Nkosi. This process of translation ensured three things: Firstly, that I was able to get to grips with the language used in the questionnaire and later be able to follow the entire process in Xhosa and even conduct a portion of the questionnaire myself. Secondly, doing the translation alongside a mother-tongue speaker meant that the whole design process was a co-production between researcher and de facto 'participant'. This involved in some senses a long and in-depth extended self-ethnography process for Mluleki Nkosi which allowed for final explorations of the significance of themes on issues where I was not completely clear. Thirdly, we could ensure that the language used spoke directly to the issues we were analysing, this was something that I might have taken for granted when trying to get the questionnaire translated professionally, but which after I had tried to engage with this process, I realised it lacked the necessary nuance ad commitment from the assigned, more professionally recognised, translator.

Through having worked on each process myself, I was later able to discus and suggest changes in wording, with both of the project's translators to further hone the focus and approach of certain questions. This was especially the case when listening in the early phases of the research to the differences in emphasis given by each of the enumerators to specific parts of questions and the effect this had on the understandings of the participants. Here, rather than not being able to understand the role of parts of words and sentences, I was able, through my understanding of Xhosa grammar, to engage with the structure and subtle difference in meanings of questions during the interviews, which

would have not been the case had I received the questionnaire as a finished product and not been involved in constructing each part.

Mluleki Nkosi and I then translated the informed consent form and description of the research approach and goals. This process also helped initiate in-depth discussions that ensured greater clarity of the particular purpose of the questionnaire between me and the enumerators and strengthened their buy-in and support of the project. The draft questionnaire, was then piloted with 11 participants in Joza township, Grahamstown, Qalaqoyi and King William's Town, after which it was edited for spelling errors and further shortened. In many cases this initial piloting helped clarify confusion and ambiguities and allowed for a reduced number of questions. Each of the editing and shortening processes allowed for greater precision.

The process of building the questionnaire also allowed for the introduction of the second enumerator Mluleki Nkosi into the project, and to ensure he was aware of the research focus and approach. The process of editing, checking wording and piloting over a three-day period in King William's Town, then allowed the chance to recheck and re-discuss the research focus with Dabula Maxam, who had been involved with my research since 2017, this ensured that both enumerators had the same understandings of the research goals. These multiple processes, along with the standardised questions ensured that both enumerators would be able to approach conducting the questionnaire in a set way. The process of building and refining the questionnaire in Xhosa enabled the high precision of the quantitative aspects of this study, effectively combining the much-nuanced understandings gained from the qualitative research to guide the design of the questionnaire. Finally, it served as a motivator for participants and for ensuring all three of us on the research team had a singular approach and strong motivation.

Stage 4: (September–October 2019) Second stage of piloting

This involved checking the final version of the questionnaire, additional editing and preparing interpreters for working alone. During this stage both the enumerators and I recorded the answers on the quantitative interview schedule and then compared them. This allowed them to practice and acted as a low risk and limited stress period of transition from previously just asking the questions, to be able to both conduct the questionnaires on their own and record the answers. This step also allowed me to check and standardise our methods of recording answers on the questionnaire schedule. During this stage we piloted 14 participants in Ginsberg township in King William's Town. Through this process we were able to add some final important questions and additional categorical answer options to the questionnaire.

Stage 5: (October–November 2019) Conducting interviews

Here we conducted the final version of the questionnaire with 176 participants in Sweetwaters and Zwelitsha townships in Qonce/King William's Town. These qualitative interview schedules were conducted verbally each taking between 1.5 – 2 hours to complete. During this time the enumerators alternated between working with me, in which case I recorded the answers on the questionnaire schedule, and then working independently. This gave me the chance to constantly check for standardisation and precision, but most valuable to experience their different skills and ways of being during the interviews and different aspects of additional and in-depth information that they encouraged or drew out. I personally participated in 127 of the total 200 questionnaire interviews conducted. During the evenings, I checked the questionnaires and looked for incoherence and apparent contradictions, or issues which I felt needed further clarification with the appropriate enumerator over our tea and lunch breaks the next day. We continuously built-up experience, accuracy and more in-depth understandings, this resulted with the final questionnaires having the greatest nuance and almost no confusion or missed information. This period also, corresponded with having the clearest descriptions and researcher's notes accompanying answers and so the highest clarity of results. With this in mind it was decided to choose the last third of the questionnaire data for analysis in the Masters study.

Stage 6: (January–June 2020) Design of instruments of analysis and data capture

This process involved entering all the data from the selected 61 questionnaires into a spreadsheet for analysis and further exploration of themes. Care was taken to enter all additional data in a cell for explanations next to each response, these included all additional notes as well as memories and observations that the research team recorded. Such an approach has served to greatly eliminate ambiguity and uncertainty as well as see the participant's responses holistically, as part of a continuous whole of identity and belief rather than just being isolated responses, which risk manipulation or misrepresentation as criticised by Magubane (1973).

This highly nuanced quantitative data gave both a clear idea of the prevalence of these categories and also a precise understanding of subtleties in individual variation allowing for quantitative analysis of group trends but also easy reference to individual circumstances and assessing a particular participant's other related answers which avoided false generalisations.

Stage 7: (May–September 2020) Literary investigation to situate themes and lived realities

Thematic analysis of the findings made me aware that there was a total lack of literature, firstly with which to situate and position this study and secondly with which to be able to unpack the significance of the findings or to even be able to reveal their basic applicability and value at all. I needed to find appropriate literature that spoke to the thematic findings regarding the themes identified in this project. This reading-up assisted me in identifying 'blind-spots' and realising how vital it was to address these issues. This bringing together of vital pieces of information from different fields helped me write about the "intangible" and topics that are otherwise often very difficult to position and justify as applicable in a formal academic context.

Stage 8: (September 2020–December 2021)

Further reading, consolidating information and writing up chapters for Masters thesis.

APPENDIX D

D: Methodology: Final quantitative interview schedule (questionnaire) in Xhosa and English - October 2019

Interviewer Name:			**Questionnaire number:**			
2.1	Housing type: Please circle the appropriate choice					
	2 Room RDP	4 Room RDP	Pre 1994 State-house	Self-built	Back-yard Flat	Other:
2.2	Yard is:	Fenced	Walled	Incomplete fencing	No fencing present	Hedge
	Approximate year housing site constructed:					
	Buildings and concrete take up more than ¾ of yard space:					
	Double storey built on:					

Olu phando lujongene namaXhosa ekwenzeni amasiko esiNtu kwiingingqi ezisedolophini abanxibelelana nezendalo okanye abafuna indalo ekwenzeni ezi zinto.

Injongo yethu kukuqonda ukubaluleka kwendalo kumXhosa nemvelaphi kwane mpilo, sijonge kwakhona kwane miba yokuba abantu bahleli/bazinze njani edolophini (sinqwenela ukuthetha nabantu abenza amasiko kwa nabasindisiweyo).

Sinomdla kule mixholo ilandelayo:

1. Abantu baluphethe njani unxibelelwano phakathi kwamasiko nendalo kwindawo ezisedolophini.
2. Abantu baqhubisana njani nonqongophalo lwezityalo ezibalulekileyo, nobunzima ekufikeleleni kwindawo apho indalo ifumanekayo ekwenzeni amasiko.
3. Zeziphi izithethe zesiNtu eziguqukayo okanye ezingasenziwayo ngendlela efanayo nasezilalini, ngenxa yokuba zisenziwa kwindawo ezisedolophini. (Umzekelo: ubuhlanti bethutyana, amagoqo) zeziphi izithehthe eziqhubekekayo nangona kunzima, nokuba kude kwindalo.

Iziphumo malunga nolu phando zise nokusetyenziswa ekunikeni ulwazi ukuze kuqulunqwe indlela yokuhlala abantu edolophini ezothi zingqamane neemfuno nezithethe zabantu. Siyathemba ukuba olu lwazi lakuthi lwenze indawo zokuhlala zibe nenxaxheba ekuphakamiseni impilo yasekuhlaleni.

Lonke ulwazi esiluqokelelyo lwakuba yimfihlo. Asizokubhala igama lakho kwane nombolo yesazisi apha kule ntetho ntethwano. Ukuba uziva ungalungelanga ukuphendula umbuzo othile ungasicela sidlulele kumbuzo olandelayo. Unakho ukulumisa udliwanondlebe olu nangaliphi ixesha. Iimpendulo nolwazi lwakho lubalulekile kuthi njengokuba luzakuba negalelo koluphando, kwakhona kubalulekile ukuba silugqibe olu dliwanondlebe ukuze sikwazi ukulusebenzisa olulwazi usinike lona.

Olu lwazi silufumeneyo kolu dliwano-ndlebe, injongo kukucacisa izithethe ngendlela ehloniphekileyo nokucacisa ukubaluleka ekwenzeni amasiko ukuze baphile abo bantu bawenzayo. Kananjalo, kukuvumela ukuba abantu bafunde omnye-nomnye ngamasiko neelwimi zabo.

Oludliwano-ndlebe luthatha ixesha……..

Inxanxheba yakho inendima enkulu kwaye siyayithakazelela.

Ngoba senza uphando malunga nezithethe kwanemvelaphi yamaXhosa, sicela ukuba sincokole ngesiXhosa ngqo, ukuze singene nzulu kule ncoko ngendlela ehloniphekileyo.

This questionnaire focuses on Xhosa cultural practices, in urban areas, that are connected with nature or that need nature and natural products to be able to perform them. **Our aim is to understand the significance of nature for Xhosa identity and wellbeing as well as to investigate the importance of these issues in urban place-making (how people establish themselves in town).**

We are interested in the following themes:

1) How do people negotiate the relationship between culture and nature in urban areas?
2) How do people deal with both shortages of plants and difficulties in accessing natural areas needed for cultural practices?
3) What cultural practices might adapt or disappear when they take place in urban areas? (E.g.: 'makeshift kraals' and *amagoqo*) and what cultural practices and use of natural products remain important and continue, despite constraints).

The results of this study will be able to be used to inform the designing of urban settlements that are more aligned to people's cultural requirements. We hope that this would result in the building of living spaces which play a part in increasing residents' wellbeing (*impilo*).

All information collected will be anonymous. We will not write down your name or ID number on the questionnaire. There will be no way to connect you to the answers which you gave. If you are not comfortable answering any of the questions, you can ask us to skip to the next question. You can also stop the questionnaire at any time.

Your answers will contribute to this knowledge and so are important to us finishing the questionnaire is important in order to able to use the information which you give.

The information gathered in this questionnaire aims to respectfully explain Xhosa cultural practices as well as the importance of these cultural practices (*amasikho*) for the well-being of the people who practice them, to both South Africans who might have little knowledge about them and people from other countries. This aims to allow people to learn about each-others' cultures and languages.

The questionnaire takes roughly….

Your participation is useful and gratefully appreciated. Since we are researching Xhosa cultural practices and identity, please may we conduct the interview fully in Xhosa to be able to talk about the topics in a clear and respectful way.

