

WITS
UNIVERSITY



Violence and protest: A historical analysis of 'violence' and community protests in

Bethanie, c. 1866 to 2018

by

Kefuoe Emmaculate Makena

Student number: 856136

Supervised by: Professor Sekibakiba P. Lekgoathi

Co-Supervised by: Professor Karl von Holdt

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of

Arts (by Thesis) in the Department of History, School of Social Sciences, Faculty of

Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand

10 November 2022

Declaration

This study represents an original work by the author and has not been submitted in any form to another university. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts (by Dissertation) at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Where use has been made of the work of others, it has been duly acknowledged in the text.



Name: Kefuoe EMMACULATE MAKENA

MA Student

Date: 10 November 2022



Name: Professor Sekibakiba P. Lekgoathi

Supervisor

Date: 10 November 2022



Name: Professor Karl von Holdt

Supervisor

Date: 10 November 2022

Abstract

The Bakwena ba Mogopa are a community in the North West Province of South Africa. The capital of this community is Bethanie. In 2018, residents of Bakwena ba Mogopa embarked on a protest. This protest highlighted issues of unemployment, lack of service delivery and underdevelopment. For many, in particular young people, this protest was surprisingly militant. However, for the elders in the community, this reignited memories of the war of Mabidibidi from the late 1920s. This war was about the split of the Lutheran church which resulted in two separate churches, one being the ELCSA and BLC. Moreover, other elders argued that in the 1960s, the conflict within the traditional leadership was also Mabidibidi. This dissertation explores various protests and moments of contention that have manifested in Bethanie and have shaped this rather peaceful community. To provide context for these events, this dissertation looks at the history of Bethanie from 1866 till 2018. For a community that refers to itself as peaceful, perhaps given the events of spectacular protests that have taken place throughout South Africa, this case of Bethanie complicates some of the common understandings of how violent protests manifests.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my supervisors Professor Sekibakiba P. Lekgoathi and Professor Karl von Holdt for your patience, support and guidance. I have learnt so much throughout this journey about my work and myself.

I would like to thank the people of Bethanie who inspired me to learn and write about their history. Moreover, I appreciate the constant support that I have seen when I started till the end.

I would like to also thank the SWOP institute and the 'Violent states, states of violence' project for funding my studies and the consistent support that I have received.

To the team that assisted me in the North West Province Archives, I would like to thank you for your patience and guidance and taking an interest in my work.

Lastly, thank you to my family and friends that supported me throughout my journey.

Dedication

Dedicated to the Bakwena ba Mogopa community in Bethanie, North West Province.

Table of Contents

DECLARATION	2
ABSTRACT	4
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	5
DEDICATION.....	6
LIST OF FIGURES.....	9
EPIGRAPH.....	10
 CHAPTER ONE:	13
 INTRODUCTION - A BRIEF HISTORY OF BETHANIE.....	13
 SITUATING BETHANIE AND THE PRESENT STUDY.....	15
KEY QUESTIONS.....	23
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW	24
VIOLENCE AND PROTESTS.....	24
PROTEST, VIOLENCE AND THE RURAL	39
METHODOLOGY	43
INTERVIEWS	50
ARCHIVAL RESEARCH.....	56
ETHICS	57
STRUCTURE OF DISSERTATION	59
 CHAPTER TWO:	61
 CHIEFTAINSHIP, THE CHURCH AND THE MABIDIBIDI ‘WARS’ IN BETHANIE, 1866-1950	61
 INTRODUCTION	61
CONTEXTUALIZING BETHANIE VILLAGE.....	63
THE CHURCH AND MISSIONARIES 1866- 1940	66
LEITLHO LA MOTSE, THE VILLAGE COUNCIL: YOUTH, WOMEN, ‘VOORTREKEKERS AND THE AGTERTREKKERS, 1930s-1950’	75
CONFLICT WITHIN THE CHIEFTAINCY: MABIDIBIDI OR SECOND MABIDIBIDI?	91
CONCLUSION: LOOKING BACK AND MOVING FORWARD	99
 CHAPTER THREE:	101
 THE BAKWENA BA MOGOPA: CHIEFTAINSHIP, LAND AND MINING FROM 1900S -2000S.....	101
 INTRODUCTION.....	101
SUCCESSION DISPUTES OF THE BAKWENA BA MOGOPA DURING AND AFTER THE REIGN OF KGOSI J.O.M MAMOGALE, 1900S-1960S	103
A CONTESTED CHIEFTAINSHIP: BATTLES AMONG THE ROYAL BAKWENA FROM 1940s-1960s	116
THE POLITICS OF BELONGING AMONG THE BAKWENA BA MOGOPA, 1970s – 1990s	125
MINING, CONFLICTS OVER CHIEFTAINSHIP SUCCESSION AND THE POLITICS OF EXCLUSION AND BELONGING, 1980s - 2000s	133

CONCLUSION	161
CHAPTER FOUR:	163
<u>SHIFT IN THE REPERTOIRES OF CONTENTION: VIOLENCE, UNEMPLOYMENT, YOUTH AND THE EVERYDAY IN BETHANIE.....</u>	<u>163</u>
INTRODUCTION	163
“MOTIKO” THE RECRUITMENT CENTRE - THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE OR IDLE TIME?	183
THE YOUTH OF BETHANIE AND UNEMPLOYMENT	192
HOW VIOLENCE FOUND ITSELF IN THE SEPTEMBER 2018 PROTEST	199
CONCLUSION	200
CONCLUSION:	203
<u>INSERTING THE ‘LOCAL’ DYNAMICS OF BETHANIE IN THE BROADER HISTORIOGRAPHY OF SOUTH AFRICAN PROTESTS AND VIOLENCE</u>	<u>203</u>
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	214
PRIMARY SOURCES:	214
ONLINE SOURCES	214
INTERVIEWS AND INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS/INTERVIEWS.....	215
SECONDARY SOURCES:	217
UNPUBLISHED SECONDARY SOURCES	217
PUBLISHED ARTICLES.....	220
BOOK CHAPTERS	224
BOOKS.....	226

List of Figures

Figure 1: Anonymous participant- taken November 2019 Bethanie	92
Figure 2: Anonymous Participant- taken November 2019, Bethanie	94
Figure 3: Map of Bethanie, www.google.com	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Figure 4: Image provided by Tshegofatso Maotwane by Whatsapp to Kefuoe Maotoane on 4 September 2018	163
Figure 6: IMAGES PROVIDED BY LEHLOHONOLO MOTONYA BY WHATSAPP TO KEFUOE MAOTOANE, 4 SEPTEMBER 2018	166
Figure 7: Image provided by Mogomotsi Mekgwe in 2018 by Whatsapp to Kefuoe Maotoane	172
Figure 5: Image of the Glencore Rhovan Xstrata mine recruitment office board. taken by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 14 November 2019	183

Epigraph

At the forefront of our minds, the obvious signals of violence, are acts of crime and terror, civil unrest, international conflict. But we should learn to step back, to disentangle ourselves from the fascinating lure of this directly visible 'subjective' violence, violence performed by a clearly identifiable agent. We need to perceive the contours of the background which generates such outbursts.

– Slavoj Žižek

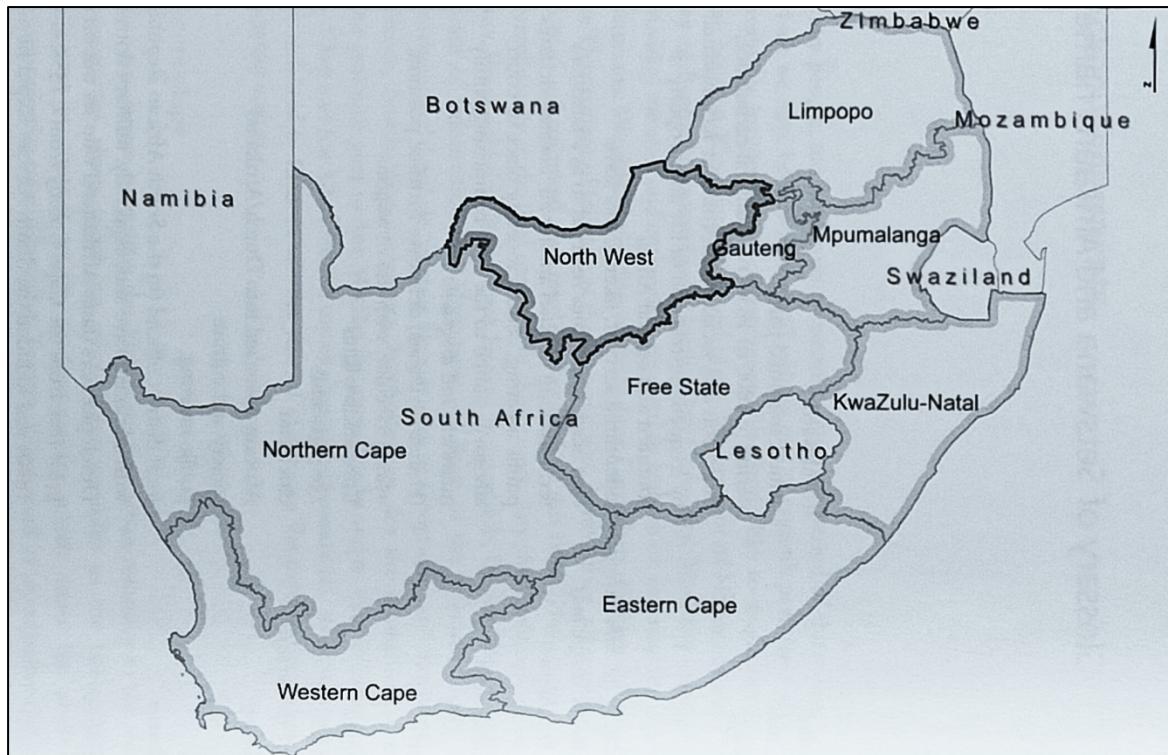


Figure Y: Map of South Africa highlighting the North West Province. Adapted from A Manson and B Mbenga, *Land, Chiefs and Mining*, p. viii.

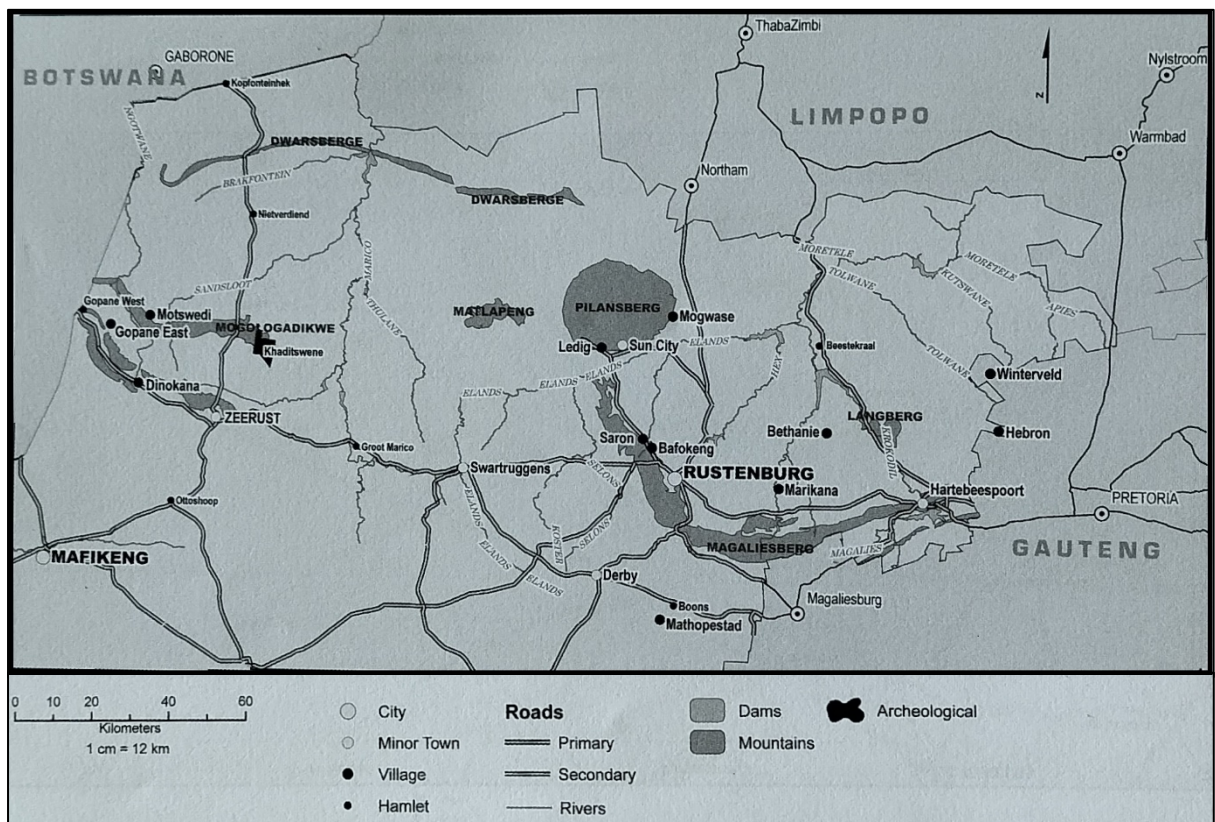


Figure X: Map of North West Province. Adapted from A Manson and B Mbenga, 2014. *Land Chiefs and Mining: South Africa's North West Province since 1840*. Johannesburg, Wits University Press, p. ix.

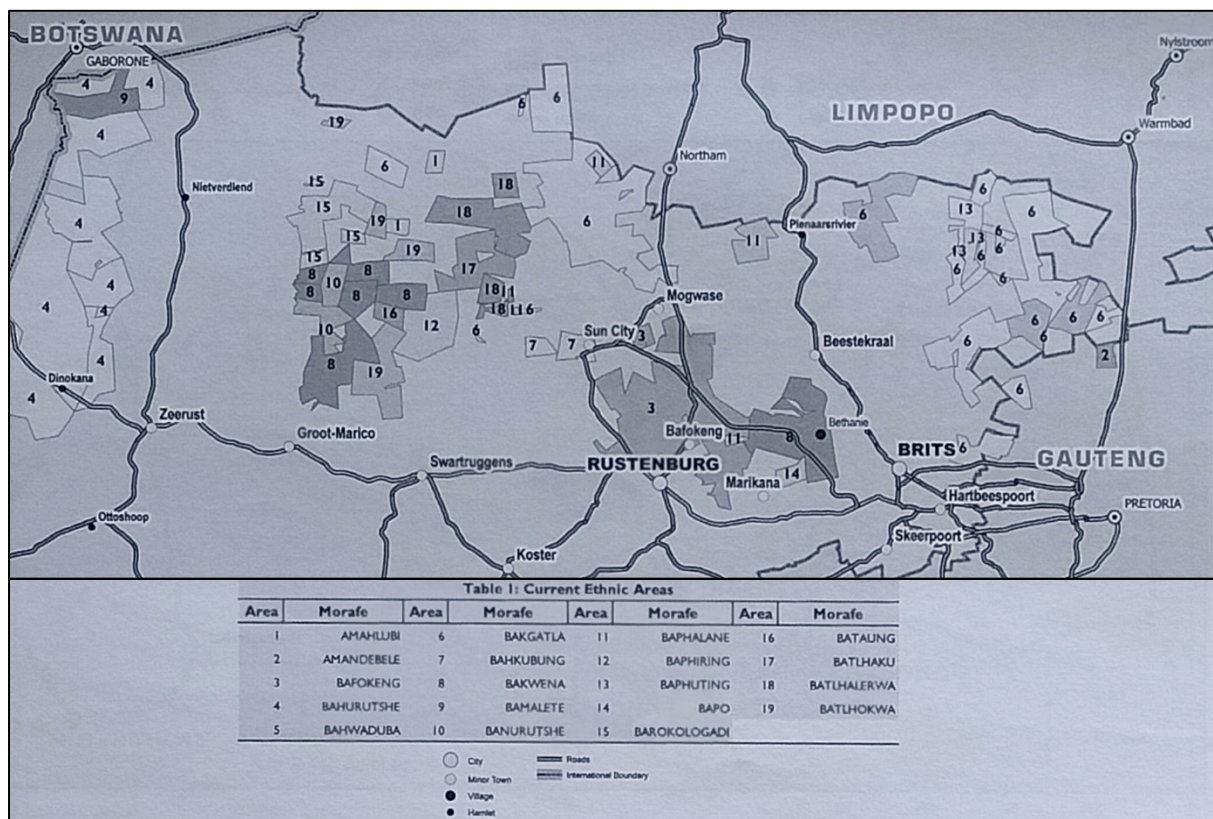


Figure Z: Map of ethnic areas in North West Province, 2013. Adapted from A Manson and B Mbenga, *Land, Chiefs and Mining*, p. xi.

CHAPTER ONE:

Introduction - A brief history of Bethanie

In September 2018, a protest erupted in Bethanie near Brits in the North West Province against a platinum mining company named Glencore Xstrata Rhovan, established on the communal land of the Bakwena ba Mogopa since 1988. This protest was joined by various members of the surrounding villages of Bakwena ba Mogopa and lasted for approximately two weeks. Tyres were burned and used to block the main road leading to the mine; road signs were destroyed; and protestors retaliated against the police who shot at them with rubber bullets and teargas by throwing stones. The people said this was unusually militant and aggressive and mused over new levels of organisation unseen in what was a “peaceful” community. During the protest, the residents of Bethanie made an attempt to sing protest songs but ended up repeatedly singing one song (without the full lyrics) to pass time spent together protesting in the public spaces of Bethanie. One resident commented on this phenomenon, exclaiming, 'How can people know any protest songs because Bethanie residents do not protest, they just go to the councillor's house, speak to him and leave'.¹ This comment is indicative of the “normal” ways in which people in Bethanie raised issues with the local government/authorities and attempted to resolve community contradictions and conflict prior to the protest in September 2018.

When I spoke to the older generation, however, they drew comparison with an earlier history of protest, when people organised against missionaries and against unpopular chiefs. They

¹ Bonanza Poho, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019 (Translation).

spoke of the War of Mabidibidi - variously understood as a series of contests - over the church leadership, schools and chieftainship, over the course of the early to mid-20th century. Older residents of Bethanie recall a period of heightened contestation, which they referred to as the War of Mabidibidi. The concept of Mabidibidi invokes various imaginings among elders of the community, with differing periodisation given. Most broadly, testimonies referred to a series of conflicts centred around the Lutheran mission station in Bethanie between the late 1800s and the 1950s. Other respondents divided Mabidibidi into two distinct periods of contestation: the “First Mabidibidi War” in the early 1900s, during the segregationist era; and the “Second Mabidibidi War” from the 1950s to the 1960s, with the onset of apartheid and the state’s widescale rural restructuring. During the first war, activities undertaken by Bakwena ba Mogopa people included the burning of the Lutheran church and attempts to drive away the Hermannsburg Lutheran missionaries, the people responsible for establishing schools in the area. Some Bakwena ba Mogopa, specifically converts who broke away from the missionaries and later established their own church, in and around Bethanie mobilised other people from the church using village councils and teachers in schools. The second war is described as a series of popular local protests expressed as a challenge over chiefly succession, which also challenged aspects of chiefly rule which impacted on almost every aspect of ordinary residents’ everyday life in Bethanie. These events took place against the backdrop of widespread revolts across rural South Africa, particularly in the Transvaal (a region encapsulating present-day provinces of Gauteng, Limpopo, Mpumalanga and the North West)². Baruch Hirson argued in his paper 'Rural Revolts in South Africa: 1937-1951' that rural revolts 'were never simple responses to local problems but reactions against labour

² It should be noted that the elders that participated in this study, in Bethanie used the specific word ‘war’ to describe the events that they called Mabidibidi.

controls, and against nationwide legislation and proclamations ... they were reactions to major social dislocations'.³

This dissertation aims to look at the history of protests in Bethanie, seeking to understand this earlier period of protests characterised as the Mabidibidi War, and the trajectory of popular struggle up until the 2018 protests. The research will particularly look at these two periods of intensified mobilisation or collective action, which stand out as exceptional in Bethanie. This is not to suggest that the area has not experienced continuous forms of everyday resistance or forms of organisation in the intervening period, which will be discussed in this thesis. During the era of apartheid, there were various forms of resistance, for example, in the traditional councils. Moreover, in the post-apartheid era, or the period since the democratic transition, the residents of Bethanie have engaged in numerous protests intended to draw the government's attention to their plight. These protests have addressed themselves to various issues that included traditional authorities and lack of services in the community. Nevertheless, according to oral testimony, these later protests did not exhibit the levels of organisation demonstrated in either Mabidibidi protests of the late nineteenth century to the 1950s, or the November 2018 protest.

Situating Bethanie and the Present Study

The North West Province is divided into four district municipalities and eighteen local municipalities. Bojanala Platinum District Municipality covers 18 333 km² and includes

³ Hirson Baruch, *Rural Revolts in South Africa: 1937-1951*. Collected Papers Institute of commonwealth studies, 21, pp.115.

Moretele, Madibeng, Rustenburg, Kgetlengrivier and Moses Kotane local municipalities. Bethanie falls under the Bojanala Platinum District Municipality where the majority of the people residing in the district speak Setswana according to the 2011 census.⁴ Although other groups reside in the area, the village of Bethanie is mainly occupied by the Setswana-speaking group of Bakwena ba Mogopa. Bethanie is situated near the towns of Brits and Rustenburg. Brits is in the Madibeng local municipality approximately 27km and Bethanie is 37km from the north-east of Rustenburg. Bethanie is roughly 118,9 km from Johannesburg and 106,7 km from Pretoria. It comprises of a population of roughly 8 429 people, of which 51% are females and 49% males.⁵ Bethanie covers an area of approximately 27,87km² with a household count of 3097 households.

There has been broad historical and sociological scholarly attention given to communities in the region of the North West. However, communities of this region have received uneven scholarly attention. Groups such as the Bapo Ba Mogale and the Bakgatla ba Kgafela living near and amongst the Bakwena ba Mogopa have been given more attention,⁶ while the Bakwena have remained relatively understudied. Andrew Manson and Bernard Mbenga have briefly touched on their history. Manson and Mbenga write about the Bakwena ba Mogopa during the era of the Bophuthatswana Bantustan, concentrating a great deal on the history of forced removals, and documenting some of the conflicts that took place amongst the Bakwena ba Mogopa in Jericho and Hebron more specifically. Bakwena ba Mogopa, like other African groups in the former western Transvaal, have a history characterised by wars,

⁴<https://www.google.com/search?client=safari&rls=en&q=bojanala+platinum+district+municipality&ie=UTF-8&oe=UTF-8>. The 2011 census reported the number of people living in this Municipality to be 1,507,505.

⁵ <https://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/662044>.

⁶ Sonwabile Mnwana and Gavin Capps, 'No chief ever bought a piece of land! Struggles over property, community and mining in the Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela Traditional Authority Area, North West Province', Society, Work and Development Institute, working paper 3, Wits University, March 2015.

dispossession and colonial conquest.⁷ Manson and Mbenga argued that the Bakwena ba Mogopa were divided by internal conflicts in the early twentieth century. The *morafe* (subgroup of Bakwena) consists of six sections which include Bethanie, Hebron, Jericho, Bareseba, Makolokwe and Maumong. Bethanie has been the most significant village of the Bakwena ba Mogopa because of the designated kgosi's residence. The significance of Bethanie was also noted by Manson and Mbenga when they highlighted some of the contestations over land and succession in Hebron and Jericho situated in the Hammanskraal magistracy north of Pretoria.⁸ The Bakwena ba Mogopa are scattered in different villages (of which Bethanie is one) as a result of conflicts over land, religious influence and chieftainship, all of which were spheres of African political economy fundamentally disrupted and distorted by colonial conquests and rule. Traditional authorities are an important part of the history of Bethanie. As an institution, the relationship with its residents continues to change and affect the community. Even while changing, chieftainship remains a constant thread throughout the period under discussion, that is, from the Mabidibidi war in 1938 to 2018.⁹

In an attempt to mitigate some of the worst effects of colonial dispossession, the Bakwena ba Mogopa bought land with the assistance of the Hermannsburg Mission Society as far back as the early 1900s. Some of the land that they acquired in this way are the farms of Jericho and Hebron. It was at the turn of the century that tensions began to rise among the Bakwena ba Mogopa. Jericho and Hebron, like other Bakwena ba Mogopa communities, were led by

⁷ Sonwabile Mswana and Gavin Capps, 'No chief ever bought a piece of land! Struggles over property, community and mining in the Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela Traditional Authority Area, North West Province', Society, Work and Development Institute, working paper 3, Wits University, March 2015, p. 10.

⁸ Manson Andrew and Mbenga Bernard, *Land Chiefs Mining: South Africa's North West Province since 1840* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2014), p. 74.

⁹ While contestations and protests had already started in Makolokwe, 1938 is significant in that collective protest action was highlighted in Bethanie.

dikgosana (headmen/chieftains), whereas Bethanie was presided over by the 'paramount' *kgosi* (chief/traditional leader) who had the authority over *dikgosana* in other Bakwena ba Mogopa territory. The Bakwena ba Mogopa acquired land by pooling their financial resources, using missionaries as proxies to purchase land on their behalf. While tensions had been brewing prior, it was only in 1927 that Chief Johannes Otto More Mamogale was accused of misappropriation and misuse of funds by some members of the Bakwena ba Mogopa in Hebron.¹⁰ Although the government administrators mediated in the conflict, the battle continued for several years. According to Manson and Mbenga,

The fundamental problem was that each section of the Bakwena considered itself responsible and liable for contributing to the purchase of farms to which they had sole access and ownership. The concept of communal responsibility was giving way to a more individualistic and materialistic conception of land usage and the financial benefits to be derived from land.¹¹

While existing scholarship provides useful insights into the broad dynamics around the Bakwena ba Mogopa, it is limited in the extent to which it focuses on dynamics in Bethanie specifically. Freddy Khunou has documented the very early history of the Bakwena ba Mogopa from as early as 1600s focusing on migration, impact of dispossession, Christianity and role of traditional leaders, among other things.¹² Khunou aimed at capturing the resilience of

¹⁰ Manson Andrew and Mbenga Bernard, *Land Chiefs Mining: South Africa's North West Province since 1840* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2014), p. 74.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹² Freddy Khonou, *Mountain of Spirit: The Story of the Royal Bakwena ba Mogopa of the North West, South Africa* (North West: Bookstorm, 2016), pp. 1-352. * This book has been particularly difficult to find and I was fortunate to be borrowed for a few moments by one of the participants who was not able to lend it to me longer. Moreover, some aspects of the book were a topic for debate particularly among the elders however, I was not afforded the opportunity to read it even after various attempts.

Bakwena ba Mogopa throughout a long historical period and challenges they faced. There is limited work available which provides these insights. Heinrich Bammann, a German scholar, has made an important contribution to understanding aspects of Bethanie's past by producing a historical piece based on archival material from the Hermannsburg Mission Society's archives in Germany. He has considered the period from the establishment of the mission in 1864 until the 1940s.¹³ Bammann's work has proved very important in providing contextual details necessary for a good understanding of the period covered in this dissertation. Residents of Bethanie point to their deeply religious history, which is monumentalised by some of the oldest structures of the Lutheran church, a church bell and a mission house. Christianity has been an important catalyst in the area and it continues to shape local politics.

The name 'Bethanie' is of biblical origin, meaning 'house of sorrow or misery'.¹⁴ This name was given to the village by the German Hermannsburg Lutheran missionary in 1864 after baptising some members of the community who chose names of people from the place Bethany in the Bible.¹⁵ The establishment of the mission station had a profound impact in shaping the local politics of the area throughout the twentieth century.¹⁶ Heinrich Bammann provides some insights of the contention that unfolded in the community – but he did not call it Mabidibidi. Bammann characterised the protestors as 'rebels' and opposition. He generally referred to the protests in Bethanie as 'secession from the congregation'. Moreover, he does

¹³ Heinrich Bammann, *Bethanie in Transvaal: North West Province of South Africa from 1864 to 1940* Abridged version of the book Heinrich Bammann, 'The Bakwena ba Mogopa in the North West Province of South Africa 1864-1940', p. 1-53. I was kindly given abridge version of the book by Margret and Adolf Mahuma who are residents of Bethanie as well as members of the Lutheran church.

¹⁴ Bethanie has been referred to as Mantabole. While this name is still used to refer to the village, the official name is Bethanie.

¹⁵ The landscape of current Bethanie can be traced to the missionaries that shaped the ordering of the houses, shops and agricultural area. As I will show later, the missionaries and religion in Bethanie are of paramount significance.

¹⁶ The geographical location of the missionary archives in Europe has proved to be a major impediment to accessing documentary sources about Bakwena ba Mogopa for local scholars and community members. This is mainly due to the archives being located in Germany.

not give a definitive name. On the other hand, Ben Molokoe and Gerhard Oosthuizen documented the history of Bakwena ba Mogopa as victims of forced removals in the years 1983-1994.¹⁷ They highlighted the political and economic challenges associated with the forced removals. Their research highlighted that during the forced removals of Bakwena ba Mogopa in Pachsdraai, also known as Mogopa, most of the people went to Bethanie, 'the land of kgosi Mamogale who was accepted by the entire Bakwena ba Mogopa as their kgosi'.¹⁸ While this work focused on the Bakwena ba Mogopa, it only in part touches the local dynamics in Bethanie. This work also does not provide a discussion of how members of the Bakwena ba Mogopa in Bethanie responded to new challenges of an increased population and the distribution of resources. However, some archival materials have pointed towards some challenges that developed as a result of the new residents in Bethanie that came as a result of the forced removals. While the archives have given an indication to these tensions, they are also devoid of information regarding everyday life in Bethanie and if/whether protests took place. Moreover, there is very little materials that provide any information about the community in the intervening period- that is after contestations characterised as Mabidibidi and the democratic period.

The discovery of various minerals such as platinum and granite in Bethanie in 1988 set the stage for future local dynamics in the post-apartheid era. While there is no indication from archival records about the responses of people in the village when the mine was established, the archives contain various documentation of the agreement between the kgosi, the government of Bophuthatswana and the mining company. The Bakwena ba Mogopa form

¹⁷ Ben Molokoe and Gerhard Oosthuizen, 'The Bakwena ba Mogopa (North West Province, South Africa): consequence of a forced removal, 1983-1994 (North West: Historia, 47 (1), pp. 345-365.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 347.

part of the mineral rich traditional groups in South Africa, with Bethanie being specifically rich in platinum, granite and agricultural land. The Society, Work and Politics institute (SWOP) has contributed a great deal to the literature on local dynamics and protests in this region. Gavin Capps and Sonwabile Mnwana for example have provided insight into dynamics around platinum mining areas and in comparison, with other groups in the region. They argued that the focus that has shifted to the rural areas in former Bophuthatswana and Lebowa are as a result of the platinum mining industry.¹⁹ They looked at the case study of Bakgatla ba Kgafela and made some comparisons with Bakgatla ba Kautlwale regarding disputes over land, succession, and youth marginalisation. Moreover, their analysis of generational cleavages is similar to the case of Bethanie whereby the youth as a distinct group feel marginalised and have thus mobilised for mining benefits outside traditional identities.²⁰ In Chapter four I provide a more in-depth discussion of generational conflicts and highlight youth as a distinct group at the forefront of the protest of 2018.

Platinum mining seemed to be an economic advantage for the Bakwena ba Mogopa. This is because the mining activities are taking place on the Bakwena ba Mogopa land and holds the promises of jobs for the residents. Residents of Bethanie, despite the rich mineral resources on the lands of the Bakwena ba Mogopa, still face issues of access to basic services, underdevelopment and unemployment. My 2018 History Honours mini dissertation offers one of the few contributions to understanding contemporary and historical dynamics in Bethanie. In this research, I traced the politics of exclusion/inclusion that unfolded in

¹⁹ Sonwabile Mnwana and Gavin Capps, 'No chief ever bought a piece of land! Struggles over property, community and mining in the Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela Traditional Authority Area, North West Province', Society, Work and Development Institute, working paper 3, Wits University, March 2015, p. 6.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 29.

Bethanie. I showed how various groups in Bethanie were integrated and/or excluded in the community, how the politics of exclusion have intensified in the recent years, and how the introduction of mining may, in part, explain these developments. I argued that outsiders have tended to feature discursively as a 'problem'. This was also a salient feature of the 2018 protest, particularly in relation to mining. However, there are also divisions within the Bakwena ba Mogopa themselves. This is shown, for instance, in the intensified dynamics of the east and west sections of the community. In the recent protest, those most active were from the eastern section of the community, a relatively new part of the community that is primarily composed of the younger generation of the Bakwena ba Mogopa households as well as the migrants into Bethanie. These migrants are commonly referred to as '*hao wa mono*' by Bakwena ba Mogopa. People referred to as '*hao wa mono*' are both internal and external migrants (internal - South African migrants from outside Bethanie and external- non-South Africans/migrants from outside South Africa). Internal migrants are South Africans from outside Bethanie and external migrants are non-South Africans or other migrants from outside of South Africa. Internal migrants also include other Batswana who are non-Bakwena from outside Bethanie. This stratum had a visible impact during the protest of 2018. What came out very clearly in the protests was dissatisfaction with the mining company for hiring people from 'outside' of the community - a common refrain in mining communities across the country. With all these highlighted challenges in Bethanie, this research begins to illuminate and to point towards possible explanations of the nature of protest and violence as they are discussed and enacted in the village. It was during the final stages of my Honours research that the 2018 protest broke out and brought to the fore a range of questions around the longer history of protest, its links to earlier forms of struggle and tensions that exist in

Bethanie. The present study can therefore be understood as a continuation and deepening of this previous research on Bethanie.

Key questions

The community of Bethanie faced many issues of service delivery and institutional issues ranging from the chieftaincy, mining and local government. While many of the protests in Bethanie have not resembled the 2018 protest, the protest provides an important starting point in that it was a culmination of various issues. Beginning from the protest of 2018, the primary questions included what were the main issues behind the protest in Bethanie in September 2018? What has been the nature of protests in the community? What meanings did the protestors attach to repertoires or forms of violent activities they employed during the course of their protests? The youth of Bethanie were a very visible feature in the protest. Furthermore, the protest raised secondary questions that included the following: What were the generational and other social dynamics of the 2018 protest in Bethanie? Clive Glaser argued that in order to understand the youth politics as a formative group, we need to analyse it historically.²¹ What were the conditions that enabled protest to occur? How was the protest different from previous protests in the community? Was there a shift in protest particularly regarding the understanding among the residents of Bethanie who say, 'they are peaceful people'? How do people in Bethanie define violence and nonviolence? Who is recognised as the authority in Bethanie? Some of the questions I have found important to ask are: what are the repertoires of violence that have been created in Bethanie? While many of these

²¹ Glaser, Clive. 'Youth and generation in South African History', *The Journal of South African and American Studies*, 19, 2(2018), p. 117.

questions are given context in this dissertation, it should be noted that there still many other questions to be asked about the community. The case of Bethanie may in part shed light to some of the issues that small communities face; however, the local context should always be taken into consideration. This dissertation aims to not give a universal understanding of protests in small rural communities but attempts to understand the broader local cultures of protest in Bethanie.

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

The work produced by historians, psychologists, sociologists and political scientists offers understandings of political violence through various lenses. The theoretical framework and literature review of this dissertation are intertwined forming one discussion. Following a critical evaluation of the literature on Bethanie and protests more broadly, the theory around the research question was pertinent to this discussion. The discussion will include sections on the themes around protest, forms of violence, violent protest and a critique of the rural versus urban historiography in South Africa. Moreover, this section discusses the concepts of violence and peace, how the two concepts relate to Bethanie, as well as on how violence in the context of protest within this community has changed over time. It should be noted that the literature on protest and violence in South Africa is vast and rich and, therefore, this review is not exhaustive.

Violence and protests

Protests in South Africa are a common phenomenon. According to Jane Duncan, South Africa is historically and presently defined by its protests, 'a protest nation'.²² Media and institutions such as the South African Police Service (SAPS), paid primary attention to what they saw as the performance of violence and characterised the events in Bethanie as 'violent protests'.²³ Research conducted by Jane Duncan around South African municipalities, specifically focusing on the right to protest, has highlighted several important factors regarding protests in the country. According to Duncan, 'protests are essential forms of democratic expression. They are communicative acts that disrupt everyday functioning of society to draw public attention to grievances'.²⁴ By studying protest in Bethanie, this research aims to contribute the scholarship around protests. Tilly reminds us that while historical treatment of separating events may be useful especially in different times and contexts, it is limiting if the historical analysis of the past events is not used to understand the 'covariation and change' of protests that come after.²⁵ The Mabidibidi moment has been brought to the surface by the participants to highlight change over time. Speaking to the events of Mabidibidi and the protest of 2018 in Bethanie, a discussion on generation is important.

South Africa has been faced with rising issues of unemployment. This is particularly visible in the rural areas where historically, migrant labour was prevalent. In Bethanie, there were clear generational differences throughout the protest and this research. While this may not have been visible at all times, it was clear that the older generation of Bethanie knew or were more informed about the longer history of Bethanie. The older generation were able to make

²² Duncan, Jane. *Protest Nation: The right to protest in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2016), pp. 1-23.

²³ Madibeng FM News 3-10 September 2018.

²⁴ Duncan Jane, *Protest Nation: the right to protest in south Africa*, pp. 1-24.

²⁵ Charles Tilly, *Contentious Repertoires in Great Britain, 1758-1834*, *Social Science History*, 17, 2 (1993), p. 265.

comparisons between the 2018 protest and Mabidibidi because they had experience or heard of the events of Mabidibidi while the younger generation believed that there have been no protests in Bethanie that even slightly resembled the 2018 protest. Again, Glaser argued that 'generational identities and tensions profoundly shape our world, and we need to understand how they are experienced and their material consequences'.²⁶ Drawing on the similarities and differences of the various generations in Bethanie has made for a far richer conversation about the history of protest in Bethanie. The statistics on unemployment have also raised to the surface issues that affect the youth in South Africa in modern days.

Glaser argued that the term youth is culturally and politically loaded.²⁷ Without getting too far on the debate about what youth means, many of the protestors used this term to identify themselves during and after the 2018 protest. In relation to Mabidibidi, it would be hard to assume that some or most of the protestors identified themselves as belonging to this category. What can be drawn, particularly from earlier literature and some accounts of Mabidibidi is that the protest took place at the height of the migrant labour system. Men and women were active in these protests, although there are not enough details about their ages. In 1927, a levy of six euros was imposed on all adult males- again the ages are not clear.²⁸ This may have reinforced generational tensions and conflict.

Youth, as Glaser suggests, is a period of 'independence, sexual exploration, limited responsibility, unstable identity, powerful peer (as opposed to family) influence', while adulthood is associated with 'higher social status'.²⁹ However, these roles or periods may

²⁶ Glaser, Clive. 'Youth and generation in South African History', *The Journal of South African and American Studies*, 19, 2(2018), p. 118.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

²⁸ This is however a speculation that migrants, mostly impatient young men constituted a major force in these early protests.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

overlap. Moreover, the concept of youth has been associated with young males and 'often seen as a potentially threatening force which could disrupt tradition'.³⁰ Youth is also a transitional stage, a period of becoming. Notions of masculinity and its role in fostering violence are also worth considering in this study. Take, for example, Keith Breckenridge's general assessment in 'The Allure of violence', where he argued that the prevalence of violence in the mines among both black and white men was as a result of 'celebrated [notions of] the capacity for personal violence as a key element of masculinity'.³¹ What is interesting about this argument is how violence is used by the miners to not only assert but also legitimize their own masculinity. Breckenridge also notes how forms of violence shape the masculinity and ideas of manhood that emerged in the mines and spread throughout various spheres of South African society, connecting the rural with the urban. He points towards historical forms of socialization for both black and white men.³² Where there is contestation over jobs or subscribed masculinity, the dynamics identified by Breckenridge arise. Unemployment in Bethanie is a central issue of contention in current day Bethanie and a contributing factor to protests. In Chapter Four, I will discuss ways in which these issues (gender, race and class) have shaped identities of young people and forms of protest in Bethanie.

Breckenridge draws from historians such as Peter Delius and Clive Glaser who argue that precolonial forms of African socialization were eroded by the emergence of the capitalist

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 119-120.

³¹ Keith Breckenridge, 'The Allure of Violence: Men, Race and Masculinity on the South African Goldmines, 1900-1950', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24, 4(1998), pp. 669-693.

³² See the work that has been done about African forms of socializations by authors such as Peter Delius and Clive Glaser. i.e Delius, Peter, and Clive Glaser. "Sexual Socialisation in South Africa: A Historical Perspective." *African Studies* 61, no. 1 (July 1, 2002): 27-54.

Delius, Peter, and Clive Glaser. "The Myths of Polygamy: A History of Extra-Marital and Multi-Partnership Sex in South Africa." *South African Historical Journal* 50, no. 1 (January 1, 2004): 84-114.

system of migrant labour. Delius and Glaser further argue that 'the stress on male power and authority over women, which had long been part of the process of socialization in the countryside took on new and violent dimensions in a world turned upside down by conquest, colonization, migrancy and industrialization'.³³ One other important point to highlight in Delius and Glaser's work is that with the erosion of African systems of sexual socialization, parents looked towards institutions such as the church, school and labour to fill in the gap.³⁴ Insights can also be gained from Langa and Kiguwa's study on 'the relationship between local politics in two municipalities in Mpumalanga and notions of hegemonic masculinity as one key aspect of exploring the subjective embodiments of protestors as active key agents engaged in specific practices'.³⁵ The study shows how young black men in the two municipalities make sense of their context, relations to powerful men and women in authority and the lack of job opportunities. These arguments are useful to test in thinking about how residents of Bethanie think and act in relation to mining activity on the communal land of Bakwena. The 'trouble makers' are particularly young men in Bethanie, who have not worked before, looking for employment mostly at the mine.

Peter Alexander insists that another element to this is class:

When workers protest against their conditions, they organise at work, engage in strike action, build unions and, perhaps, develop a federation that provides a political voice. None of this involves the unemployed and underemployed, who are neither needed nor, in most cases, wanted. The poor, especially poor youth, have other sources of

³³ Peter Delius and Clive Glaser, 'Sexual Socialisation in South Africa: A Historical Perspective', *African Studies*, 61, 1 (2002), p. 39.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³⁵ Langa and Kiguwa, *Violent masculinities and service delivery protests in post-apartheid South Africa*, p. 25.

strength. They have time to organise and the ability to mobilise in the name of a community as a whole; they have the capacity to win backing from workers and to mount dramatic protests that threaten the rule of the state; and they can unseat politicians and undermine the legitimacy of established politics.³⁶

Alexander shows that while common issues faced by the community can bring the working class together with the poor, there are still distinctions that we need to be aware of. It is important to also highlight that the protest in Bethanie included employed and unemployed community members. Amongst the employed were also people from the mine. One of the participants argued that while he had been working at the mine, he had hardly seen any of the local Bakwena ba Mogopa people being promoted to positions of supervisors and that many of them remained at the lower levels. While much of the platinum reserves are now found in former labour-sending areas (the so-called 'bantustans') for secondary industry, the continued dependence on migrant labour, albeit underpinned by very different institutional arrangements, increases rural stratification and community conflict.³⁷ The participant also argued that it was mostly people from 'outside', from places like Witbank, that got supervisory positions. Like gold before, the platinum sector relies on a massive African migrant labour force, low wages and poor working and living conditions to bolster its profits.³⁸ Alexander argued that the rhythms of struggle are different with workers, 'tending to follow time-consuming statutory procedures and community action determined with little or no formality and enacted without delay'.³⁹ Unions in Rhovan mine were seen as ineffective by

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 204-205.

³⁷ Sonwabile Mnwana, 'Between "Locals" and "Foreigners": Mining and Rural Politics of Belonging in North West Province, South Africa', *Labour, Capital and Society*, 48, 1 and 2 (2015), p. 157.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Alexander, *Rebellion of the poor*, p. 205.

protestors. The protest, however, showed the ability of connecting different classes. The similarity with, yet distinction from, the notion that class divisions arise from conflicting relations to the means of production is intentional.

Bethanie, as the capital of all Bakwena ba Mogopa, is constituted into traditional authorities consisting of administrative structures such as the chief and sub-chiefs. These are some of the structures that the residents of Bethanie have been able to use to articulate their dissatisfactions. However, many protestors did not consider the traditional authorities as structures that have the capacity and legitimacy to take forth their grievances regarding the mine. The negation of traditional authorities during the 2018 protest was quite evident. Even when listening to Radio Madibeng, a local radio station which broadcasted news about the strike, people continued to speak negatively and dismissively about the chief in Bethanie. Capps and Malindi argue that mining interests and provincial government interventions in the neighbouring areas such as that of the Bapo-ba-Mogale are able to capitalize on already existing internal issues of legitimate community authority and representation.⁴⁰

The youth, who formed the majority of participants in the protest, seemed not to be acting just for their own interests but rather beyond their own interests. Glaser criticises the definition of youth 'purely in terms of self-identity: if you identify with the youth, you are youth, irrespective of age'.⁴¹ While this is helpful in terms of getting to a clearer understanding, the current political, sociological and economic climate has made this concept

⁴⁰ Gavin Capps and Stanley Malindi, 'Dealing with the Tribe: The Politics of the Bapo/Lonmin Royalty-to-Equity Conversation', Society, Work and Development Institute, working paper 8, Wits University, May 2017. p. 2.

⁴¹ Glaser, Clive. 'Youth and generation in South African History', *The Journal of South African and American Studies*, 19, 2(2018), p. 119.

even harder to define. This was evident in the rhetoric articulated during the protests. For instance, the youth repeated that the land of their ancestors was being used to benefit the mine owners and not the owners of the land. The recent events in Bethanie received little media attention, except from the local radio station of Madibeng, from which surrounding communities were able to be informed about the developments in the area. The two newspaper reports on the protest mainly focused on the violence displayed, and as it has been correctly argued, violence usually became the 'smoke that calls'.⁴² The little media attention that Bethanie received focused on the violence of the protest, where residents of Bethanie, Bapong, Bareseba and other neighbouring Bakwena ba Mogopa villages, were demanding jobs.⁴³ The news report showed a picture of confrontation between the police and the residents as well as the burning of barricaded tyres. One of the protestors mentioned that, while their school was close to the mine, it was not funded and still had no electricity while a school in Brits (a neighbouring town) was funded.⁴⁴ Protestors in 2018 suggested that the school in town was funded by the mining company.

Bandy X Lee has argued for the advocacy of the term 'structural violence' in an article published in 2016. Here, Bandy X Lee argues that rather than structural violence being regarded as social injustice, as a result of it being an occurrence based on human volition, it is in itself violence.⁴⁵ Again, Bandy X Lee points to violence that prevents or makes it difficult for people to attain a quality of life. Moreover, economic, political or cultural processes that

⁴² Karl von Holdt (2011) 'Overview - Insurgent citizenship and collective violence: analysis of case studies' in K von Holdt, M Langa, S Molapo, N Mogapi, K Ngubeni, J Dlamini & A Kirsten (eds) *The Smoke that Calls: Insurgent Citizenship, Collective Violence and the Struggle for a Place in the New South Africa*, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) and the Society, Work and Development Institute (SWOP): University of Witwatersrand.

⁴³ See Africa News 24-7, 'Police fire rubber bullets to disperse protesting Bethanie residents', September 3, 2018.

⁴⁴ Lehlogonolo Motonya, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 7 July 2019.

⁴⁵ Bandy X Lee, *Causes and cures VII: Structural violence, Aggression and violent behavior*, Science Direct, pp. 109-114.

limit people from achieving full quality of life are a form of structural violence.⁴⁶ 'The harm is structural because it is a product of the way we have organised our social world; it is violent because it causes injury and death'.⁴⁷

In *Violence: Reflections on our Deadliest Epidemic*, James Gilligan explored the role of shame in the motivations of men who committed horrifying crimes. Drawing on a concept of dignity in the context of inequality, Gilligan argued that structural violence is 'the increased rates of death and disability suffered by those who occupy the bottom rungs of society as contrasted with relatively lower rates of death by those who are above them'.⁴⁸ The argument made by Gilligan, like X Lee, points towards the results of limitations imposed on people to achieving a quality of life, how their dignity is affected and the role of shame. This may not be death in a physical form (although it may be) but could also be pointed towards ordinary examples of people giving up on equal distribution of resources, attaining employment or educational opportunities.

Philip Bonner and Peter Delius argued that the central dynamic of apartheid was the struggle over the distribution and control of labour.⁴⁹ They further argued that the 'South African case is set apart by the centrality of new ideologies of racial supremacy and the availability of pre-existing structures of racial domination'.⁵⁰ One cannot speak about the violent history of South Africa without the impact of the youth in various movements, social and political, in gangs and criminal activities. In the book *Bo-tsotsi*, Clive Glaser illustrates the complexities of

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 109.

⁴⁸ James Gilligan, *Violence: Reflections on our Deadliest Epidemic*, Jessica Kingsley publishers, 1997, pp. 258-280.

⁴⁹ Philip Bonner, Peter Delius, Deborah Posel (eds.), *Apartheid's Genesis, 1935-1962* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, Witwatersrand University Press, 1993), p. 5.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

these intersecting forms of violence. The book highlights the culture and performance of gangsterism in urban black townships. Glaser also highlights a criticism that 'despite reservations about their immaturity and coercive excess, their contribution was seen as positive, sometimes heroic'.⁵¹ It is important to recognise this complexity because it indicates that resistance goes beyond spectacular moments.

The point here is not that violence is endemic in southern Africa because people enjoy it. It is rather, that the aesthetics of violence, its lurid power, and the emotional investment that men, in particular, make in it has to be acknowledged if we are to make any sense of its ubiquity and endurance.⁵²

Shula Marks and Neil Andersson, make a compelling argument about the concept of 'cultures of violence' which they argue South African society is shaped by. They refer to apartheid as 'a major source and form of violence'.⁵³ What is interesting about Marks and Andersson's argument is their ability to draw these cultures of violence from a variety of sources. For example, political violence between the Zulu Inkatha cultural national movement and rival black organizations, as well as the destruction of family life due to migrant life and the treatment of crime and punishment in South Africa and psychological violence that these forms of violence contribute towards.⁵⁴ While their work shows incredible understanding of

⁵¹ Clive Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi: The Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1935-1976* (United States of America: Heinemann, 2000), p. 1.

⁵² Keith Breckenridge, 'The Allure of Violence: Men, Race and Masculinity on the South African Goldmines, 1900-1950', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24, 4(1998), p. 672.

⁵³ See editorial introduction in Chabani Manganyi and Andre du Toit (eds.), *Political Violence and the Struggle in South Africa* (Republic of South Africa: Southern Book Publishers, 1990), p. 5.

⁵⁴ Shula Marks and Neil Andersson, *The Epidemiology and Culture of Violence* in Chabani Manganyi and Andre du Toit (eds.), *Political Violence and the Struggle in South Africa* (Republic of South Africa: Southern Book Publishers, 1990), pp. 29-63.

the nature of violence on various levels and forms, it lacks a historical analysis of how and what enables these various forms of violence.

Belinda Bozzoli in her analysis of the popular rebellion in Alexandra township in 1986, makes a particularly interesting argument when criticizing contemporary South African history. In the book *Theatres of Struggle and the End of Apartheid*, Bozzoli looks at the black uprisings against apartheid and in particular, the Alexandra rebellion of 1986. She looks at how the residents of Alexandra manipulated ideas of space, power and time. In her view, contemporary history in South Africa is considered mainly as a template of measuring morality.⁵⁵ During her observations and research of the Alexandra rebellion, she concluded that 'the rebellion took a theatrical form' as it went beyond the binaries of the anti-apartheid struggles, focusing not just on the state but the 'daily lives of township dwellers'.⁵⁶ This also included how residents of Alexandra shaped and reshaped the space. In looking at the violent protest in Bethanie, it will be important to understand the conception of space in a rural context. That is, why the protestors chose the main road as the main site where they performed their protests, what that meant, and what it achieved.

Bozzoli argues for the term 'syncretic' movements, which ultimately emphasizes the need to read things such as movements and rebellions as complex and multi-layered. She points us towards the derivative form of understanding the rebellion to begin her argument and makes the claim that the effects of the colonial past continue to be present in Alexandra and formed part of the shaping of the rebellion and resistance. In this analysis, she does not exclude other

⁵⁵ Belinda Bozzoli, *Theatres of Struggle and the End of Apartheid* (South Africa: Wits University Press, 2004), p. 1.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 2.

townships alike. According to Bozzoli, 'societies with colonial pasts have been bequeathed forms of rule that use spatial control over their populations in particular vivid ways, predisposing social groups to mobilising spatial replies to their oppression.'⁵⁷

There are many theorists and scholars that focus on violence in the post-colonial context; however, as Karl von Holdt warns, they tend to treat violence and democracy, a post-apartheid context of South Africa, as directly opposed.⁵⁸ The history of South Africa is embedded in the history of violence. 'Post-apartheid South Africa is an extremely violent society, with high levels of violent crime, sexual violence, intimate partner violence and collective violence, as well as high levels of police violence.'⁵⁹ The way in which violence is part of the South African fabric, it begs the question why we tend to look at it as separate and incidental to the understanding of the current political context and events that shape it.

In the years that led to the first democratic elections, there were many violent protests. These violent protests have continued in the new democratic context in South Africa. 'Democracy is generally considered to constitute a political system in which multiple institutions allocate and protect rights, provide voice for different interests, and allow for the peaceful resolution of social and political conflict.'⁶⁰ The South African context provides a challenge to this narrative of democracy, more especially because protesters that take part in violent protests claim to resort to violence as a way of communicating their grievances. The question is then, whether the use of the concept violent democracy, as Karl von Holdt suggest, can assist in

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 5.

⁵⁸ Karl von Holdt, 'On Violent Democracy', *The Sociology Review*, 62, S2 (2014), p. 129.

⁵⁹ Karl von Holdt, 'The violence of order, orders of violence: Between Fanon and Bourdieu', *Current Sociology*, 61, 112 (2013), p. 113.

⁶⁰ Karl von Holdt, 'On Violent Democracy', p. 129.

thinking about post-apartheid violent protests. The concept of violent democracy seems to be fitting especially considering not only colonial conquest and apartheid but the years of transition in South Africa. Gary Kynoch provides this perspective in *Township Violence and the End of Apartheid*. Kynoch argues for a multi-layered lens in analysing the violence during the transition, looking between overlaps of political and criminal violence especially in township communities on the Reef.⁶¹

‘Western social theory assumes that overt violence declines with the formation of the modern state and democracy through a combination of the consolidation of the modern state and its monopoly of legitimate coercion identified by Weber.’⁶² What is evident in South Africa is that the use of violence by either protesters or the state, is increasing and that violence is not monopolised by either the state or the protestors. Along with the question of violence, is that of legitimacy, and what seems evident in the violent protests, it is that, it can come from either below or above. This is evident in the daily tune of violent protests in different parts of the country. Von Holdt highlights Holston’s argument of rethinking democratic theory in the following way; while violence can be viewed as a contradiction to democratic theory, it should be analysed as internal and not incidental to democracy at a theoretical level, ‘conceiving of democratization as ‘disjunctive’, contested, destabilizing old powers, generating new resistance, and at the same time empowering the newly enfranchised to expand its scope.’⁶³ What von Holdt also notes is that ‘democracy shapes violence in particular ways that differ from how violence might be organized in authoritarian regimes, and also that even the limited

⁶¹ Gary Kynoch, *Township Violence and the End of Apartheid: War on the Reef* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2017), pp. 1-14.

⁶² Karl von Holdt, ‘On Violent Democracy’, p. 130.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 131.

democracy that is afforded by such societies empowers citizens and subalterns in new ways.⁶⁴ What is clear from the arguments above is that the ways in which democracy and violence are thought about, need to be rethought and reshaped to allow for new understanding of not only democracy but violence.

Chabani Manganyi and Andre du Toit in *Political Violence and the Struggle in South Africa* highlight the importance of reading violence from various lenses. They argue that academics and/or social scientists should expand their scope in reading violence as complicated and assuming different meanings to different people at different times.⁶⁵ Kynoch further extends on this argument by arguing that 'it is notoriously difficult to distinguish 'criminal' from 'political' violence.'⁶⁶ What Gary Kynoch was highlighting in the above quote is the complexity of violence. We can also see this with the story of Nongoloza written by Charles van Onselen, when he describes the complexity in the motivations of Nongoloza – a notorious crime lord. Nongoloza is described as a character who faced racial discrimination in a racialised society, motivated by a sense of 'justice', history of the Zulu regiments's or rather ethnic pride, resistance against the labour-repressive system and many others.⁶⁷ The story of Nongoloza shows how complicated violence is, how it can intersect with other forms of violence and crime, how it can be legitimate and illegitimate at the same time. It also shows the limitations of the instrumental and derivative forms of understanding violence that motives, emotions and performances of people are complex in violence.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 133.

⁶⁵ See editorial introduction in Chabani Manganyi and Andre du Toit (eds.), *Political Violence and the Struggle in South Africa* (Republic of South Africa: Southern Book Publishers, 1990), pp. 4-5.

⁶⁶ Gary Kynoch, *Township Violence and the End of Apartheid: War on the Reef*, p. 12.

⁶⁷ Charles van Onselen, 'Crime and Total Institutions in the Making of Modern South Africa: the life of 'Nongoloza' Mathebula 1867-1948', *History Workshop Journal*, 19(1985), pp. 62-81.

The relationship of residents of Bethanie (and the Bakwena ba Mogopa more specifically) to violence offers important insights into the nature of protests in the post-apartheid era, not least because of its recent re-emergence as a repertoire of struggle in the 2018 protests. Violent protests have been widely documented in South African historiography, albeit from a perspective that presents them as spectacular events. From the outset, the protest in Bethanie in 2018 was presented in the South African media as a spectacular incident. The way that it was broadcast on the local radio and discussed in newspapers implied that violence had become a political currency and an expected norm accompanying so-called 'service delivery protests' in South African townships.⁶⁸

Bethanie is often described as a peaceful place due to there being relatively low crime rates in the area, and because residents claim that the village has witnessed very few protests or other forms of politically motivated public disruptions. Moreover, the community is very religious and, in discussions of violence, residents of Bethanie often counterposed their shared Christian values against the idea of violence and public disruption as either normal or desirable aspects of public life and active citizenship. However, the popular protest that took place in 2018, as will be shown, included contextual and tactical aspects of violence (at both structural and personal levels). It is for this reason that the events that unfolded in Bethanie cannot be understood in isolation from broader developments at a regional and national level. Hirson discusses struggles in rural areas as having been integrally connected to struggles in urban areas through the movement of people.⁶⁹ Maintaining a theoretically flexible and historically specific conception of the urban/rural as a relationship and not as a simple

⁶⁸ Madibeng FM 105.3- Current news updates Madibeng FM is a community based radio station that caters to Brits and surrounding Madibeng areas.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

dichotomy is as necessary for analysing the events of Mabidibidi in the 1950s as it is for understanding the composition of the crowd and repertoires of struggle included in the community protests of 2018.

Protest, Violence and the Rural

'Hidden from sight, the inhabitants of the reserves or locations remained forgotten.'⁷⁰ The rural areas commonly referred to as bantustans in apartheid South Africa have been extensively researched by scholars. 'Reserves set aside for African occupation, were a common feature of political and economic landscape for much of southern and central Africa ... the reserves shared a number of characteristics. Ideally, separate 'tribes' were meant to occupy distinct reserves; the land in them was allocated and used on a communal basis and it was generally inalienable – in other words, white farmers could not own land in the reserves.'⁷¹ According to Manson and Mbenga, 'the reserves have possibly not received sufficient attention from historians and other scholars in relation to their importance, for they were home to millions of black people in South Africa, many being migrants who had families back home in the reserves.'⁷² For many years, the perceived wisdom was that in the twentieth century the reserves simply became reservoirs of labour for South Africa's expanding capitalist system, and that economic production in the reserves collapsed after about the first three decades of the century. Such views were challenged subsequently by scholars who recognized that the reserves (or former reserves) continued to offer a home to large segments

⁷⁰ Manson Andrew and Mbenga Bernard, *Land Chiefs Mining: South Africa's North West Province since 1840* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2014), p. 89.

⁷¹ Ibid. Manson and Mbenga did an impeccable job in the book by laying out the literature and leading scholars that have documented the African reserves in the book.

⁷² Ibid.

of the rural population, who 'were not entirely undermined during the colonial era'.⁷³ Apart from the recording of rural history in South Africa, there is a debate around the naming of bantustans as 'homelands'. While grappling with the historiography of rural areas in South Africa, I came to realize the uneasiness with the use of the term 'homelands' personally. Steve Biko in one of the essays titled 'Let's talk about Bantustans' pointed towards this;

The concept of 'Bantustans', or independent/autonomous African 'homelands', is the corner stone of the Nationalist Government's 'native' policy. The theory is that South Africa consists of many ethnic groups, and that peaceful co-existence can only be attained by enabling each group to develop in its own way in its own area ... But it is only now with the granting of so-called 'independence' to two of the 'stans', Transkei and Bophuthatswana, that the cynical cruelty of the policy is fully revealed.⁷⁴

The use of the term homelands should be problematized in the sense that it paints the rural areas, which had for many years been transformed into bantustans, reservoirs of labour and of continuous dispossession, as not only an attractive creation but a successful one. Various scholars and newspaper articles have recorded the contestations around the creation of the 'independent homelands'. William Beinart, in an article titled 'Beyond "Homeland"', shows how contentions around the homeland policy continued to unravel even after its establishment.⁷⁵

⁷³ Ibid., p. 90

⁷⁴ Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like* (South Africa: Ravan Press, 1996), p. 88.

⁷⁵ See article by William Beinart, 'Beyond 'Homelands': Some Ideas about the African Rural Areas in South Africa', *South African Historical Journal*, 64, 1(2012).

While the history of political violence in South Africa has been broadly documented, the literature has marginalized political violence in rural areas. However, scholars such as Peter Delius, Tshepo Moloi, Sekibakiba Lekgoathi, Lungisile Ntsebeza and a few others have been exceptional in this regard.⁷⁶ This is through the redress of the scholarly omission on rural everyday life. Many scholars have argued that resistance in rural areas during apartheid was not given sufficient attention in the broader South African history.⁷⁷ Thembela Kepe and Lungisile Ntsebeza continue to attempt to redress the scholarly omission in terms of how the history of South Africa has been documented. They give as an example ‘the SADET series that was launched in March 2001 to cover, as the title suggests, struggles against apartheid from the 1960s to the early 1990s’, amongst other works, as well as the urban bias of the history of South Africa.⁷⁸

What is important, is that the scholars have then contributed to an incredible collection of works around rural resistance, including in the book titled *Rural Resistance in South Africa: The Mpondo Revolts after Fifty Years* by Thembela Kepe and Lungisile Ntsebeza published in 2011.⁷⁹ Scholars such as Govan Mbeki in works such as *South Africa: The Peasants Revolt* published in 1964, have however shed light on the struggles in rural areas and produced a foundation to build on.⁸⁰ However, it cannot be denied that much of the focus has been on

⁷⁶ For reference, see Peter Delius, ‘The Land Belongs to Us’
Tshepo Moloi,
Sekibakiba P. Legoathi
Lungisile Ntsebeza

⁷⁷ Thembela Kepe and Lungisile Ntsebeza (eds.), *Rural Resistance in South Africa: The Mpondo Revolts after Fifty Years* (Boston: Leiden, The Netherlands, 2011), p. 4.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ See Kepe, Thembela., and Ntsebeza, Lungisile (eds.). *Rural Resistance in South Africa: The Mpondo Revolts after Fifty Years* (Boston: Leiden, The Netherlands, 2011).

⁸⁰ Thembela Kepe and Lungisile Ntsebeza (eds.), *Rural Resistance in South Africa: The Mpondo Revolts after Fifty Years*, p. 2.

the spectacular events, whether on rural resistance in general or on particular violent rural protests. This alludes to the notion that

The logic of modernization suggests a linear approach where the rural learn from the urban and not vice versa ... [however] the rural influence of the Mpondo revolts enhanced the organizational capacity of trade unionists and activists in urban areas who became leaders in their own right.⁸¹

This quote above, is fundamentally intended to emphasise not only the importance and significance of rural struggles, but also the need to invest in further scholarship in the rural areas. Bozzoli makes a compelling argument about how old social forms, modern or post-modern social forms never really die, but rather blend together in complex ways to create new social forms with resemblances of the past. This is particularly interesting as it shows that the mix of repertoires, or what she mainly refers to as patterns, always have a way of surfacing in the social arena. While violence exists on many levels, as various scholars have highlighted, it does not stop people from making and living their lives.

The instrumental understanding of violence assumes that violence is used legitimately and rationally to respond to structural violence or symbolic violence, while the derivative understanding of violence assumes that violence is derived from prior conditions of histories of violence. Of course, there are other ways in which violence has been discussed by various authors. However, this literature review has mainly focused on the broader understandings

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 12.

of violence, the cleavages and divergent ways. 'Violence is a particularly stimulating challenge for the social sciences, as it forces the researcher to do a balancing act and to produce findings ranging from the most personal, private, and subjective to the most general, international and global.'⁸² In recent years, South Africa has shown that violence in the country lies underneath the surface, and it is always willing to erupt, whether provoked or unprovoked, legitimate or illegitimate, inspired or performed. This is particularly pointing towards violence in schools, high crime rates, rape, interpersonal violence and many other forms. If we are to begin to understand violence, violence would need to be thought of in much more complex ways.