	Researcher has explained:		1.1	Date: dd/mm/yy	
		Tick	1.2	Name of interviewer:	
	Research goals and aims to participant		1.3	Questionnaire number:	

	Participant's anonymity		1.4	Household reference number:	
	Confirmed participant's consent		1.5	Site number:	

2.3	Ungumni wena?	
2.4	Nisuka phi?/Phambi kukuba nize apha nizalelwe phi?	

3.Place-attachment questions

3.1	Ngaba uhlala apha na?	Y	N	
3.2	Ngaba likhaya na eli?	Y	N	
3.2.2	Clarification:			

Hayi yindlu nje *This is just a house*	Likhaya lam *This is my home*	Likhaya labatwana bam/bethu *This is my children's home*	Likhaya Lethu *This is our home*
Hayi yindlu nje ngelixhesha silapha, ikhaya lethu liselalini. *This is just a house for the time we are in town, our home is in a village*	Hayi yindlu nje ngelixhesha silapha, ikhaya lethu likwenye idolophu. *This is just a house for the time we are living here, our home is in another urban area*	Ewe, likhaya elincinci kodwa ikhaya elikhulu liselalini. *Yes, this is a 'small home', but the 'great home' is in a village.*	Ewe, likhaya elincinci kodwa ikhaya elikhulu lisedolophili. *Yes, this is our 'small home', but the great home is in a town.*
Okane:			

	Imvelaphi yomthathi nxaxeba (origins of participant)		
3.3.1	Uzalelwe Phi?	a) village/town/farm	b) Transkei/Ciskei/RSA
3.3.2	Ukhulele phi? 12-18yrs	a) village/town/farm	b) Transkei/Ciskei/RSA
Okokuba unenkcazelo ethe gabalala nceda usiphe: (Explanation if needed)			

	Inkcukhaca zomthathi nxaxeba (details of participant)					
3.4.1	Isini:	Male		Female		
3.4.2	Iminyaka: *Age:*					
3.4.3	Umsebenzi: *Occupation:*	Unemployed	Retired	Working full-time	Working part-time	Other:
3.4.4	Ngokwalapha ekhayeni?					

	ungumnini-mzi, nkosikazi, mntwana, mtshana, njalonjalo? *Role in house:*	

3.4.5	Imfundo yakho iphelele kweliphi ibanga/amabanga? (tick highest level) *"Where did your education finish"*	No Formal Education	
		Primary level of education only	
		Incomplete secondary education	
		Matric	
		College/ Technikon diploma	
		Higher tertiary degree	

3.4.6	Ikhaya eli linayo inqwelo-mafutha/imoto? *Does this house own a car?*	Y	N	
3.4.7	Bangaphi na abantu abahlala kule yhadi? How many people live in this yard?			

4.Rural Place-Attachment

4.1	Ingaba uziva uno nxibelelwano naselalini okanye efama? *Do you feel an attachment to a village or rural area?*	Y	N	Phi:

(If no, proceed to section: 5)

4.2	Ingaba le lali/ifama uyibona njengekhaya na? *Is this village where you consider home (ikhaya) to be?*	Y	N	
4.3	Ingaba ucinga ngokuthatha umhlala-phantsi uphelele kule lali? *Do you plan to retire to this village?*	Y	N	
4.4	Ingaba unalo na usapho onxibelelana nalo ngqo kula lali *Do you have direct family there?*	Y	N	

4.5	Ingaba uya amaxesha amangaphi phaya? How often do you visit? *How many times in this year?*					
Kanye Ngeveki *(Weekly)*	Kanye Kwiveki ezimbini *(Fort-nightly)*	Kanye Ngenyanga *(Monthly)*	Kane Ngonyaka *(Quarterly)*	Kabini Ngonyaka *(Twice a year)*	Kanye Ngonyaka *(Once a year)*	Okanye:

4.6	Ingaba yeyiphi eyona dolophu enkulu esondele kule lali? *What is the closest large town to this village?*	

4.7	Ingaba uthatha ixesha elingakanani ukufika kule lali? *How many hours of travel does it take you to reach this village/ rural area?*								
10- 30 Mins	30 mins	1 hour	2hours	3 hours	4 hours	5 hours	6 hours	7 hours	8 hours
Okanye:									

4.8	Ingaba usebenzisa ntoni xa usiya kule lali? *How do you normally travel to this place?*		
Uyahayikha *(Hitch hike)*	Ibhasi/ Itaxi *(Taxis/Buses)*	Inqwelo yam *(Own vehicle)*	Inqwelo yesizalwana *(Relative's vehicle)*
Inqwelo yesihlobo *(Friend's vehicle)*	Inqwelo yomtwana wam *(Child's vehicle)*	Inqwelo Yabazali *(Parents Vehicle)*	Okanye:

4.9	Zeziphi izizathu ezibangela ukuba umana usiya elalini? *What are the most common reasons that you go to this village?*				
Uyophola *To relax*	Ukundwendwela indalo *Visit nature*	Uyobona usapho lonke *To see family*	Iintsuku zeholide *For holidays*	Ukuya kwimisebenzi yesiNtu *To attend ceremonies*	Uyonceda ukulungiselela lomcimbi *To prepare for ceremonies*
Ukuya kunceda apho kufuneka khona *To assist with what is necessary*		Uyobona imfoyo yam/ yethu *To see my livestock*	Ukufumana impilo nje *To feel rejuvenated*	Ukuya emingcwabeni *To attend funerals*	Xa kuthe kwakho ingxaki *If there is a problem*
Okanye:					

4.10	Ingaba zikhona izakhiwo ezongezwe nguwe kweli khayakhulu? *(Have you built onto the family homestead in this village?)*	Y	N	Planning
4.11	Ingaba kweli khaya bukhona ubuhlanti ekwenziwa kuwo amasiko? *(Does the homestead have a kraal that is used for rituals?)*	Y	N	
4.12	Ingaba eli khaya linalo Igoqo elibonisa ubuhle? *(Does the village homestead have a woodpile (igoqo) for beauty?)*	Y	N	
4.13	Ingaba kweli khaya ukhona uronta/inqugwala ekwenziwa kuwo amasiko? *(Does the village homestead have a rondavel that is used for ceremonies?)*	Y	N	No, we use the main house
4.14	Ingaba unayo indlu oyakhileyo kule lali? *(Do you have your own house built there in this village?)*	Y	N	Planning
4.15	Ingaba unawo umhlaba owulungiselele ukuzakhela inxiwa kulelali? *(Have you obtained your own separate 'site' in this village?)*	Y	N	

4.16	Ingaba kutheni unonxibelelwano nale lali? Ingaba kutheni ungafudukeli ngoku pheleleyo edolophini? *(Why do you keep a connection with this village, why not move completely to town?)*

4.17	Ingaba zintoni izinto eziyinzuzo kule lali ongenakuzifumana edolophini? *(What are the things that the village makes possible that are not possible in town?)*

5. Urban Place-Attachment:

5.1.1	Ingaba usapho lwakho lunayo na imfuyo? *(Does your family own livestock?)*				Y	N	
5.1.2	Phi *(Where?)*	Urban	Rural	Igama lendawo: *(Place name)*			

If no skip to question 5.3

5.2	Ingaba ngubani umnini mfuyo? *(Who do the livestock belong to?)*			
Umzali *(Parent)*	Umntakwethu/udade *(Sibling)*	Utamkhulu/Umakhulu *(Grandparent)*	Isizalwane *(Relative)*	Umtwana wam *(My child)*
Okhayne:				

5.3	Ungathanda inkonzo yakho yokugqibela kweli hlabathi, iqhutywelwe kweyiphi indlu? *(Where would you like to be buried from (which house would you like your coffin to come out of)?*			
Kule ndlu *(This house)*	Ikhaya eliselalini *(Village home)*	Kwelinye ikhaya elisedolophini *(Other home, urban township)*	Andikayazi okwangoku *(Do not know yet)*	Nokuba Kuphi *(No preference)*
Okanye:				

5.4	Ingaba Nilusapho, ninexesha elingakanani nihlala kule ndlu? *(How long have you or your family occupied this house here in town?)*
-unyaka wokufika kwakho: _____ or uqikelelo lweminyaka oyihleliyo 1,2,3,5,7,10,12,15,17,25 *(year of occupation, or approx. number of years)*	

5.5	Yeyiphi indlu ebenihlala kuyo phambi kwale nikuyo ngoku? *(Where were you living before)*	Urban	Rural	Place name:

5.6				
Ibiyindlu eluhlobo luni? *What type of dwelling was it?*				
Bendiqeshe igumbi ngasemva eyadini *(Renting backyard flat)*	kwigumbi ngasemva eyadini *(I was living in a backyard flat)*			
kwindlu eyayakhiwe nguRhulumente phambi konyaka ka 1994. *(Main house built by previous government before 1994)*	Kwindlu eselalini/ efama *(house in rural area)*			
Kwindlu emagunbi amabini ye RDP *(2 Room RDP)*	Kwindlu emagunbi amane ye RDP *(4 Room RDP)*			
Kwindlu esasiyakhile silusapho *(house built by the family)*	Okanye: *(Other)*			
5.7.1	Ingaba lendlu yeyakho na?	Y	N	

	(Does this house here belong to you)			

If yes skip to next question (5.7.3)

5.7.2	Okokuba uthi hayi, ingaba ngubani umnikazi wayo? *(If no, who does this house belong to?)*				
Umntu enditshate naye *(Spouse)*	Umntu endihlala/ncuma naye *(Partner)*	Umzali *(Parent)*	Utamkhulu/ Umakhulu *(Grandparent)*	Isizalwane/udade *(Sibling)*	Umtwana wam/ Umzukulwane *(My child/Grand child)*
Okanye: (Other)					

5.7.3	Sicela usicacisele okokuba uyifumene njani Lendlu? *(Please explain how you obtained this house?)*		
Siyinikwe ngurhulumente. *(Allocated by government)*	Siyiqeshile. *(Renting it)*	Siyithengile. *(Bought it)*	Yindlu yosapho. *(Owned by family)*
Sijongele/Sigcinele umntu. *(Looking after on someone's behalf)*	Singene ngaphandle kwemvume yomnini wendlu. *(Occupied the house without owner's permission)*	Andingethandi ukuwuphendula lombuzo *(Not willing to answer question)*	Okanye: *(Other)*

5.8	Ingaba ucwangcise ukuhlala ixesha elingakanani apha? *(How long do you plan to live here?)*		
Unomphelo/undomphela *(Permanentl)y*	Ithutyana *(Temporarily)*	Andiqinisekanga *(Uncertain)*	Okanye: *(Other)*

5.9.1	Nizazisile na apha? *(Have you announced yourself/selves here?)*	Y	N	Sisacwangcisa/ ewe sinazo izicwangciso ezinjalo *(Planning)*	Asikucwangcisanga oko/ Hayi asinazo izicwangciso ezinjalo *(Do not plan to)*

If no skip to next question (5.10.1)

5.9.2	Okokuba senizazisile kwangaphambili okanye nisenezicwangciso ezinjalo nizakwenza njani? *(If yes/planning in what way?)*
Ngokwesithethe sakwantu *(Traditional way)*	Ngokwenkonzo yosindiso *(Born again-Christian way)*
Sicela usicacisele: *(Please Explain)*	

5.10.1	Ingaba seniyivulile le ndlu *(Have you opened this house?)*	Y	N	Sisacwangcisa/ewe sinazo izicwangciso ezinjalo *(Planning)*	Asikucwangcisanga oko/ Hayi asinazo izicwangciso ezinjalo *(Do not plan to)*

If no, skip to next question (5.11)

5.10.2	Okokuba seniyivulile kwangaphambili okanye nisenezicwangciso ezinjalo nizakwenza njani? *(If yes/planning in what way?)*	
Ngokwesithethe sakwantu *(Traditional way)*		Ngokusindisiweyo ngokwenkonzo *(Christian way)*
Sicela usicacisele: *(Please Explain)*		

5.11	Ingaba sowangezile ezi zinto zilandelayo apha endlini nase yadini? (P=planning) *Have you added any of the following to the house and yard?*			
Ukwangeza Indlu *(House extension)*	Ukubiyela ngocingo *(Fence)*	Ukubiyela ngezitena *(Wall)*	Amagumbi okuqeshisa *(Flats for rent)*	Amagumbi oonyana xa bebuya esuthwini *(Flats for sons after initiation)*
Amagumbi osapho/izizalwane *(Flats for family)*	Igaraji/Indawo yenqwelo *(Garage)*	Indawo yokuhamba imoto *(Driveway)*	Uronta *(Rondavel)*	
Okanye:(Other)				

5.12.1	Ingaba uyayilima imifuno/iveji? *Do you grow vegetables?*	Y	N	
5.12.2	Ingaba ni nemithi yeziqhamo? *Do you have fruit trees?*	Y	N	
5.12.3	Ingaba unazo izityalo zokuhombisa? (iintyatyambo/imithi) *Do you have decorative plants (for beauty) in your yard?*	Y	N	