The exploration above has shown how various forms of violence often interact with each other and may be understood as interwoven or entangled. Each has its own dynamics and historical trajectories. Innate in our understanding of violence is a judgment however, working through understanding violence requires complex and multi-layered explanations. The primary aim of this thesis is to contribute towards understanding the ways in which 'violence', as an idea and practice within the context of public community struggles, has changed historically in Bethanie from the time of Mabidibidi [1938 till early 1940s] to 2018.

Methodology

As noted earlier, the community of the Bakwena ba Mogopa in Bethanie have received very little attention in the historical record. While there are exceptions, such as Andrew Manson

⁸² Michel Wieviorka, 'An End to Violence', p. 63

and Bernard Mbenga's *Land, Chiefs, Mines*, and Freddy Khunou's *Mountains of Spirit: The Story of the Royal Bakwena ba Mogopa in the North West, South Africa*, very little work has been recorded on this area. This has also meant that the gaps in the archives (which tend to focus on the chieftainship affairs of the Bakwena) have been left bare. This research is fundamentally grounded on the use of oral history as a methodology to investigating the gaps regarding protest action in Bethanie.

The concept of participant-observer has been used by social anthropologists especially beginning in the 1920s and 1930s. This term has been used to refer to a researcher that attempts to lead a life as a member of the community that they are studying while engaging in constant dialogue with other community members and collecting life histories.⁸³ I struggle with the term participant-observer as it fails to fully encompass my position in Bethanie. Partly, the concept can be used to attribute to my participation in the protest, however, I am invested in the community beyond my own research and intellectual interests, having lived in Bethanie for many years. While this might pose its own disadvantages, John Tosh has made the argument that 'mastering of the local context' is what makes the oral work, and which I argue I am in the position of achieving.⁸⁴ However, being a participant-observer poses its own disadvantages. Some participants assumed that I was aware of all issues raised in the protest as well as all the events that took place. Moreover, there were people who refused to speak to me, who articulated that they were suspicious of my intentions. Being a cultural insider has its pros and cons. At the same level, I am an outsider in the community of Bethanie. I was not born or raised in Bethanie. I merely lived in Bethanie for a year and had been visiting before

⁸³ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, pp. 207-208.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

and continue to visit because of my family. While I have made connections particularly with young people around my age and older women and men because of family networks, I do not always understand the references or common shared history.

Furthermore, I participated in the 2018 protest (although more as an observer than participant) and was honestly fascinated by the sight of collective action that I had not witnessed in all the years I have lived in Bethanie. Attending some of the meetings, catching up with old classmates, supporting those who were arrested and, more selfishly, hoping to get a better understanding of relations between insider and outsider politics (as I was working on my mini-dissertation for Honours) together constituted my general participation. This also helped me to connect with more people in the community, particularly elders, of which some participated in this research. Although my participation was fairly limited, it encouraged me to study the community further.

Oral history is a methodology that uses texts produced and transmitted by word of mouth. It includes methods of oral tradition and testimony. Oral testimony consists of the collection of accounts that are based on reminiscences, hearsay, or eyewitness accounts about events and situations which occurred during the lifetime of the informant.⁸⁵ It 'can be seen as a means of asking, and perhaps answering, the kind of questions likely to lead to a fuller understanding of the experiences and consciousness of the working man or woman'.⁸⁶ Oral history not only provides the historian with new voices about perceptions of history, it also gives meaning to how people experienced different events in their lives as well as their contribution to and/or

⁸⁵ Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (London: James Currey, 1985), p.12

⁸⁶ Belinda Bozzoli, cited by P. Denis, 'Oral History in Wounded Country', in Draper, J. A. (ed.) *Orality, Literacy and Colonialism in Southern Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2003).

experience of change over time. Using the oral history methodology, I approached selected individuals in Bethanie who gave verbal accounts of their perceptions of protests and how they experienced them either directly or indirectly. Sean Field argues that oral history is not an alternative to 'popular historical truth(s)' but rather has the potential to give new 'insights into differing and intersecting dialogues of memory'.⁸⁷ I concur with Field's notion that oral history opens up a new dimension in understanding history from a variety of perspectives and can give meaning to the changes that occur.

Oral testimony is the first-hand or eyewitness account of an event or situation which occurred during the lifetime of the interviewee, while oral tradition can be understood as 'stories' or narratives which have been passed down from one generation to the next through word of mouth.⁸⁸ The striking difference between the two is that one is contemporary while the latter is not – although even oral tradition is reshaped by contemporary conditions of retelling. In the case of Bethanie, I have chosen to analyse the history of protests using a long historical scope, (from the 1860s to 2018). While it seemed as though oral tradition was scarcely passed down, such local tradition as communicated to me by interviewees did contribute to my understanding of meanings attached to concepts such as peace and violence.

One of the obvious challenges to oral history is its reliance on memory. Several scholars of oral history have argued that in societies where documentation of history in the form of written sources are not present or poorly recorded, historians tend to rely mainly on the memories of the members of the community to write about aspects of their past. In the

⁸⁷ Sean Field, 'Turning up the Volume: Dialogues about Memory Create Histories', *South African Historical Journal*, 60, 2 (2008), p. 177.

⁸⁸ Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*, pp. 12-13.

recollection of memory, chronology can be difficult to determine with accuracy. According to Alessandro Portelli, the challenge of chronology in an oral source may be compensated by closer personal involvement.⁸⁹ This provides a richness to the source as chronology can be cross-checked through the use of other forms of historical evidence. Another important aspect of oral sources that Portelli has pinpointed is the matter of its credibility as historical sources: 'Oral sources are credible but with a different credibility. The importance of oral testimony may lie not in its adherence to fact, but rather in its departure from it, as imagination, symbolism, and desire emerge'.⁹⁰ Portelli highlighted the possibility of understanding history from outside the bounds of facts and the multifaceted reasons and meanings (not all of which may appear 'rational' to a positivist reader) that people attach to those events that are being investigated.

Memory depends upon the informant's interest.⁹¹ Yet even supposing that oral evidence were somehow authentic and unalloyed, it would still be inadequate as a representation of the past. For historical reality comprises more than the sum of individual experiences.⁹² Michal Bosworth argues that, 'oral history cannot do many things but it can bring human dimension to historical questions. As a source, the oral record can tell the historian how individuals, at a specific moment, felt about things that mattered to them. The immediacy of the interview, characteristics of personal expression, add depth and emotion to our

⁸⁹ Alessandro Portelli, 'What makes oral History Different' in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds) *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 37

⁹⁰ Alessandro Portelli, 'What makes oral History Different', p. 37.

⁹¹ Sekibakiba P. Lekgoathi, 'Voices of Our Past: Oral Testimony and Teaching History', in J. Bam and C. Dyer (eds), *Educator's Guide to the UNESCO General History of Africa* (Cape Town: New Africa Education for the Ministry of Education, 2004), p. 48

⁹² John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history* (New York: Longman, 1991), p. 213.

understanding of events and of places and of what makes us the way we are'.⁹³ My own research experience confirms Bosworth's insight that with oral history method, you do not always get what you want, in many cases, you get what they (interviewees) want, despite your best efforts to guide the interview. Lindsey Dodd quotes Portelli who noted that 'the story that you think you do not want can be the key to understanding'.⁹⁴

Another challenge posed to oral historians is that they may face challenges in the research design and selection of potential interviewees especially in dealing with accounts of events. Jan Vansina argued that oral historians in such situations tend to bypass in-depth analysis of individual testimony due to the accounts of the masses cross-checking each other.⁹⁵ This can be understood as a problem of collective memory/account versus that of individuals. It is important to highlight that, while the shift to violent protest is of main interest here, not everyone participated in the protests in Bethanie. To be able to understand the shift, it was not only participants who were interviewed, but also those who stayed away, the ones that left and those that joined the violent protest after it kicked off. To give voice to the changing character of protests in Bethanie, oral evidence allows for the capturing of a variety of perspectives.

Oral historians have argued that oral history is a democratic alternative to 'traditional' ways of writing history. It challenges the monopoly of the academic elite on historical knowledge

⁹³ Michal Bosworth, 'Let me tell you...': memory and the practice of oral history' in Joan Tumblety (ed.) *Memory and History: Understanding memory as source and subject* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 31.

⁹⁴ Lindsey Dodd, 'Small fish, big pond: Using a single oral history narrative to reveal broader social change' in Joan Tumblety (ed.) *Memory and History: Understanding memory as source and subject* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 36.

⁹⁵ Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*, p. 13.

production.⁹⁶ The involvement of various characters, as Paul Thompson has argued, creates a more democratic history as the historian can choose who to interview and what to ask.⁹⁷ However, this can be challenged in the sense that it depends on the historian deciding who and what is relevant. While the argument is persuasive, it should also be noted that much of the end product largely depends on the historian. The questions that are asked, how the accounts are recorded also fall on the motives and agenda of the historian. Therefore, questions of positionality and ethics are of paramount importance. This inquiry into the history of protest in Bethanie came as a result of my personal history with Bethanie, having lived there for a large portion of my adolescence, which provided both its own challenges and advantages. For example, during the research process, especially in the context of me asking younger community members about the violence of the recent protest, a few threats of physical violence were made towards me that made me reconsider whether it was an advantage at all to write about Bethanie. Yet, my so-called 'insider' status undoubtedly enabled me to build networks of trust with people in the community and draw upon my pre-existing social networks in conducting my interviews. Another challenge that arose as a result the periodisation of my study (wanting to focus on events as far back as the 1950s) meant that I had to listen closely to the narrators, especially in the case of asking about Mabidibidi, as there were only a handful of residents able to recall and participate in the interviews. Furthermore, while some of the older residents could recall rich details and a much longer history of the Bakwena ba Mogopa than what is available in existing secondary literature, they generally tended to confuse dates of Mabidibidi. While some interviewees separated the

⁹⁶ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history* (New York: Longman Publishing, 1991), p. 212.

⁹⁷ Paul Thompson, 'The Voice of the Past: Oral history' in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds) *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 29.

events of Mabidibidi in periods of various 'wars', others narrated Mabidibidi as a single episode of struggle. Fortunately, some of the participants were eyewitnesses to some of the events of Mabidibidi; however, compromised by their young age at the time, the narration of Mabidibidi was not easy.

One of the assumptions leading to this project is that while Bethanie does not have a consistent history of violent protest, there was surely some kind of experience and repertoires that the protestors in September 2018 were drawing from. For the oral historian, according to Portelli, 'our sense of what is practicable in the future is formed by an awareness of what has happened in the past. We learn, in short, by experience.'⁹⁸ There are no written records of how protests in Bethanie have taken place over time; however, collective memories of violent protests in the 1970s have not died over time. Investigating the history of Bethanie has provided various explanations that were not expected.

Interviews

Moving from the theoretical aspects of oral history as a methodology, this research was conducted over a period of four years (three if we include the ground work provided from Honours) and interviews were mostly focused in the months of November and December 2019. Oral history offers the historian the chance of not just discovering sources but to be part of creating them.⁹⁹ The participants of this research were selected based on their residency in Bethanie. This included a diverse group of people, such as the old, the young and

⁹⁸ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 1.

⁹⁹ Alessandro Portelli, 'What makes oral History Different', p. 40.

the in-between. Men and women. Bakwena ba Mogopa or non-Bakwena ba Mogopa. Most importantly, it included people who participated in the protest and those that did not.

Oral history also faces challenges of gender. Not only does this affect the oral historian, it also affects the interviewee. To further elaborate on my position, I am a young black female, who conducted research on the history of Bethanie and how violence has featured and shaped the community, in a patriarchal traditional community. My participants consisted of both men and women of various ages. According to Lindsey Dodd, gender affects the narration of events in oral history. This is in terms of how the historian is perceived and received. Dodd's experience in collecting oral sources has led to the conclusion that women being interviewed are likely to narrate experiences and events through relationships while men put themselves in the centre as individuals.¹⁰⁰ However, Dodd further argues that while gender typically affects the recollection of history, the interviewees are not bound by such distinctions.¹⁰¹ The recent protest in Bethanie included various genders and generations in the community and the interviewees of this research reflect the dynamics observed.

The participants were interviewed based on their past experiences and/or involvement in protest in Bethanie. A snowballing selection was used to identify interviewees. The initial targeted number of interviews was 30 people. This included men and women, young and old, including generations of the 1970s and 1980s, as well as the millennials. In November of 2019, I left the university to begin conducting interviews. This was just after I had come back disappointed from the Mafikeng Archives in the North West. Enthusiastically, I began to set

¹⁰⁰ Lindsey Dodd, 'Small fish, big pond: Using a single oral history narrative to reveal broader social change' in Joan Tumblety (ed.) *Memory and History: Understanding memory as source and subject* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 36.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

up interviews with various people I had already met during the process of researching my honours project. I conducted interviews with various men and women, young and old. I came across several challenges which included dismissal, belittling and constant avoidance by various people.

One of the young men that I knew from the time I went to middle school agreed for me to interview him at the 'marketplace'.¹⁰² He later changed his mind because he saw a ring on my finger. Some of the young women I met and interviewed made remarks about how I was still in school, and the research was just homework. 'Shame ... we will help you with your homework because we also want people to help our kids with homework when they ask for help'. This was a common comment that I received from young women of my age. One of the terrifying comments I got was from a man, who is a local taxi owner in the village, who said that people might want to burn my parents' house because of all the questions I was asking about the protest. In his comment, he was protecting me. This made me wonder about what conducting research as an 'insider' meant and the perceptions that were formed around my presence and duality as both an insider and investigator. 'Some people might burn down your parents' house also made me question what the taxi driver was saying, as a person in between. I began to read the taxi owner and driver as a person that is constantly in touch with information due to the nature of the business. Information directly or indirectly is constantly at his disposal, with people speaking to him or to others in his presence. One of the participants was a strong ANC supporter and veteran and what he called a 'compatriot' defined by him as a student of the ANC. He insisted on being interviewed at a tavern, where

¹⁰² The marketplace in this particular insistence refers to the recruitment center that people go to look for work. It is used interchangeably with the recruitment center.

he proceeded to drink and talk about his times in exile. The interview was uncomfortable and very noisy. I was also invited to a *lekgotla* meeting by one of the 'royal' men in the village and I quickly rushed to the *lekgotla*, in my jeans, t-shirt and a headwrap. I entered quietly and sat on the floor by the wall at the back. I quickly realized that there were only men in the meeting and one of them that was sitting on the floor near me whispered to me 'do you know that this meeting is only for men?' Shaken by that question, another man in the front asked the man who was conducting the meeting to chase me out. I did not wait to be told and quickly walked out. The man that invited me to the meeting was trying to make a case to them that I am a student and a member of this community and that he thought it was important for me to be there. I could hear the commotion from outside and the man followed me outside. He explained to me that the men did not want me there and according to him, they were 'backward'. We then agreed that we would meet after the meeting.

After having conducted 22 formal interviews and recorded conversations with more than 10 different individuals, I lost all my data due to a failure with my online storage system. This was after I had arrived back in Johannesburg and had told my supervisor and the SWOP student cohort that I never wanted to conduct research in Bethanie again. While I was planning to initiate plans of making my work accessible to the community, I believed I had no interest in doing further work in the area, for my own peace of mind and because my family continues to reside there. I was forced to then go back with my tail between my legs and ask again to conduct interviews. While I was not successful in speaking to all the people I had spoken to, I was able to conduct interviews with new people. This took place in December 2019 and a busy time in the village. There were weddings, church confirmations, funerals and parties that

people were busy with. The individual participants that were interviewed were not necessarily intended to give a generalised view of the historical process of the shift from nonviolent protest to violent protest, however, it is important to note that;

Individuals can be used in two ways: first, as exceptional people who led exceptional lives. Such individuals are useful because of their specificity, because of what makes them unique. Second, they are useful as ordinary people who do not stand out because of illustrious or nefarious deeds, who are historical in their generality, not their particularity. Without denying their individuality, such people make up the broad swathes of society whose aggregated decisions, motives and actions 'influenced history' and were influenced by it.¹⁰³

While the individual interviewees' stories are not intended to be representative of all Bethanie residents, their stories may be seen as having some representative or generalisable potential.¹⁰⁴ As Samuel and Thompson have highlighted (quoted by Dodd), 'the individuality of each life is not 'an awkward impediment to generalisation', but offers opportunities to understand the social groups in which those individuals are embedded.'¹⁰⁵ These individuals spoken of also exist in a society where power dynamics are important. The power struggle between the interviewer and interviewee may arise. This power relation is not always necessarily situated in the hands of the interviewer. Experienced interviewees are capable of dictating the power dynamics through pace and direction. While the interviewer has their

¹⁰³ Lindsey Dodd, 'Small fish, big pond: Using a single oral history narrative to reveal broader social change', p. 40.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ See R. Samuel and P. Thompson (eds) *The Myths We Live By* (London: Routledge, 1990), p.2 quoted by Lindsey Dodd, 'Small fish, big pond: Using a single oral history narrative to reveal broader social change' in Joan Tumblety (ed.) *Memory and History: Understanding memory as source and subject* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 41.

own interests and questions, interviewees have their own reasons for telling stories and which particular stories. Various reasons can be attributed to this, ranging from telling stories for therapeutic purposes or self-recognition.¹⁰⁶ Interviewees are also likely to see the interviewer on the basis of age and gender 'as a young, inexperienced boy or girl who is uninformed about the ways of the past and therefore treat you like a child.'¹⁰⁷ Interviewing the younger generation in Bethanie posed a number of challenges, one being education. This is in light of the fact that I had attended middle school with some of my participants and some did not have the same opportunities that I received. However, it provided some opportunities such as some young women permitting me to interview them because they felt sorry for me for still being in school and having to do 'homework'. Some young men refused to speak to me even though they had previously agreed to because of a ring I had on my finger. Approximately three young men I knew from middle school refused for me to interview them because of my ring which they explained to my male friends.

Some older men refused to speak to me because they did not want to be 'caught' by their wives speaking to a young girl alone. A few older women in their 80s agreed to speak to me but not to be recorded; however, they did share with me some documents, stories and pictures. Many of the interviews with the older residents took the entire day, and I was taken to the grave site twice by different participants that wanted to emphasise their knowledge of the history of Bethanie. The two participants used the gravesite as a space to recall and narrative their stories and the history of their families and community. This also assisted them with chronology. One of the interviews was conducted at a noisy tavern because the

¹⁰⁶ Sekibakiba P. Lekgoathi, 'Voices of Our Past: Oral Testimony and Teaching History', p. 48.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

participant insisted that was the place they felt comfortable with. One of the taxi drivers who were involved in the transportation of protestors to the magistrate's court when arrests were made insinuated that my family's home might be burned down if I continued to ask questions regarding the recent protest. These are just some of the challenges I faced in the field. However, the advantage I had as an interviewer was being a cultural insider and being able to speak the language of my interviewees.

Archival research

Part of the research for this thesis included an investigation of state archival sources. I travelled to Mafikeng to access the archival repository of the 'President's Office' in the North West Provincial Archives in order to establish the relationship between the former Bophuthatswana president, the chieftainship in Bethanie, the mine and community members and more generally to engage with material on Bethanie from earlier periods. Unfortunately, I found very little archival material detailing instances of protest in Bethanie outside of the many records pertaining to land disputes by the various Bakwena ba Mogopa chiefs in various areas outside of Bethanie throughout the twentieth century. This lack of success in finding relevant sources to help me understand the question of violence and protest in Bethanie was despite the fantastic support I received from the staff in the Provincial archives. Most of the useful sources have been newspaper reports, digitized from the Historical Papers Archival Records collection, found on the Wits University website. As such, my own experience of conducting research with sources from the colonial-cum-apartheid state archives have led me to echo Lekgoathi's conclusion that:

Given the silences, distortions and gaps in archival records on the histories of the poor South Africans generally, and especially the rural masses, oral evidence seemed and proved to be a critical resource and indispensable source of knowledge, through which our lost history could be recovered and preserved.¹⁰⁸

As a final note on this issue of research method and archives, it is worth noting that social media has become a dominant platform in this day and age. During the protest in Bethanie, protestors and observers used social media to not only connect with each other and coordinate protest activities but to also share their views and experiences with other people outside of Bethanie as the protest was unfolding. I have been fortunate to receive photographs of what was shared during the time of the protest in Bethanie through WhatsApp and Facebook and these have been included as sources for this research. One of the biggest challenges with the use of social media as archives is that the archives are temporary, impermanent and thus not always reliably accessible. However, because of my presence at the protest and constant communication with family and friends, I was able to collect some of the shared material during the protest, and store recordings on a password protected laptop. While the social media posts were studied for context, they were not used as referenced sources or in any other way as the people were not interviewed. They were mainly used to try and understand debates and views that were shared about the protests.

Ethics

¹⁰⁸ Sekibakiba P. Lekgoathi, 'Voices of Our Past: Oral Testimony and Teaching History', p. 45.

This research was highly dependent on human beings which required various measures to be taken in addressing conversations around violence in the community. I conducted the interviews on a voluntary basis as well as insuring and upholding confidentiality of my research participants. I offered my interviewees the option of remaining anonymous or ending the interview at any time. Most importantly, I informed my interviewees of the proposed research aims and objectives. The interviews consisted of signing of a consent form by my participants and leaving the information sheets with them in case of any queries. The consent form was translated into Setswana which is the language spoken by most residents of Bethanie. The moment when a researcher begins interacting with participants, ethical issues arise.¹⁰⁹ While researchers have the right to conduct scientific research, this should not be done at the expense of other people's rights. Taking part in a research project should be voluntary. Based on the voluntary participation in the research, I upheld confidentiality and anonymity which will be assured at all stages. I will be conscious of any forms of harm or injury that may affect my participants and even hope to prevent it. In a study such as this, language has proven to be important, not only when speaking to participants but also when describing and characterising them. This study looks at the history of the Bakwena ba Mogopa, who have been historically referred to as a 'tribe'. While some participants may still use this language, it is important to highlight its contested nature. A lot of scholarly work has been conducted on what the notion 'tribe' implies and means. In this study, the word tribe is used in direct quotations; however, it does not go unchallenged. As a result of engaging with earlier historical sources that use the language of tribe and ethnicity, I believe that it is important that I state very clearly my position and understanding of these concepts.

¹⁰⁹ E Babbie and J Mouton, 'The ethics and politics of social research', in E Babbie and J Mouton, *The Practice of Social Research* (South African edition), (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 2001), 20.

Chapter One consists of the outline of the research topic, rationale, key questions of the study, a basic literature review, methodology and a note on ethical practice.

Chapter Two focuses on Mabidibidi. The story of Mabidibidi exists in the mental archives of the older residents of Bakwena ba Mogopa, as stories which are sparingly shared and sometimes exposed in interesting and unexpected moments in conversations with the elderly. Quickly, it is dismissed, and we moved on. This chapter explores the various stories of Mabidibidi, its meanings, remaining memories and mostly, the pauses and silences which characterise its present-day narration by elders in Bethanie. The chapter will further explore the broader politics of South Africa, narrowly exploring the legislation targeted at the 'rural'.

Chapter Three draws on the protests that erupted during the intervening period between Mabidibidi war and 2018 protest. This intermediate period, particularly post 1994, is categorised by small pockets of protests. That is to say that the protests did not amount to large scale collective mobilisation in the scale of Mabidibidi and the 2018 protest. The protest that will be largely discussed is the elongated protest against the chieftaincy. While there was mobilisation of people, it mostly comprises of a generation older than the youth and the focus was on traditional leadership. Here, I discuss how the changes in Bethanie from a war period to a changing political and economic landscape shaped ideas about peace in Bethanie.

Chapter Four looks at the September 2018 protest more broadly. It looks at its genesis, the grievances expressed by its constituents and its outcomes. Most importantly, it analyses the function of violence in the protest. Moreover, this chapter discusses the changing coexistence of traditional leadership, local government and mining, and the ways in which this relationship shaped the protest. It argues that the protest of 2018 is evidence of personal violence and structural violence being parallel rather than being alternatives.

Finally, the Conclusion – provides a summary of the arguments made throughout the chapters. It looks at the protests that have erupted in Bethanie and violent events that have accompanied the various moments of contention. While the events of Mabidibidi are discussed in this work, there is still so much that we do not understand about it. There are few similarities and differences that we can draw from for the purpose of understanding Bethanie. However, it cannot be exhaustive. You cannot understand the question of violence in isolation. It requires looking beyond disciplines. When we talk about protest, violence is implicit.

CHAPTER TWO:

Chieftainship, the Church and the Mabidibidi 'Wars' in Bethanie, 1866-1950

Let everyone be subject to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established. The authorities that exist have been established by God. Consequently, whoever rebels against the authority is rebelling against what God has instituted, and those who do so will bring judgement on themselves. For rulers hold no terror for those who do right, but for those who do wrong. Do you want to be free from fear of the one in authority? Then do what is right and you will be commended. For the one in authority is God's servant for your good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for rulers do not bear the sword for no reason. They are God's servants, agents of wrath to bring punishment on the wrong doer. Therefore, it is necessary to submit to the authorities, not only because of possible punishment but also as a matter of conscience. This is also why you pay taxes, for the authorities are God's servants, who give their full time to governing. Give to everyone what you owe them: If you owe taxes, pay taxes; if revenue, then revenue; if respect, then respect; if honour, then honour.¹

Introduction

¹ Romans 13, The New International Version (NIV), verse 1-7. This verse is about submission to governing authorities. It was quoted by Koko Meme consistently during a conversation about traditional authorities in Bethanie. The linking of traditional authorities and religion in Bethanie can be traced as far back as the late 1860s. This can be seen with the influence that the missionaries have had in the area in the previous chapter. It is also important to note that the community of the Bakwena ba Mogopa, though now in various churches, is overwhelmingly Christian and this had a profound influence on the way people engage in various capacities in the village.

The Bakwena ba Mogopa are not a monolithic group, nor do they have a linear history of resistance and protest. In the book *Land, Chiefs, Mines*, Andrew Manson and Bernard Mbenga noted that by the turn of the twentieth century, the Bakwena ba Mogopa were a divided community. Among many things were issues regarding land purchases by the Bakwena ba Mogopa residing in areas such as Hebron and Jericho in the Hammanskraal magistry, north of Pretoria.² The Bakwena ba Mogopa in Bethanie dealt with conflict manifesting in the form of disputes in the church and the institution of chieftaincy for example. These recurring contention episodes are commonly referred to as Mabidibidi by the elderly Bakwena in Bethanie. The word Mabidibidi has been one of the biggest enigmas in this research. Throughout the interviews with elders in Bethanie, no one was able to provide a clear meaning of the word. A praise poem for Kgosi (Chief) Kgalushi, which has its origins in a war fought by the Hananwa against Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) in 1894 alludes to Mabidibidi meaning booming cannons – cannon balls flying in the air.³ The naming of the war or conflict as Mabidibidi remains an open-ended topic of discussion. Drawing from struggles from surrounding communities of Bakwena ba Mogopa, conflict ensued in Bethanie between some members of the church and the missionaries. Later, this war was initiated by some members of the Bakwena ba Mogopa in the village of Bethanie. The history of Bethanie is inextricably linked to the history of the Hermannsburg Mission Society and the missionaries that came to Bethanie. This chapter will speak to key moments that lead to Mabidibidi such as the land issues, the roles of missionaries and chieftaincy of the Bakwena ba Mogopa. It will

² Manson Andrew and Mbenga Bernard, *Land Chiefs Mining: South Africa's North West Province since 1840* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2014), p. 75.

³ Annekie Joubert and J. A. Schalkwyk, *War and Remembrance: The Power of Oral Poetry and the Politics of Hananwa Identity*, p. 59 transcribed in Hananwa- a Northern Sotho dialect and translated into English

also show how the war called Mabidibidi shaped the village of Bethanie, reinforcing the tensions that had been existing, for example around the issue of special demarcation.

Some members of the Bakwena ba Mogopa described the community of Bethanie as a family. In the words of Adolf Mahuma, 'people in Bethanie are a family, even when they fight, there is no one killed'.⁴ This chapter attempts to understand how violence shaped Bethanie by taking space seriously as an important aspect of protest. The chapter relies on secondary materials as the main source of evidence, largely Bammann's summary of the establishment of the Mission station in Bethanie, as well as oral and archival sources.⁵ I will argue here that within the historical context of Mabidibidi, space was an important factor that shaped popular resistance and the manifestation of violence therein. This can be seen, I will argue, in the ways in which the events of Mabidibidi are invoked by residents of Bethanie in their present-day understandings and experiences of popular politics and protest.

Contextualizing Bethanie village

A missionary by the name of W. H. Behrens established a mission station of the Hermannsburg Mission in 1864 in Mantabule and later renamed it Bethanie. Behrens assisted the Bakwena ba Mogopa to buy the farm owned by Paul Kruger where they were residing and transferred the

⁴ Adolf Mahuma, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 11 April 2022. (Translated)

⁵ I would like to make a note that the book by Bammann was not available during the time of this study. Although it was meant to be introduced to the Bakwena in Bethanie in the Lutheran church in 2015, on the 150 years celebration, this was not possible. Few that were distributed were tightly held to. However, the abridged version was distributed in the Lutheran church and extended to me. There were many praises and some critics of the book. The praises in the form of having the history of the church documented and made into a book were overwhelming among church members. However, details such as referring to opposition men as drunkards was not taken well. Bammann's work also requires a close critical look as it centres the missionaries and their work. The framing of people that disagreed with the missionaries should also be interrogated. Moreover, the use of the term tribe by Bammann is problematic due to various debates in historiography. The term tribe does not account for the fluid, fluctuating and multi-ethnic character of communities as scholars like Manson and Mbenga have argued.

land to Bakwena ba Mogopa in 1896.⁶ Jakobus Lerothodi More Mamogale was the kgosi during the time of the land transfer. This enabled the Bakwena ba Mogopa in Bethanie to own the land they lived on before the Natives Land Act was passed in 1913. The missionary Behrens was instrumental to organising the Bakwena ba Mogopa in Bethanie. He encouraged the building of houses systematically, the writing of a 'constitution' and had previously asked Paul Kruger to lease the farm which Bakwena ba Mogopa referred to as Mantabule to the congregation in 1866.⁷ Those who had not converted to Christianity were not excluded from the community and hence contributed to the building of Bethanie with either their resources and/or labour. The conversion to Christianity also represented a marker of difference in terms of those that wanted to continue with their traditional practices as Christians and those that let the traditional beliefs behind. Much like in the Pedi domain, the importance of missionaries did not automatically lead to people being converted to Christianity.⁸ Bakwena ba Mogopa did not have many resources; however, because of the lease Behrens signed with Paul Kruger, they were able to cultivate the land and graze their cattle.⁹ Although Bakwena ba Mogopa were working hard by trying to increasing their resources, there was no cash funds and hence Behrens turned to the Hermannsburg Mission Society for help which assisted in purchasing half of the farm in 1867.¹⁰ Two years later the congregation along with other members of the community had accumulated enough to purchase the rest of the farm.¹¹

During my initial (honours mini-dissertation) research in 2018, I spoke to a man by the name Mr Motsoai, who is a member and one of the leaders in the Lutheran church currently

⁶ Bammann, *Bethanie in Transvaal*, p. 26.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁸ Delius, *The Land Belongs to Us*, p. 110.

⁹ Bammann, *Bethanie in Transvaal*, 19.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

(sometimes referred to as *kereke e tsweu* /the white church) and a resident in Bethanie. He mentioned that according to the records of the white/Lutheran church, the land was transferred to the *morafe* of Bakwena ba Mogopa, even though the initial plan was to transfer it to people that had converted to Christianity in the Lutheran church'.¹²

Another participant, Bertha Kgarodi, said that Bakwena ba Mogopa bought land as a group. She also noted that some sold their cattle to raise the money required to contribute. However, the land belonged to all the Bakwena ba Mogopa and not individual families. She added that in meetings of the community, after land was bought, people would be asked to go occupy the new farm and the process worked voluntarily.¹³ She recalled that the people that moved to the various farms such as Hebron and Jericho originally came from Bethanie. Manson and Mbenga argued that the Hermannsburg Mission Society were entangled in a legal conflict where they eventually transferred farms of Jericho and Hebron to their Christian converts.¹⁴ This raised issues of whether the land would be registered in 'the name of the minister of native affairs (as was the legal stipulation) in favour of the whole of the chiefdom, or only the beneficiaries concerned'.¹⁵

The community of the Bakwena ba Mogopa faced many challenges throughout the 1900s. In the 1920s in Bethanie, the issue of land was most contested. This was amongst the Bakwena ba Mogopa in Jericho and involved all other Bakwena ba Mogopa communities such as Bethanie. Kgosi Johannes Otto More Mamogale was faced with multiple challenges regarding

¹² Motsoai, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 29 March 2018. The white church was the first Lutheran church built in Bethanie. It remains to be called the white church, not only because of the color of paint, but to also distinguish it from the Bakwena Lutheran church that was formed by members that broke away from the Lutheran church. More of this discussion will be made clear in the chapter.

¹³ Bertha Kgarodi, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 29 March 2018.

¹⁴ Andrew Manson and Bernard Mbenga, *Land Chiefs, Mining*, p. 75

¹⁵ Ibid.

land in his communities. Andrew Manson and Bernard Mbenga argued that ‘during the years 1900 to 1940, many of the African chiefdoms in the bushveld were struck by dissension and what one historian, Graeme Simpson, has termed ‘crises of control’.¹⁶ They further argued that this was partly because of past events as well as the communities increasing involvement and engagement with the colonial world.¹⁷ Moreover, they stressed that ‘disputes over land acquisition and other material interests resulted in conflict, either among ruling factions or between the dikgosi and their followers, often united in opposition to the chieftainship in a ‘popular’ alliance’.¹⁸ This particular point on land will be further discussed in chapter three, while this present chapter focuses on the events before and during Mabidibidi from 1866 to 1940 that include the conflicts around missionaries and the traditional leadership.

The church and missionaries 1866- 1940

At the close of the 19th century Africans started to make tentative attempts towards independence, and to resist the European church traditions implemented by the missionaries. This also meant that the missionaries’ supremacy was called into question. This protest registered by responsibly-minded Africans who seceded from the mission congregations emphasised their own cultural elements – including those of the African traditional religion – and frequently incorporated these into their church services.¹⁹

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 63.

¹⁷ Andrew Manson and Bernard Mbenga, *Land Chiefs, Mining*, p. 63.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Heinrich Bammann, *Bethanie in Transvaal: North West Province of South Africa from 1864 to 1940* Abridged version of the book Heinrich Bammann, ‘The Bakwena ba Mogopa in the North West Province of South Africa 1864-1940’, p. 28.

Here, Bammann tries to show how protests began among the Bakwena ba Mogopa mainly calling into question the authority of missionaries. Scholars that have touched on the history of the Bakwena ba Mogopa, whether extensively or in part, have tended to write off the group as an exceptional case particularly in matters regarding violence, protest and/or resistance. Bakwena ba Mogopa and other residents in Bethanie in general perceive of themselves as peaceful people and refer to Bethanie as a peaceful place. While there may be a reason to this, violence continues to reoccur and shape them while in turn they shape it. In the 20th century, the trend of protest was also apparent in the Hermannsburg congregations. Bammann wrote that although the Bakwena ba Mogopa in other communities used spectacular forms of resistance, Bethanie was an exception in this regard.²⁰ He insinuates that the Bakwena in Bethanie did not have any experience of revolt or experienced very little of it. From the 1864, the Bakwena ba Mogopa had a missionary situated in the village of Bethanie and as Bammann argued, the revolts in Bethanie, when they did eventually manifest, came from 'outside' influences. Pointing towards outsiders as instigators of violence is a common theme within historical narrations of community politics in Bethanie. Bammann, however, does not account for rhythms of resistance which I will elaborate on later in the chapter.²¹ The congregation in Bethanie was led by two missionaries Wilhelm Behrens Senior and later Wilhelm Behrens Junior, however, in Makolokwe, the two missionaries would delegate responsibilities such as in the largest outstation Makolokwe comprising of 450 members in

²⁰ Heinrich Bammann, *Bethanie in Transvaal: North West Province of South Africa from 1864 to 1940* Abridged version of the book Heinrich Bammann, 'The Bakwena ba Mogopa in the North West Province of South Africa 1864-1940', p. 28.

²¹ A concept used to explain presence or absence of resistance by Noor Nieftagodien in a chapter titled: Popular Movements, Contentious Spaces and the ANC, 1943-1956, in Arianna Lissoni, Jon Soske, Natasha Erlank, Noor Nieftagodien and Omar Badsha eds., *One hundred years of the ANC: Debating liberation histories today* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press and SAHO, 2012), p. 136

1894.²² Makolokwe and other surrounding areas of the Bakwena ba Mogopa were considered as outstations. Makolokwe (approximately 8 km from Bethanie) had two noticeable church elders Zadock More and Simon Kau were the leaders in the congregation and Koos Segale was selected as a teacher of 150 children.²³

As Delius shows in his study of Sekhukhuneland, 'the most profound divisions that men and women remember in most villages in these decades [1900s to 1930s] was between the baditšhaba (those of the community) and a small minority of Bakristi (Christians). Christians usually lived in distinct areas of villages known as setaseng (derived from mission station)'.²⁴ Similarly, in Bethanie the people who converted to Christianity lived separately from other people who maintained their traditional beliefs. This is not to say that there were no prior divisions in the community, but it suggests that the community divisions were intensified by the missionary establishment. There has been little discussion of these tensions prior to the revolts in Makolokwe. It can be inferred that Makolokwe became the spark that ignited the fire in Bethanie. Makolokwe people had two options for churches, one being the outstation set up by the Lutheran church and the second being the Bapedi Lutheran church. The Lutheran church was in Makolokwe and the Bapedi Lutheran church in Klipton, a stone-throw away from Makolokwe. Salomon Ntholi was appointed by the Hermannsburg Mission to teach in the school in Klipton.²⁵ Ntholi was a critic of the missionaries, and he was pursuing contact

²² Heinrich Bammann, Bethanie in Transvaal: North West Province of South Africa from 1864 to 1940' Abridged version of the book Heinrich Bammann, 'The Bakwena ba Mogopa in the North West Province of South Africa 1864-1940', p. 28. An outstation refers to an extension of the main church in surrounding areas.

²³ Heinrich Bammann, Bethanie in Transvaal: North West Province of South Africa from 1864 to 1940' Abridged version of the book Heinrich Bammann, 'The Bakwena ba Mogopa in the North West Province of South Africa 1864-1940', p. 28.

²⁴ Peter Delius, *A Lion Amongst The Cattle: Reconstruction and Resistance in the Northern Transvaal* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1996) p. 25.

²⁵ Heinrich Bammann, Bethanie in Transvaal, p. 34.

with the independence movement of the 'Ethiopians', which was spreading over the entire Southern African region.²⁶ He managed to influence other outstations such as in Makolokwe, Marakane and Naanalirane and there were several people who were sympathetic to him.²⁷

It is unclear what the role of education or what other influences shaped the political subjectivity and actions of Ntholi. However, it is clear, as Erlank has argued, that there was a relationship, albeit an obscure one, between Ethiopianism and African Nationalism within collective political formations in rural spaces such as Bethanie at the turn of the century.²⁸ The number of school children in Makolokwe had risen to about 300 at the time. Following the death of Behrens senior, the Mission Society moved H. Meyer to Bethanie as a second missionary. In Makolokwe the two missionaries, Behrens junior and Meyer, had increased the number of teachers to six. The teacher noted that Ntholi used the case of Makolokwe as an opportunity particularly for its influence as an outstation.²⁹ Without equating religion with resistance, it is important to recognise the influence religion might or might not have had in Bethanie. Extensive research has been conducted to probe the relationship between Christianity and black nationalism broadly. However, this is not to suggest that the rise of black nationalism is as a result of mission education.³⁰ Natasha Erlank quotes P. Walshe on Christianity and African nationalism as follows:

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Natasha Erlank, 'Christianity and African Nationalism in South Africa in the first half of the twentieth century', in Arianna Lissoni, Jon Soske, Natasha Erlank, Noor Nieftagodien and Omar Badsha eds, *One hundred years of the ANC: Debating liberation histories today* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press and SAHO, 2012), p. 78.

²⁹ Heinrich Bammann, *Bethanie in Transvaal*, p. 29.

³⁰ Natasha Erlank, 'Christianity and African Nationalism in South Africa in the first half of the twentieth century', p. 79.

The origin of African political consciousness in southern Africa can be traced back to the first half of the nineteenth century, to the impact of the Christian missions and to the development of a non-racial constitution at the Cape ... The expectation of progressive involvement in a modern state was bolstered by several additional factors. The most important of these stemmed from Christian missionary education, an education which provided moral principles for individual righteousness. Given the questioning and often partial rejection of tribal ethics and organisation, these principles were then extended to social and political activity, so providing the motivation, not for political assertion, but for moral appeals to justice even if these moral appeals were not backed up by effective political organisation.³¹

The struggles of Mabidibidi gave expression to the material grievances and experiences of people in Bethanie. In this chapter, I agree with Natasha Erlank, that it is far too simplistic to equate Christianity to anti-colonial/African nationalism. This chapter is however not concerned with the religiosity in Bethanie but looks at the events of mission establishment and relations with the community of Bethanie as a lens to interrogate resistance politics in the community. Church has been the space of contention. Furthermore, the importance of space in how it shapes these politics. Church has also been a space of reconciliation. *Meletlo ya mariga*/winter celebrations is an example of people from different views and churches came together. This also interrogates the idea of Bakwena ba Mogopa in Bethanie being a peaceful people, and where that may have stemmed from.

³¹ Natasha Erlank, 'Christianity and African Nationalism in South Africa in the first half of the twentieth century', in Arianna Lissoni, Jon Soske, Natasha Erlank, Noor Nieftagodien and Omar Badsha eds, *One hundred years of the ANC: Debating liberation histories today* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press and SAHO, 2012), p. 77. P Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress 1912- 1952* (London: C Hurst, 1970), 1-7.

The idea of individual human sovereignty present in Christian theology influenced many black nationalists towards anti-colonial politics even though not always explicitly. Manson and Mbenga highlighted that the sub-commissioners of Hebron and Jericho argued that the predominantly Christian community of the Bakwena ba Mogopa had 'adopted the principles of democracy to a greater extent than non-Christians'.³² However, as argued above, this far too simplistic as Christianity does not equate to democracy. The insurrection began in Makolokwe when H. Meyer (a missionary delegated by Behrens senior) had refused to baptise the child of a family because the father had declined to pay his church fees.³³ While the man in this case is highlighted because of his refusal to pay for his child fees, this does not mean that the mother or women were not affected by such acts. Even with the lack of evidence, it can be deduced that this may have had an impact on the mother- who may perhaps have been a member of the church. This example also does not take detail the circumstances of the man or his household income or responsibilities. Women have been historically written about as responsible for households hence the concern of how this may have affected the mother arises. However, to move from this speculation, the teacher Ntoli and other congregates took the opportunity and sided with the father by initiating a revolt against the missionaries and the congregation and placing himself at the helm of this movement. He called a public meeting to which both the Christians and the non-Christians were invited to

³² Manson and Mbenga, *Land Chiefs Mining*, p.77. Although Ernest Stubbs was the native commissioner of Marico district, Manson and Mbenga also noted that he was supported the sub-commissioners of Hebron and Jericho in the sentiment made about the Bakwena ba Mogopa and Christianity. However, Manson and Mbenga do acknowledge that it is a strong twist of reason because it assumes that Christianity is inherently democratic.

³³ Heinrich Bammann, Bethanie in *Transvaal: North West Province of South Africa from 1864 to 1940* Abridged version of the book Heinrich Bammann, *'The Bakwena ba Mogopa in the North West Province of South Africa 1864-1940'*, p. 29.

attend. The kgosi was not informed and the missionaries did not attend.³⁴ The act indicates that there were already popular issues with the authority of the missionaries and the congregation and kgosi that was seen to be sympathetic to the missionaries.³⁵ Bammann notes that the chief saw this as an internal church matter; however, the act of insurrection by the people in Makolokwe created tension particularly with their chief and chieftains that began to constantly re-evaluate their alliances. The kgosi at this time was Motsile Johannes Otto More Mamogale, also known as Motsile II.³⁶ In 1908, kgosana More of Makolokwe and the missionaries agreed to convene a church meeting, to which the congregation of the Bakwena ba Mogopa from Hebron and Jericho, who were subject to the 'paramount' chief at Bethanie, were also invited. The meeting began on the 25th of December 1908 and lasted for three days.³⁷ A seven-point programme was adopted by the attendees one of them that stipulated that the missionaries had the right to demand a fee for baptism.³⁸ The rest of the points were about bring change in the congregation. The consequence of this brief conflict favoured the missionary but left a bitter taste in the mouths of the congregates that disagreed with him about refusing to baptise the child. Erlank argued that Christianity was an organisational principle for anti-colonial politics.³⁹ While the issue in Makolokwe may have started as a result of contestation over baptism fees, the grievances of the protestors soon escalated and were expressed in relation to the perceived illegitimacy of missionary authority in general.

³⁴ Ibid.:

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ B K M Molokoe, historical background for thesis chapter p. 9.

³⁷ Heinrich Bammann, *Bethanie in Transvaal: North West Province of South Africa from 1864 to 1940* Abridged version of the book Heinrich Bammann, 'The Bakwena ba Mogopa in the North West Province of South Africa 1864-1940', p. 29.

³⁸ Heinrich Bammann, *Bethanie in Transvaal*, p. 29.

³⁹ Natasha Erlank, 'Christianity and African Nationalism in South Africa in the first half of the twentieth century', p. 78.

Following the meeting in Makolokwe, the seven-point programme was forwarded to superintendent Jordt and with the approval of the English school inspector, the nonconforming Ntholi was suspended as a teacher in the service of the Hermannsburg Mission Society. Kgosi Motsile Mamogale made it clear that he was remaining 'neutral' and ordered that the church at Makolokwe, which also served as a school and which had been closed as a result of popular pressure exerted by residents during the conflict, should be reopened. However, the suspension of the teacher did not bring harmony to Makolokwe and the kgosi had to allow the church members who supported Ntholi to break away and form their own church. Paulus Sekati was the first pastor appointed at the new church.⁴⁰ He had a history with the Hermannsburg Mission and moved to join Bapedi Lutheran church.⁴¹ Thus 1908 was the beginning of the division of the church in Makolokwe. The congregation in Makolokwe had experienced considerable growth over the past years with a substantial number of 300 members.⁴² However, a small part of the church had moved to the newly established church under different leadership.

In Bethanie the breakaway was in 1933, that is, 25 years after the secession in Makolokwe in 1908. The start of this secession can be traced to Makolokwe. The public trigger for this was once again provided by a Hermannsburg missionary, at least as far as the opposition members were concerned.⁴³ Bammann argued that both Behrens Senior and Behrens Junior worked well with the community in Bethanie, including the non-Christians in the community. However, they were not exempted from difficulties with the Mission society administration

⁴⁰ Heinrich Bammann, *Bethanie in Transvaal*, p. 30.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

that they reported to. Behrens senior was considered effective in that, he did not allow the tensions between himself and his superiors of HMS to affect his work with the congregation. He managed to get and sustain the support of his congregants and was still able to keep up administratively with his growing congregation.⁴⁴ He delegated responsibilities among his congregation, appointed church elders, formed a church choir and created the Council of 72.⁴⁵ Behrens was buried in the Bakwena ba Mogopa cemetery close to the late traditional leaders, which one could assume that the residents were fond of him. The balatlhegi (non-Christian members)⁴⁶ of the community were also part of the village council that Behrens senior created. This council existed even after Behrens senior died and Behrens junior took over as the missionary.⁴⁷ The missionaries' authority went far beyond the congregation. In some ways, it seems that it took the responsibilities of the colonial government and the chieftaincy especially in terms of organising the Bakwena. Although the missionary archives seem to be mute on conflicts between the missionaries and dikgosi, this silence raises numerous questions. For example, why did they have so much power over the changes that occurred, and how was the chieftaincy effected as an institution of local governance by the functioning of colonial missionary authority in this part of South Africa? One thing is clear, is that the traditional leaders of Bakwena ba Mogopa were very important in creating unity in their community. The building of the new big church in 1891, was community effort. Not only of

⁴⁴ Heinrich Bammann, Bethanie in Transvaal, p. 30-31.

⁴⁵ Ibid. However, the 'Council of 72'- an extended village council, which admittedly could not take any decisions, but which nonetheless discussed all matters pertaining to the village and facilitated the decisions taken by the church council.

⁴⁶ Innocent Mahuma used the word 'balatlhegi' to identify non-Christians. Although she is a Christian herself, she was not comfortable with name 'baheiteni (heathens)' as has been used by other communities such as in Sekhukhune land that Peter Delius writes about extensively in terms of how people who are Christians and non-Christians identify each other. Innocent Mahuma preferred the use of the name because it means the lost ones rather than bahaiteni. Innocent Mahuma, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 11 April 2022. See Peter Delius, *The Land Belongs to Us*, chapter 5 – Converts and Missionaries in the Pedi Domain...

⁴⁷ Heinrich Bammann, Bethanie in Transvaal, p. 31.

the Christians but also of non-Christians.⁴⁸ One clear example of conflict that arose between the missionary and the traditional leadership is that of kgosi Jakobus Lerothodi More Mamogale and Behrens senior. Behrens senior is said to have imposed 'penitentiary measures' on the kgosi. This was after the kgosi had chosen to marry a commoner that the Bakwena ba Mogopa community denied and later said to have impregnated her. Although three years later he laid the foundation for the church in 1891, he was relegated to sitting at the back of the church.⁴⁹ This shows a complicated, yet nonetheless working relationship between the missionaries and the traditional leadership.

Leitlho la Motse, the Village Council: Youth, Women, 'Voortrekekers and the Agtertrekkers, 1930s-1950'

The idea of an extended village council was taken from a Bible story of the Israelites. In Exodus 24, 1.14 and Numeri 11, 16.24-25, Moses was told: 'Gather unto me seventy men of the elders of Israel, whom thou knowest to be the elders of the people, and officers over them...'. Later the number 70 was increased to 72, since this number is more easily divided by 12. The numbers 12 and 72 were the numbers of representatives that were deemed to be sufficient to lead the Bakwena and symbolised completeness.⁵⁰ Because of the prominent role that missionaries and religion played in the establishment of Bethanie, Biblical references or inspiration are very common in the community. The secession which led to the formation of Bakwena Lutheran Church in Bethanie extended over a period of many years. The dispute

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 24. Kgosi Jakobus Lerothodi More Mamogale laid the foundation stone in 1891. Behrens senior supervised while Behrens junior procured material. The local men were grouped together according to their former mophato/circumcision school age group. They took turns to work in two-week shifts. Women cooked for the workers. On the 18th of May 1892 the church was complete.

⁴⁹ Heinrich Bammann, Bethanie in Transvaal, p. 26. The kgosi passed away in 1902 and was buried next to Behrens senior. He is also said to have had friendship with Behrens junior even though he was younger than him.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 31-32.

with its various arguments and views was carried out in a reproachful manner and caused a great deal of damage.⁵¹ The opposition started in Makolokwe and shifted to Bethanie years later in 1933. Behrens junior resigned from the congregation in Bethanie at the age of 74 and had requested the Mission Society to send Karl Buhr from Phalane (situated 93,1km) from Bethanie to be his successor. Buhr arrived at Bethanie in 1928. Five years after the arrival of Buhr in Bethanie (1933), the traditional leadership under kgosi Johannes Otto More Mamogale and the missionary Buhr agreed to build a new school in Makolokwe that will merge two schools three kilometres apart. Buhr and his congregants made 50 000 bricks towards the building of the school.⁵² At this time Makolokwe had two schools, serving the outstation congregation and the members that distanced themselves from the congregation after the suspension of Ntholi. The plans that were made by the kgosi and Mission society would merge the two existing schools which belonged to the Bakwena ba Mogopa community. However, the two schools belonged to two different churches, namely the Bapedi Lutheran Church (a relatively smaller church that had splintered from the Berlin Lutheran Missionary Society) and the outstation church under the Hermannsburg Mission station (which had more learners).⁵³ Both schools were recognised by the Union government; however, the one in Makolokwe, of the first congregation, was held in much higher esteem by state authorities. Buhr assumed the success of the school under the HMS was as a result of administration, good teachers and organised conditions.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 32.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Heinrich Bammann, Bethanie in Transvaal, p. 32.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

Initially there were no objections towards a merger of the two schools; however, it seems clear that Buhr did not view the schools in the same regard. This reignited the earlier tensions that occurred with Meyer and the baptism. The protest against the missionary Karl Buhr was not new in Makolokwe as they had protested his predecessor H. Meyer. Missionary Karl Buhr did not think that he would face challenges from Bethanie. This may be partly explained by the relationship that people in Bethanie had with the previous missionaries. Buhr did not think the decisions that he made would make some people change their minds about him. Buhr demanded to be the superintendent of a new school in Makolokwe which was a merger of the two schools of Klipton and Makolokwe three kilometres apart. Although these schools were both belonged to Bakwena ba Mogopa, Klipton belonged to the Bapedi Lutheran Church and Makolokwe school under Hermannsburg Mission.⁵⁵ At this time Buhr was already responsible for eight schools in and around Bethanie. Moreover, there were some people that believed that church and school should be separate.⁵⁶ Buhr also referred to people that opposed his decisions as rebels in his annual reports.⁵⁷

As mentioned, Buhr was responsible for eight schools in and around Bethanie that were administered by the Hermannsburg Mission Society. But the members of the 'Bapedi Lutheran Church' rejected his demand.⁵⁸ When Buhr insisted on being appointed as the superintendent, this displayed not only arrogance but disrespect on the issues that the oppositional members of the Mission society raised. Members of the Bapedi Lutheran Church in Makolokwe were offended by this action. Members of the Bapedi Lutheran Church were quickly joined by some of Buhrs congregants that disagreed with his decision.⁵⁹ The

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 33.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 34.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 33.

⁵⁹ Heinrich Bammann, *Bethanie in Transvaal*, p. 33.

congregants that are referred to were mainly from Bethanie where Buhr had great support before this his demand. Members from the Bapedi Lutheran church wanted a separation from the church and school. Buhr approached the education authorities in Rustenburg, but his opponents did not. The opponents of Buhr's insistence on being superintended were aggrieved with not only Buhr but kgosana More whom they believed sympathised with Buhr and hence refusing them to oversee their own school.⁶⁰ This created contention among the Bakwena ba Mogopa communities and delayed the building of the new school. Buhr not only called his opponents as rebels but also believed that delay in building the school was their aim.⁶¹ A village council was established in Makolokwe in 1934, like in Bethanie. According to Buhr, the council was welcomed by himself and the kgosi but soon changed its focus from assisting the traditional leadership council to uproar against church superiors and the traditional leadership.⁶² The village council included elder men in the community, of which some were teachers. In Buhr's reports, he wrote that; 'in and of itself we welcome it (the deliberations of the 'village councils'), as it gladdens one to see the black people exhibiting their independence which is beneficial. I have been sympathetic towards this village council for a long time'.⁶³

It appears the village council began to expand in addressing various issues and questioning authority if Buhr's analysis is taken. Two members, who were also teachers from Bethanie assumed leadership roles that hard-pressed for a focus on Bethanie. Moshe Kau was the chairman and Philipp Machele was the secretary.⁶⁴ Bammann argues that because of these

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 34.

two teachers, the focus shifted towards Bethanie and created an opportunity for more members of the congregation of Bethanie to be more involved in the issues that it addressed. This created a platform for people to also look at Buhr more critically, particularly in Bethanie. Buhr's opposition created the slogan 'Buru o tshwanetse go tswa/Buhr must leave Bethanie'.⁶⁵ The growing opposition began to question the chief's support of Buhr in the building of the new school in Makolokwe.⁶⁶ Bammann argues that the growing opposition against Buhr was supported by relatives outside of Bethanie. He makes a specific reference to relatives in Johannesburg who were migrant workers and would come home for religious holidays.⁶⁷ Young people, in particular tended to be support opponents of Buhr and displayed this with 'rowdy, disorderly behaviour towards Buhr in their own way. They attended church services in an inebriated state, slept on the pews and one of them smoked in church. The church elders were able to restore order for the time being.'⁶⁸ This is however Buhr's interpretation. It is not clear why how and why they supported Buhr's opponents as he claims. Perhaps this may be because of the church fees or other explanations which at this moment would be speculative based on available evidence.

Bammann's reading of Buhr's records places young people at the centre. Furthermore, it insinuated that young people engaged in migrant labour were bringing influences back from the cosmopolitan areas where they worked. The school inspector Kriel from Rustenburg had repeatedly attempted to reprimand the two teachers Kau and Machele in Makolokwe and Bethanie to change the direction in which the village council was taking.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Heinrich Bammann, Bethanie in Transvaal, p. 34.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 35.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 37.

When even the chieftain was not taken seriously any longer and those in opposition no longer called themselves village council, but started to publicly arrogate the use of the tribal name to themselves, thereby undermining both the chieftain as well as his tribal council, the chieftain wrote to the government's native commissioner, who passed the letter on to the school inspector.⁷⁰

The school inspector began to frequent Bethanie in late 1938, and in agreement with Buhr decided to transfer the teachers to other schools outside of Bethanie which they subsequently rejected after consulting with the village council and hence decided to leave their teaching posts.⁷¹ These events shifted the focus more effectively to schools as the place of contention. The opposition viewed this decision of the village council to oppose Buhr's decision of moving the teachers as support for them and now proceeded to confront the schools head-on. They drove the children out of their classrooms, defying the schoolmaster, Isaak Poho, who supported Buhr and the kgosi. The schools in Makolokwe and Bethanie were subsequently closed. A court case was opened in Rustenburg. Buhr's sceptics in Makolokwe increased in number and more people in Bethanie began to join them.

This opposition to Buhr was sued for public disruptions of state institutions because of their disruptions at schools, they were found guilty and punished with a fine. Back home they were welcomed like heroes and the small fine was construed as being in their favour. The speedy return strengthened the bond amongst those in opposition. Their demand that Buhr must go

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Heinrich Bammann, *Bethanie in Transvaal*, p. 37.

remained the same throughout.⁷² Buhr received a letter from his opponents which instructed him to leave Bethanie. He did not take this seriously as he claimed that it was not signed by the kgosi or kgosana More in Makolokwe. Later in the year, by December of 1938, around 50 protesters invaded Buhr's house and moved out his furniture trying to force him to leave.⁷³ Behrens junior's sister witnessed this incident and reported it to the kgosi who took it up to the commissioner. Following the report, the commissioner arrived in Bethanie with 15 policemen.⁷⁴ Because there was no damage to Buhr's property, the commissioner recorded the complaints, and thereafter Buhr moved his furniture back into the house.

The actions of Buhr's opposition seems to have been a claim of space, that is, deciding who should live among them and who should be excluded. This is just in the same way that Buhr demanded to lead where he was opposed- that is the school in Makolokwe. Noor Nieftagodien provides a useful term of analysis in mapping out resistance. Although he looks at urban areas, the concept of geographies of resistance is fitting here. For example, 'foregrounding place is especially important in the South African context, where it was deeply implicated in the state and capital's efforts to assert dominance over the black population'.⁷⁵ Of course, in this case we are focusing on the rural community, under traditional leadership and missionary establishment, existing within a state. The intervention of the state in Bethanie was very minimal; the native commissioner together with the police showed up only when called upon, for example, during the school disruptions as well as during the rebels' attempted eviction of Buhr from Bethanie. The opposition not only protested against Buhr

⁷² Ibid., p. 36.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Noor Nieftagodien, *Popular Movements, Contentious Spaces and the ANC, 1943-1956*, in Arianna Lissoni, Jon Soske, Natasha Erlank, Noor Nieftagodien and Omar Badsha eds. *One hundred years of the ANC: Debating liberation histories today* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press and SAHO, 2012), p. 137.

and the church but in other ways also challenged the chief. Although this may be as a result of his stance of neutrality, it shows that the opposition were creating a parallel form of authority.

In the following week, Buhr called a church council meeting that was attended by the two pastors Segale and Mogotsi and nine church elders of which two - Niklaas Machele and Kornelius Sepeng - were reported to have been from the opposition. During this meeting the subject of the constant demand of the opposition that 'Buhr must go' was also addressed. The church elders suggested to Machele and Sepeng to approach Superintendent Behrens in Eben-Ezer with their demands. They did not do so, however, as they suspected that not only the chieftain, but also many of the church elders would not support a complaint against Buhr, and that the superintendent would therefore not respond to their demand.⁷⁶ Perhaps this fear came from the opposition being supported mainly by young people and the fear that the elders did not hold the same sentiment.

The protestors began to gain traction in the community, as seen in the opposition's establishment of their own school where their children were taught separately, thus ensuring a separation from the HMS school in the old church of 1891.⁷⁷ Their children were also removed from confirmation classes that Buhr oversaw and looked for their own pastor. 'They had opted for Khunou, who was rejected by the chieftain as he had also been refused to perform pastoral duties by the neighbouring chieftain at Phokeng'.⁷⁸ Bammann noted that

⁷⁶ Heinrich Bammann, *Bethanie in Transvaal*, p. 37.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

Khunou had defied an order in 1934 and had left the Hermannsburg Mission.⁷⁹ The opposition and their pastor of choice were not bothered by the actions of the kgosi that remained loyal to the Hermannsburg Mission Society. While this did create tension, the opposition continued to work towards their independence from the church.

On 17 September 1938, Khunou wanted to enter the church with his confirmands. Buhr was absent, due to a service he was holding on the outstation of Tshefoge. The church elders barred Khunou from entering and locked the church. The confirmation took place on the homestead of Nikaas Machel. This circumstance elicited a great amount of anger amongst the rebels.⁸⁰

Tensions continued to brew in Bethanie, in mundane ways. Koko Masoni from Makolokwe grew up in the Lutheran church and later married in Bethanie. She insisted that the people who started Mabidibidi were the women who refused to obey the chief.⁸¹ She elaborated on this by saying she 'heard that there were some cheeky women who refused to pay tribute to the chief. So, they were called in and still refused to pay. They were fined, payable with chickens because of their refusal and they were later arrested. This started a commotion in the village and the men then began to fight'.⁸² Maget Mahuma, a woman who came to Bethanie by marrying Adolf Mahuma in 1975 from Makolokwe, is a member of the original Lutheran church in Bethanie. Her mother-in-law (the late Mrs Mantso Mahuma) told her that

⁷⁹ Heinrich Bammann, *Bethanie in Transvaal*, p. 37.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

⁸¹ Koko Masoni Mokgotsi, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019. (Translated)

⁸² *Ibid.*

the people who were at the forefront of this conflict were the women in the community and that the tensions were so powerful that the Lutheran church was even burned down.⁸³

Another account of this, is in Bammann's writing based on the missionary archives. He highlighted that;

The following two Sundays, 200 women blocked the entrance to the church. On the second Sunday the chieftain alerted the police in Rustenburg. The police were of little help against the rebelling women and had to leave without having achieved anything. The church remained closed for two months. During this time the church service was held in the lekgotla and was attended better than in the 'blocked' church. Buhr continued to be the target of the 'rebels', He had, for instance, conveyed a request to the chieftain to enclose the graves of his parents and his wife, who had died and were buried in Bethanie. The tribal council gave its consent. Shortly after completion the enclosed graves were destroyed and vandalised.⁸⁴

These women destroyed the graves. Where and what their intentions were can only be inferred from the previous accounts. In nationalist literature, for example, women used churches or organised Christian initiatives as platforms for resistance. For example, Charlotte Maxeke who was not only a nationalist and intellectual, advocated for the rights of 'native' women in mostly Christian organised initiatives as a result of her religious background and

⁸³ Margret Mahuma, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 5 July 2018. (Translated)

⁸⁴ Heinrich Bammann, Bethanie in Transvaal, p. 38. Please note that Bammann does not identify these women by name, organisation or age.

the dominant patriarchal society.⁸⁵ This does not imply that she did not have other platforms but that the organised Christian initiatives seemed to have been more accessible to women. This may partly explain the militancy of the women that the missionaries recorded. Although there is barely any mention of women in Bammann's work, which balk of the evidence here, and only mentioned in supporting roles such as when they cooked for men who built the church, there is vast literature on the role of women in churches. 'On 22 November 1938, Daniel More was installed as acting chieftain by the government commissioner Yets from Rustenburg. While Yets was still holding his speech, some women called into the crowd: Ga re mmatle= 'we don't want him (the chieftain)'.⁸⁶

Koko Margret, Masoni, Bertha and Barel all grew up being told that women were very active in opposing Buhr. However, they were not able to provide me with many details about this because they were either too young and/or in Makolokwe or Johannesburg when this happened in Bethanie.⁸⁷ More was the kgosana in Makolokwe and as detailed above, years prior, Makolokwe was the battlefield of the Bakwena ba Mogopa and the Hermannsburg Mission Society. It is important to map the resistance in Makolokwe as it allows an understanding on why and how certain forms of resistance in particular places took place. Furthermore, it allows us to interrogate the manifestations of processes of resistance and how these places made it possible for other forms of contentious politics.⁸⁸ More was also the uncle to the chief Johannes Mamogale who was ill at the time. During the celebrations in

⁸⁵ Thozama April, Charlotte Maxeke: A Celebrated and Neglected Figure in History in Arianna Lissoni, Jon Soske, Natasha Erlank, Noor Nieftagodien and Omar Badsha eds, *One hundred years of the ANC: Debating liberation histories today* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press and SAHO, 2012), pp. 97-107.

⁸⁶ Heinrich Bammann, *Bethanie in Transvaal*, p. 38.

⁸⁷ Koko Masoni, Magret Mahuma, Bertha Kgorodi, Barel Thobye, Interviews conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, between 5-29 November 2019. (Translated)

⁸⁸ Noor Nieftagodien, *Popular Movements, Contentious Spaces and the ANC, 1943-1956*, p. 137.