6.Umthathinxaxheba kwezokholo (Participant belief systems)

6.1.1	Ingaba uyabamkela ubukho bezinyanya? *(Do you acknowledge the presence of ancestors?)*	Y	N	Hayi, ndisindisiwe *(No, I am Saved)*	Andiqinisekanga

If yes continue, if no skip to question 6.2.1

6.1.2	Ingaba lunzulu kangakanina ukholo lwakho kwizinyanya? *(If yes, how would you describe your belief in the Ancestors?)*		
Ndikholelwa kakhulu *(Strong belief)*	Andikholelwa kakhulu *(not such a strong belief)*	Andiqinisekanga *(not sure)*	NA

6.2.1	Ingaba uyakhonza na? *(Do you belong to a church?)*	Y	N	
If yes proceed, if no skip to question: 6.3.1				
6.2.2	Yeyiphi inkonzo/icawa yakho? *(What is the full name of the church?)*			

6.2.3	Ingaba lenkonzo iyazamkela izinyanya namasiko? *(Does this church accept ancestral practices?)*	Y	N	Andiqinisekanga *(I do not know)*	
6.2.4	Ingaba uya amaxesha amangaphi enkonzweni? *(How often do you attend church?)*				
Kube Kanye evekini *(Weekly)*	Kube Kanye kwiveki ezimbini *(Fortnightly)*	Kube kanye ngenyanga *(Monthly)*	Okanye: *(Other)*		

6.2.5	Ingaba lunzulu kangakanani ukholo lwakho kule cawa/nkonzo? *How would you describe your belief in this church?*		
Ndikholelwa kakhulu *(Strong belief)*	Andikholewlwa kakhulu *(not such a strong belief)*	Andiqinisekanga *(not sure)*	NA

6.3.1	Ingaba izinyanya zikho na apha endlini oknye apha ekhaya? (Are your ancestors present at this house?)				
Ewe *(Yes)*	Zikhona kwelinye ikhaya elisedolophini. *(They are at our home in another urban area)*	Zikhona kwelinye ikhaya eliselalini. *(They are at our home in a rural area)*	Hayi, inkonzo yam ayihambisani nezinyanya. *(No, my church belief forbids that)*	Hayi, andikholelwa kubukho bezinyanya. *(No, I do not believe in the presence of the ancestors)*	Andiqinise-kanga
Ingcaciso ukuba ikhona imfuneko:					
6.3.2	Ingaba izinyanya zikhona apha eyadini? (Are your ancestors present at this yard?)				
Ewe *(Yes)*	Zikhona kwelinye ikhaya elisedolophini. *(They are at our home in another urban area)*	Zikhona kwelinye ikhaya eliselalini. *(They are at our home in a rural area)*	Hayi, inkonzo yam ayihambisani nezi izinyana. *(No, my church belief forbids that)*	Hayi, andikholelwa kubukho bezinyanya. *(No, I do not believe in the presence of the ancestors)*	Andiqinise-kanga
Ingcaciso ukuba ikhona imfuneko:					

6.4.1	Ingaba niyayenza imisebenzi yesiNtu/yesiXhosa? (*Do you practice Xhosa ceremonies)*			Y	N	Usapho lwam/ umlingane wam luyayenza, kodwa mna andiyenzi. *My partner /family does, I do not*
6.4.2	Phi? *(Where)*	Apha *(Here)*	kwelinye ikhaya edolophini *(In another urban home)*		Elalini *Village*	

6.5.1	Ingaba uyakholelwa bubukho bokuthakatha?? *Do you believe in bewitchment?*	Yes	No	Andiqinisekanga
6.5.2	Uyakholelwa bubukho bezi zinto zilandelayo? *(Do you believe in the existence of the following?)*			

Imimoya emdaka. *(Evil forces)*	Umbane othunyelwayo. *(lighting can be sent by evil doers)*	Ubugqwirha *(Bewitchment)*	Okanye *(Other)*	Akhonto ndikholelwa kuyo kwezi. *(None of these)*

7. Biocultural aspects of yard

7.1.1	Ingaba wakhe/wabenza ubuhlanti/ ubuhlanti bethutyana apha? *(Have you or your family ever constructed a kraal here?)*	Y	N	Sisacwangcisa *(Planning)*

(If yes skip to next question)

7.1.2	Ukuba uthi hayi, nceda ucacise. *(If you said no please explain)*		
	Ngokwenkolo yethu, asinamfuno yabuhlanti. *(Do not need a kraal because of our belief)*	Asifuni buhlanti apha kuba sinekhaya kwenye indawo. *(Do not need a kraal here because we have our home elsewhere)*	Okanye: *(Other)*

(If no proceed to question: 7.4)

7.2.1	Ukuba uthi ewe, bunjani ubuhlanti? Ubuhlanti obusisigxina, okanye ubuhlanti bethutyana *(If yes what type of kraal is it/was it)*	
Ubuhlanti 0busisi gxina. *(Permanent kraal)*		Ubuhlanti bethutyana *(Make-shift/ tempoary kraal)*

7.2.2	Ukuba ubukhe wanabo ubuhlanti bethutyana, ingaba uyayisebenzisa loo ndawo ukwenza igadi okanye indawo yokumisa imoto? *(If make-shift: do you have a particular space reserved for a kraal or do you use that space for other activities like gardening or parking a car?)*		
Yindawo yokwenza amasiko qha/kuphela. *(Exclusive space allocated)*			Ikwayindawo yokwenza ezinye izinto *(Spaced used for other purposes)*

7.2.3	Ingaba kutheni nikhethe ukuba nobuhlanti obuloluhlobo? *(Why did you choose to have a kraal in this way?)*		
(Exclusive space allocated for kraal)			*(Spaced used for other purposes)*
Ubuhlanti yindawo ehloniphekileyo, apho bungenokusetyenziselwa ezinye izinto nangona iyhadi incinci. *The kraal space is sacred it cannot be used for other things, even if the yard is small*			Ayiyongxaki nokuba landawo isetyenziselwe ezinye izinto. *It does not matter if that space is used for other purposes*
Le yindawo yezinyanya mayihlale inga phazanyiswa. *It is the place of the ancestors it must remain undisturbed*			Yincithaxesha ukugcina indawo yokwenza amasiko awenziwa ngamaxesha athile. (umzekelo: kube Kanye kweminyaka imithathu) *It is a waste of space to reserve space for rituals that happen quite seldom*

Le yindawo apho sithetha nezinyanya zethu. *It is a place where we come to talk to our ancestors*		Noxa besingethandi kodwa siye sinyanzeleke siyisebenzisele ezinye izinto, ngenxa yokunganeli komhlaba esinawo. *While it is not an ideal situation the space is needed for other things.*
The yard is too small for a permanent kraal.		Le yidolophu, kwaye asifuni mfuyo apha, lowo ngunobangela singenabo obusisigxina. *It is a township and we do not have livestock here for a permanent kraal*
Okanye (Other)		

7.3.1	Likhona ixhanti ebuhlanti? *(Do you have central tethering pole (Ixhanti) in the kraal?)*				
Ewe *Yes*	Sisacwangcisa ukumisa ixhanti elisisigxina. *Planning to erect a permanent one.*	Sisebenzisa ixhanti lethutyana. *We use a temporary Ixhanti.*	Usapho lwethu lusebenzisa isango lasebuhlanti. *Family do not use a central Ixhanti pole, we use the gate posts.*	Hayi *No*	Okanye: *Other*

(If no, proceed to question 7.4)

7.3.2	Ngowuphi umthi eniwusebenzisayo wokumisa ixhanti? *If yes what type of wood/tree do you use for this?*		Andiqinisekanga *Don't know*

(continue here)

7.4	Yeyiphi imisebenzi eniyenzileyo apha kule ndlu nilusapho. *Which ceremonies have been held by the family here at this house?*				
Ukuzazisa	Ukuvula indlu	Imbeleko	Ukuqhumisela usana ngempepho	Ukulungiselela ukuya esuthwini. *(Circumcision send-off)*	Umgidi
Intonjane	Ukuvuma ingulo	Imfukamo	Ukukhapha	ukubuyisa	Umbulelo
Ukukhusela/ukusikelela imoto (Protecting a vehicle)	Ukukhusela indlu (Protecting the house)	baby washing	ukukhulula izila/ *washing of spades*	ukutshiza	Ukudibanisa izihlwele
Intambo enkulu	Intambo encinci	Ukupha inkobe abadala	ukuthisa imphepo *burn imphepo*		
Any others:					

7.5	Likhona igoqo elisisigxina apha na? *(Do you have an Igoqo here?)*			
Likhona Igoqo elisisigxina. *(Yes, permanent)*	Likhona Igoqo lethutyana xa kukho imisebenzi, silibiza ukuba ligoqo. *(Yes, only temporarily for ceremonies and then we call it an igoqo)*	Sinazo iinkuni xa kukho imisebenzi naxa sipheka rhoqo ukuze sitye, kodwa asilibizi Igoqo. *(We have a wood pile for ceremonies and or regular cooking but it is not called an Igoqo)*	Hayi *(No)*	Okhanye *(Other)*

7.6	Likhona ixaba/iziko apha na? *Do you have a designated cooking place here?*	Y	N	

7.7	Nisebenzisa iinkuni xa niphekayo? *(Do you cook with wood?)*	Y	N	

If no, procced to question 8.1.1

7.8	Zeziphi izizathu ezibangela ukuba nisebenzise iinkuni? *What are the reasons you cook with wood?*	Imisebenzi yesiXhosa. *For Ceremonies*	ukupheka nje *non-ritual use*	Kwimisebenzi yesiNtu kananjalo nokubasa sipheke ngokwesiqhelo njee. *Both for Ceremonies and non-ritual use*

7.9	Uzifumana njani ezinkuni? *(How do you obtain this wood?)*		
Kuhanjwa ngenyawo kuyekuthezwa, kubuywe neenyanda. *Collect by foot*	Ukuhamba ngemoto uyotheza *Collect by vehicle*	ukuzithenga *Buy it*	Eminye imicimbi ifuna kuyekuthezwa ngamankazana/makhosikazi ekhaya, iinyanda, nokuba zincinane azithwale eze nazo ekhaya. *Some of our rituals require the women to collect a small symbolic portion of wood and bring it to the home.*
Kuxhomekeka ukuba umcimbi ukhokelwa/ulawulwa ligqirha na. *It would depend on whether an igqirha were running the ceremony.*			
Other:			

8.1.1	Ingaba niyasila umqombothi? *Do you brew umqombothi*

Ewe apha kulendlu *Yes, here at this house*	Ewe kwelinye ikhaya edolophini. *Yes, in another urban house which is our home*	Sisila kwikhaya elisalalini. *We brew at our village home*	Siyakuwenza kwilixa elizayo kule ndlu. *Will do so here in the foreseeable future*	Asisili ngoba sisindisiwe. *We do not brew it at all, due to being Christian*	Nangona/Noxa inkonzo ingahambisani notywala, kodwa siyawusila umqombothi njengenxalenye yesiko lesiNtu. *Even though our church forbids drinking alcohol we brew it as it is a vital part of rituals.*
Other:					

If no, procced to question 8.2

8.1.2	Ingaba niyawufaka umgquba ngaphantsi kwefatyi xa kusiliwe? *Does your family place kraal manure under the brewing barrel?*	Y	N	
8.1.3	Niwufumana phi lomgquba? *Where do you obtain it?*			

8.1.4	Ngawaphi amanzi eniwasebenzisayo okusila umqombothi? *If yes, what water do you use?*	
Amanzi omlambo *(River water)*	Amanzi emvula *(Rain water)*	Amanzi empompo *(Tap water)*
Amanzi omlambo axutywe namanye amanzi. *(A mix of river water with other water.)*	Amanzi emvula axutywe namanye amanzi. *(A mix of rain water with other water.)*	Bekuya kuxhomekeka ukuba umsebenzi lowo ukhokelwa ligqirha. *It would depend on whether an igqirha were running the ceremony.*

8.1.5	Ingaba kuyimfuneko wazise kwizinyanya (exhantini) xa uwafumene kulondawo uyikhethileyo (ungayanga kuwakha emlanjeni)?	Yes	No

8.1.6	Sicela ucacise kungaba yeyiphi into ephucukileyo unokuyenza xa usila usebenzisa amanzi, kwaye kutheni ukhetha lomanzi? *(Please explain your choice and the ideal)*

8.2.1	Ingaba niyasisebenzisa isilawu/ubulawu? *Do you use isilawu?*

Ewe apha kulendlu. *Yes, here at this house*	Ewe kwelinye ikhaya edolophini. *Yes, at another urban house which is our home.*	Ewe kwikhaya elisalalini. *We use it at our village home.*	Siyakusisebenzisa kwilixa elizayo kulendlu. *Planning to use it here in the foreseeable future.*	Asisebenzisi ngoba sisindisiwe. *No, my church forbids it.*	Asisebenzi silawu/ bulawu *No, we do not use it*
Other:					

If no, procced to question 8.3.1

8.2.2	Ngawaphi amanzi owasebenzisayo esilawuni? *If yes: What water do you use?*	
Amazi omlambo *(River water)*	Amanzi emvula *(Rain water)*	Amanzi empompo *(Tap water)*
Amanzi omlambo axutywe namanye amanzi. *(A mix of river water with other water.)*	Amanzi emvula axutywe namanye amanzi. *(A mix of rain water with other water.)*	Bekuya kuxhomekeka ukuba umsebenzi lowo ukhokelwa ligqirha. *(It would depend on whether an igqirha were running the ceremony.)*

8.2.3	Ingaba kuyimfuneko ukba wazise kwizinyanya (exhantini) xa uwafumene kulondawo uyikhethileyo *(ungayanga kuwakha emlanjeni)?*	Yes	No

8.2.4	Sicela ucacise kungaba yeyiphi into ephucukileyo unokuyenza xa usebenzisa isilawu/ubulawu, kwaye kutheni ukhetha lomanzi? *(Please explain your choice and the ideal)*

8.2.5	Usifumana phi isityalo sokwenza isilawu/ubulawu? *(where do you obtain the plants for isilawu from?)*		
Eyadini yethu *(Own yard)*	Eyadini yomelwane *(Neighbours' yard)*	Indawo yendalo esondeleyo edolophini. *(Urban fringe)*	Indawo yendalo ekude kuna bantu nedolophu *(Remote natural area)*
			Siyasithenga *(Purchase it)*
Bekuya kuxhomekeka ukuba umsebenzi lowo ukhokelwa ligqirha. *It would depend on whether an igqirha were running the ceremony.*			Other:

8.2.6	Ingaba kuyimfuneko wazise kwizinyanya (exhantini) xa usifumene kulondawo uyikhethileyo?	Yes	No

8.2.7	Sicela ucacise kungaba yeyiphiinto ephucukileyo oyenzayo xa ukhutha isilawu/ubulawu kulondawo ukuze usenze. *Please comment about your choice and the ideal?*

8.3.1	Ingaba niyawasebenzisa amahlahla/amahlamvu emithi okubeka inyama yesiko? (isithebe) *Do you use plants branches to place ritual meat on?*	Yes	No

Ewe apha kulendlu. *(Yes, here at this house)*	Ewe kwelinye ikhaya edolophini. *(Yes, at another urban house which is our home.)*	Sisebenzisa kwikhaya lethu eliselalini. *(We use it at our village home.)*	Siya kuwasebenzisa apha kwilixa elizayo. *(Planning to use it here in foreseeable future.)*	Hayi inkonzo ayihambisani noku. *(No, my church forbids it.)*	Nangona inkonzo ingahambisani noku kodwa yinxalenye yesiko lethu. *(Even though my church forbids such practices, we use it as it is an important part of rituals.)*
Other:					

If no, procced to question 8.4.1

8.3.2	Sicela ucacise imithi oyisebenzisayo xa ninomcimbi *(Please name the plants that you use?)*

8.3.3	Ingaba uzifumana phi ezizityalo? *(Where do you source these plants from?)*		
Eyadini yethu *(Own yard)*	Eyadini yomelwane *(Neighbours' yard)*	Indawo yendalo esondeleyo edolophini. *(Urban fringe)*	Indawo yendalo ekude kuna bantu nedolophu *(Remote natural area)*
			Siyasithenga *(Purchase it)*
Bekuya kuxhomekeka ukuba umsebenzi lowo ukhokelwa ligqirha. *It would depend on whether an igqirha were running the ceremony.*			Other:

8.3.4	Ingaba kuyimfuneko ukuba wazise kwizinyanya (exhantini) xa uyifumene kulondawo uyikhethileyo (ungayanga ehlathini)?	Yes	No

8.3.5	Sicela ucacise ukuba yeyiphi indawo ephucukileyo kuyo xa ufuna ezizityalo kwaye kutheni ukhetha londawo, kwaye simfuneko isingxengxezo? *Please comment about your choice and the ideal?*

8.4.1	Uyazisebenzisa izityalo zalapha eyadini ukwenza amasiko? *Do you use plants from the yard for rituals?*	Y	N	

8.4.2	Ukuba uthi ewe, sicela ucacise amagama azo nemisebenzi yazo. *If yes please list these plants and their uses?*

8.5.1	Ninazo izityalo ezityaliweyo ukuze zikhusele? *Do you have plants planted for protection?*	Y	N	

8.5.2	Ukuba uthi ewe, nceda usichazele ukuba ziluncedo njani ekukhuseleni? *If yes please list these plants and their purpose e.g.-what they protect from?*

8.6.1	Uyakholelwa na kwizigulo zamaXhosa/zeSintu? Eg: Ukuthwasa. *Do you believe that people can be affected by Xhosa sicknesses?*	Y	N	NA

8.6.2	Uyakholwa na ukuba ezi zigulo azInakuncedwa sisibhedlele okanye ekliniki, kodwa zinokuncedwa ngamasiko, izangoma, amayeza esintu? *Do you believe that these sicknesses cannot be cured in a hospital or clinic but can only be cured through rituals, by traditional healers and traditional medicinal plants?*	True	Untrue	*These cannot be cured in a hospital but can be cured through a church.*
	Okanye:			

9. Ideas on Idealised urban living spaces

9.1	Ingaba zeziphi izinto ezingcono ezilungileyo/ezintle onokuzenza endlini (RDP 2 Room) yakho esedolophini/elokisheni, ukuze ibelikhaya? (xa unemali eyaneleyo nomhlaba onakwakha kuwo) *What are all the things you might like to, or might need to do, to make a 'house' into a 'home' in an urban area? (this is if you were to have enough money and space).*		
	Igaraji		*Amagumbi angaphandle:*

Ukongeza indlu *(Extend house)*	*(Garage)*	Ukubiyela iyadi *(Fence/ Wall)*	Amagumbi angaphandle oonyana xa bebuya esuthwini. *(Flats for sons after initiation)*	Amagumbi angaphandle ezizalwane. *(Flats for relatives)*	Amagumbi angaphandle okuqeshisa. *(Flats for rent)*

Ubuhlanti:		Urondavile			Igoqo	Iziko/ixaba
		Ndi zongeza indlu ngorondavile ongaphelelanga				
bethutyana	obusisigxina	Ofulelweyo	Obethelelwe ngamagcangci	Obethelelwe ngamatile		

Igadi yeveji *(Veggie Garden)*	Izityalo zesiko *(Cultural plants)*	Izityalo ezingamayeza *(Medicinal plants)*	Intjatjambo *Flowers*	Izityalo ezikhuselayo *(Protective plants)*	imithi yeziqhamo *(Fruit trees)*	Imfuyo *(Livestock)*	Imithi yomthunzi *(Shade Trees)*

9.1.1	Ndingathanda ukwakha ikhaya elalini konokuba ndilakhe edolophini xa ndinokukhetha ngokwentando yam. *(If I had the option, I would prefer not to build a home in an urban area)*	Y	N

9.2	Ukwimo yokuzimisela ukuhlala iminyaka engamashumi (10 yrs) kwindlu ye RDP (2 room) eBhayi ngenxa yempangelo emveni koko uyishiye/uyithengise, ubuyele ekhaya ngomhlala phantsi. Unecebo lwemali kwaye nomhlaba uvuma kwiyadi leyo, ziziphi izinto ezilungileyo onokunqwenela ukuzenza ukuphucula indlu leyo noxa usazi ukuba uzakuyishiya emva kweloxesha ulibekileyo? *What are all the things you might like to do to a house that you owned in an urban area where you were living for work purposes, but where you would only be living for 10 years before selling the house and moving away? (this is if you were to have enough money and space)*

Ukongeza indlu *(Extend house)*	Igaraji *(Garage)*	Ukubiyela iyadi *(Fence/ Wall)*	*Amagumbi angaphandle:*		
			Amagumbi angaphandle oonyana xa bebuya esuthwini. *(Flats for sons after initiation)*	Amagumbi angaphandle ezizalwane. *(Flats for relatives)*	Amagumbi angaphandle okuqeshisa. *(Flats for rent)*

Ubuhlanti:		Urondavile/uronta			Igoqo	Iziko/ixaba
		Ndi zongeza indlu ngorondavile ongaphelelanga				
bethutyana	Obusisigxina	Ofulelweyo	Obethelelwe ngamagcangci	Obethelelwe ngamatile		

Igadi yeveji *(Veggie Garden)*	Izityalo zesiko *(Cultural plants)*	Izityalo ezingamayeza *(Medicinal plants)*	IIntjatjambo *(Flowers)*	Izityalo ezikhuselayo *(Protective plants)*	imithi yeziqhamo *(Fruit trees)*	Imfuyo *(Livestock)*	Imithi yomthunzi *(Shade Trees)*

10. Urban place-identity and rootedness

	Ndivumelana kakhulu *(Strongly Agree)*	Ndiyavuma *(Agree)*	*(Neither agree nor disagree)*	Andivumelani *(Disagree)*	Andivumelani kakhulu *(Strongly disagree)*	Awundichaph-azeli lo mbuzo (N/A)
10.1	Abantu besiduko sam balendawo bandenza ndizive bhetele (apha) *(clans' people improve my experience of this place)*					
	👍👍	👍		👎	👎👎	NA
	Nceda usicacisele: (Please explain)					
10.2	Abantu becawa yam balendawo bandenza ndizive bhetele (apha): *(church people improve my experience of this place)*					
	👍👍	👍		👎	👎👎	Andiyi ecaweni *(I do not go to church)* / Andinabo apha. *There are none here*
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*					
10.3	Abakhaya bam balendawo bandenza ndizive bhetele (apha): *(people from my home area improve my experience of this place)*					
	👍👍	👍		👎	👎👎	Ndisuka kwaku le ngingqi/ ndawo. *This is the area I come from (therefore NA)* / Andinabo abakhaya apha. *There are none here*
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*					
10.4	*Ndiziva ndizinzile apha.* *(I feel established here.)*					
	👍👍	👍		👎	👎👎	NA
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*					
10.5	Ndiziva iingcambu zam zikulendawo					

	(I feel rooted here.)					
						NA
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*					

10.6	Ndiziva ndino nxibelelwano nalendawo: *(I feel connected to this place this place)*					
						NA
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*					
11.1	Ikhaya libalulekile kum *(Having a family home is important for me.)*					
						NA
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*					
11.2	Edolopini/elokishini, ukuba umntu unendlu eyeyakhe kubalulekile ukuze akhe ikhaya. *In town, owning a house is important in order for one to construct a home there.*					
						NA
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*					
11.3	Ndisenokuba nonxibelelwano nokuba akukho yadi okanye umhlaba, umzekelo: Izindlu ezingcotshileyo eZone 7, eZwelitsha. *I would be able to be rooted to a place even without a yard (e.g.: a block of flats)?*					
						NA
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*					
11.4	Ndisenokuziva ndizinzile nokuba akukho yadi okanye umhlaba, umzekelo: Izindlu ezingcotshileyo eZone 7 eZwelitsha. *I would be able feel established in a place even without a yard (e.g.: a block of flats)?*					
						NA
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*					
11.5	Ukuba neyadi kubalulekile ukuze ndakhe ikhaya. *Having a yard is important in order for one to be able to 'construct a home'.*					
						NA
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*					