Bethanie 'the same group of women who had disrupted the church service gathered again, picked up stones and injured some of those present and smashed Buhr's windows'.⁸⁹

Behrens jun. too, who had been invited as a guest, had to stand and watch how his erstwhile parishioners revolted and treated his admonishing words with contempt. The chieftain summoned the police. They arrested 28 women and marched them off to Rustenburg. All of them received a light sentence, which hardly served as a deterrent. They were celebrated as heroines when they returned home.⁹⁰

As things escalated in Bethanie lines began to be drawn more clearly. The opposition against Buhr was gaining more followers. The gravesite thus became one of the sites to demonstrate their grievances. The women vandalising the graves of Buhr's family, they made the graveyard a site of protest. Buhr was unable to retain the support of church elders, and some joined the opposition. Buhr further alienated himself when he suspended the elders who were opposing him at the church. The conflict had not reached its peak yet when Buhr proposed peace negotiations. 'He asked Niklaas Machele, Salomon Montwedi, Kathrina Machele and Kornelius Sepeng from the opposition to come to him. The first three came.'⁹¹ The negotiations did not result in any resolutions and Buhr did not account for this in his records.⁹² In January 1938, Dr Eiselen -the highest official representative of the Department of Education in Pretoria had a discussion with the two teachers Moshe Kau and Philipp Machel in Bethanie.⁹³ He suggested to them that they should have themselves transferred back into

⁸⁹ Heinrich Bammann, Bethanie in Transvaal, p. 39.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 40.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

government employ.⁹⁴ The teachers rejected the offer and continued to teach children in the community school buildings and they were not evicted by chief Johannes Mamogale who was sick at the time.⁹⁵ Daniel More as acting chief was even less popular among the opposition. He felt targeted by the opposition and that the words that had been uttered by the women that said that they do not want him during his inauguration were now being said by men as well.⁹⁶ Daniel More saw the 'unlawful private school' as a public provocation and acted by summoning the teachers to appear before the traditional leadership council where he informed them of his disapproval of the school.⁹⁷ This did not result in any change as the opposition did not make any changes. The actions of the chief also indicated a clear sign of siding with the missionary and that he was no longer a neutral participant. The opposition also constantly consulted with an attorney named Sive. Buhr claimed that Sive told Issak Poho- supporter of Buhr and school principal- in confidence that he had tried everything to try and make Buhr leave but Buhr was not conceding.⁹⁸

Lines had been drawn in Bethanie and sides had been picked. The acting chief clarified his side when he summoned the teachers. The opposition was also creating strategies and seeking counsel. This seemed to be in preparation or protection of the group. However, the lines that had been drawn were becoming increasingly clear. Towards the end of 1940, the insurrection manifested itself in more defined ways. Buhr described the events of the 9th of July 1940 as;

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 41.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

In the morning our brass band played, our church bells tolled as usual. I held a sermon. All was quiet during the day. Two funerals had taken place. At around 6 o'clock that evening, the school- and church bells were chimed without permission by the members of the opposition. That constituted the beginning of the attack on the church. A great noise ensued. This caused the 'rebels' to descend on the church. Then it was only a matter of time before one of them battered in the locked church door with his axe, and the destruction started in the interior. Inebriated men and incited women smashed the doors, windows, pews, the altar, the sacred vessels of the altar, the candelabrum and the baptismal font. The pulpit was doused with petrol and set alight. It is incomprehensible how people could possibly cause such destruction in a place of worship, and their own church at that, where more or less all of them have been baptised and confirmed. When Behrens jun. arrived the following morning, he felt as if his heart would break. And when the school inspector later saw the destruction, he said that this is surely what it looks like in hell.⁹⁹

The following Sunday the church service was held in the old church in which the opposition members taught their children during the week and the reading of the Gospel was about the destruction of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁰ David Mokgatlé's bible survived the church fire and Buhr used it as a symbol to make his point in his speech.¹⁰¹ The acting kgosi reported the destruction of the church to the police and the case was subsequently heard before the Rustenburg court.¹⁰² Following the report of this incident 46 people were arrested for the burning of the church.

⁹⁹ Heinrich Bammann, Bethanie in Transvaal, p. 41-42.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 42.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

The people that were arrested were all charged and given the same sentence of six months for transgression of public violence.¹⁰³ Things were tense in Bethanie. 'Fistfights occurred among the young people, controversial discussions among the adults. Others withdrew in silence. On the one hand the spell had been broken, a sense of satisfaction made itself felt. On the other hand there existed hatred and hostility in both camps.'¹⁰⁴ The *ma-voorttrekkers* were considered to be dangerous and even attending meetings in the *Lekgotla* armed with weapons.¹⁰⁵

A commission of inquiry took place in Waaikraal/Brits under the leadership of Schreiner, a judge from Rustenburg, as well as other government representatives.¹⁰⁶ This lasted for three days where both sides were given the opportunity to be heard. Moses Kau and Philipp Machele were expelled from Bethanie.¹⁰⁷ The destroyed church remained in ruins for five months. In early December 1940 it was cleared out and on the 16th of December a confirmation took place in it again. Any prospect on behalf of the opposition to make any kind of reparation towards the cleaning up or rebuilding of the church was not forthcoming.¹⁰⁸

The tension that occurred in the church infiltrated the community beyond religiosity. Some of the participants indicated that as young boys, it was even harder to date a girl if the parents had different positions about the conflict in the church.¹⁰⁹ The way in which people related to each other and their relatives was influenced by this even though Bethanie is like a family as

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ National Archives of South Africa, NTS, Vol. 1 322, 26/55, Chieftainship of the Bakwena ba Mogopa.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. 42-43.

¹⁰⁹ Tobias Moloto, Ntate Monene, Interviews conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019. (Translated)

many have argued. There were also clear divisions in the community as to where people lived and who they could relate to. Spatially, the community was also divided. The west section of the community is still associated with the first church while the east is associated with the BLC church. That is not to say that people were completely divided but the first church was the metaphorical line that divided the community. The court proceedings revealed a lot about the underlying issues in Bethanie.



Today, there are some similarities and differences with the two churches. The two churches still use the same hymn book. They sing the same songs in their choirs.¹¹⁰ Have competitions and confirmation schools at the same time. The formation of the Bakwena Lutheran church was different in that it was not established by missionaries.¹¹¹ All the priests have been black. Members of the white church believe that the priests in the yellow church have not studied theology, while people in the yellow church disagree.¹¹² The annual fees for the church are different. The BLC believe that their fees are far less and more reasonable even though they do not get as many sponsorships like the ELCSA.¹¹³ The Lutheran church in Bethanie is split into two. The older one is referred to as *kereke e tshweu* or *ma-agter* (meaning those who remained behind) and the other church is referred to as *kereke e tshehla* or *ma-voorttreker* (meaning those going forward). From the observations that I have made, the older church is seen as the higher-class Lutherans because of the white missionaries that continue to associate with the church and the second church as that of the poor because of lack of white representation. The Lutheran members in the original church called *ma-agter* also think of themselves as the more educated and elite members of the community. This also came up quite often in the informal conversations that I had with the residents of Bethanie.

Conflict within the chieftaincy: Mabidibidi or second Mabidibidi?

¹¹⁰ Innocent Mahuma, Adolf Mahuma, Magret Mahuma, Interviews conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Johannesburg-Bethanie (telephonic interview), 11 April 2022. (Translated interviews) Adolf Mahuma and Magret Mahuma are a married couple- members of the first Lutheran church. Innocent Mahuma is a younger woman in comparison to Margret and Adolf who are in their late 70s. They are however not closely related. I picked them randomly to ask about the churches. This however, does show how people in Bethanie are like family.

¹¹¹ Innocent Mahuma, Adolf Mahuma, Interviews conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Johannesburg-Bethanie (telephonic interview), 11 April 2022. (Translated)

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Innocent Mahuma, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Johannesburg-Bethanie (telephonic interview), 11 April 2022. (Translated)

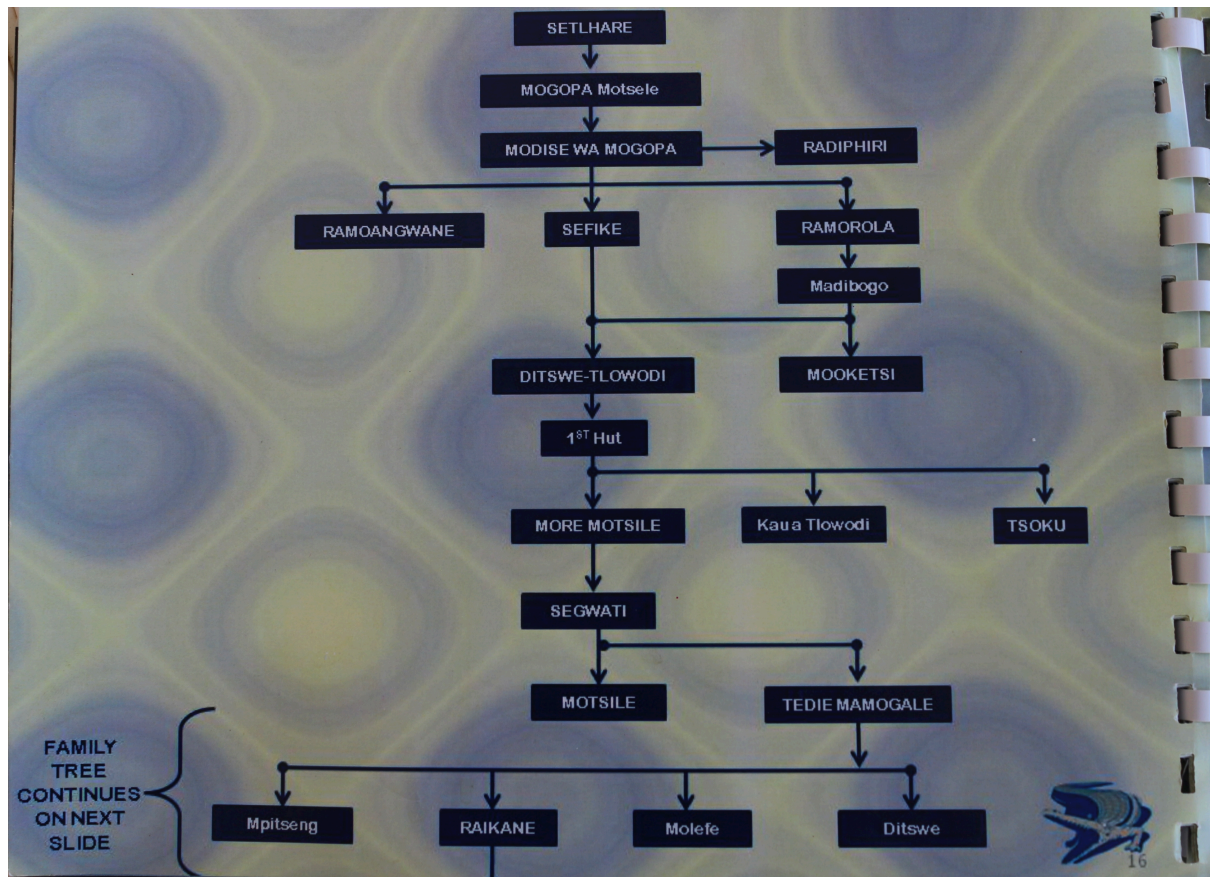


FIGURE 1: ANONYMOUS PARTICIPANT- TAKEN NOVEMBER 2019 BETHANIE

There are three arguments about Mabidibidi in Bethanie. Some people refer to the period that led to the splitting of the Lutheran church as Mabidibidi in the 1930s while others refer to the conflict among the traditional leadership as Mabidibidi in 1959-1962. Others say that they were both Mabidibidi. Both the events of the 1930s and the late 1950s to early 1960s have a church element in some way. On the 27th of February 1959, kgosi Lerothodi Mamogale was installed as the leader – paramount of Bakwena ba Mogopa. For some participants, this was the start of Mabidibidi which lasted until 1962. People that opposed kgosi Lerothodi Mamogale’s installation claimed that he was not the biological son of the late kgosi Kapeng Mamogale. They further claimed that his uncle, who had been acting regent, Daniel Mamogale should remain as the kgosi. Some even argued that the kgosi should be the

Bomotswanetse Mamogale, daughter and only child of the late kgosi Johannes Mamogale (twin of Kapeng Mamogale). Bomotswanetse Mamogale was apparently married when her father died- which meant that the challenge was not only her gender but also that she had been married.¹¹⁴ Kgosi Johannes Mamogale, had only one child who was also a daughter, Bomotswanetse Mamogale.¹¹⁵ When Johannes Mamogale passed away, the chieftainship was passed on to Lerothodi, who was the child of Johannes's twin brother - a kgosana in Hebron Kapeng Mamogale. This created division in Bethanie and among the Bakwena ba Mogopa. This was especially the case in Bethanie, because they did not want to be led by a kgosi they considered an outsider – from Hebron. Although the Department of Native Affairs (which later became Bantu Affairs) preoccupied itself with succession disputes by focusing on rules of succession and genealogies, Peter Delius argues the reliance on rules and succession does not consider precolonial African societies' ways of succession which can be nuanced.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Tobias Moloto Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019. (Translated)

¹¹⁵ The name Bomotshwanetse can be loosely translated to, 'it suits/fitting' her, in this context, it means that she is entitled to chieftainship.

¹¹⁶ Delius, Peter. *A lion Amongst the Cattle: Reconstruction and resistance in the Northern Transvaal* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1996), p. 20.

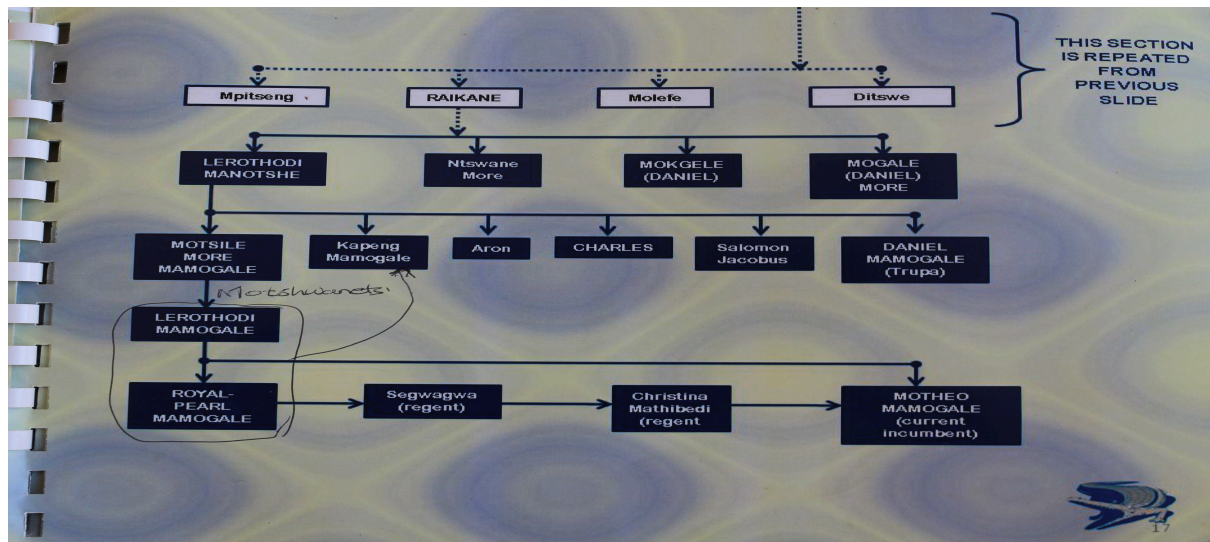


FIGURE 2: ANONYMOUS PARTICIPANT- TAKEN NOVEMBER 2019, BETHANIE

There are three arguments to when Mabidibidi began. Some people refer to the period that led to the splitting of the Lutheran church as Mabidibidi in the 1930s while others refer to the conflict among the traditional leadership as Mabidibidi in 1959-1962. Some refer to both these periods as Mabidibidi. Both events of the 1930s and late 1950s comprise of a church element. On the 27th of February 1959, kgosi Lerothodi Mamogale was installed as the leader of Bakwena ba Mogopa. For some participants, this was the start of Mabidibidi which lasted until 1962. People that opposed kgosi Lerothodi Mamogale's installation claimed that he was not the biological son of the late kgosi Kapeng Mamogale. They further claimed that his uncle, who had been acting regent, David Mamogale should remain as chief. Some even argued that, the kgosi should be the Bomotswanetse Mamogale, daughter and only child of the late kgosi Johannes Mamogale (twin of Kapeng Mamogale). Bomotswanetse Mamogale was apparently married when her father died- which meant that the challenge was not only her gender but also that she had been married.¹¹⁷ Kgosi Johannes Mamogale, had only one child who was

¹¹⁷ Tobias Moloto, interview with Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 2019. (Translated)

also a daughter, Bomotswanetse Mamogale.¹¹⁸ When Johannes Mamogale passed away, the chieftainship was passed on to Lerothodi, who was the child of Johannes's twin brother, who was a kgosana in Hebron. This created division in Bethanie and among the Bakwena ba Mogale. Although the Department of Native Affairs (which later became Bantu Affairs) preoccupied itself with succession disputes by focusing on rules of succession and genealogies, Peter Delius argues the reliance on rules and succession does not consider precolonial African societies' ways of succession which can be nuanced.¹¹⁹ The Bakwena ba Mogopa in Bethanie are still facing issues of succession till the present. In the case of Bomotswanetse and Lerothodi, issues of gender and lineage have preoccupied the Bakwena.

Many of the opponents were from the Bakwena Lutheran church. As for his supporters, they believed that kgosi Lerothodi was the rightful heir. This dispute was not only among the royal family but also in the community. Kgosi Lerothodi had been baptised at the Lutheran church (white) and many of his supporters came from there. That is not to say that there was no overlap or that the churches unanimously had the same opinion. However, it highlights the complex dynamic that existed in Bethanie. For Tobias Moloto, when asked about Mabidibidi, he described 'seeing men sing, it was the whole village. There was this song called 'chocholoza'[as he sung]. That is where I learnt the song. They had weapons in their hands, singing and dancing and the police came shooting. The people had sticks and rocks. It was the apartheid police in khakhi clothing'.¹²⁰ There were people who supported the kgosi, and many

¹¹⁹ Peter, Delius. *Mistaking Form for Substance: Reflections on the key dynamics of pre-colonial politics and their implications for the role of chiefs in contemporary South Africa*, in 'Traditional Leaders in a Democracy: Resources, Respect and Resistance, (Mapungubwe Institute of Strategic Reflection: Johannesburg, 2019)', p. 44.

¹²⁰ Tobias Moloto Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019.

of them were from Moseja. Moseja is a section that is separated by a river from starteng. They are where the first houses were built. Tobias Moloto illustrated how divisions in Bethanie affected him as a child and that coming from starting section, he observed how people around him were against the kgosi. He narrated that the divisions caused by the Mabidibidi wars in the 1930s and late 1950s affected children in the community.¹²¹

When I was growing up, you could not drink with boys from Moseja. The division between Moseja and this side started with the churches and then the kgosi thing. From my observation, it seems like the men who were educated were the ones that sided with the kgosi in the village. This was also in the schools. There was a lot of apartheid in the Bakwena schools. If you were a child of the men who were against the kgosi, let me say, if you were from this side of the village from the yellow church, you did not get opportunities. We are only seeing teachers from this side of the village now. Any child whose parents were not in the white church would not be funded to go to school. You know they used to take students to teachers college, in Bethlehem most ... you had to apply through the chief.¹²²

Considering his experience, Moloto highlighted how he was affected as well as his family. This not only critiques the leadership of the kgosi but how it also translated to children who did not form part of the war. Furthermore, he highlighted the old men she saw with sticks and shamboks- who were ready to fight the installation of the new kgosi- were beaten up by police men and some ran to the farms to hide.¹²³ Monene expressed similar sentiments about the

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

events that took place when kgosi Lerothodi Mamogale was installed. Monene narrated that when the kgosi was to be installed, some Bakwena ba Mogopa said that they did not want him.¹²⁴ He said that police were all over Bethanie arresting people. I remember clearly, said Monene, 'the time they [police] came to the street where there was ZCC church and they were on a big lorry, and they said *'wie is julle se baas'* [who is your boss] and one man came to the front. They took him and threw him in the truck and people started to fight. This is where the war started'.¹²⁵ Monene went on to say that there were others that ran away to the farms and the following day after the incident where there were men arrested near the church, police went house by house arresting women and mathari [women of childbearing age].¹²⁶ He did not explain why these women were arrested. Whether they were the wives of the men that were protesting or had been part of protest or innocent. He went on to say that the people arrested were taken to the lekgotla, beaten up and some had their cattle confiscated. 'There was this man called Rre Jim, and they say, he was the one beating the women in the lekgotla. Rre Jim ended up disappearing till today, no one knows where he disappeared to.'¹²⁷

The police attacked the opponents of Lerothodi because of complaints made to the commissioner. In Bethanie the opponents of the chief had sticks and the police had guns. Some participants argued that although kgosi Lerothodi was able to defeat his opponents, he struggled getting into his position freely.¹²⁸ This indicates that even with the use of force,

¹²⁴ Monene, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, December 2019. (Translated)

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Monene, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, December 2019. (Translated). Sydney Mataboga, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019. (Translated) and Bonanza's uncle, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019.

¹²⁸ Bonanza's uncle, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019.

legitimacy is not automatically earned. Accusations of kgosi Lerothodi targeting his oppositions were common. One accusation was that he punished his opponents harsher than other community members who would break the rules.¹²⁹ Kgosi Lerothodi has been described by many accounts as a strict and hands on leader. However, gaining legitimacy as a leader in Bethanie required more than the force of the state. The kgosi, or rather institution of traditional leadership had legitimacy because of the people. This is even in periods of contention. This suggests that the relationship between the traditional leadership and the state was far more nuanced even if one system may be 'dominant' over the other. Kgosi Lerothodi Mamogale had the support of the apartheid police. If the claims made by the participants hold, this may in part explain the class divisions in Bethanie which are noticeable in different sections. While the first Mabidibidi had succeeded in creating these roots, the Bakwena were further divided by their own leadership conflict. African societies had various tools to deploy, establish or challenge the legitimacy of chieftainship. The institution of chieftainship continued to evolve with the influence of missionaries, colonialism and its own systems of governance. Peter Delius argued that 'colonial conquest and rule did not capture static societies long set in their ways but incorporated dynamic and changing societies and in (some cases) quite recently established political and social systems.'¹³⁰ While Marumo had previously pleaded with the Bakwena in Bethanie about the ending the first Mabidibidi, Lerothodi took a different route. At the end of the war, kgosi Lerothodi Mamogale remained as the kgosi. In 1966 the community of Bethanie under his leadership built a high school named Lerothodi Secondary. 'In the 1970s, when the Bophuthatswana administration took power, bursaries from the government, supposed to be given to members of Bethanie were

¹²⁹ Tobias Moloto, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, December 2019.

¹³⁰ Peter, Delius. *Mistaking Form for Substance: Reflections on the key dynamics of pre-colonial politics and their implications for the role of chiefs in contemporary South Africa*, p. 44.

only afforded to supporters of kgosi Lerothodi. This meant that children of people that did not support him or have money for school were left without support'.¹³¹

Conclusion: Looking back and moving forward

Very little has been passed down about Mabidibidi in Bethanie. It is referred to as a war and is kept among the few old men and women. It is shared sparingly and safeguarded. This may be a result of the division that it created among the Bakwena in Bethanie. When old men and women speak about memories of the 1930s to 1960s there is a sense of protectiveness and refrain. While people in Bethanie are willing to share their history, the events that led to the split of the church are still scarcely shared. What is however unfortunate is that the archives of the missionaries are kept in Germany where South African researcher have limited access because of the distance, costs of travel and accommodation overseas, as well as the language barrier. The archives are in Germany and therefore not easily available to ordinary people in Bethanie or to students like myself that are not able to travel to Germany. Fortunately, there are still elders in the community that are willing to share some experiences of their history and childhood memories of these times. The history of Bethanie is complex however, it is important in that it shows how dynamic it is. The Bakwena ba Mogopa, along with the assistance of the Hermmannsburg Mission Society- in particular the missionaries Behrens senior and junior- began making attempts to own buy land in the late 1890s. In the early, 1900s, we saw how this became a contentious issue. Dividing Bakwena ba Mogopa. This will be elaborated on further in the following chapter. What had started in Makolokwe spilled into

¹³¹ Tobias Moloto, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, December 2019. (Translated)

Bethanie and the authority of the missionary was questioned. The framing and making of Bethanie spatially, as shown with the arrival and involvement of the missionaries in the community, forms part of the foundation for much of the spatial production of violence that we later see in Bethanie in the next chapters. The kgosi's allegiance was also challenged. While this may have begun with a teacher (also Christian) who a critic of missionaries- I argued that we cannot equate Christianity to anti-missionary or anti-colonial rule. The church and the schools were intense spaces of contention which led to the split of the Lutheran church. Therefore, this divided members of the community of Bakwena ba Mogopa. I argued that these spaces were important for the development of politics in Bethanie.

CHAPTER THREE:

THE BAKWENA BA MOGOPA: CHIEFTAINSHIP, LAND AND MINING FROM 1900S -2000S

INTRODUCTION

Bethanie is a rural village that lies in the heart of the platinum belt and the fertile lands of the former Bophuthatswana Bantustan, now part of the North West Province. In 1977 the mines in Bophuthatswana had a production value of approximately R277,9 million. Bethanie is one of the communities whose mineral resources have been mined since the Bantustan era. Even today, mining remains at the core of Bethanie's political economy and yet very little has changed in the everyday lives of the people of Bethanie since 1994. Some even say the lives of the people in Bethanie have gotten worse. Strong contestations of national and local scope emerged in the post-apartheid period over mining, traditional leadership and provincial government. These contestations have deep historical roots that can be traced back to the Union government years followed by the apartheid era.

The 1980s saw the rise of mineral prospecting in Bethanie, with the establishment of a mine on the communal land of the Bakwena ba Mogopa in 1988. Mining development placed new pressures on the community which led to growing tensions especially in terms of employment opportunities, resource distribution, and access to land. These tensions were at the centre of the popular protest in Bethanie in 2018, a protest which is the main focus of Chapter Four. The current chapter explores how the ongoing contestations over mining resources between the Bakwena ba Mogopa community of Bethanie, their traditional authority and the provincial government have intensified and shaped the politics in Bethanie. It shows how these contestations have had a deep impact in peoples' everyday lives and exacerbated the politics of belonging. The chapter looks at chieftainship in relation to conflicts and contestations over mining royalties between the Bakwena ba Mogopa community in Bethanie, traditional authorities and the local and/or provincial government. I argue that contestations over mining royalties between the Bakwena ba Mogopa, their traditional authority and provincial and/or local government have exacerbated the politics of belonging and impacted negatively on the people of Bethanie. While these contestations are usually fought on the level of the elites, they have many consequences on the Bakwena ba Mogopa. There have been very little to no material benefits that have accrued to the community as a result of this mining development, the benefits of which have only accrued to the chief and his associates. I will show how the politics of belonging were intensified in the 1980s, first by the land contestations among the Bakwena ba Mogopa, the interventions of the Union government and later the apartheid government, the Bophuthatswana government's policies as well as by mining developments. I will also show how traditional leadership is a constant thread throughout these moments and its changing nature in Bethanie.

SUCCESSION DISPUTES OF THE BAKWENA BA MOGOPA DURING AND AFTER THE REIGN OF KGOSI J.O.M MAMOGALE, 1900S-1960S

Land has been at the centre of many contestations from the 1900s – 1960s not only in Bethanie but among the Bakwena ba Mogopa in their different villages and locations. In Chapter Two, the history of Bethanie and missionaries is detailed. I argued that the missionary W.H. Behrens of the Hermansburg Mission Society along with the Bakwena ba Mogopa bought land even as the government prohibited the sale of land to Africans. The Hermansburg Mission Society missionaries did so with other groups in the district, for example the Bapo ba Mogale. This section will show contestations over traditional leadership regarding land and governance. The period of kgosi Johannes Otto More Mamogale from the early 1900s is when these issues were exacerbated due to the socio-economic and political conditions of the time. Kgosi Johannes Otto More Mamogale was officially appointed by the Department of Native Affairs as chief of the Bakwena ba Mogopa in 1905 at the age of 19 years.¹ He married Adelaide Dorotea Mabalane in 1906 from the Baphiring and had one child, a daughter by the name Bomotswanetsi. In Chapter Two, I highlighted the chiefs' role in relation to the missionaries. In this chapter and section in particular, I highlight the role as chiefs more broadly.

Mahmood Mamdani in the book *Citizen and Subject*, argued that in the face of resistance to colonial occupation, indirect rule was introduced as colonial reform. Mamdani further argued that chiefs or clan leaders often led this resistance.² Kgosi Johannes Otto More Mamogale

¹ Samuel F. Khunou, *Mountains of Spirit: The story of the Royal Bakwena ba Mogopa of the North West, South Africa* (Johannesburg: Rainbird on behalf of Bagopa Properties, 2016), p. 71.

² Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of Late Colonialism* (London: James Currey, 1996), pp. 102-103.

was among the African leaders that protested the South Africa draft legislation that cemented and continued or further entrenched the dispossession of African people. In 1909 several African leaders sent a delegation to London to protest the 1909 draft legislation.³ These leaders had organised themselves as a localised united front under the South African Native Convention. According to Mamdani, official history recounts this period as characterised by stabilisation of colonial rule while he argues it was a period of defeat.⁴ In 1910, the outcomes of the failed efforts of the leaders were entrenched in the Constitution of the Union of South Africa in 1910.⁵

Kgosi Mamogale also faced personal and direct consequences of the racist laws imposed by the Union government. At the age of 24 in 1911, he was convicted and sentenced for possessing alcohol prohibited for black people to consume. According to Samuel Freddy Khunou, he had been charged with the contravention of the 'Transvaal Ordinance 32 of 1902 which prohibited black people from possessing and drinking bojalwa ba sekgowa (brandy)'.⁶ The chief pleaded not guilty on the 3rd of March 1911 and later convicted and sentenced to two months imprisonment with hard labour.⁷ Despite the conviction and the government's efforts to oust him, the chief retained his position as the leader of the Bakwena as a result of the support of the lekgotla and royal family. On the political front, Mamogale was still not deterred.

³ Khunou, *Mountains of Spirit*, p. 81.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., p. 85.

On 8 January 1912, British-educated black South African lawyers Pixley Seme, Alfred Mangena and Richard Msimang, and others, called for a convention of Africans to form the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), partly in response to the onslaught of colonialism and out of a need to protect African land from European settlers.⁸

According to Khonou, kgosi Otto Mamogale found a political home in the SANNC and he opposed the Native Land Act of 1913. Kgosi Otto Mamogale was apparently 'known by his peers and the Bakwena ba Mogopa as "Sinkelele", a nick name with its origins in the struggle song Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrka (God bless Africa) - advocated and championed the cause of land rights for African people in general and the Bakwena ba Mogopa in particular.'⁹

Rev John Dube led a delegation to England to contest the Natives' Land Act and came back unsuccessful.¹⁰ In light of this disappointment, the government in 1917 alleged that Mamogale along with other chiefs in the Rustenburg district who participated in the Transvaal Native Congress meetings were heading for rebellion.¹¹ Kgosi Otto Mamogale and the Prime Minister General Louis Botha had a meeting following these accusations. The accusations were that Kgosi Mamogale was involved in a 'passive-resistance campaign against the government'.¹² Mamogale denied these accusations of inciting rebellion, however, he took the opportunity to address issues of land dispossession to the Governor-General Viscount Sydney Charles Buxton.¹³ Mamogale raised several issues which included;

⁸ Ibid., p. 81.

⁹ Ibid., p. 86

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 86-87

¹² Ibid., p. 87

¹³ Ibid.

Africans should be able to buy land whenever and wherever they wished within the Union; when the Union government introduced laws that affected Africans and their interests, they should first be consulted and their views obtained, the Native Annual Tax of [2 pounds] per head of cattle should be reduced to 10 shillings per adult African per year, all monies paid by Africans to the Receiver of Revenue as tax should be refunded to the payers, as they were not benefiting from their tax revenue, only recognised or advanced Africans in the Union should be granted permission to buy arms and ammunition for the protection of their livestock and crops; Africans should be allowed to travel without passes within various districts; and a law should be passed to compel African children to be educated.¹⁴

According to Graeme Neil Simpson, the material conditions and conflicts of the Rustenburg district in the 1920s created the foundation for political and ideological discourses to flourish in the area even though it was for a short period of time.¹⁵ For Simpson, the authority of chiefs particularly in relation to land and labour were the foundation of the conflicts of the 1920s. This is illustrated by the issues raised by Mamogale to the Governor-General above. Chiefs were also facing challenges of authority in the 1920s and 1930s although it can be traced as far back as 1908 with the case of Darius Mogale of the Bapo ba Mogale.¹⁶ Mogale's case demonstrated the power of the Union government to oust any chief who did not toe the line.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Graeme Neil Simpson, 'Peasants and politics in the Western Transvaal, 1920-1940', (Master of Arts thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1986), pp. 157-158.

¹⁶ Ibid., 158

By the late 1930s Chief Otto Mamogale had become very weak and ill with heart disease. According to Khonou, Mamogale entered into ill-advised land transactions during his reign that resulted in the loss of respect for the institution of chieftainship by some members of Bakwena.¹⁷ A further consequence of this was the motion of no confidence passed by the government and got support from some members of the royal family.¹⁸

Amongst the Kwena ba Mogopa, one of the central sources of conflict during the 1930s was the Chief's control over land in the outlying branches of the Chieftdom at Hebron and Jericho in the Pretoria district. As early as 1913 the Chief J.O.M. Mamogale attempted to remove one of the headmen at Jericho. There was some defiance of Headman Obed More and it appears that the malcontents appealed to Mamogale to remove him. However, the Sub-Native Commissioner of the district suggested that Mamogale was taking advantage of the situation ... "...to assert authority over those of his tribe residents in Hebron and Jericho locations... in a manner which is highly resented by the Natives concerned. These people recognised him as their Chief, but in name only and are desirous of being controlled by their headman, to whom they look for assistance and advice in tribal and other matters concerning their welfare."¹⁹

Kgosi Mamogale struggled with control over the Bakwena ba Mogopa residing in areas outside Bethanie such as Hebron and Jericho. The Bakwena in such areas relied on the headmen more than the paramount chief Mamogale in Bethanie. Kgosi Mamogale was making decisions on behalf of Bethanie and other Bakwena ba Mogopa locations. Bethanie as

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Simpson, 'Peasants and politics in the Western Transvaal', p. 164.

a village is larger than the locations of Hebron and Jericho and they are all about 50 kilometres from each other. Kgosi Mamogale was also contending with the increasingly intrusive involvement of the state. The Sub-Native Commissioner pointed out, as Simpson noted, that;

The Chief wishes to depose (sic) of timber growing on Jericho for his own benefit and upkeep at Bethanie [the headquarters of the Kwena ba Mogopa –G.S.] and it is known that he has taken this step without consulting the Lekhotla at Jericho. This location being quite bare enough at present without further de-timbering, I have refused to allow any wood to be cut.²⁰

The actions of Kgosi Mamogale seemed to residents of Hebron and Jericho as favouring Bethanie more than their communities and to also benefit the Kgosi more than his people. However, it is also clear that the interference of Native Affairs Department was undermining the authority of the chief.²¹ The codification of indirect rule and dispossession was intensified. Andrew Manson and Bernard K. Mbenga argued that by the turn of the twentieth century, the Bakwena ba Mogopa morafe was divided into five sections, the most important of which were those based at 'Bethanie in the Rustenburg district and at Hebron and Jericho in the Hammanskraal magistracy, north of Pretoria'.²² Manson and Mbenga argued that while the Native Affairs Department did not particularly regard Kgosi Otto Mamogale as an effective leader, the kgosi had the support of the lekgotla in Bethanie and there was no outright

²⁰ Ibid., p. 165.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Andrew Manson and Bernard K Mbenga, *Land Chiefs Mining: South Africa's North West Province since 1840*, (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2014), p. 74.

opposition in Bethanie and among other Bakwena ba Mogopa settlements.²³ Two noticeable things came out of the land issue raised by the different sections of Bakwena. One was that the purchase of the farm Elandsfontein was a major priority for the residents of Jericho and the second was the issue of pooling financial resources towards the purchase of the land as the communal property of Bakwena ba Mogopa under the Kgosi and whether the beneficiaries would be all sections of Bakwena ba Mogopa.

Jericho complained about the high purchase price of the land and lack of consultation by the kgosi. Kgosi Mamogale purchased the Elandsfontein farm for the Jericho section in the name of Mamogale as kgosi. However, the residents, in particular the 'headmen' of Jericho, accused Mamogale of not consulting them about the price of the farm particularly because they considered it to be too high and for misappropriating the levies paid by the Jericho purchasers for his own use.²⁴ This created tensions particularly in the Bethanie and Hebron sections. In 1927, the headmen in Jericho lodged a complaint about the Kgosi to the Prime minister J.B.M. Hertzog.²⁵ They accused Mamogale of misappropriation and misuse of funds.²⁶ Moreover, the highlight of contention and violence that occurred was on the issue of ownership and control of land.²⁷ This related to the question of whose name would be written on the title deed of the land.

The sections of Hebron and Bethanie rejected the communal purchase of the land - in the sense that all sections of the Bakwena ba Mogopa will be expected to contribute. They argued

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

that they would be contributing to a farm from which they would not derive any benefit.²⁸

Manson and Mbenga further noted that, what seemed to be common among these different sections of Bakwena ba Mogopa was that people residing in that area were responsible for its purchase and not the entire Bakwena ba Mogopa community. To put it clearly, Manson Mbenga argued that;

Implicit in the demands of the various groupings was the assumption that each section was responsible for purchasing its own land. Moreover, it raised a set of legal issues over whose name the land was to be registered, and who has exclusive access to it. Compounding the problem was the inability of the Bakwena to actually raise the required funds to meet the instalments on the farm – and this rendered their other lands open to confiscation if they did not pay the outstanding debt.²⁹

Considering these events, Kgosi Mamogale called a meeting with representatives (likely to have been headmen) from different sections in Bethanie. The outcome of this meeting was that an amount of six pounds per annum would be imposed on all adult males of the Bakwena ba Mogopa.³⁰ Manson and Mbenga argued that the decision taken from the meeting to tax all adult males failed simply because it was ignored by many people in the morafe and that Kgosi Mamogale had neither the 'practical capacity to root out defaulters and punish them

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 74-75.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 75. It is not clear what are the ages referred to in terms of adult male. Moreover, it does not mention whether there have been previous taxes imposed on Bakwena ba Mogopa and what they were. Much of that is left to speculation and may be supplemented by literature from other merafe.

nor the legal authority to resort to civil proceedings against' the defaulters.³¹ It is unclear how far people were also willing to have their land confiscated.

Manson and Mbenga argued that the fundamental problem was that the responsibility for the purchase of the land was placed on all sections of Bakwena ba Mogopa, even those that would not derive any benefit. Moreover, that the 'concept of communal responsibility was giving way to a more individualistic and materialistic conception of land usage and the financial benefits to be derived from land'.³² However, their evidence does not necessarily communicate this. One, they argued that when the Department of Native Affairs got involved, to resolve the issues that were raised by the petition from Jericho, the very same residents opted to remain as part of the morafe and not separate.³³ According to the state, Elandsfontein is communal property administered by the chief under customary law, whereas the people of Jericho and Hebron favoured private ownership of land. This idea of private ownership would mean that the people residing on the land are responsible for payment of that land and not the entire Bakwena. What seemed to be far more fundamental was the issue of the price of the farm for residents of Jericho while for Hebron and Bethanie, it was contributing towards a farm that they did not have exclusive access to. Residents of Bethanie and Hebron would not have access to the land as it was purchased for Jericho. However, this tension is very important in the later part of this section that deals with the foundations of the 2018 protest. Bakwena ba Mogopa exchanged some of their land for a tract of land originally set aside for the Hartebeestpoort irrigation scheme in accordance with the 1913

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., pp. 76-77.

Natives Land Act.³⁴ This was done as an attempt to allocate and consolidate land according to prescribed racial demographics.³⁵ Missionary Behrens argued that the land exchanged with the government should be allocated to residents of Bethanie who are the sole beneficiaries.³⁶ This meant that other sections of the Bakwena ba Mogopa outside of Bethanie (for example, the residents of Jericho and Hebron) were not beneficiaries. Kelebogile Mamogale, daughter of the regent Sekgwakgwa Mamogale (from the mid-1900s till the early-2000s) argued that the traditional leadership of the Bakwena ba Mogopa, not only had the title deeds of all the Bakwena ba Mogopa land, but also that the leadership had legitimacy over all the lands.³⁷ However, the Hermannsburg Missionary Society, transferred the land where Jericho and Hebron are to the Batswana converts which raised another issue of whether the lands would be registered in the name of the minister for native affairs (as was legal stipulation) in favour of the entire Bakwena ba Mogopa, or only the converts.³⁸ This however, does not explain whether the different treatment of these similar situations was as a result of the traditional leadership or the church. Moreover, it also shows the skewed nature of dividing people according to religious standing. The contestations that took place in the 1920s are an indication of complex contestations among the Bakwena ba Mogopa in Bethanie and in other sections. It shows how the relationship between the residents of Jericho, Hebron and Bethanie and their Kgosi deteriorated.

As shown in Chapter Two, the protests against the missionaries began in Makolokwe and later erupted in Bethanie in the late-1920s to 1940s. When Daniel Mogale, also known as Phiri-a-

³⁴ Ibid., p. 75.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Kelebogile Mamogale, Interview/conversation conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, September 2018. (Translated)

³⁸ Manson and Mbenga, *Land Chiefs Mining*, p. 75.

Feta, became regent of the Bakwena ba Mogopa in 1939, he was leading a divided people. In 1939, Kgosi Otto Mamogale was encouraged to resign by the Native Affairs Department and his uncle Daniel Mokgele was made regent.³⁹ Kgosi Otto Mamogale died on the 24th of September 1940.⁴⁰ There is no doubt that the chieftainship of Kgosi Otto Mamogale was filled with multiple challenges on different fronts. The Bakwena ba Mogopa were divided along land matters, leadership and religious traditions to name a few. Khunou argued that the period of the 1940s was characterised by internal conflicts and what some people refer to as a time of civil war in Bethanie to illustrate that it was localised, disruptive and violent.⁴¹ I argue differently in Chapter Two, where I show that the civil war is marked by two events. Consequently, when Kgosi Otto Mamogale died in 1940, James Ernest Theodore Lerothodi Mamogale (Lerothodi II) became the next in line to take over as the Kgosi of Bakwena ba Mogopa. Lerothodi II was the son of Otto's twin brother, Abram Kapeng Mamogale who died in 1939.⁴² Due to the young age of Kgosi Lerothodi II, Daniel More Mogale was appointed as the regent.

Daniel More was appointed as regent, who was the uncle of the late Kgosi Otto Mamogale. The regent, Daniel More, had been appointed to the Rustenburg Native Council, which comprised of individuals from royal families appointed by the government.⁴³ The regent was also a member of the 'Native Representative Council' which 'was made up of white government officials, twelve black representatives indirectly elected by Africans throughout the country, and four Africans selected by the government'.⁴⁴ Khunou further noted that it

³⁹ Khunou, *Mountains of Spirit*, p. 89. Otto Mamogale specifically resigned in 6 October 1939. On 22 November 1939 his uncle was installed as regent.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 78

⁴² Ibid., p. 93.

⁴³ Ibid. p. 94.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 95.

was more likely that given the high regard that the government officials held the regent in, he was more likely selected.⁴⁵ The regent had fought in the Anglo-Boer War on the side of the British.⁴⁶ This is however conflicting since Hertzog was an Afrikaner nationalist who is unlikely to hold a British collaborator in high regard. Perhaps Daniel Mogale's character, more than the part that he played in the Anglo-Boer War, facilitated his appointment as regent. More participated in the Native Representative Council, a body that collaborates with white officials. Another possible explanation would be that he was a likable character to white officials because of being efficient at his work. The regent had served under Kgosi Otto Mamogale and in his current position as a collector of levies. This was fundamental in ensuring payments of outstanding Bakwena debts (although not all) for the farms Nooitgedacht, Elandsfontein and Olievenpoort.⁴⁷

Khunou noted that regent Daniel More was quick to establish new developments and that many of these changes were made in the tribal administration. According to Khunou, the reign of Daniel More restored the integrity of the institution of chieftainship and brought stability among the Bakwena.⁴⁸ More initiated the building of Mogopa Memorial School by mainly using free unskilled labour of people in Makolokwe.⁴⁹ The school was valued at 2500 pounds of which each household in Bethanie was required to contribute to its construction.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 95.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 94.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 95

⁵⁰ Ibid.

In March 1941, the Secretary for Native Affairs appointed an enquiry into the disturbances in Bethanie.⁵¹ A report came back in September 1941 recommending that the Bakwena ba Mogopa should be given a period of mourning that does not exceed a year and a decision about succession should be made. The report also recommended that Daniel More should continue with his duties as regent with a subsidy of 150 pounds per annum.⁵² The succession debate in Bethanie had still not been settled. The Secretary for Native Affairs argued that the decision to settle the debate on succession could not be arranged until 'certain agitators have been removed from the district'.⁵³ The Voortrekkers in Bethanie were labelled as the agitators. In December of 1941, the Secretary for Native Affairs noted that Mr Yeats praised Daniel More for doing great work in maintaining order in Bethanie.⁵⁴ Furthermore, Mr Yeats was concerned that consulting the Bakwena ba Mogopa might lead to the nomination of Aaron Mamogale who was the 'sub-chief' in Hebron, and this would put the office of the Native Affairs in an awkward position.⁵⁵ The Secretary for Native Affairs then recommended that Mr Yeats submit a report in favour of extending Daniel More as acting chief without consulting the Bakwena ba Mogopa.⁵⁶ The Secretary for Native Affairs wanted things to settle in Bethanie.⁵⁷ Moreover, he argued that there is a rivalry between the two brothers, Charles Mamogale and Aaron Mamogale. Moreover, the Secretary would have suggested Charles if there was no strong opposition in favour of Aaron.⁵⁸ The Secretary argued that Daniel More had been doing excellent work despite the difficult circumstances, does not drink, has been

⁵¹ National Archives of South Africa. NTS – letter written by the Additional Native Commissioner in Rustenburg to the Secretary for Native Affairs.

⁵² NTS- Secretary for the Native Affairs. Chieftainship of the Bakwena ba Mogopa Tribe: Rustenburg

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

working closely with the important affairs of the Bakwena and commands respect of a large section of the Bakwena. Musi Kau and Philip Machele, who were accused of causing disturbances in Bethanie, were ordered by the Governor-General to be deported. Kau and Machele were at the forefront of Mabidibidi in the 1920s in Makolokwe and Bethanie. Kau and Machele did not comply and the Additional Native Commissioner argued that they would have done so if they were not encouraged by a section of the Bakwena to disobey the order. Kau and Machele's supporters availed funds for them to contest the order at the Supreme Court.⁵⁹ This was the beginning of heightened contestation over succession.

A CONTESTED CHIEFTAINSHIP: BATTLES AMONG THE ROYAL BAKWENA FROM 1940s-1960s

In 1942 the Additional Native Commissioner argued that Aaron was not fit because he failed as sub-chief in Hebron, he was often absent from important meetings about the Bakwena ba Mogopa land disputes, absent at Hebron while neglecting his duties, commands no respect and drinks a lot.⁶⁰ In a corresponding with the Secretary for Finance in Pretoria, the Secretary for Native Affairs continued to reiterate that the Department would be put in a difficult position if Aaron Mamogale was nominated because he failed in Hebron, a large and important village of the Bakwena.⁶¹ On the other hand, Maurice M. Sive wrote to the Minister of Native Affairs attaching a petition that favoured the appointment of Aaron Mamogale as Chief of the Bakwena ba Mogopa.⁶² Maurice M. Sive was the attorney representing the supporters of Aaron Mamogale. This petition was supported by eight Headmen of the

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² NTS (National Archives) Letter to the Minister of Native Affairs written by Maurice M. Sive and a petition – To the Native Commissioner Ventersdorp- From Bakwena ba Mogopa, Swartkop Ventersdorp District, 30 July 1942.

Bakwena ba Mogopa in the districts of Rustenburg, Brits and Pretoria.⁶³ The letter and petition made by the headmen in June of 1943, argued that although there were still division in Bethanie, Aaron Mamogale should be appointed as the rightful chief considering all sections of Bakwena ba Mogopa.⁶⁴ The headmen argued that they were speaking on behalf of the entire Bakwena ba Mogopa. In response, the Secretary for Native Affairs began firstly but questioning the legitimacy of the headmen that signed the petition and argued that all the people who signed belonged to the 'Mavoor' or Voortrekkers.⁶⁵

On the 22nd of June 1946, N. J. van Warmelo concluded that Charles Mamogale was the only possible person to lead the Bakwena ba Mogopa.⁶⁶ The department added that due to this oversight, the Bakwena ba Mogopa would not have been in this 'present state of confusion, with financial and land troubles, factions of Ma-voortrekker and Ma-Agter, morula-tree and mosetlha-tree sections'.⁶⁷ On the 28th of March 1946, a meeting was held in Bethanie following the passing of the regent Daniel More. Regent Daniel More passed away on the 20th of March 1946 in Johannesburg General Hospital.⁶⁸ More's passing left three vacant positions which he had held, one, acting chief of the Bakwena ba Mogopa, member of the Rustenburg Native Council and lastly member of the Native advisory Council.⁶⁹ John C. Yeasts noted that the burial service was conducted by Rev Buhr and other missionaries and that none of the royal family members were present.⁷⁰ While Yeats reiterated that the ma-voor sections will nominate Aaron, he thought that Charles Mamogle, older brother of Daniel Mamogale (who

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid. Chapter two details the events that lead to the divisions in Bethanie on the issue of missionaries.

⁶⁶ Ibid. N. J. Warmelo was working in the Native Affairs Department in the 1940s and 1950s.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 54.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 57.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

was a teacher) would most likely be chosen by the Bakwena ba Mogopa.⁷¹ Yeasts noted that when he asked Daniel More I about what he thought should happen to the chieftainship in Bethanie, Daniel More I, argued that chieftainship should not be taken away from the royal family.⁷² The appointment of Charles Mamogale was then agreed on by the Bakwena ba Mogopa. In a meeting held in Hebron, Daniel More I is reported to have said;

After the death of late Jacobus Mamogale, my brother, I acted during the minority of late John Otto Mamogale for three years and six months. I am not educated. I ruled according to the wishes of the people. My term of office was during 1903 to 1906. I am about 70- 75 years of age. That time I had a difficult task. I bought many farms for the Bakwena tribe. I never received any complaints from the tribe. There were many farms that were still owing but I did all I could to liquidate the liabilities. With regard to the question of chieftainship, I sent for Aaron three times but he would not come to Bethanie. Then I did not know what to do. I appeal to you, Charles that we work together in harmony. You should come to act.⁷³

The statement made by Daniel More I, highlight the two contentious issues among the Bakwena ba Mogopa, being land and chieftainship. On the 8th of June 1946, the Chief Native Commissioner, Northern Areas, Pretoria, approved of Charles Mamogale as acting chief.⁷⁴ Shortly after his appointment on the 31st of July 1946, Charles Mamogale was reported to being seriously ill and advised to undergo a course of treatment.⁷⁵ On the 20th of September

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid., p. 64.

⁷³ Ibid., p.75.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 67.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 68.

1946, the Native Commissioner reported that the acting chief Charles Mamogale passed away on the 14th in Jericho and that he was never actually able to take over because of his illness.⁷⁶ This meant that the issue of succession was back on the table. On the 24th of February 1947, the Native Commissioner held a meeting in Bethanie about the appointment of an acting chief.⁷⁷

Daniel M. More and Solomon More were duly proposed and a vote was taken there and then. The result was Daniel Morals More, 95 votes and Solomon More 36 votes. Daniel was declared duly elected for the time being. He is over 25 years of age and married and I recommend this temporary appointment as from the 24th of February, 1947.

The Native Commissioner also pointed out that he was communicating with David Mamogale to ascertain if he was willing to accept the post of chieftainship.⁷⁸ David Mamogale was a teacher at Koedoespoort in the Hammanskraal District. His education and experience as a teacher were highlighted to be an advantage in controlling the Bakwena.⁷⁹ On the 27th of February, the Secretary for Native Affairs went ahead and recommended David Mamogale as the acting chief.⁸⁰ The ma-voor were again accused of possessing dangerous weapons and intimidating supporters of David when they wanted Aaron in the lekgotla.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 70.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p.72.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 86-87.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 90.

⁸¹ Ibid., p.93.

The issue of removing Musi Kau from Bethanie and in the Rustenburg district more broadly was revisited again in early 1947. This was partly because of a disruption that took place in the lekgotla in March 1947 and that the acting chief had not been appointed yet.⁸² The Chief Native Commissioner had concluded that 'David may have sufficient influence to keep the 'mavoors' in order including Musi Kau who again appears to be active'.⁸³ David Mamogale accepted the post of acting chief on the condition that his older brothers Aaron and Solomon Mamogale signed an agreement of his appointment and that he would receive a salary that allows him to maintain his family as his current occupation does.⁸⁴ Moreover he was will to start the post in January of 1948.⁸⁵ It appears that David Mamogale was sensitive to the divisions that his appointment as chief might cause between his brothers, the royal family and the Bakwena ba Mogopa in general. When presented with this suggestion of signing an agreement, Aaron refused to sign when Solomon signed the agreement.⁸⁶

In December of 1947, the Chief Native Commissioner flagged the issue of David Daniel More Mamogale's salary. He argued that 'the appointment of David Mamogale with salary in excess of that which is normally payable to him will create a precedent which may have far reaching effects and, in the circumstances, it is felt that the Bakwena should be called upon to pay the difference between the ordinary stipend payable by the Department...'.⁸⁷ He further argued that the stipend paid to David Daniel Mamogale of 150 pounds might have created the problem and that he did not want the chiefs' depending on the government but rather the

⁸² Ibid., p. 94.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 96.

⁸⁴ Ibid., letter by D.D.M Mamoagle.

⁸⁵ Ibid. p.104.

⁸⁶ Ibid p.105.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 117.

levies they collected from their own people.⁸⁸ This statement by the Native Commissioner might in part explain some of the extents that acting chief David Mamogale was accused of. Jacob Komane in Bethanie lodged a complaint against the acting chief in May 1947 for fining him one beast and a pound. Before even paying a fine, Reuben Komane acting on behalf the chief took 2 of his best oxen without his knowledge. This comes after one of his beasts' was taken days before. Jacob Komane found this to be unjust and hence lodging the complaint.⁸⁹ A police report was opened against the chief in December of 1947.⁹⁰ The Secretary for Native Affairs pointed out that 'it is clear that acting chief Daniel More acted without any colour of right in seizing and slaughtering one of complainant's animals and it is suggested that the matter be referred to the Attorney-General for such action as he may deem fit'.⁹¹ On the 6th of February 1948, the Chief Commissioner confirmed that the police had decided to not lay any criminal charges against Daniel More and because the seizure of the oxen was done openly and that the complainant may take the matter forward if he wishes to do so.⁹² The decision by the police did not give Komane much recourse since following up on this matter might cost Komane even more.

David Mamogale was approved as the acting chief in the 5th February in 1948 by the Chief Native Commissioner with a stipant of 60 pounds per annum.⁹³ On the 6th of February, the Commissioner recommended that Bakwena ba Mogopa contribute towards the chiefs stipend.⁹⁴ Although it was suggested that the Bakwena be consulted about this, the

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 117.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 133.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 134.

⁹² Ibid., p. 149.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 138.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 143.

Commissioner thought that this would create chaos. Moreover, the Commissioner that that this would be settled once the lekgotla has been elected and that they would be the collectors of the money that would make up what the chief would earn if he was still a teacher.⁹⁵ The way that the commissioner handled the issue was not only deceptive to the acting chief but to the Bakwena as a whole who were not granted the choice to decide on whether they wanted to contribute the stipend. This may have also put further pressure on the lekgotla that would then be expected to collect the money.

On the 6th of March 1952, F.H. Cronje, Native Commissioner in Rustenburg district wrote to the Chief Native Commissioner about his observations of David Mamogale. He pointed out that although he was an educated man, he was not strong as a leader, did not command the respect of the Bakwena resorted to consulting with attorneys instead of him about issues regarding grazing troubles and the impounding of stock.⁹⁶ 'There is very little co-operation with the Agricultural officers and much trespassing is taking place on Trust property all the time. The group control grazing scheme has been rejected.'⁹⁷ On top of this he recommended a bonus of just 5 pounds and a salary of 30 pounds per annum. A different figure than what was recommended on his appointment. In fact, during David Mamogale's time, he was earning the least as compared to other chiefs in the district.

The Native Commissioner received an anonymous letter on the 11th of November 1956 from a person claiming to be a member of the Bakwena ba Mogopa. The letter was requesting that the commissioner call a meeting to appoint the rightful chief being Lerothodi J.T.E

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 155.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 155.

Mamogale.⁹⁸ This anonymous person claimed that they were not feeling this way alone and that they understood that it was the duty of the uncle, being acting chief David Mamogale to make this request because Lerothodi was now of age and had even married a wife. Furthermore, the asked the headmen from all villages of Bakwena ba Mogopa be present.⁹⁹ By 18 December of 1956, a meeting was taking place based on the contents of the letter. Acting chief was present as well as other member of the lekgotla who were sceptical of accepting the contents of the letter because it was not signed.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps they were sceptical of where it came from. The chief native commissioner addressed the contents of the letter by stating that Lerothodi was the rightful heir who is educated and capable of leading the Bakwena and on top of that suspected that the acting chief would be unwilling to step down. He further added that he suspected the acting chief and his Lekgotla of trying to influence the Bakwena ba Mogopa and sow the seeds of distrust against Lerothodi. He added that the department should intervene by convening a meeting and appointing Lerothodi.¹⁰¹

David Daniel Mamogale was also known as Trupa and even though he was nearing retirement, he continued to fight to stay of acting chief. According to Khonou;

Trupa and his supporters then staged a bitter war against Lerothodi II, called Ntwa ya Mabilibili. In this conflict, Trupa was supported by a section of the Ma-Voor, while Lerothodi II was supported by the Ma-Agter and the missionaries. It divided the Bakwena ba Mogopa and sowed the seeds of a deep hatred between the two groups

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 177.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 177.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 178.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 182.

to the extent that marriages between them were discouraged. Many members of the community were attacked in their homes and some were injured or killed.¹⁰²

The acting chief even went as far as challenging Lerothodi in the Supreme Court in 1958 where the court ruled in favour of Lerothodi in the following year.¹⁰³ Lerothodi Mamogale II was appointed as rightful chief of the Bakwena ba Mogopa on the 17th of February in 1959 at the age of 31 years.¹⁰⁴ Lerothodi was a qualified teacher and amongst the educated chiefs and Bakwena ba Mogopa and educated elites in Bethanie. He however inherited a divided community and had to face the challenge of uniting the Bakwena ba Mogopa community.¹⁰⁵

What this section has shown is that the Bakwena ba Mogopa were divided on many levels from the level of brothers, royal family, lekgotla, religion for example. The dispute about the appointment of Aaron Mamogale showed the deep levels of division in this community. The battle between the ma-voortrekker and the ma-agtrekker showed the level of mistrust among ordinary people as well as at the level of the state and the church. The ma-voortrekker were seen as disloyal to the government because not only did they not join the military like the acting chief Daniel More, they openly spoke about their disobedience. The ma-voortrekker aligned themselves with Aaron, perhaps for the reason that he was not as liked by the government, but Aaron's actions did not also make it easy for him to be considered as the acting chief. The chieftainship battles were taking place among all the villages of the Bakwena ba Mogopa, but more in fact, amongst brothers. The division were also sown amongst the

¹⁰² Khunou, *Mountains of Spirit*, p. 107.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

royal family in terms of the More versus the Mamogale. These multiple layers of division are just the few examples of the contestations and complexities of the Bakwena ba Mogopa. Kgosi Otto Mamogale's politics shaped the attitudes of the state towards the Bakwena ba Mogopa. Through his involvement with the SANNC, he challenged the state on land dispossession and control over his people. Kgosi Otto's affiliation to the SANNC was a major course of concern for the NAD and they tried to find a more pliable member of the royal family to appoint as the chief of Bakwena. The department needed some through which it could be able to implement its policies. This meant that at some points the state also crossed boundaries of what may be considered custom.

THE POLITICS OF BELONGING AMONG THE BAKWENA BA MOGOPA, 1970s – 1990s

Beyond the impact of Mabidibidi (discussed in chapter two), dynamics in the repertoires of protest used by the community must be understood in the context of the social, political and economic changes that have occurred from the second half of the 20th century to the present. Prior to the 1970s, Brits had been an agricultural town, but this changed when the National Party demarcated the area as an industrial zone.¹⁰⁶ The reason for mentioning this is because Brits is one of the closest towns to Bethanie, along with Rustenburg. The National Party had demarcated Brits as a de-concentration area in 1968 to promote economic development on the borders of small fragmented black homelands. The state offered generous incentives for companies to move to Brits as an industrial zone, including tax breaks and substantial wage subsidies.¹⁰⁷ The industrial zone in Brits created new job opportunities. Even though the industrial zone came with its own challenges, the transition to democratic South Africa in

¹⁰⁶ Kelly Forrest, *Bonds of Justice: The Struggle for Oukasie* (Johannesburg: South Africa, Fanele, 2019), p. 3.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

1994 resulted with some of the companies established on this industrial zone moving to the bigger cities. This created a vacuum in job opportunities for people in and around Brits such as Oukasie.¹⁰⁸ The mines have since become more attractive for those seeking jobs around. In Bethanie specifically, unemployment has continued to grow even though there is a mine on the Bakwena ba Mogopa land. This example of earlier contestations on land in Bethanie in the 1920s is particularly interesting when compared to the conditions of the 1990s where unemployment was increasing. The land was contested, although not in spectacular ways. The contestations also seem to not have succeeded. In 2018, the land was not contested, however, the protestors, majority young people worked within the fabric of the communal land. They made claims in terms of geographical and special parameters. The contestations of land of the 1920s are hence important because they show the changes that took place in Bethanie and among other Bakwena ba Mogopa communities. The contestations of the 1920s about land was an inter-morafe/community conflict that highlighted different dynamics about the Bakwena ba Mogopa and benefits to be derived from the community.

There are multiple gaps about the history of the Bakwena ba Mogopa in the literature and archives on the period of the 1960. Very little is recorded on this period and has been one of the biggest challenges in writing. From the early 1960s till the early 1990s, Kgosi Lerothodi II was the leader of the Bakwena ba Mogopa till the early 1990s. He has been described by the elder residents of the Bakwena ba Mogopa as a stern leader. Lerothodi II was lead the Bakwena ba Mogopa before and during the Bophuthatswana until its end. In 1972 Bophuthatswana became a self-governing homeland and 1977 it became an 'independent

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

state' only recognised by Pretoria – the apartheid government.¹⁰⁹ What is however important to this chapter is not the grand moments of Bophuthatswana but the intensification of a Tswana ethnic identity during this period. For Lucas Manyane Mangope, the chief minister and president of Bophuthatswana, as well as for the apartheid state, the 'Tswana lost their independence as tribes' 'and 'regained it as a nation, encompassing within a Tswana state'.¹¹⁰ The ethnic nationalist ideology which differentiated between who was a Tswana and who was not has overtly and covertly influenced relations between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in Bethanie.

The making of the Bantustans entailed a redefinition of citizenship rights for black South Africans, as they lost their South African citizenship to become citizens of one of the ethnic 'homelands' that the National Party government created. The constitutional framework of Bophuthatswana included a legislative authority elected by the National Assembly, with elections held in five-year intervals and the president of Bophuthatswana as the commander-in-chief of the defence force elected by universal adult franchise for a seven-year term of office.¹¹¹ This constitutional framework included dikgosi and community members elected by them. The judicial powers of the 'newly independent state' lied in the hands of the Supreme Court.¹¹²

Beyond the composition of the administration, the Bophuthatswana administration viewed 'outsiders' as a problem. This can be partly attributed to how Bophuthatswana was created,

¹⁰⁹ This section is mainly reliant on my Honours mini-dissertation.

¹¹⁰ Andrew Manson and Michael Lawrence, "The "dog of the boers": the rise and fall of Mangope in Bophuthatswana", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (2007, 20:3), p. 450.

¹¹¹ Jeffery, *Conflicts at the crossroads in Bophuthatswana*, p. 17.

¹¹² Ibid.

as the 'homeland' for South Africa's Setswana-speaking population. Below I will show how the politics of exclusion manifested under the Bophuthatswana administration. 'The Bophuthatswana administration had reportedly identified 548 000 "illegal immigrants" in the homeland. During the discussion of the Aliens and Travellers Control Amendment Bill, various Bophuthatswana MPs expressed concern about the influx of illegal immigrants in the territory, which has no prescribed border controls.'¹¹³ Kgosi Lerothodi of the Bakwena ba Mogopa was also an active member of this administration. Moreover, some elderly residents of Bethanie recalled kgosi Lerothodi as a strict leader that enforced the rules of regulating the flow of people in and out of Bethanie, particularly, non- Bakwena. 'To be called a Mokwena wa Mogopa indicates my one and only origin', is what one of the elders emphasised to me.¹¹⁴

In order to show how insider/outsider cleavages manifested themselves during the Bophuthatswana era, I will use the examples of Odi and Moretele districts as well as how similar events were taking place in Bethanie like the offering of Setswana only as a home language in schools. Anthea Jeffery in her book *Conflict at the Crossroads in Bophuthatswana*, published in 1993, provides a useful term to understand the politics of exclusion during the Bophuthatswana period, namely 'ungrateful guests'.¹¹⁵ Jeffery uses this term to highlight the relationship of the Bantustan administration with non-Tswana people, considered outsiders in Bophuthatswana, and how the tensions that arose from the top seeped to the population. Not only does this term indicates how outsiders were viewed during the Bophuthatswana period but also indicates how ideas around 'ungrateful guests' became solidified through the

¹¹³ South African Institute of Race Relations (South African Institute of Race Relations: Johannesburg, 2001), 1988/89, p. 51

¹¹⁴ Anonymous, interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019.