13. Identity and place rootedness

	Ndivumelana kakhulu *(Strongly Agree)*	Ndiyavuma *(Agree)*	*(Neither agree nor disagree)*	Andivumelani *(Disagree)*	Andivumelani kakhulu *(Strongly disagree)*	Awundichaphazeli lo mbuzo (N/A)

13.1	Kum kubalulekile, njengomtu ongumXhosa, ukuze ndikwazi ukufikelela kwindawo yezendalo, ekude nabantu apho kunge kho zinto zenziwa ngabantu. *Having access to wild and unmanaged natural areas is important for me as a Xhosa person.*					
						NA
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*					
13.2	Ngenxa yemvelaphi nobuXhosa bam, ndiye ndizive ndifaniswa nomntu wakudala/wamandulo. *Due to my Xhosa identity, I feel that I am seen or regarded as a traditionalist or a person of the past.*					
						NA
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*					
13.3	Ingaba oku kunobugwenxa okanye kunokukholisa kuwe? *IS THIS POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE for you?*	Ukukholisa *Possitive*	Ukubugwenxa *Negative*			
13.4	Ngenxa yobuXhosa bam, ndiye ndizive ndifaniswa nomntu osesemva. *Due to my Xhosa identity (ubuXhosa), I feel I am seen as a person who is backward or modern.*					
						NA
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*					
13.5	Andiziboni izinto zamasiko njengezinto ezexesha elizayo. *I see traditional practices as a thing of the past and not of the future.*					
						NA
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*					
13.6	Ndiyavumelana nalombhalo othi: amaXhosa mawashiye imvelaphi yesiNtu ngasemva, ukuze ibengabantu belixesha nokuze baphumelele. *"Xhosa people need to move past their traditional identity in order to be modern and successful".*					
						NA
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*					
13.7	Iziduko okanye amagama eziduko ndizibona zibalulekile kum, njengenxalenye yobomi bam. *I see clans and clan names as an important part of who I am.*					
						NA
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*					
13.8	Ndibona ukuba nemfuyo kubalulekile kum mntu ongumXhosa. *For me owning livestock is important to being an umXhosa person (a Xhosa person).*					
						NA
	Nceda usicacisele: (Please explain)					

14 Biocultural identity in Language use

14.1	Njengokuba sisebenzisa iqhalo: "singabantu bomgquba" ungatsho uthi ukuba usapho lunomgquba ebuhlanti kubalulekile emntwini ongumXhosa. With regards to the idiom "we are the people of the kraal manure" "(*singabantu bomgquba)*"	Y	N

	Would you say having a kraal manure (umgquba) in your family kraal is important to being umXhosa?		

Kwimeko esiphila phantsi kwazo ngoku kusabalulekile na ukuba sibenemfuyo nomgquba edolophini? *Please discuss the ideal versus everyday circumstances*

14.2	Zeziphi ezona zinto zomsebenzi wesiXhosa eziyimfuneko ezinokwenza umsebenzi ungalungi/ungabi yompumelelo xa zingekho? *What would you say are the key ingredients for a traditional ceremony, without which the ceremony could not happen?*

14.3	Ungathetha uthini xa ungumXhosa, ngonxibelelwano nokubhekisele kwezendalo, izilwanyana/izilo nezityalo? *How would you describe the relationship between being Xhosa and plants, animals and natural areas?*

14.4	Ungakhe ucinge ngegama okanye isivakalisi elichaza isiko lwesiXhosa nemvelaphi elibandakanya indalo? (Mhlawumbi umzekeliso okanye iqhalo). *Can you think of a word or sentence which describes how Xhosa culture and identity, are linked to nature? Perhaps this would be an idiom or proverb.*

15 The yard space and wellbeing

	Ndivumelana kakhulu *(Strongly Agree)*	Ndiyavuma *(Agree)*	*(Neither agree nor disagree)*	Andivumelani *(Disagree)*	Andivumelani kakhulu *(Strongly disagree)*	Awundichaphazeli lo mbuzo (N/A)
15.1	Le yadi yongeza empilweni yam? *The yard space adds to my impilo (well-being):*					
	👍👍	👍		👎	👎👎	Andi nayo iyadi. *no yard*
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*					
15.2	Le yadi yongeza ekonwabeni kwam. The yard space adds to my happiness					

						Andi nayo iyadi. *no yard*
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*					

15.3	Umphefumlo wam wonwabile apha eyadini. *The yard space adds to my mental well-being. (my soul is content)*						
						Andi nayo iyadi. *no yard*	
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*						
15.4	Leyadi indinika amandla emzimbeni wam. *The yard space adds to my physical wellbeing:*						
						Andi nayo iyadi. *no yard*	
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*						
15.5	Ukutyala izityalo egadini kundenza ndibesempilweni. *Growing plants in my garden makes me feel good?*						
						Andi nayo iyadi. *No yard*	Andinazo ezityalo *Do not grow plants*
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*						
15.6	Ukuba nezityalo nezinto ezikhuselayo kwimimoya emibi/emdaka kundenza ndizive ndikhuselekile kakhulu apha endlwini. *Protective plants make me feel more secure here?*						
						Andikholelwa kwezozinto *Don't believe*	Andinazo ezityalo *No plants*
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*						
15.7	Izinyanya zam zindenza ndizive ndikhuseleke kakhulu apha endlwini. *My ancestors make me feel more secure here?*						
						Andikholelwa kwizinyanya. *Don't believe*	<u>Andizazi</u>
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*						
15.8	Ukukhuselwa nguThixo/ nguQamatha kundenza ndizive ndikhuseleke kakhulu apha endlwini. *Protection of God makes me feel more secure here?*						
						Andikholelwa kuThixo/KuQamatha	

						Don't believe
	Nceda usicacisele: *(Please explain)*					

16	Ingaba olutyelelo kwanemibuzo kulemiba zikwenze waziva njani? *How has this visit and the questions on these topics made you feel?*

Concluding questions

17	Ingaba unayo imibuzo okanye into ofuna ukuyithetha. *Do you have questions or comments*

Siyabulela kakhulu ngexesha lakho!
Mazenethole!

We thank you very much for your time.

APPENDIX E

E: Reflexive: Important developmental processes in this thesis. My thought-folio of necessary journeys

E1 Processes of early socialisation into the "two-worlds of being"

The following recollections are moments which, I believe, reflect my process of developing awareness that these 'cultural/traditional' issues are not understood and are misjudged by white people. I developed a sense that, through the process of growing up, black people learn that it is strategic to censor that part of their identity from the visibility of white people[1].

Here, to highlight the strength of this veil of invisibility, during discussions and explorations of the topic of Xhosa/ Nguni spirituality with three white people during 2019 and 2020 (who had experience as development workers from a strongly Christian perspective in rural Transkei[2]), revealed that they all had the understanding that these traditional identities and ancestral beliefs were 'rather rare' and

[1] I give the following as an example from observing an interaction in an upmarket Durban home in December 2017: "But don't you agree, Lungi*, people who believe in those things [ancestral rituals] are not proper Christians ... because those ceremonies that sacrifice to ancestors go against God and Christianity", says the 48-year-old white women to the 19-year-old Zulu mother-tongue black male who has just completed matric at a top all boys private school in the KZN Midlands and is visiting her house and her children. "Ohh yes", he says, "I sometimes go to those things [events] but I don't believe in them". He presents his answer perhaps too quickly, in a very smooth and reassuring way (perhaps this is not the first time he has had to talk about this with white people). Equilibrium now returns to the granite topped kitchen and we return to making lunch. Now, as a 'newly-initiated' 'two worlds', traveller, I realise my mistake and internalise not to talk with black people about these things in the presence of potentially-concerned 'conservative' Whites. Especially those who, through their top economic positions and levels of education, have subconsciously internalised the idea of white-supremacy and -omniscience and might become uncomfortable if their 'monopoly' on defining the nature of truth is challenged.

[2] In these cases, the reactions from white people in 2018 and 2019 when hearing about my research into ancestral beliefs felt similar to when in Grade 9, I once relayed a trip to a 'Human Circus', the *Madam Zingara Theatre of Dreams.* It was an experience that I had found "beautifully disorientating" and which first challenged my ideas of neat gender boundaries (with men and women cross-dressing). I remember sensing this deep discomfort in the body and face of a charismatic-fundamentalist-Christian family friend, while relaying the story at our supper table of the "poetic experience of walking in to this huge wooden circus tent where everyone is dressed up and being confronted with [the live-performance art-piece in the foyer] of a [beautifully] bearded-woman in a top hat smoking a very long cigarette, while provocatively lying on a *chaise lounge*. I had been saying how it was fun, as we (the "normal" people) were made to feel out-of-place, in that we were not all decadently-dressed up, and so didn't 'fit in'. (I was saying I had none of the usually conditioned fear of 'them', as the 'other', and it was such a freeing experience, to see and feel the beauty and fun of that world. As the only other time I had seen a 'cross-dressed' man was while driving home from school in Grade 4. He was sweating profusely while walking past the petrol pumps in grimy inner-city Pietermaritzburg, wearing a bright red dress with his gaunt face further highlighted by very tangled long black hair and a few days' worth of beard stubble. From the way he walked he appeared to be mentally ill, and I had I thought of him as unpredictable, chaotic and "dangerous".

had ‘largely fallen away in response to Christianity’. This highlights the effectiveness of this ‘veiling’ in regard to the continued importance of these beliefs. In these instances, white people who had everyday contact with black people but, perhaps due to carrying strong notions of the ultimate truth of Western perspectives, remained ‘outsiders’ with regard to these key aspects of people’s identities. Additionally, there seemed to often be an air of discomfort (with many white people) when I discussed my research on ancestral beliefs, as though I was investigating a taboo or something that they would prefer did not exist, or that we should at least not talk about. Personal communication with my supervisor, Michelle Cocks, in 2018 on this topic revealed that in her experience, pre-2000 this area of investigation and discussion was almost a no-go area with Nguni people - one in which people were closed and not willing to open up.

My mother, who lived and worked at a rural hospital in north-eastern Kwazulu-Natal for 13 years (1978–1990), commented that there were such strong implicit judgements by Whites in general concerning the ‘backwardness’ of ancestral beliefs and visiting traditional healers (*sangomas)*, that this prevented any open discussion on this topic with her black colleagues and friends.

She reflected: “It was something that was always too sensitive, too private… to enquire about”.

Even though she attended many events, so called “parties”, hosted by colleagues, where slaughtering was performed, having only a basic grasp of Zulu she was unaware that these were more than just “parties” or of the important part they played in her co-workers’ lives and identities. One sees that even if one experiences some immersion in these communities, this ‘world’ can remain largely invisible.

My other main point of reference to the world of ancestral understanding was with our family domestic worker whom I have known my whole life and with whom I have a very close relationship. Despite my always wanting to, I was very concerned when sometimes trying to practice speaking Zulu with her. I was aware that without sufficient background to the symbolic relationships in the Zulu language and the implicit awareness of the multiple meanings and implications that words can carry, I might unintentionally say something inappropriate (rude) or with a negative meaning. I felt that any mistake or misunderstanding would be my fault, as the person trying to access her world. A question I posed to her, when I was 16, about the name of a plant used as soap at times of economic scarcity, revealed her potential vulnerability surrounding issues of economic power and class related judgements and the great potential for hurt. She responded to my question with, “No, why are you asking that? You are just wanting to laugh at us ...”