¹¹⁵ Jeffery, *Conflicts at the crossroads in Bophuthatswana*, p. 17.

administration, discriminating and harassing non-Tswana members of various communities. These tensions rose out of contestations around scarce resources such as land, jobs, schools and who should benefit from the administration formed around Tswana identity. The distinction between insiders and outsiders was highly important when it came to contestations over land and other limited resources. Jeffery writes:

There has been conflict in Bophuthatswana since it became a constitutionally separate state in 1977. Disputes with non-Tswana people, with parties in opposition to the administration, and with communities incorporated into the territory against their will have occurred, along with tensions between the authorities and some traditional leaders. In particular, there has been conflict between the Bophuthatswana administration and the African National Congress (ANC), its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, and its allies - particularly the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).¹¹⁶

Conflict was not only with political organizations or movements, banned or unbanned; it was also within the Bophuthatswana territory. Conflict between the non-Tswana people and Tswana people in the Bantustan was evident especially in the Odi and Moretele districts.¹¹⁷ This example, particularly in the Winterveld informal settlement shows how the non-Tswana population, which constituted a majority of about 80 per cent was discriminated against.¹¹⁸ According to Michael Lawrence and Andrew Manson, Lucas Mangope's rhetoric in the formative years of Bophuthatswana had stressed the idea of 'ethnic origin of the emerging

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 1.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 37.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

Tswana nation'.¹¹⁹ This ideal Tswana nation viewed outsiders as a dent in Tswana identity and hence the politics of exclusion. Discrimination included harassment by the Bophuthatswana police, home raids and threats of expulsion made by Lucas Mangope in 1979.¹²⁰ These ethnic based conflicts led to the drafting of new legislation by the Bophuthatswana administration. Passed by the Bophuthatswana National Assembly in 1983, this new legislation made it almost 'impossible for non-Tswanas who had not taken out Bophuthatswana citizenship to occupy land in the territory.'¹²¹

This legislation excluded many people that did not have this citizenship. The contestation over space in Bophuthatswana further created divisions among the Batswana and the non-Tswana people in the territory. It was estimated that about one million people were greatly affected and faced eviction after the amendment of the legislation.¹²² This opened up a window of further discrimination and harassment of non-Tswana people in Bophuthatswana. 'In 1984 hundreds of non-Tswanas were arrested under the provisions of the new legislations, mainly in the Odi-Moretele area.'¹²³ In Bethanie, the hostility towards 'outsiders' was no different although subtle. According to Barel Thobye who was born and raised in Bethanie and continues to live in Bethanie, outsiders could only spend a limited time in Bethanie. Many rules were put in place to assure this. What was particularly striking was when she recalled her childhood and mentioned what she and other children in the community at the time referred to as 'Ma-4 O'Clock' (the 4-O'clock people).¹²⁴ She explained that outsiders who used

¹¹⁹ Lawrence and Manson, *The 'Dog of the Boers*, p. 449.

¹²⁰ Jeffery, *Conflicts at the crossroads in Bophuthatswana*, p. 37.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Barel Thobye, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, Motsoai (did not provide first name), interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, July 2018. Malawa (did not provide a first name), Interview conducted by

to work in farms around Bethanie and visitors in the community who would come over for the weekend to drink and visit friends were required to leave at 16h00 or be chased by the patrols of the community.¹²⁵

Critics of the Bophuthatswana administration like Anthea Jeffrey, Michael Lawrence and Andrew Manson argued that Mangope viewed non-Tswana people as opponents of his rule. 'Anyone who is not a Motswana by birth or origin is regarded as an enemy by Mangope.'¹²⁶ Michael Lawrence and Andrew Manson made a similar argument when they noted that, 'when the idea of presenting Bophuthatswana as a liberal democratic state became increasingly untenable... Mangope turned to embrace the notion of Pan- Tswanaism.'¹²⁷ This argument, however, is not to say all leaders in Bophuthatswana were like Mangope. Mangope's suspicion towards non-Tswana speakers was based on what he saw as a threat to his rule. These politics of exclusion were also influenced by the resources of the territory of Bophuthatswana and who could control them, hence non-Tswana influence on ideas of reincorporation of Bophuthatswana back into South Africa in the 1990s created an even bigger threat than that of ethnic purity. Although the bantustan administration denied treating outsiders in discriminatory ways, they defended themselves by noting that these issues had been long existing and inherited from the Pretoria government. Bophuthatswana also seemed to have inherited violence (in various forms) when dealing with people deemed as outsiders. The shifting of blame to the government in Pretoria, however, does not give an

Kefuoe Maotoane, Rustenburg, July 2018. David Maotoane, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019. (Translated interviews)

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Jeffrey, *Conflicts at the crossroads in Bophuthatswana*, p. 38.

¹²⁷ Lawrence and Manson, "The 'Dog of the Boer'", p. 454.

adequate explanation about how the administration chose to handle the issue of insider/outsider.¹²⁸

Bophuthatswana ceased to exist in 1994 as part of the political transition to democracy. Tensions between the exiled ANC and United Democratic Front (UDF) against the Bophuthatswana administration intensified during the transition years. The UDF argued that leaders such as Lucas Mangope were collaborators and sellouts who legitimised the racist apartheid state to divide and rule black people. Which brings me to the point that, although Bophuthatswana largely comprised of Batswana and Afrikaans people, migration continued to take place in the bantustan. This can be partly explained by the platinum mining boom of the 1990s. This is what Gavin Capps in his study of platinum mining in the North West Province referred to as 'victims of its own success'.¹²⁹

Bophuthatswana is mostly considered for its rich platinum belt; it consists of various other minerals and agricultural production. It was reported in 1977 that the 'newly independent state' had 37 mines employing about 63 000 workers and that the platinum mines were the largest in the world, with a production value at R277,9 million in 1976.¹³⁰ Using the foundational plans of the apartheid government, Mangope created an administration which allowed him to intervene in the appointment of chiefs, as well as to act as a trustee for the assets of traditional communities.¹³¹ This allowed him to oversee the agreements with traditional authorities and mining companies. Some residents in Bethanie argued that

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Capps, *Victims of its own success?*, p. 63.

¹³⁰ 'The Star, 'Facts, Figures', 2 December 1977.

¹³¹ Andrew Manson, 'Factions, contestations and mining's missing millions: the African National Congress in North West Province since 1994', *Transformation*, 87 (2015), p. 65.

platinum mining in Bethanie was the main source of conflict between the chief of Bakwena ba Mogopa, Kgosi Lerothodi Mamogale and President Mangope.¹³² However, this was rarely substantiated. Strong contestations of national and local scope have emerged over mining, traditional leadership and local provincial government. Mining intensified politics of belonging in Bethanie and broadly in the North West, however, these tensions were already entrenched by the apartheid state.

MINING, CONFLICTS OVER CHIEFTAINSHIP SUCCESSION AND THE POLITICS OF EXCLUSION AND BELONGING, 1980s - 2000s

The 1980s in Bethanie saw the rise of mineral prospecting and the establishment of mines. In 1988 a mine was established in the communal land of the Bakwena ba Mogopa in Bethanie.¹³³ The establishment of the mine placed new pressures on the community which led to growing tensions especially in terms of employment opportunities and resource distribution, particularly land, as the opening of the mine attracted new migrant workers to the area. This does not imply that tensions did not exist before the opening of the mine, but that this mining development certainly increased competition over resources and sharpened the ways in which these tensions manifested. In the late 1980s, Glencore Xstrata, formally known as Rhombus Exploration Limited mining company began negotiating the terms of mining in Bethanie with the Bophuthatswana administration under Lucas Mangope who acted as the trustee of Bakwena ba Mogopa.¹³⁴ The traditional leadership of Bakwena ba Mogopa on 18

¹³² Sydney Mataboga, David Maotoane, Interviews conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019, Bertha Kgorodi, Kelebogile Mamogale interviews conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, March and September 2018. (Translated interviews)

¹³³ Gert Waterboer, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie at Glancore mine, 2 July 2018

¹³⁴ Ibid.

July 1988 signed to give permission of prospecting land to Rhombus Mining (Pty) Limited.¹³⁵

The Minister of Economic Energy Affairs of the Republic of Bophuthatswana granted permission and Kgosi J.E.T.L. Mamogale, witnessed by the magistrate of Odi district, signed the deal.¹³⁶

Jacob Malawa, who is a former advisor to the late chief Royal Mamogale of Bethanie, teacher, former business owner of Mantabole Shop and resident of Bethanie, explained that the scale of mining in Bethanie was initially very small. He also predicted that a new mine that is going to be opened in Makolokoe, in a Bakwena ba Mogopa community next to Bethanie, would be larger and hence attract more people.¹³⁷ This is likely to increase and intensify the politics of exclusion in the area and conflicts between traditional rulers and villagers over the mining royalties. To extend on the argument above, it is important to point towards examples such as the Bafokeng and the BaPong ba Mogale with regards to what Manson and Mbenga termed 'conditions of dissatisfaction'. For example, BaPo's difficulties regarding the payment of royalties date back to the Mangope period. As he did with all traditional communities, Mangope established himself as the trustee of the *morafe* and placed all their assets in what became known as the 'D' (Development) account.¹³⁸ The Bakwena ba Mogopa's assets and

¹³⁵ Bophuthatswana National Archives- The Bakwena ba Mogopa -the point referred to as B states that; The said tribal resolution and permission from Minister of Economic Energy Affairs granted to the Prospector the sole right to prospect and search for base minerals (titaniferous- veneniferous magnetite ore) as defined in the Mining Rights Act No. 20 of 1967 for a period of 3 (three) years, in, on or under the following properties...(which six farms were hereinafter referred to as 'the PROPERTY') and whereas the PROPERTY is situated in the Republic of Bophuthatswana.

¹³⁶ Bophuthatswana National Archives- The Bakwena ba Mogopa- the point referred to as B states that; The said tribal resolution and permission from Minister of Economic Energy Affairs granted to the Prospector the sole right to prospect and search for base minerals (titaniferous- veneniferous magnetite ore) as defined in the Mining Rights Act No. 20 of 1967 for a period of 3 (three) years, in, on or under the following properties...(which six farms were hereinafter referred to as 'the PROPERTY') and whereas the PROPERTY is situated in the Republic of Bophuthatswana.

¹³⁷ Jacob Malawa, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Rustenburg, July 2018. (Translated)

¹³⁸ Manson and Mbenga, Land Chiefs Mining, p. 146.

royalties from the mine were also under this account. A similar approach has been taken by the post-apartheid ANC government. 'The Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act of 2003 (Act 41 of 2003) re-empowers traditional (tribal) authorities to preside over precisely the same geographical areas that were defined by the apartheid government.'¹³⁹ This Act has given chiefs powers to control the distribution of resources in the communities they lead.

According to Mnwana and Capps, the new Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act has entrenched apartheid era 'tribal' demarcations and integrated traditional authorities in mining activities on communal land.¹⁴⁰ Additionally, conflicts have emerged over how mineral benefits are disbursed to the community, and how or whether the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act (2002) is utilised. Mines are meant to create work programmes and submit Social and Labour Plans (SLPs). Yet scholars have reported very little real community benefit from mining. In a study titled 'No chief ever bought a piece of land!', Mnwana and Capps argued that over the past two decades of democracy, areas of mineral expansion such as that of the Bakgatla still face issues of unemployment, poverty, poor basic services and poor education inherited from the apartheid era.¹⁴¹ According to Gavin Capps and Stanley Malindi in the working paper 'Dealing with the Tribe [traditional community]', companies such as Lonmin which benefited from the platinum boom showed contrasting effects in the communities that they operated in where massive poverty was endemic.¹⁴² With

¹³⁹ Gavin Capps and Sonwabile Mnwana, 'No chief ever bought a piece of land!': Struggles over property, community and mining in the Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela Traditional Authority Area, North West Province, Working paper, Society Work and Development Institute, March 2015, p. 6.

¹⁴⁰ Mnwana and Capps, No chief ever bought a piece of land!, p. 6.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Gavin Capps and Stanley Malindi, 'Dealing with the Tribe: The Politics of the Bapo/Lonmin Royalty-to-Equity Conversation', Society, Work and Development Institute, working paper 8, Wits University, May 2017. p. 2.

the chiefs as custodians of the land, many of the decisions are left to chiefs and benefits from the mines hardly trickle down to the rest of the community. There is also the question of beneficiation, where the formation of a mineral trust for the community which is meant to develop the community is frequently hijacked by the chiefs for their own purposes. This has led to increased tensions and divisions within local communities between 'insiders and outsiders'.¹⁴³ Mnwana argues that;

Mining has produced intense struggles and competition at the local level. Such struggles are fought through claims to exclusive group identities and conflicting notions of belonging. The politics and meanings of belonging and citizenship have hence become central to attempts to determine who benefits from the fruits of platinum mining and who doesn't.¹⁴⁴

Mnwana and Capps have shown in multiple examples such as the Bapo- ba Mogale, how mining companies would rather speak to a chief than consult an entire community. However, intervention in traditional communities by the administration is not new to the ANC-led government. Manson argued that the North West provincial government derives its power to intervene in traditional communities through legislation governing traditional leadership and governance going back to the Bophuthatswana era.¹⁴⁵ The appointment of the new regent Christina Mathibedi in Bethaniet coincided with the R1.9 billion joint venture that mining company African Platinum (Afplats) sought to enter with Bakwena. Using the courts, the

¹⁴³ Sonwabile Mnwana, 'Between 'Locals' and 'Foreigners': Mining and Rural Politics of Belonging in North West Province, South Africa', pp. 176-177.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 159.

¹⁴⁵ Andrew Manson, 'Factions, contestations and mining's missing millions: the African National Congress in North West Province since 1994', *Transformation*, 87 (2015), p. 65.

protesting community members contested the appointment of Christina Mathibedi which led to the reinstatement of the previous regent, Emmanuel Sekgwakgwa Mamogale.¹⁴⁶ This exemplifies the complex dynamics between the North West government, mining companies, traditional authorities and the community of Bakwena. The rise of the platinum mining industry in provinces like the North West and Limpopo in South Africa has placed scholarly and governmental focus on the rural areas where mining is taking place. These developments have produced contestations over land and mineral resources, in a context where traditional authorities have the power of entering contracts with mining companies. Recent literature published by scholars in institutes such as Society, Work and Politics Institute (SWOP) at the University of the Witwatersrand has focused on how these contestations have been fought at the local level, notably through traditional leadership.

Describing the story of the first democratic election in Sekhukhuneland, Peter Delius draws us to the symbolic nature of people waiting to vote in a way that reflects other rural communities. Put simply, 'their wait while the rest of the country voted was also symbolic of the fact that the people of Sekhukhuneland, like those in other rural communities, had long been last in line for a share of national resources. This position has ensured them a leading place in the statistics of relative poverty and deprivation.'¹⁴⁷ What is clear from this position is that for a long time, rural communities have been on the back foot of the South African political landscape. Moreover, the institution of traditional leadership was changing. One position of the state of Bethanie in the early 2000s was that 'cracks became visible in the

¹⁴⁶ Andrew Manson, 'Mining and 'Traditional Communities in South Africa's 'Platinum Belt': Contestation over Land, Leadership and Assets in North West Province c. 1996-2012', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 39, 2 (2013), p. 418.

¹⁴⁷ Peter Delius, *A Lion Amongst the Cattle: Reconstruction and Resistance in the Northern Transvaal* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1996) p. 1.

governance of Bakwena ba Mogopa' when the late Royal Letlhogile Mamogale (now late), son of late kgosi Lerothodi Mamogale was appointed.¹⁴⁸ Kgosi Royal's term at the helm was cut short by his death, and since his son and heir Motheo was still a minor and in school, Emmanuel Sekgwakgwa Mamogale was appointed as the regent of Bakwena ba Mogopa.

The regent was described as quiet and but also having vocal opponents from the royal family. Among his opponents in the family was Christina Mathibedi, the aunt to Motheo Mamogale. Regent Emmanuel Sekgwakgwa Mamogale in 2005 received a letter, signed by Mr Rutwane from the Premier's Office, ordering that he step aside from the position. The regent had been accused of maladministration and poor leadership, specifically in handling of contracts relating to the exploitation of the traditional community's mineral prospects.¹⁴⁹ Sydney Mataboga argued that 'they overthrew Sekgwakgwa in the night, at gun point and made him sign to step down, the Mathibedi one, we knew what was going on, and people were up in arms supporting Motheo.'¹⁵⁰

Sekgwakgwa is said to have identified men who were his supporters in the community that later stopped the first lekgotla that was held by Christina Mathibedi. Christina Mathibedi is a member of the royal family and aunt to chief Motheo Mamogale. These supporters of Sekgwakgwa threw chairs at people present at the lekgotla until they left the meeting.¹⁵¹ The men took the lekgotla's keys and waited for the arrival of the police and for the premier's office to explain their actions. When the police arrived, they explained that they not only took

¹⁴⁸ Tobias Moloto, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, December 2019. (Translated)

¹⁴⁹ Sosibo, Kwanele "Bakwena leadership battles resumes", Mail and Guardian, 20 December 2007, p. 9.

¹⁵⁰ Sydney Mataboga, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, December 2019. (Translated)

¹⁵¹ Tobias Moloto, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, December 2019. (Translated)

the lekgotla's keys and locked it, but that they stopped the meeting because the regent Sekgwakgwa was removed by the Premier without the consent or consultation with the members of the community.¹⁵² At the centre was the deal for the establishment of a mine in Makolokwe. At this time, the former regent Sekgwakgwa explained to his supporters that there had been documents that were presented to him regarding mining that he refused to sign, and he maintained that was the reason for his removal.¹⁵³

The protestors demanded that the premier of the North West Province Edna Molewa be summoned to Bethanie and explain her decision. The police advised that the people who opposed this decision to remove regent Sekgwakgwa to go to the police station where the Premier would be called.¹⁵⁴ Lawrence Mashigo, an advisor in the lekgotla in Bethanie, addressed the protestors at the traditional office where they agreed that the matter was not only about the government going against tradition and customs, but about proposed business ventures in the area. 'We've got several projects in the community at the moment', said Mashigo. 'One mining project is estimated at R1.9-billion. The capacity of the acting chief was questioned, and we realised that certain individuals with an interest in the project exploited the situation by appointing Mrs Mathibedi.'¹⁵⁵ Lawrence Mashigo accused Christina Mathibedi of being a puppet of people seeking to benefit unlawfully from the traditional community's wealth.¹⁵⁶ 'The rich keep getting richer off our land,' said one community member. He then went on to add that the community believed that Mathibedi was not qualified for the position, because a married woman had never led the tribe [morafe]

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Tobias Moloto, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, December 2019.

¹⁵⁵ Sholain Governder, "Tribe Up in arms in row over new chief", Pretoria News, 22 November 2005, p. 2.

¹⁵⁶ Sosibo, Kwanele "Bakwena leadership battles resumes", Mail and Guardian, 20 December 2007, p. 9.

before'.¹⁵⁷ Although she was alleged to have worked at other traditional leadership offices in the region, she was not experienced enough.¹⁵⁸ Adding fuel to the fire was the decisions that the protesters believed the new chief was already making before having met with the community. When people feel excluded from decisions about their community, particularly because there are a lot of resources at stake in Bethanie, there is often a lot of suspicion that arise. Another point of conflict was the resources on the land of the Bakwena.

Christina Mathibedi's opposition to the regent Emmanuel Sekgwakgwa came under scrutiny when she was appointed as the acting chief by the North West Province Premier Edna Molewa - replacing Sekgwakgwa. Although she was already married and technically not part of the royal family, she assumed the position and began making decisions on behalf of the Bakwena ba Mogopa without consultations with the community regarding mining deals. Mathibedi had been married, lived in Mabopane, and was working for the Bakgatla ba Motsepe traditional community when she was appointed as regent in Bethanie.¹⁵⁹ She was suspected of having a hand in taking out regent Sekgwakgwa Mamogale out of office when the commotion began.

Around 3 000 members of the Bakwena ba Mogopa were reported to have gathered at the traditional offices in Bethanie protesting the appointment of the new regent Christina Mathibedi. The community protested and demanded that the provincial government include them and follow procedures when making decisions about them.¹⁶⁰ The community was infuriated and protested the Premier. The community of Bethanie was up in arms.¹⁶¹ Lebo

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Sholain Governder, "Tribe Up in arms in row over new chief", Pretoria News, 22 November 2005, p. 2.

¹⁵⁹ Sydney Mataboga, Interview conducted Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, December 2019. (Translated)

¹⁶⁰ Sholain Governder, "Tribe Up in arms in row over new chief", Pretoria News, 22 November 2005, p. 2.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

Segale, the daughter of the former regent Sekgwakgwa Mamogale, addressed the media by saying that people in Bethanie would not go to work until the premier addressed the community and that the community was not controlled by the government.¹⁶² She further expressed that the decisions of appointing regents was the responsibility of the royal family and not decisions taken at provincial government level.¹⁶³

Government representatives arrived in Bethanie at around 1.30 p.m. and told those present that a meeting between the royal family and government representatives would take place on Sunday. However, protestors said that they wanted the matter to be addressed immediately. Provincial government spokesman Russel Mamabolo said the North West House of Traditional Leadership was aware of the situation in Bethanie but stressed that government did not appoint the chief. It was reported that Mamabolo said: 'such appointments are dealt with by the local royal house of that particular community'.¹⁶⁴ He confirmed that the traditional leadership and institutions directorate in the Office of the North West Premier would meet on Sunday to advise the Royal House on how to deal with the matter.¹⁶⁵ Although police patrolled the area regularly, the people remained calm, and no incidents of violence were reported at the time.¹⁶⁶

Violence erupted in December 2005, after a meeting to resolve the leadership quarrel in the community led to two buildings at the royal headquarters being set alight.¹⁶⁷ The royal family was divided. The protestors were expecting to speak to the Premier who did not arrive but

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Sholain Governder, "Tribe Up in arms in row over new chief", Pretoria News, 22 November 2005, p. 2.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Sosibo, Kwanele "Bakwena leadership battles resumes", Mail and Guardian, 20 December 2007, p. 9.

instead sent representatives. They protested throughout the night by blocking the roads with burning tyres and tree branches the day and night before anticipating the meeting with the Premier. They marched in their numbers and waited for the premier at the lekgotla. When the premier's representative arrived 'we told the person that the premier sent to write a letter, saying that there are police all over Bethanie and that the kgosi Sekgwakgwa will be reinstated. He wrote it and signed it. By Monday the man that wrote the letter, Mr Malebye, was interviewed and said that the Bakwena and the police forced him to write the letter. And because he was forced, he is cancelling the letter'.¹⁶⁸ Following this, one of the houses by the lekgotla was set alight. Moloto had been told by the police to open the gate of the lekgotla and on his way there he was tackled and the key was taken from him. The police shot at the crowd that was present there with teargas and people ran away. After this, Moloto left and was not arrested. By the time he crossed the river, he saw smoke that – and that was when the house was burnt at the lekgotla. Fortunately, there was no one hurt. Moloto argued that he was not amongst the protestors when this happened but by new years eve of 2006, he was amongst the people arrested for this.¹⁶⁹ Nine people were arrested on charges of public violence; however, there was insufficient evidence provided to punish the accused.¹⁷⁰ Moloto argued that he and his co-accused cooperated with the police after their arrest.¹⁷¹ Edna called us to an office in Rustenburg. She spoke and wanted us to reply but we chose to say nothing. There was kgosi Mabe and other traditional leaders. Edna had witnesses here in Bethanie who were going to testify against us, and two of those people, were people we started this thing. 'I slept in jail from the 31st of December 2nd or 3rd of January, we went to court and then got

¹⁶⁸ Tobias Moloto, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 20 December 2019. (Translated)

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Sosibo, Kwanele "Bakwena leadership battles resumes", Mail and Guardian, 20 December 2007, p. 9.

¹⁷¹ Tobias Moloto, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, December 2019. (Translated)

bail. We went to court for years and we had case against Edna. We won the case where we were accused of burning the house.’¹⁷² Judge Mogoeng ruled on our case.

The role of the government is to issue a certificate of recognition once the process has been concluded by the Lekgotla. This is in line with the national and provincial legislation.¹⁷³ The installation of the new chief by the premier created many speculations among the Bakwena ba Mogopa. Among others, some Bakwena ba Mogopa charged that the new chief was appointed so the province could get a stake in local projects. 'The premier's office has an interest in some of our projects; that is the reason for this dispute,' said Keabetswe More, the community representative. Lebo Segale said the person appointed as chief would not be accepted by the people because she was a married woman.¹⁷⁴ 'It is customary for the people not to be led by a woman,' she said. The new chieftainess Christine Mathibedi was aware of tensions surrounding her appointment and therefore had not arrived in Bethanie yet.¹⁷⁵ Following these events, a court order was issued to address the conflict in Bethanie in the form of a commission of inquiry. The Hendler Commission was set up in September of 2007 to investigate the affairs of the Bakwena.¹⁷⁶ Judge Hendler appointed J. P. Mogoeng to head the commission - in terms of the North West Commissions Act No. 18 of 1994, read with section 127(2)(e) of Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 108 of 1996 – called the Hendler Commission of Inquiry.¹⁷⁷ The court order also stated that the report from the

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Department of Provincial and Local Government, *The white paper on traditional leadership and governance*, 2003, p. 51-52.

¹⁷⁴ Sholain Governder, "Tribe Up in arms in row over new chief", *Pretoria News*, 22 November 2005, p. 2.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Kwanele "Bakwena leadership battles resumes", *Mail and Guardian*, 20 December 2007, p. 9.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

commission should be submitted to the Premier. There were seven points of reference made by Judge Hendler.

The commission was tasked to, firstly, determine whether Motheo Mamogale was the natural offspring of the late Kgosi Letlhogile Royal David Mamogale and therefore the rightful incumbent to the seat of chieftainship of the Bakwena Ba Mogopa traditional community; secondly; to investigate whether or not Kgosi Emmanuel Sekgwakgwa Mamogale is the rightful person to be appointed regent of the Bakwena Ba Mogopa traditional community. If not, who was the rightful person to be appointed regent to lead the traditional community on behalf of the children of the deceased Kgosi Letlhogile Royal David Mamogale. Thirdly, to investigate and establish the membership of the Royal Family as informed by the family tree indicating the changes (if any) as from the date of appointment of Kgosi Letlhogile Royal David Mamogale as the chief of the said traditional community. Fourth point of investigation was the possible origins and/or causes of repeated disputes and/or demonstrations within the traditional community relating to the administration of traditional community affairs.

The fifth point of investigation was the problems relating to the administration, including financial administration, of the traditional community affairs of the Bakwena Ba Mogopa traditional community. Sixth point was to investigate any unauthorised expenditure and or withdrawal of money belonging to the traditional community, whether held in an account opened with any financial institution or held in trust elsewhere in the name of the traditional community. Lastly, to investigate the basis and reasons for the decision of the Royal Family

to recommend the appointment of Mr Emmanuel Sekgwakgwa Mamogale as regent, including but not limited to the following: Who were the members of the Royal Family involved in his appointment? Was the decision of the Royal Family taken unanimously to appoint and recommend the recognition of Mr Emmanuel Sekgwakgwa Mamogale as regent of the traditional community?¹⁷⁸ Once the commission had concluded its investigations, the report was sent to the North West Premier Edna Molewa in 2008, who welcomed it. Judge J. P. Mogoeng made several comments. First, that Mr Emmanuel Sekgwakgwa Mamogale be reinstated on 12 October 2006.¹⁷⁹ Secondly; the commission of inquiry's submissions recommended that Motheo Mamogale be appointed and recognized as chief of Bakwena ba Mogopa traditional community as soon as possible. 'All the main families of the Bakwena ba Mogopa royal family reached a consensus during the sitting of the commission that Motheo was the legitimate son of the late Kgosi Letlhogile Royal David Mamogale,' the commission said. The findings by the commission stated that Dinatsotlhe Mamogale (chief Motheo's paternal uncle) be considered for appointment as deputy chief to assist Motheo in his duties until he had completed his studies. Thirdly; the Commission also called on government to appoint a qualified administrator or a firm of auditors to sort out the affairs of the Bakwena ba Mogopa.¹⁸⁰ The morafe of the Bakwena ba Mogopa has plenty of wealth in the farms that they own. The commission commented that if the Bakwena managed their wealth appropriately, they would have sufficient funds to impact the community.¹⁸¹ The Premier also reiterated that the traditional leaders have an important role, not only in the communities to

¹⁷⁸<https://www.gov.za/speeches/premier-mokgoro-meet-bakwena-ba-mogopa-and-bapo-ba-mogale-traditional-councils-14-apr-2019>

¹⁷⁹ Kwanele Sosibo, "Bakwena leadership battles resumes", Mail and Guardian, 20 December 2007, p. 9.

¹⁸⁰ Premier welcomes chieftain report, 16 May 2008 <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/premier-welcomes-chieftain-report-400802>

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

which they belong but also in the country.¹⁸² Furthermore, the premier assured the house of traditional leaders that the recommendations that the commission made, would be implemented swiftly.¹⁸³ Fourthly; the Commission also investigated maladministration involving all the various financial and administrative problems within the traditional community and its relationship with companies, more particular those wishing to mine and prospect on traditional community's land. The removal of the regent lead to protestors in the streets, the regent had been internally accused of maladministration before, particularly from within the royal family. The commission asked the government to appoint a qualified administrator or a firm of auditors to sort out the affairs of the traditional community.

The Bakwena ba Mogopa have a great deal of wealth under the ground on farms which they own, and if properly administered there would be more than sufficient funds available to see the welfare of the traditional community.¹⁸⁴ The commission observed but discovered that 'the community is spending huge sums of the money on legal fees to firms of attorneys for transactions that are taking too long to conclude.¹⁸⁵

It recommended that an administrator must immediately investigate the ongoing negotiations between 'the mining committee and mining companies. 'Certain firms of attorneys are costing the traditional community thousands of Rand every month and the commission cannot understand why these transactions are taking so long to finalise', the commission observed. It was the commission's concern that the traditional community is

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ <https://www.mmegi.bw/index.php?sid=1&aid=17&dir=2008/May/Tuesday20>

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

losing money continuously and that more is going out of their coffers in expenses than the money earned in the form of royalties. Premier Molewa said chieftainship still had its place in modern society. In her words;

Today still, many developmental challenges which we face require the wisdom and contribution of Dikgosi in our governance and interface of communication and the improved delivery of services to the rural poor. In this regard, traditional leaders are able to contribute in a meaningful and decisive way, to the growth and development of our people, helping government to improve our relationships with our rural communities. It is for this reason that we remain relentless as government, in our efforts to implement our training programmes for Dikgosi, which seek to enhance their role of improving access to services at the local government level. I therefore proudly announce that the Comprehensive National Program of Support for Dikgosi will be piloted in the province.¹⁸⁶

Molewa expressed that she was worried about disputes over traditional leadership in Bethanie. She added that traditional leaders pose a critical challenge for the government and the House. Furthermore she assured the House that her government would move speedily to implement the recommendations that the Commission made. The North West provincial government considered establishing a royal trust which would be used as a catalyst to empower traditional leaders and their families in various fields such as education at the time. Molewa further expressed that 'there is indeed no doubt that the role that can be played by

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

Dikgosi in our developmental state is critical as traditional councils remain a critical catalyst to make local government work better for our people. As custodians of cultural values and customs, you [chiefs] occupy strategic positions in our society to provide leadership in restoring morality and Botho in our communities'.¹⁸⁷ Premier Molewa said there was a need to strengthen relations between the House of Traditional Leaders, municipalities and the South African Local Government Association for the purpose of improving service delivery.¹⁸⁸ Therefore, the statements expressed by the Premier saw traditional leadership as an extension of the state. However, the Premier did not address the views and allegations levelled against her by the community of the Bakwena ba Mogopa. Mataboga stated that in opposing the actions of Mathibedi, they were putting a lot of pressure on the young kgosi Motheo Mamogale.¹⁸⁹ With the divisions in the royal family in Bethanie, Mataboga, concluded that is why chief Motheo chose to not reside in the community even though he had land that was set aside for him to build a house. However, this has made traditional governance not only removed from the community but seemingly non-existent.¹⁹⁰ In the events that followed, the courts intervened in the matter. Tebogo Reneilwe Motheo Mamogale of the Bakwena ba Mogopa became the chief after the large protest involving the premier of the North West Province. This was followed by the commission of inquiry probing into the paternity of the chief. The chief was quoted saying 'a commission of inquiry was conducted after my father's death on who was the rightful heir of Bakwena ba Mogopa because my grandfather had two families. The former premier of North West awarded me with a certificate of recognition in 2009 when I was 19'.¹⁹¹ Peter Geschiere argued that the

¹⁸⁷ <https://www.mmegi.bw/index.php?sid=1&aid=17&dir=2008/May/Tuesday20>

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ 'Young chief shoulders big responsibility: A chief at 19, he realizes what is expected of him and is tackling many projects successfully'. The New Age, 21 August 2013.

institution of traditional leadership had been tarnished by its involvement with the old regime and the expectation was that it would not survive in the postapartheid era.¹⁹² However, Geschiere continues, traditional authority survived the transition.¹⁹³ Speaking to a situation closer to Bethanie because of the mineral wealth, he maintains;

Often it is precisely their management of these new forms of wealth and power that threatens their moral standing in relation to their subjects. The very different and often improvised ways in which they handle this balancing act could be a critical factor in understanding the distinctly varied fate of the institution today.¹⁹⁴

It has become common knowledge that traditional leadership or chiefs are not the product of colonialism, nor can traditional leadership be simply dismissed as false consciousness.¹⁹⁵

Mbongiseni Buthelezi and Dineo Skosana argued that the Nhlapo Commission is/was an institutionalized apparatus through which traditional leaders across the provinces of South Africa have reclaimed their legitimacy under the democratic dispensation.¹⁹⁶ They further noted that 'the assertion of chiefs, not least through institutions of state, is not new, however. At different moments during the colonial and apartheid South Africa, some rulers aligned themselves with the government for strategic purposes.'¹⁹⁷ Stated more clearly, Buthelezi and Skosana argued that;

¹⁹² Peter Geschiere, African Chiefs and the Post-Cold War Movement in John and Jean Camaroff eds. *The Politics of Custom: Chieftainship, Capital, and the State in Contemporary Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2001), p. 49.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 52.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 53-54.