I now read this in terms of the pervasiveness and pain of the implicit judgements of the superiority of white people related to ideas of civilisation and the related strength of certain colonially-informed Zulu narratives that rural people's utilitarian knowledge of nature was backward and primitive and uncivilised; something that one could be mocked about[3].

These barriers meant that until 2017, when I stayed at her rural home for the first time, I understood very little about ancestral belief systems as a part of her identity. This was apart from certain isolated insights, like her telling me about the procedure of transporting spirits of ancestors on a branch of tree when relocating to a new family home. My lack of a 'complete', or holistic, understanding of her was highlighted to me when I discovered that she had specially constructed a rondavel (rondo) as a residing place for ancestors alongside, but apart from, her square (modern) four-roomed living house. This rondavel stands empty for most of the year, functioning as a place to communicate with ancestors and presumably to hold ceremonies. However, we have not yet spoken about this. Additionally, I had assumed that as a staunch member of the Methodist Church, whose members did not drink alcohol that she would not agree with the drinking of traditionally homebrewed *umqombothi* (a vital aspect of many ceremonies). I have still not asked her about her views on this aspect.

The realisation of having been unaware of the significance of certain dimensions of someone's identity with whom one has spent all of one's childhood and teenage years, reflected for me the vastness and even loneliness of this 'two-worlds divide'. I realised that white people, even in cases of close communication, are generally unable to bridge the chasm[4] (as partially discussed in (Kaschula, 1989; Botha, 2012; McIntosh, 2018), and if they do, are very seldom able to do this fully, or completely, and gain a full understanding of the importance and meanings of the world of the eternally present "living dead" for black identity (Berglund, 1975). In this way, white people very seldom fully understand the deep significance of the rituals and cultural symbolisms which go with this (Bührmann, 1984; Botha, 2012). The classification of these as 'cultural practices' and people's vulnerability and hesitancy to let one beyond the curtain maintains this as under-recognised.

[3] I note that in my research Xhosa female rural identities and utilitarian knowledge of nature, like collecting wood or burning dried dung for cooking, and wearing ochre, was often highlighted by rural-originating female participants as reasons for being mocked, or made to feel embarrassed, in the urban space. Notably these activities are used by other women to undermine them and label them as backward, uneducated or unrefined. This is important to note as compared with, on the other hand, how men's rural identities and knowledge are expressed with pride and always serve to affirm their identities as 'proper *amaXhosa*' giving them extra status, prestige, and respect from other males in the urban space. I highlight here the gendered complexities around issues of traditional identity that fall beyond the scope of this thesis.

[4] In Xhosa 'bridging' this void or chasm of racial understanding has been referred to as "*ukuwela umlambo*" (crossing the river).

While I had internalised/embodied the reality of this separation between these two experiences of reality as an inescapable truth of living in South Africa, it remained one of these inter-racial sensitivities that, being located in an invisible world and not readily acknowledged, remains impossible to address directly or openly. Only through finding literary and theoretical 'acknowledgement' of the existence of these 'two-worlds' did I finally feel it would be "alright" to talk about within academia and not be taken to be politically incorrect[5].

This previous context explains how the prevalence of this theme of the 'two-worlds divide' (and the realisation of the depth in the chasm in mutual understanding, for understanding and acknowledging people's world views and identities) only really became evident to me as a widespread reality later in my Master's research in September 2019. This realisation, and an understanding of the feeling of the depth of pain involved in needing to censor parts of one's identity for social acceptability and economic survival, was first facilitated through a series of discussions with Mluleki Nkosi during the process of translating the quantitative interview schedule. The importance of using this theme to explain this study's findings was first revealed to me in his statement, quoted below, in which he explicitly highlighted the concept of a divide between two worlds. This, notably, happened while driving between the previously racially-segregated parts of town, from the historically 'white' part of Grahamstown, Qalaqoyi towards Joza Township, to conduct a pilot interview. This discussion gave me the confidence to pursue this theme as a lived reality, and became the crux of this research project - one on which all other facets hinged.

> "Jeeh! Duncan … you know… it's like two different worlds (strong emphasis), [the one world] the world of white things and working for money [both hands seem to point back to the white part of Grahamstown, the university and the suburbs] and then… [he pauses, he is now looking forward towards the historically black part of town, Joza] … then, there is the world of clans, rituals and ancestors [the other world]." (Mluleki Nkosi, younger middle-aged black interpreter for the research fieldwork, September 2019).

This quote followed on from one of our discussions on my earlier findings that many participants had cited the difficulty experienced by black people for performing rituals in houses in the (previously white) suburbs as being a deterrent to purchasing a house there, for creating a family home. This was in spite of suburbs being seen to have bigger plots, better roads and services, being quieter, having less crime and being closer to "the best schools". Many participants had relayed stories of how white neighbours in suburbs had somehow disrupted a ceremony of someone whom they knew or where

[5] Here see Hammond Tooke (1995) on the political trend of incorrectness of ancestral belief in liberal academia (1970s-1990s). See McFarlane (2021) on 1970s – 1990s Marxist related focus.

they were actually present[6]. These ritual ceremonies are notably supposed to be imbued with the utmost dignity, respect, peace and goodwill between hosts, neighbours and the community[7,8].

Here for a description of *ukunqgina,* i.e. witnessing a ceremony refer to (Mayer, 1962, p. 150). This dignity is disrupted, or feared to be affected, by white neighbours appearing unpredictable, impolite and causing 'chaos' by calling the police. Many of our informants expressed that due to the difficulties associated with performing rituals in suburban households a better solution was to keep one's township home as the family's "home" with the suburban house serving merely as a *yindlu* 'townhouse'[9]. Furthermore, because these Xhosa 'cultural' practices are not formally acknowledged as being spiritual in South Africa (which can be seen as a directly related to them being 'veiled' as part of the 'silence') they do not leverage equal constitutional protection as do recognised religions[10] (Amoah & Bennett, 2008). One cannot easily enforce one's rights to be able to hold such ceremonies.

The white attitude to rituals is exemplified in an extract from a letter to the Weekend Argus (January 2007), following a front-page picture of former ANC Chief Whip, Tony Yengeni's, ceremonial bull, Jenna Hanslip wrote, "I was disgusted by the way the bull was tied up. It's clear the animal was in distress. I know we must respect other people's cultures, but this is barbaric" (Peters & Keating, 2007).

---

[6] This seems to be mainly associated with the ritual slaughter of an animal when the neighbours called the police and/or the SPCA to stop the occasion.

[7] The continued existence of old municipal bye-laws and regulations on 'public health' make the slaughter of livestock in urban yards illegal (Amoah & Bennett, 2008; Ballard, 2010). This is cited by participants as being heavily policed in 'previously white areas' by the SPCA and white neighbours whose stance on and legal sway concerning definitions of animal cruelty can be seen to be primarily based on historical white ideologies of ritual slaughter as barbarous and inappropriate in urban areas and 'modernity'. The idea that slaughtering is somehow incongruent with urban living is highly prevalent in white South African ideologies and discourses (Botha, 2012).

[8] This instead of white neighbours participating in their "vital position/responsibility" to "*gqina*" (witness the ceremony) as neighbours: *ukuNgqin*a - to witness – here meaning to formally stand up and address the family holding the ritual and the community members present, expressing their support for the family, and thereby their wish for the success of the ritual and the related future well-being of the family. This would show vital *ubumelwane* (good neighbourliness).

[9] In a discussion at his house, in September 2018, Professor Peter Mtuze reflected on the issue of the difficulty of conducting rituals with white neighbours who carry prejudices about Xhosa rituals. This seems to be an issue which affects him personally, having a house in King William's Town's walled leafy suburbs and maintaining a "home" in Zwelitsha Township. This, reality is no doubt also affected by the difficulties associated with moving an ancestral home. Many participants saw selling a "home" to be very undesirable and requiring a great amount of ritual effort and expense.

[10] This observation was highlighted by Amoah and Bennet concerning the case of the SPCA suing former ANC chief whip, Tony (Sithembiso) Yengeni, in January 2007 for "cruelty to animals" after he slaughtered a bull and two sheep at his father's house in Gugulethu. The ceremony was a post-imprisonment cleansing ceremony, following his early release from prison after being convicted for fraud associated with the Arms Deal. (Amoah & Bennett, 2008; Peters & Keating, 2007).

Critics of the actions of the SPCA and of people with views similar to those of Jenna Hanslip, (notably the Ministerial spokesman for Arts and Culture, Zandile Memela) labelled this predominantly White outcry against Yengeni's ceremonial ritual and the position of the SPCA to be examples of "selective racism" and misunderstandings of the spiritual importance of these ceremonies for connecting with ancestral spirits. Memela ends his critique by saying that white South Africans should, "Tour the countryside to understand black culture [and spirituality]" (Burbidge, 2007).

In this thesis I propose that this "selective racism" by Whites is grounded in a lack of clear understanding of these practices and is furthermore enmeshed with subtly pervasive ideologies of "white superiority"[11]. Here ritual practices are taken to be primitive and backward, and as less 'developed' than white epistemologies that are taken to be the 'hallmarks of civilisation' and the only acceptable ways of urban living (Botha, 2012; Frescura, 2015; Poland, 2019). This thesis brings the perspective that this notion of white superiority is grounded in the historical view of hierarchies of cultures, and as being located along a linear continuum of 'social and cultural evolution' through time along the hierarchical "Great Ladder of Being" or "*Scala Naturae*" (Wilber, 1993; Nee, 2005; Rigato & Minelli, 2013).

This implicit and hegemonic ideology of 'cultural progress' and of European responsibility for facilitating the "moral and mental upliftment" or 'improvement' of Africans, through spreading Christianity, education and 'enlightenment', formed the background of the highly Eurocentric 'civilising mission'[12] of colonialism and idea of the universal truth and applicability of western civilisation and Christianity. The White position of enlightenment tasked them as responsible for the 'development and upliftment' of Blacks as seen in the meta-narratives of the Apartheid State (Richman & Johnson, 2007). These ideologies are highlighted to have justified the subjugation and exploitation of African peoples (Zotwana, 1993).

In essence, with the previous issues in mind, one can understand that as a black person one may not reveal the existence of this more personal world when one is interacting with Whites. Especially those Whites who are so consumed with the primacy of their own world and as being "rightfully dominant" through 'laws of cultural evolution' that they are 'blinkered' to yours (Mignolo & Hoffman, 2017). This idea of 'linear cultural progression' is present as the underlying ideology of Jenna Hanslip (this encodes the idea that Whites are more civilised and culturally and developmentally "superior"). This ideology

[11] This societal reality of ingrained ideologies of White superiority, as a normality of living, is highlighted in (DiAngelo, 2018).

[12] Today this expresses itself as the pervasive white saviour mentality (Mignolo & Hoffmann,2017).

of superiority is highlighted as systemic and entrenched through ideologies on the nature of knowledge and education (DiAngelo, 2018). This hegemonic idea has been reflected as an uncomfortable and unchangeable and daily reality by several black academics that I have spoken too. The weight of this everyday reality is reflected in the following quote of a Xhosa woman in her forties from Mdantsane, whom my previous girlfriend and I gave a lift to Somerset East in November 2018. After I had asked this lady about her clan name and we had spoken about the importance of ancestral beliefs, she said:

> "If all Whites were like you [in that they understood and respected these aspects of belief and identity] we would have no problems in South Africa" (Xhosa woman, late forties, Mdantsane, November 2018).

To me the strength of these normalised realities shows the importance for a researcher to be able to visibly distance themselves from these subtle yet pervasive ideologies, really embodying genuine mutual respect rather than just paying lip service to it[13], for getting people to be fully open.

The relevance of this is displayed in the words of a domestic worker in a guesthouse in December 2020:

> "*Yoh! Siyathanda ukubona bakhona abanye 'bafana nawe*" (Exclamation of feeling, we are happy to see that there are people who are similar [in attitude] to you) (Mumdlani, domestic worker, Eastern Cape guesthouse, December 2020).

These following quotes highlight the importance of really embodying this difference in attitude from the stereo-typical notion of White superiority.

> "It's like a closed door [when you do field work on this topic of ancestral belief] you have to show you know what's on the other side of that door. You need to show that you know, respect certain 'secret' things. Otherwise, people will never open up about those things." (Alexander, 2019, personal communication).

But when you can show that you know about and have respect for those things on the other side of the door, people respond very positively:

> "To me it [calling me by my clan name] is so nice and affirming because it shows me one, that you know about these things [clan names and ancestral beliefs] and two, that you respect them, and three that you think that they have value" (Xhosa female Ph.D. student, 2019).
>
> "Ehhh…mfundini! Uyasazi iziduko …. Uyawazi umnquma? Hayi, hayi, awusafundi … uyasazi IsIXhosa". (Ehh my fellow, you know about clans, you know umnquma the (wild olive tree) no, no, [it's not true, that] you are still learning … [Xhosa], you know [emphasis] isiXhosa! [Subtext:

[13] Here see my discomfort with white 'liberals' and the IXam notion of respect being located in understanding.

you understand the cosmology - and the integrated nature of language, spirituality, culture and identity – that you have a full or holistic understanding14]."

E2 Socialisation into roles in the "two-worlds of being" as part of growing up in South Africa

In 2001, when I was about nine years old and in Grade 3, a class in our Model C (historically Whites-only) school in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) performed a small play during assembly, addressing a recent provincial cholera outbreak and focusing on education about the dangers of drinking river water. The script followed this line:

"People who don't use toilets pollute the river[15]. If they do not use water from taps or do not purify river water, they will get sick". They then go to a *sangoma* [a black learner student is dressed in traditional healing beads and 'muttering' in Zulu]. Another black learner translates these mutterings, "the spirits say you will be better in the morning". (But the patient is not better in the morning and requires a 'proper doctor' and hospital to become better).

This script reflects a widespread belief that black people are 'stuck' in traditional ways and need to be enlightened to the logical Western truths of modernity, and must sever themselves from that "backwardness" to become rational, enlightened individuals[16]. It also does not carry the nuance that most people only go to traditional healers after their malady is not cured by biomedical practitioners (King, 2012). Fundamentally, this narrative does not recognise that many s*angomas* advocate that certain ailments, like cholera, are best treated through bio-medical lines whereas other (mainly non-

[14] This references the tenet of Linguaculture and Biocultural Diversity, namely how language, cultural practices and nature are intrinsically intertwined and interrelated, and that investigating any one aspect in isolation would serve to deprive one of a complete or holistic understanding and respect.

(Here see Complex systems and Chaos theories and the importance of the *ukuveca* basketry weaving metaphor.) The importance of this integrated knowledge is shown by (Zotwana, 1993) who states that someone who only understood Xhosa as a language would not have been aware of the literary 'silence' on the continuation of cultural practices, and that early Xhosa literary authors had so successfully censored out all indication of educated Xhosa people's adherence to traditional belief systems and the continued importance of traditional identities after 'becoming Christian' that, even in 2021, it is still not fully accepted as a reality by the white world.

[15] This simplistic statement ignored the reality of the city's overburdened sewage infrastructure releasing raw sewage into the Msunduzi River that flowed about 3 km away from the school. Additionally, see the similarity of this script with ideas of using 'toilets' in Christianity and notions of 'dirtiness' of Xhosa pagans (Mayer, 1962).

[16] This school play acted to reinforce common inaccurate white stereotypes about traditional healing and biomedicine, as being binary opposites, located in separate time frames. This idea fails to see such issues from a culturally emic perspective of these as complementary and completely integrated. This idea is highlighted as being founded on ignorance and ideologies of white ontological supremacy and omniscience.

physical) ailments are to be referred to the realm of ancestral medicine (Berg, 2003; Herselman, 2007; Keikelame & Swartz, 2015).

This play fell into an ideology that this thesis critiques, one that promotes a subtle but pervasive narrative of the white ontological supremacy complex (WOSC). This ideology paints black people in a binary way, as being initially 'ignorant', stuck in the past, and completely traditional before being 'converted' by enlightenment and then able to 'shed' their traditional beliefs and completely adopt Western scientific logic or, historically, Christianity[17]. This ideology reinforces the narrative that traditional beliefs are located in an inferior, time-bound past that is separate from the Western 'enlightenment' which one must 'shed' to exist in a state of 'modernity' and rationality. Through this one sees the pervasiveness of the concept of the 'Great Ladder of Being' and linear timeframes that position traditional knowledge, identities and beliefs in an unreachable past and as completely separate from existence in 'modernity'[18].

Three years later (2004) in grade 6, when I was 12 years old, in another previously white Model C school in Howick, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) there was a spontaneous discussion on Zulu traditional belief systems in class. This was initiated by some mention of 'the' *tokoloshe* with the white teacher and white learners denying the existence of "tokoloshes" and witchcraft.

> "I thought the "Tokolosh" was just a story that grannies told children to frighten them," said a white girl.

This was countered by a black girl[19]: "No, it is true… [those things exist]". She then explained how one can be bewitched by someone placing a substance at one's gate which poisons you through your leg if you step on it.

[17] See ideologies implicit in Dr James Stewart's address to the Lovedale Literary Society in 1884, of Africans being developmental 'infants' that are 1 000 years behind the processes of civilisation of Europe ((1884) in de Kock, 1992, p.128) (Interestingly this Literary Society is noted as acting as a nursery for the ANC (Hofmeyer, 2006).

[18] This concept of traditionality being located in a fixed and unreachable past, and of black people losing traditional beliefs and dimensions of identity when entering into 'modernity', is vital to understanding the literary history of the 'Xhosa in Town Debate' and related studies of African urbanisation. This narrative is revealed in this thesis to have been extremely pervasive in literature relating to urbanisation of black people (Schonstein Pinnock, 1994; Magubane, 1973; Bank, 2002a; Bank, 2002b; Bank, 2002c; Botha, 2012).

[19] Who the class called Mini, maybe as most white people could not pronounce the "hl" sound at the end of her name Minenhle, often saying "Minenshle" instead.

Mvelo*, who at times I thought, displayed a certain amount of stress, when put on the spot to express himself in English, spontaneously explained that when someone is being called [by ancestors] to become a *sangoma*[20]*:*

> "They go into the river but don't get wet [perhaps in terms of the idea that one goes through the river into another realm] and then they see a snake at the bottom".

The teacher interpreted this to mean that someone would fall into a river but still remain dry and fobbed his story off as completely impossible, with a quiet laugh.

The discussion ended with the white world of the Model C school prevailing and the cosmologies of the black world being renegaded as myths. I was perplexed about the dismissal of Mvelo's* explanation of s*angomas*. Even though we did not quite get on, I was distressed that he had been discounted so quickly. Indeed, what he had said seemed impossible on the face of things, especially when interpreted through an English framework and when explained using his fairly limited English vocabulary. However, I had heard a story from my mother about, a "passing-out ceremony" of *sangomas* that she and my father had, by an unusual chance, been allowed to observe in a rural area in northern KZN in the 1980s. My mother had described that each initiate had to pass a test by finding a goatskin that was buried somewhere in the forest, a task she had thought impossible. She had expressed the idea that there was definitely something about *izangoma* (plural) that they had a "sixth sense" or extra sensory perception that we as Whites could not understand.

Later that year (2004) I remember a playground argument between a white boy from another class, and Mvelo*. Perhaps Mvelo* said something like, "Black people don't need white people".

Anyhow, I seem to remember the response expressed that, "Blacks lived in huts [with no progress or civilisation] before Whites came," and that black people would have achieved nothing of value without white people, this was emphasised by some very graphic and demeaning jokes about faeces, and that black people were like animals and worthless until they accepted white ways and progressed to "become White". While this was a notably uncommon interaction in our schooling space, I feel that this "spark point" revealed much about the existence of underlying racial tensions and veiled ideological 'truths' of us as white learners. I note these memories of Minenhle and Mvelo* because I got the sense that the initial openness of my black class mates regarding Zulu belief systems, was

[20] A sangoma or (*isangoma)* is a traditional healer with extra sensory perception who specialises in skills of ancestral communication to restore patients' well-being, particularly in terms of non-physical and psychological ailments, often working through dreams and prescribing and overseeing ritual activities.

something that became more 'veiled' through our processes of growing up and entering more adult roles.

I highlight these incidents as an exploration of the nature of the "community of practice"[21] (CoP) of Model C schools as historically white spaces, which silently encoded an ideology of white ontological supremacy as a normality of being and as an unchallengeable 'truth' (DiAngelo, 2018). This CoP embodies the idea (highlighted in this thesis as having been an academic hegemony) of a society-wide notion of the salience of a unilinear trajectories of development that black people need to undergo to enter into 'Western modernity'. The end point of such 'development' is located in the present state of Western cultural and social development, effectively positioning whiteness as being at the forefront of the developmental timescale of humanity (Law, 2011)[22].

I specifically highlight the similarities between this CoP and the implicit ideologies of early mission education of black people at institutions such as Lovedale (Alice) as reflected in the indoctrinating ideas[23] that caused schooled-Xhosa students to internalise an idea of inferiority and "despise" black world views and customs as being inferior to Europeans cultures (Shaw, 1860, p. 321; Jordan, 1940; de Kock, 1992; Zotwana, 1993; Mda, 2000; Opland, 2005; Poland, 2019).

This issue is explored in the literary characters of Zwelinzima and Xoliswa in (Jordan, 1940; Mda, 2000). One sees in Mda that this CoP, which grounds many of the idea of education carrying strong implicit ideologies of Western ontological supremacy, that black people needed to adopt white worldviews in order to be acknowledged as "no longer" being primitive and to stop being 'inferior' (2000).

To me these memories help me understand certain normalities of growing up in which, even while one had polite and friendly everyday interactions with black class mates during school hours, we were probably not able to see the fullness of their identities, other than what was deemed acceptable to a CoP 'governed' by the white reality of our school. This experience highlights the contemporary relevance of Zotwana's critique of early mission education that began in the mid-1800s and that, by its very nature, dictated that black people who entered into historically white-controlled spaces needed to do so on white terms and unquestioningly accept white knowledge and worldviews as

[21] A model for understanding the organisational culture of a learning or corporate environment (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

[22] The literature review unpacks how much of the literature before and after the XITT embodied this ideology.

[23] After the war of 1819, colonial government resolved to take a hand in the control of setting up the 'Chumie Mission' (later Lovedale College) as a combined religious and political Mission with the goal of making the Xhosa passive subjects (Mayer, 1962, p. 31-32).

true[24]. Here, as individuals needing Western 'mental upliftment' and 'enlightenment from darkness', they were not deemed able to add any of their own knowledge or perspectives[25]. This required that black people censor certain parts of themselves in order to be deemed acceptable, and learn what not to say or express aloud. I see this as the grounding reasons behind the veiling of traditional identities and the 'silence', as expressed in (Zotwana, 1993; Mtuze, 1999).

[24] For me the inability of many white people at the school to pronounce some of the sounds in Zulu learners' names is symbolic of the general need for black students to have to accommodate certain aspects of their identities to successfully function within the CoP of this historically-white schooling environment.

[25] "Why should you English set down the Kaffirs as fools?' he asked. 'You certainly have great skill in arts and manufacturing, but may we not surpass you in our knowledge of other things?" (Chief Mhala's heir discoursing with missionary W. Greenstock in 1856, quoted in Peires (1987, p.61)).

I propose that the pain and contempt located in the word 'Kaffir' is directly related to the idea of a view of epistemological and ontological superiority by Whites, this is the essence of the WOSC.

"[Kaffir, meaning] b. Bad, inferior, unreliable; clumsy, inept" (South African English Dictionary, 2020, p.online).

- Kaffir… is, in fact, an adjective of contempt in the ordinary speech of the South African when he speaks of a 'Kaffir' trick, or 'Kaffir' work. (Walker, 1948, p.27).

Through the following quotes from the South African English Dictionary (2020), the use of the word Kaffir appears to demean a black person by locating them in a judgement of epistemological inferiority and 'ignorance' that stems originally from the word meaning heathen, one who has not accepted, or actively refuses receiving, the enlightenment of Chrisitainity. This is seen in the quote below relating to the 'Kaffir (frontier) wars' (Pagan 'red' Xhosa against the British and converted *amaMfengu*) appears to draw on this meaning of people who refuse to be converted and to receive 'enlightenment'. Here one sees that Mfengus were not deemed to be 'Kaffirs' as they had accepted 'civilisation' in the form of Christainity, Western education and Western clothing. (For these reasons, *Mfengus* could work in the Cape Colony at a time when Xhosas would be arrested and sentenced to hard labour (Stapleton, 1996)).

- "The Caffers and Tambookies were very much pleased at my calling them by their true titles...The name of the former is Kosa, plural *Amakosa*, the latter is Tymba, plural *Amatymba."* (Philipps, 1827, p.208)
- "The meaning of the word Kaffir, or Kafir, is 'unbeliever.' These men have no written laws, nor prescribed forms of religion." (Hamilton, 1870, p.58)
- "It was native against native - Fingoe against Kafir." (McKay, 1871, p.204)
- "The Bantu being 'kafirs' (unbelievers) and heathens - poor, doomed souls, according to the idea of people who harbour the presumption that they alone are the true believers." (Dicke, 1937, p.52)
- "A kaffir is a person who does not believe in the existence of God...There are no kaffirs today. We have all gone to school. We know God and we pray to him every day." (Grocott's Mail, 1972 9 May p.3)

E3 Understanding the complexity of accessing this research and the need for non-direct approaches for achieving results (*ukukweka*)

Grahamstown/Rhini (*Qalaqoyi*[26]) has been a town with continuous water outages due to a drought and dry dams (2018 – 2021). (This story took place at the beginning of August 2021.) A tap has been dripping and a toilet cistern leaking in the Anthropology Department for almost the entire time of my Masters research (which I started in 2018). The sound of the constantly running water distresses me deeply, and feeling that I do not have a way to stop it or fix it myself is depressing and disempowering. Finally, after many fruitless efforts through the usual correct channels of using a 'linear' approach to the university's repairs job card system, I used an alternative approach of going 'around' the system and speaking to people with whom I have developed personal relationships.

> I am very fortunate to arrive on campus just as the contractor's team is about to go into the next door building and conduct other overdue repairs there. I speak with the contractors and show them the leaking taps and toilet in our building. MamCirha, the cleaner, and I celebrate this victory. I subsequently see that the kitchen tap is also not working and approach the contractor's two black labourers who are having lunch, to ask them if it might be possible to get that tap seen to as well so that we can also wash our dishes with hot water without another extended wait.
>
> After greeting and attempting to explain my request in Xhosa, but being hampered by the unfamiliar vocabulary for plumbing and needing to 'grasp for' English terms (received as a 'Fanagalo' knowledge of Xhosa which is stereotyped and generally grounded in ideologies of white supremacy and practices of white control), I get a curt reply, "Speak to the boss, after lunch".

This curtness is perhaps precipitated by a communication breakdown where due to a common lack of linguistic competence which may come across to them that I (as an 'unreasonable' and 'exploitative' white person) am wanting to interrupt their lunch to get them to look at the tap right now. Or perhaps due to an anxiety that I am judging myself as superior to them perhaps due to their meagre meal of bread and boiled eggs. (These racial stereotypes, anxieties and notions of racial superiority and inferiority and notions of Whites as exploitative and harsh are inescapable, especially here, where I note later that their employer calls them "the boys" and me "the master"[27]).

Furthermore, because very few Whites can speak an African language, any Whites who do speak some Xhosa are often assumed to have come from a farm. This is complicated by a history of unequal power dynamics between farm owners and labourers (Whites and Blacks) which arguably started 'en masse'

[26] Renamed Makhanda in 2018 (see Section 3.2.1).

[27] The one labourer is 54 years old, while I am 29.

after the famine resulting from the cattle-killings in 1857, when starving *amaXhosa* had no choice but to search for work on colonial farms and accept unequal and exploitative working conditions to just survive (Peires, 1989; Poland, 2019).

This history arguably creates a potentially negative attitude to Whites who speak Xhosa, as being exploiters of black people. This is especially where their ability to speak is rather limited, as their style and manner of speech encodes a comfortable and normalised pattern of white authority and potentially a notion of superiority (Botha, 2012, p.153). (It is noted that many Whites who are more-proficient Xhosa speakers at first 'veil' their ability to speak Xhosa when interacting with a Xhosa speaker and might even 'veil' that they come from a farm (Botha, 2012)). Starting an interaction by speaking in Xhosa is often taken by the person being addressed to mean that they are assumed to be unable to speak English (and this feeds into the sensitivity of the *amaqaba* label, where English is associated with education and those who do not speak English are considered 'uneducated', backward, inferior and of little value (Botha, 2012, p. 154; de Kock, 1992)).

Additionally, the style of farmers often limited and perhaps grammatically incorrect Xhosa relates to a common assumption that they have 'mastered' the simple language (Gilmour, 2006) and reveals a habit or assumed right to treat black people from a position of unchallengeable authority[28].

To quote a highly proficient Xhosa-speaking white male working as an advisor for the agricultural development, interviewed by Botha, who states that one should "avoid [speaking farmers' Xhosa] at all costs". He explains, "Rather speak English, or Afrikaans for that matter … than speak authoritative [sic] Xhosa, I think that's the worst thing that can happen (...) if you respect people you don't do that"[29] (Botha, 2012, p.153).

[28] Kaschula notes that Eastern Cape farmers are "encouraged by the social setting to speak a rather limited, instructional type of Xhosa – no doubt to create respect for the office of employer and delineate expected role relationships" (1989, p.102). However, Botha's findings highlight the circumstances of first going to boarding school that serve as a traumatic severance from the 'communities of practice' (CoP) and 'zones of proximal development' of peer-driven Xhosa language development, and additionally serve to 'pull one straight' into a white identity and disrupt and alienate the white individuals from their 'Xhosa' identity, firmly cementing the concept of Xhosa-ness as 'the other'. These processes can be seen to effectively cease the otherwise normal processes for individuals developing higher functional Xhosa language and social skills (Botha, 2012).

[29] These roles (worn as easily as old, but fairly comfortable, coats) are so normalised by the concepts of the "Great Chain of Being" and notions of White ontological supremacy that they are often not even acknowledged as being there by liberals (Wilber, 1993; Nee, 2005; Rigato & Minelli, 2013).

Back to the plumbers ….

> With this context in mind I cause him great surprise when I say, "*Ukuqiba tata, ngumni wena? Ukuba ndizokwaz' ukuhlonipa xa ndiya thetha nawe*…" (And in closing, what is your clan name? So that I will be able to address you respectfully).
>
> His astounded response showing shock and incredulous surprise 'carries' the whole of my thesis and illustrates the context of everything in this study. "*Yoohh! Thixo! uyasazi iziduko...*" (Yooh, Jesus![30] You know about clans). I give a polite smile.
>
> He continues: "*Ndi ngumnqarhwane*" (I am Nqagwane).
>
> I respond with his praise: "*Hlaba ilawu*! His surprise and joy mounts, his partner laughs happily.
>
> I say: "Okay *wenu 'siduli, ndiya vuya ukukwazi*" (Okay, you 'termite mound'[31], I am happy to know you).
>
> The other labourer responds that he is '*Umpondomise'.*
>
> I respond reverently with the phrase "*umzukulwana lwennjoka*" (the grandchild of the snake) referring to his clan's totemic relationship with the mole snake as an ancestor (and in which form ancestors visit and send messages to the family).

I have shown both the men that I have a knowledge of clans and their importance for identity and respect, as well as an understanding and reverence for ancestral belief systems. The historically 'comfortable' coats (roles) into which we retreat, when stressed, now lie in tatters, these very old 'moulds' that shape our behaviours and interactions (since the early 1800s) with each other are broken open and we look at each other free of anxiety and now with a quiet curiosity to find out who we actually are.

> I then go on with my part of the introduction: "*Ewe, igama lam ngu* Duncan (*ngesengesi*), *ngesiZulu nguSibusiso*" (My name is Duncan in English, Sibusiso in Zulu).

During the process of this Masters thesis, at the age of 27, I finally became comfortable to call myself with the Zulu name that was given at my birth. I felt a belonging to this land and a right to be here. A right to be heard and a need to listen deeply and to hear, feel and to understand.

> The end of my introduction makes them laugh: "*Mna, andi' na'siduko, kuba niyabon' ndigumlungu*" (As for myself, I do not have a clan, for as you see, I am an *umlungu*").

---

[30] While (*u)Thixo* translates as 'God', I choose the translation of "Jesus" as more appropriate to carry the sense of his meaning into English.

[31] '*Siduli* - a clan name following the phrase "*Hlaba ilawu*" and an example of using *isihlonipa.*

Two months later, on a windy evening, they shout their greeting while driving past, seated on the rim of the back of their employer's small open bakkie. Calling out each of their clan names appears to give them both great joy as they drive off in the evening light.

This personal anecdote is mentioned because I feel it illustrates everything of the context, the histories and the environment that is needed to engage with when reading this thesis:

Firstly, in that it reveals the normality of what is called in this thesis the 'two-worlds divide' between White and Black ways of being and knowing, the reality of 'veiled' identities, as well as the related stereotypical white ignorance of the existence and significance of ancestral spirituality and clans; and

Secondly, I feel it illustrates, as in this thesis, the need for sometimes choosing not to follow recognised linear or normal approaches to solving problems or set structures for solutions amidst these complex 'social environments'. It also emphasises the need for applicable skills in *ukukwekwa* (being roundabout) rather than linear and to move forward without becoming stuck in the 'quagmire of unacknowledged, or unvoiced, complexity'. Here I stress that to research something like ancestral spirituality and identities[32], accessing such information undoubtedly requires alternative skills and strategies to those approaches used in previous urban anthropological studies which concluded that these beliefs and identities were of fading importance to *amaXhosa* (and especially to those living in urban spaces (Hunter, 1936; Pauw, 1974; Bank, 2002b; Bank 2002c).

Reductionist approaches often cannot capture the nuances of emergent properties of systems, those that are not apparent from their components in isolation but which emerge from the relationships and dependencies formed as a result of the intersecting relationships of the multiple interactions of the components of complex systems (Hayles, 1991; Grobman, 2005).

In this context, what becomes the challenge for the Western reader and listener (who has grown up in a visual and 'linear' context), is that often the sense of the speaker's narrative might only make full sense when understood as a whole, at the end of the story. Here, like a complex system, the understanding then incorporates all the perspectives of the interlocking issues and stakeholders mentioned and remembered from the lengthy dialogue which have been held in the listener's mind[33].

[32] Which are metaphorically located in another 'world' from the white English literate space, and academia (from where, as this thesis demonstrates, ancestral belief and dimensions of identity have been actively 'veiled' from that world for a period of 160 years from 1840 to 2000, and remained lacking full recognition for 180 years, from 1840 to 2020).

[33] This recognition of the abilities of oral cultures for remembering follows the arguments of Plato on the potential dangers of 'trade-offs' adopting literacy as discussed in Braun and Davis (1997). Additionally, this

This is very much aligned to the assertions of Complexity Theory in terms of needing to understand a complex system as a whole rather than trying to understand it in linear ways from its individual and isolated components.

The reader needs to extend patience and embrace Vago beyond the individual micro-parts and structure of this thesis, avoiding the assessment often made using linear approaches that such a style brings in irrelevancies, redundancy and unnecessary anecdotal side information.

recognition of such a skill serves to upset the assumed ontological- and developmental-superiority of literacy in the ideological grounding of the phrase 'pre-literate societies' (Ong, 2002). That in itself follows the ideological construct of the "Great Chain of Being" as discussed in depth later (Wilber, 1993)