¹⁹⁶ Mbongiseni Buthelezi and Dineo Skosana, 'The Salience of Chiefs in Postapartheid South Africa', in John and Jean Camaroff eds. *The Politics of Custom: Chieftainship, Capital, and the State in Contemporary Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2001), p. 127.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 127-128.

The periods before and during the country's transition, and the first democratic elections, have witnessed a continuity in the tactical means by which traditional leaders negotiate their place on the political landscape. The mobilization of constructed notions of culture, custom, and tradition is one way in which they have called for state recognition. Elsewhere, particularly in the mineral-rich parts of South Africa, like Limpopo and the North West, chiefs have positioned themselves at the centre of their local economies; however, the sheer magnitude of political and financial stakes involved have led to an increase and intensification of disputes over succession to high office.¹⁹⁸

In 2012 *City Press* newspaper reported on the conflict that had arisen in Bethanie over the community's money.¹⁹⁹ The article reported that a bitter feud had ripped the community apart over R50 million. The money was held in a trust account controlled by the North West provincial government, an account which contained millions generated from mineral rights on land belonging to the community. On one side was the traditional council and disaffected members of the royal family, who claimed that 22-year-old paramount chief Kgosi Motheo Mamogale was squandering the community's wealth.²⁰⁰ A man referred to as Mr Phaladi was rumoured to have been at the centre of the missing Bakwena funds.²⁰¹ Furthermore, there were several agricultural projects that were initiated by the chief that did not materialize or assist Bakwena in the community. Mr Phaladi was believed to have been mentoring the chief.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 128.

¹⁹⁹ Jacques Pauw, 'Bakwena ba Mogopa split over CEOs'. This article is sourced from the University of the Witwatersrand library website, SA Media: The University of the Free State. *City Press*, 12 February 2012.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Sydney Mataboga, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019.

Sydney Mataboga speculated that the mentor was earning a lot of money because he saw him drive a Land Cruiser and had flashy things.²⁰²

Some members of the royal family asked Paul Sebegoe, the MEC for local government and traditional affairs, to suspend Mamogale, whom they had urged to undergo management training.²⁰³ They accused him of serious misconduct. Leading the campaign against the Kgosi was his uncle, Charles Mamogale, who claimed: 'The Kgosi, his mother and her boyfriend are the only people benefiting from the wealth on our land. The rest of us have nothing.'²⁰⁴ Charles Mamogale and members of the council claimed that their kgosi and the North West government officials knew the whereabouts of the millions of rands missing from the community's D account. But Kgosi Motheo Mamogale dismissed the allegations against him, blaming 'dissidents' in the royal family.²⁰⁵ He said they tried to remove him through a court application, but failed. The chief was of the view that some members of the royal family who had been against his chieftainship were repeating old tactics. Japhta Pooe who was the council deputy chairperson was reported to have said that they 'want[ed] to know how it is [was] possible for the Kgosi to have signing powers on our D account. What is happening to the morafe's money?' was one of the questions asked by the council members.²⁰⁶ As the Kgosi, he was responsible until the premier constituted new councils throughout the province.²⁰⁷ Both the council and the embattled paramount chief had appointed rival chief executives to manage the community's affairs, but neither side recognized the other's CEO

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Jacques Pauw, 'Bakwena ba Mogopa split over CEOs'. This article is sourced from the University of the Witwatersrand library website, SA Media: The University of the Free State. City Press, 12 February 2012.

²⁰⁴ Jacques Pauw, 'Bakwena ba Mogopa split over CEOs'. This article is sourced from the University of the Witwatersrand library website, SA Media: The University of the Free State. City Press, 12 February 2012.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

appointee.²⁰⁸ The chief questioned the legitimacy of the council members. Following that, the council asked the Public Protector to investigate the dispute between the Kgosi and the royal family, as well as the alleged money in the D account and they also wanted the maladministration by the Kgosi probed.

Charles Mamogale had accused the Kgosi of living a 'lovely life' while his subjects lived in poverty.²⁰⁹ Divisions and squabbles in the royal family had been raging since 2005, when Afplats sought to enter into a R1.9 billion joint venture with the Bakwena community. It triggered a succession debate and the Afplats deal could not be concluded as the firm did not know who the legitimate representatives of the community were.²¹⁰ Upon Motheo Mamogale's naming as Kgosi, deals were concluded with the Swiss-based Xstrata and Amplats. The deal with Xstrata alone was worth R467 million. Mamogale denied the allegations, saying some members of the royal family made such claims for purposes of 'besmirching Kgosi's name with the intention of removing him' from the throne.²¹¹

The current chief of the Bakwena ba Mogopa is Tebogo Reneilwe Motheo Mamogale, son of the late chief Letlhogile David Mamogale and Keneilwe Mamogale. He was born in Mafikeng in 1989. He moved with parents to Bethanie in 1997 with his parents when his late grandfather chief Lerothodi Mamogale died. His father took over as the chief until 2003 when he too passed away. Since Motheo was still a minor, his uncle Segwagwa Mamogale became the acting chief. Motheo attended high school in Bishop Bavan in Johannesburg. In 2009,

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Jacques Pauw, 'Bakwena ba Mogopa split over CEOs'. This article is sourced from the University of the Witwatersrand library website, SA Media: The University of the Free State. City Press, 12 February 2012.

Motheo received a certificate of recognition as the chief of Bakwena ba Mogopa.²¹² The certificate of recognition has been a source of tension in Bethanie as many residents, particularly elders in the community, felt that the holding of the ceremony at Sun City alienated the chief from the community and that was not in accordance with the traditions of Bakwena - the tradition of chiefs being recognized in the community among his followers. In 2013 the chief called a meeting that ended in chaos in the community. According to Mataboga,

[The chief] was trying to explain that he was not at fault, not involved or responsible... he allowed the advisor. The man advising the chief was actually imposing on this young man...and he knew the weak points of this young man like drinking too much and he nourished that in order to get to the coffers...to an extent that they cancelled the deeds...for the chief to not have access to the tribes [traditional community] funds... they made a token for Hebron, and Bethanie...what that man did to win the hearts of the workers was balloon the salaries...so when the coffers ran dry everyone went dry.²¹³

Another participant, who was present during the meeting not only shared similar sentiments mentioned above, she said that she was traumatised by the way the events panned out.²¹⁴ The chief was surrounded by bodyguards that ended up agitating the community. The bodyguards were white men that some community members saw as agitation.²¹⁵ It was

²¹² 'Young chief shoulders big responsibility: A chief at 19, he realizes what is expected of him and is tackling many projects successfully'. The New Age, 21 August 2013. This article is sourced from the University of the Witwatersrand library website, SA Media: The University of the Free State.

²¹³ Sydney Mataboga, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, December 2019. (Translated)

²¹⁴ Mpho Maotwane, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, December 2019. (Translated)

²¹⁵ Sydney Mataboga, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, December 2019. (Translated)

rumoured that the bodyguards were paid 60 million for a three to six months' job.²¹⁶ The chief was further accused of not seeking or accepting advice. During this time, the mine was withholding the Bakwena royalties. This is due to the allegations of maladministration that the royal family had been accused of for many years prior. It is clearly stipulated in the contract that the Bakwena had a share of twenty six percent of mining shares.

Now the mine is sitting with about 400 million due to the Bakwena. But because of the thuggery surrounding the chief, the Bakwena still do not have access because the case is still not open. The accounts of the Bakwena are frozen. The chief must go to the Hawks...even they are not clear and are still not allowing the Bakwena to have an account...but the chief and Les have opened one...but it cannot be used because the mine was warned.²¹⁷

Although the claims made by Mataboga were not substantiated, the corruption watch report of 2018 argued that the communities of Bakwena ba Mogopa faced many challenges of misappropriation and community funds - royalties owed to them.²¹⁸ They argued that community member were aware of the amount of money in the D-account. Some members of Bakwena ba Mogopa in Bethanie were interviewed during the compilation of this report. The D-account was last audited in 1992 and community members feel like they have not been consulted about the agreements between the mining companies and even more so have very little information about companies that they have equity.²¹⁹ Bakwena ba Mogopa had many

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ <https://www.corruptionwatch.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Mining-royalties-research-report-final1.pdf>

²¹⁹ Ibid.

issues with their traditional leadership. For example, in 2003, the *Sunday Independent* newspaper reported that the community was divided on diamond mining royalties. This ended up in chaos with seven of the leaders signing a secret agreement giving one of the bidding companies' rights to prospect on the land.²²⁰ Kgosi Motheo Mamogale outlined his objectives to eradicate unemployment among the youth in his community. He outlined that;

BBM is going through transformational stages as we operate through the D-Account. This is an account that holds the finances of every tribal community in the province, and it is controlled by the provincial government. In the North West, only the Royal Bafokeng have demonstrated that they can control their own funds. To access the account from the account from the D-account is a long process but the government said that we should put systems in place to show them that we can be independent.²²¹

The Public Protector Thuli Madonsela reportedly investigated claims that 'two mineral-rich North West communities have not received millions in mining royalties owed to them'.²²² The Bakwena ba Mogopa and Bapo ba Mogale alleged that government officials were looting and mismanaging their trust accounts in which hundreds of millions of Rands of their wealth was held. The two communities asked Mandosela to investigate allegations of, among others, fraud, mismanagement and corruption.²²³ The two communities occupy land in the Madibeng district, between Hartebeespoort and Brits, which has vast deposits of platinum, vanadium and other mineral deposits. The Bapo ba Mogale community alone has mineral resources

²²⁰ Khuzwayo, Wisemen. "Diamonds drive a wedge into Mogopa", *Sunday Independent*, 19 October 2003, p. 3.

²²¹ 'Young chief shoulders big responsibility: A chief at 19, he realizes what is expected of him and is tackling many projects successfully'. *The New Age*, 21 August 2013, p.20.

²²² Jacques Pauw and Mmanaledi Mataboge, 'Madonsela to probe tribes' lost millions: North West communities have not received mining royalties owed to them.' *City Press*, 12 February 2012, p. 12.

²²³ *Ibid.*

worth R10 billion, over which mining firms Lonmin, International Ferro Metals, Samancor Chrome and Finstone Granite own mining or prospectors' rights.²²⁴ But the two communities alleged that they could not access their money, that the government had ignored their pleas for help and that communities do not benefit from their land.²²⁵ The North West Traditional Leadership and Governance Act prescribes that the income from tribal communities should be deposited into 'D accounts' held by the provincial government. Government must ensure that communities receive the proceeds to assist with development and can intervene when there is evidence of maladministration. A 2010 forensic report, carried out on behalf of the Bakwena ba Mogopa, claimed that there were 'serious gross violations in the procurement and usage of traditional communities' money'.²²⁶ However, many of these reports hardly made it to the ordinary residents of Bethanie. The North West Province held 'more than 800 D accounts worth R550 million' at the time which included apartheid-era accounts.²²⁷ The provincial government still managed trust accounts from the 'Bophuthatswana Independent Celebrations' and the 'Plaaslike Bantoe-owerheid (Local Bantu Authority)'.²²⁸ The Bakwena ba Mogopa community has R58 million in four accounts, while the Bapo ba Mogale has R400 million in several others - their income from mining houses. North West Premier Thandi Modise rejected the allegations. The premier said that all D accounts were managed by the provincial treasury. The premier argued that the provincial government was not responsible for running the traditional councils and the provincial treasury could only take over the administration if a traditional council was unable to run its affairs.²²⁹ She added that the

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Jacques Pauw and Mmanaledi Mataboge, 'Madonsela to probe tribes' lost millions: North West communities have not received mining royalties owed to them.' City Press, 12 February 2012, p. 12.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid.

provincial government was not responsible for running the traditional councils. Moreover, the premier denied the allegations that the provincial treasury took over the administration.

Hugh Eiser, lawyer for the Bapo ba Mogale traditional council, said: 'The premier, the MEC and the North West Officials have done as they pleased with the community's money, while the community, which owns the money, is kept in the dark.'²³⁰ Modise said there was ongoing intervention in the Bapo ba Mogale's affairs, but this has been requested by the royal family. Since July 2010, this community has obtained four court orders against the premier and her government, which Eiser claims they have simply ignored.²³¹ The North Gauteng High Court ruled that the traditional council had the power to remove a chief executive who was appointed by the government administrator because it was the highest decision-making community leadership structure. The North West High Court ordered the premier to pay the salaries of the traditional council members and the community's creditors which the government had stopped paying for months. The court ruled that the traditional council had the right to work from the community's offices in Bapong after a government administrator locked them out. She regarded the Bakwena ba Mogopa as stable and said allegations about its affairs were false. The Bakwena ba Mogopa was seen as a contrasting case in relation to Bapong.

The chief of Bakwena ba Mogopa argued that although there were a lot of people with registered companies, there was a lack in skills capacity, moreover, Bakwena owned 26% in

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Ibid.

Xstrata and 'I want the youth to occupy levels from management to the lowest position in the company. I am teaming up with people who can help the Bakwena promote entrepreneurship because I have noticed that many people would love to own their own businesses'.²³² Furthermore, he assured the community in his words that 'we have signed a memorandum of understanding with Rustenburg local municipality and already we are building a reservoir, which will cost R7m for first phase and R5m for second phase. BBM is the biggest community in the Madibeng local municipality'.²³³ While sharing his plans for the Bakwena ba Mogopa with the *New Age* reporter, the chief also announced plans of new mine underway. 'He said that Bakwena must also be ready for the Afplats Mine, which is currently under construction. The mine will be operational by 2019 and is expected to create about 3 500 jobs for BBM of which we will own 26%'.²³⁴ While prospect of jobs and new opportunities were highlighted by the chief, some residents of Bethanie, particularly the youth are at the fence on putting their hopes up. This is due to the rising unemployment in Bethanie, visible in the ever increasing lines at the mine recruitment offices. And worsened by newcomers in Bethanie that they argue, are taking their jobs. For people below, without skills, bursaries or training centers, the prospects are low.

On the 20 August 2000, *City Press* published an article exposing a health lawsuit faced by a mining company that affected Bakwena ba Mogopa. A privately owned mining company outside Pretoria failed to disclose occupational health hazards that may have led to a number of black miners being disabled with infected lungs. Deadly gases that destroy the lungs and

²³² 'Young chief shoulders big responsibility: A chief at 19, he realizes what is expected of him and is tackling many projects successfully'. *The New Age*, 21 August 2013, p. 20.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Ibid.

cause 'active post-primary tuberculosis' are allegedly present in the plant's 'smelting areas'.²³⁵ Rhobus Vanadium (Pty) Limited near Brits in the North West is now facing legal action. The mine either retrenched the infected workers or gave them early retirement with no compensation. Most of the known sufferers are from four villages near the mine that are under the Bakwena ba Mogopa- Bethanie, Barseba, Modikwe and Mokolokwe. The mine is leased from Bakwena ba Mogopa traditional authority and was officially opened in 1991.²³⁶ The effect of the alleged poisoning started to emerge in the late 1990s. 'The extent of the damage will only be known after some time, as has been the case with the asbestos poisoning in the Northern Cape. But Silubane [Philemon Silubane- mine's personnel manager] has earlier admitted he was aware of the threatened legal action and denied the mine was responsible for the suspected poisoning. A group of the former miners who intended to institute a joint legal action for compensation have called on the leader of the Bakwena ba Mogopa, Kgosi Royal Mamogale, to step down, saying as a director of the mine he had a clash of interests. 'The problem we are experiencing was brought to the attention of the chief but nothing was done,' said one of the miners. -members of the tribal authority committee admitted they were aware of the health problems.

Star newspaper reported in January of 2007 that the Bakwena ba Mogopa signed a deal with the mining company Xstrata Alloys. In an article titled 'Xstrata Alloys, Bakwena signed R575m deal', the article detailed the agreement between the mine and the Bakwena ba Mogopa, the issues that are still experienced by the mine as well as the role that the mine is playing in the community.²³⁷ In 2006, the lease agreement between the Bakwena ba Mogopa, which owns

²³⁵ Elias Maluleke, 'Another mining plant faces health lawsuit', City Press, 20 August 2000.

²³⁶ Maluleke, 'Another mining plant faces health lawsuit', City Press, 20 August 2000.

²³⁷ Brown Justin, 'Xstrata Alloys, Bakwena sign R575m deal'. STAR, 10 January 2007, p. 1

the surface property rights of the Rhovan operation, and the Xstrata Rhovan mine expired and was renewed in 2007.²³⁸ The deal entailed that the Bakwena ba Mogopa had a stake of 26 percent in the business. Furthermore, the deal was set to result in the empowerment of all Xstrata Alloys' local operations in terms of the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act.²³⁹ About 9 percent of Xstrata Alloys' workforce, consisting of 7500 full-time employees and 4800 contractors are women. The mining charter requires 10 percent of the mining industry's workforce of 450 000 people to be women.²⁴⁰ About 29 percent of Xstrata Alloys' management are black people compared with the required 40 percent. Bakwena Ba Mogopa chief Christina Mathibedi said: 'The vanadium mine in Bethanie has historically played a significant role in our community. A large portion of the operations' labour force is drawn from the community.'²⁴¹ Before the deal, Xstrata Alloys paid royalties to the Bakwena ba Mogopa, which were administered by the North West provincial government.²⁴² The community immediately obtained a 26 percent interest in the cash flows generated by the Rhovan operation in return for its proportional share of operating and capital expenditure.²⁴³ Xstrata was meant to provide vendor finance to pay for part of the community's acquisition and has guaranteed a minimum cash distribution to the community. An executive community, comprising Xstrata and community representatives, will have overall management control of the Rhovan operations. Through a skills transfer programmes Xstrata will train members of the community in managing the operation.²⁴⁴ While there is evidence of local councillors in Bethanie during election seasons, with posters, the role of the councillor has been less than

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

effective. Charged with administering proof of residence and delivering water every now and again, the role of the councillor is less than clear.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to show the relationship between the Bakwena ba Mogopa in relation to land, chiefs and mining. Rather than provide a continuous history, it has identified specific moments in Bethanie that may provide an understanding for the events between Mabidibidi incidents of the 1920s, 1930s and 1960s, and the violent protests of 2018. First, it has highlighted the 1920s when land was a contested issue among the Bakwena ba Mogopa community particularly, although not exclusively, in Hebron and Jericho. It has also illuminated the position of Bethanie in and among other areas of residence of the Bakwena ba Mogopa. It showed how the community of the Bakwena ba Mogopa have always had complicated relationships with their chiefs as well as with the state from the era of the Union government, apartheid (which also included Bophuthatswana) till the democratic government.

The chapter aimed to focus on the 1980s, in particular from 1988 when the mine was developed in Bethanie. This chapter has put a spotlight on factions within the royal family and government officials or politicians from the North West Province over royalties paid by the mining company. Secondly, the chapter has underscored the period of the 1980s where politics of belonging were complicated and exacerbated by mining development. This politics of belonging had a deep history that can be traced not only to the Bophuthatswana era but to the period of the Union and the apartheid governments. Moreover, the chapter has

focussed on the key moments in the post-apartheid period relating to how chieftainship, mining, and provincial government have impacted the Bakwena ba Mogopa communities. It has highlighted a key example of how mining, traditional leadership and provincial government collided in one moment in 2005. This protest showed how, traditional leadership was contested within the royal family and later spilled into the community. This was triggered by the North West Provincial government's decision to fire and hire a new regent kgosi resulting not only in a court case but also a commission of inquiry. Mining royalties were also at the centre of this contestation. The regent put in power by the premier of the government of the North West Province was accused of having ulterior motives that were not for the benefit of the community. The events that followed, which culminated in a massive protest in 2018, were merely extensions of these contestations.

CHAPTER FOUR:

Shift in the Repertoires of Contention: Violence, Unemployment, Youth and the Everyday in Bethanie



FIGURE 3: IMAGE PROVIDED BY TSHGOFATSO MAOTWANE BY WHATSAPP TO KEFUOE MAOTOANE ON 4 SEPTEMBER 2018

Introduction

On the 3rd of September 2018, I arrived in Bethanie to find the streets blocked by burning tires and a large group of young people gathered on the road. The image above is a depiction of what I met when I arrived. Although it was dark and late, I could visibly see the burning barricade of tyres and tree branches. I recognised some of the faces because I had lived in the area before. These were faces of young men and women frustrated by the various issues in Bethanie, ranging from basics services such as water, road to jobs. Although the frustrations were clear, forms of creating ‘legitimacy’ as political subjectivities were unconventional to Bethanie, or at least it seemed so to me. There was little singing from the crowd, a common repertoire of protest in South Africa, or rather performance of protest.

The protest was a significant inspiration to this dissertation. Not only was I able to observe this protest from the date it started, but I was also able to speak and observe the many events that took place in this protest. The grievances of the young and old, men and women in Bethanie who protested and those who abstained had been present before the protest. Previously, residents would use more subtle and diplomatic ways of articulating their issues. They would march to the office of the local councillor or raise their challenges in the lekgotla (traditional leadership offices). In 2005, as described in the previous chapter, residents of Bethanie took to the streets to challenge the appointment of a new regent. The 2005 form of protest by Bethanie residents, was elevated in 2018. The 2018 protest was more militaristic, composing new young actors leading and more confrontational. This chapter looks at the September 2018 protest more broadly. It looks at its genesis, the grievances expressed by its constituents and its outcomes. Most importantly, it analyses the function of violence in the protest. This chapter discusses the changing coexistence of traditional leadership, local government and mining, and the ways in which this relationship shaped the protest. Here I argue that there are multiple cleavages in the forms of violence. I will show how the structural violence experienced by the protestors may in part explain the display of violence on the streets of Bethanie during the September 2018 protest.

This protest [September 2018] started at the recruitment centre, where people saw that there were posts and contracts from the mine recruiting people for permanent positions, but the mine was hiring people from outside the community. People from here at home, were just getting contracts for like six months and they would have to

come back to the recruiting centre and start from scratch looking for work ... that is where it all started.²⁴⁵

Tshegofato Maotwane expressed in the above statement that the recruitment station was an important site of mobilisation for the events September 2018. When I arrived in Bethanie in the evening and was met by a large group of young people who had set tires alight on the main street of Bethanie I was not only surprised but also asked myself why it had taken so long for them to protest. This is not to ignore how residents in this area had protested before, but merely based on the observation of the conditions and conversations I had had with many of my friends from Bethanie. These were young people like myself that I recognized from having attended school in Bethanie that I saw that evening. They angrily told the taxi driver that they were preventing any car movement in the area. However, having known the local taxi driver they pointed us towards an alternative entrance in the dusty roads of the village. They were determined in making their claim for the space. They spoke boldly in their approach, emphasizing that they were taking up action. Peter Alexander argues in the article 'Rebellion of the poor' that the key feature of local protests in South Africa since 2004 has been 'mass participation by a new generation of fighters, especially unemployed youth but also school students'.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ Tshegofatso Maotwane, interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 18 November 2019.

²⁴⁶ Wahbie Long, 'Shame, envy, impasse and hope: The psychopolitics of violence in South Africa', Department of Psychology: University of Cape Town- WISER seminar University of the Witwatersrand, 11 March 2019, pp. 1-23.



FIGURE 4: IMAGES PROVIDED BY LEHLOHONOLO MOTONYA BY WHATSAPP TO KEFUOE MAOTOANE, 4 SEPTEMBER 2018

The following day, I joined in on the protest. The main-long-road in the village was blocked. People could not take taxis, bus or drive to work. Various points were targeted on this road- which include, the main entrance/exit into village and the mine bus pick-up/drop off points. People also began to vandalise the signs at the mine drop-off/pick-up points. They sang as they blocked the roads. Although at first sight, I noticed pockets of people standing about the burning tyres, people soon came together in a big crowd. This crowd walked after having barricaded the roads, to go meet the other groups that have blocked the road at the west section of the community. Walking from the east, people continued to join. During this time, the crowd was singing at some points but mostly shouted from time to time. Some people in the community watched the crowd as it passed by- either encouraging the protestors or continuing with their own business. Prior to the protest march, there had been clear instructions from the leaders that the shops in the community should not be looted or

vandalised. This decision applied even to 'foreign-owned' shops in the community. As the protesters approached the groups that were in the west section, preparing to now march to the mine and police vans arrived during the march to the west. These police vans were fairly distant to the protestors and the leaders were confident that the police would not harm the crowd. On arrival in the west section of the community from the east, the protestors continued to burn tyres, tree branches and anything they could find to block the roads. While some were blocking the roads, others were pulling down the mine boards and signs. The protesters then attempted to consolidate and begin marching to the mine. It was decided that the memorandum that was compiled by the protestors and leaders would be submitted at the mine. As the protestors walked to the mine, they were stopped by police who began to shoot rubber bullets and teargas into the crowd to disperse them. Some of the protesters attempted to retaliate by throwing stones back, but they seemed to form a relatively small number of people. Many of the protestors ran away from the police and hid in the yards and outside toilets of nearby homes. When shots from the police seemed to be quiet, people would re-emerge and regroup. However, it was not long when the police started shooting and entering homes where they thought they would find protestors. As mentioned before, this was in the west section of the community and the police were entering some homes, backrooms and even outside toilets looking to shoot and arrest protestors. As this went on for a while, there were several people shot with rubber bullets, some even being bystanders and/or old grannies in their own homes.

After a while, when things seemed to have calmed down, people were dispersed and found in small pockets. I remember walking around the streets looking for some of my friends that I came with and only seeing different groups of people around. Many people were angered

by the response of the police to their actions. However, they seemed to not know how to respond. Very vividly, I remember seeing a police man walk around the groups of protests, without saying anything and nothing being done to him. The protestors were angry but seemed to only express their anger in their small circles and not cause too much attention on themselves. It was also during this time that some people, in particular young men started to think of other strategies of going to the mine. Other alternative routes to the mine were not as 'smooth' as the road that the protestors initially wanted to use. Right in between the 'far-west' and the mine was a bushy area with some thorny vegetation and trees. Those people who attempted to do this were not successful as it seemed like the police were ready for them or rather anticipated this action. The police also started shooting from that side and forcing people again into the village and away from the mine. This was repeated for several hours and in the days that followed.

Later on the evening of the 4th of September 2018, some of the protestors had a meeting discussing the actions of the police and speculating that there were spies among them. While there was clear disappointment in the air, some of the protestors were also excited to have been part of the protest. Kantse, for example, explained that he had never been part of a protest before and felt excited that something like this was finally happening in Bethanie. He attempted to substantiate his feelings by also saying that he had seen how other communities stood up for themselves and it was time for Bethanie people to do the same thing.²⁴⁷ Tshegofatso Maotwane and Mogomotsi Mekgwe supported what Kantse had expressed. In the previous recent protests in Bethanie, there had been no mention of young people as

²⁴⁷ Kantse (did not provide surname), Interview with Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019. (Translated)

agents and/or actors during the protests. Collectively, these young men mentioned above, had never seen or been part of a protest before and they have lived in Bethanie all of their lives. Moreover, the rumours of possible spies being part of the protesting crowd began to spread. Some of the protestors wanted to take action against the spies however, there was no overwhelming agreement to this and who the spies were. One of the things that was continuously emphasised throughout this protest was that they should remain peaceful. This was a strategy used by the leaders, who argued that by 'seeming' peaceful, the protest would be able to attract others to join as well as legitimise their claims. In the following days of the protest rumours spread about spies being targeted and disciplined. Linky Khonou shared that she had heard that the house of the person suspected to have been a spy-working with the HR person from the mine was burned down.²⁴⁸ While this rumour was common, there was no substantial evidence to this.

The protest lasted for two weeks, having started on protest action on the 2nd of September and lasting to about the 16th of the same month. The protest was not consistent in the sense that while there were strong crowds on some days, it was not always the case every day. Protests are a critical form of performance, to articulate, amplify and voice out the experience of those in need of response. Performance is a critical form of everyday life and that is not to say that it is not genuine. It is a critical form of communication. People are not sitting idle waiting for a protest. To create the spectacle of a protests requires process, an on-going form of communication. In bridging the time and clarifying grievances, people begin to strategize. This is the significance of the recruitment station; it played a role in bringing the people

²⁴⁸ Linky Khonou, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 19 November 2019. (Translated)

together and creating a space of ideas that ultimately lead to a protest. The smoke that calls means that the state or institutions response to protests that are made visible by violence. During this time of the protest, residents and interested parties called the Madibeng community radio station regularly to speak about their views on the protest. Some spoke in support of it while others criticised it through this medium of broadcasting and the surrounding villages under the Bakwena ba Mogopa morafe were informed of the protest.

During the protests, residents of Bethanie were joined by supporting protesters from surrounding villages such as Bareseba and Modikwe. The protesters held up cardboards and closed the streets with burning tyres, rocks and tree branches as they had done in the beginning. They moved in groups, observing the police and strategizing on how they could get to the mine. They ran away when police shot at them with rubber bullets. However, unlike what has become common in protests in others parts of South Africa, they made a clear decision that they would not attack or loot any shops in the community. They wanted to maintain the appearance of a peaceful march. This would benefit them in the next few days when some protestors were arrested. The peaceful approach was emphasized at many points throughout the protest. Yet the protestors, especially the young people, targeted mining property in the form of information board signs and made claims to the street by not only burning things on it but refusing for any mine transport to pass. They aimed at stopping all production, to make their claims heard, and ultimately to make the mine suffer as they did.

When nineteen of the protestors were arrested, the leaders and local taxi owners organised for the protestors in the different villages to be transported to the magistrate's court in Brits. While a few of the protestors and the leaders were allowed into the courtroom to support

those that had been arrested, those that remained outside passed the time in interesting ways. For one, having been blocked from going to town for days, some of the protestors took this time to run to the shops. Others, during the time of waiting, chatted and some even attempted to keep the spirits up by singing. What was particularly interesting to this was the repeated song as some songs that were sung quickly died out because people did not know the words in the songs. They repeated singing the song over and over again while holding up placards and waiting for the report on those arrested.

Why did the protestors not know the songs? Does it mean anything? And if so, what does it say about the culture of protest in Bethanie? For many of the younger protests that participated in this study, this was their first protest. For the older participants (30-60) of this study, this was a new kind of protest. Mataboga, Poho, Maotoane and Moloto all seemed to agree on one thing which may in part explaining why the protest of 2018 was different. While they had been involved in various contestations in the community at various moments, they pointed out that the leadership of the protest was influenced by union organisation styles and this is what made it effective. Two of the leaders that were identified in the protest were said to have had union backgrounds. They were effective in organising the protests even though they were relatively new residents in the community. They managed to mobilise people of different ages, and the youth presence in the protest made it stand out from previous protests. The youth were very militant and this ensured that the protest continued. They stayed up late to make sure that there was no movement of cars in and out of Bethanie as well as wake up early to put back the fences that the police would attempt to remove.



FIGURE 5: IMAGE PROVIDED BY MOGOMOTSI MEKGWE IN 2018 BY WHATSAPP TO KEFUOE MAOTOANE

This image illustrates one of the sites that was set alight during the protest, specifically on the 3rd of September 2018. Although I do not know what the site represents or what it is for, Mokgomotsi Mekgwe argued that it belonged to the mining company²⁴⁹. I was however, able to observe the visible destruction. This image may be an indication of not only the violent destruction of mine property and sending of a message by the protestors to the mine.

Protestors complained of basic services, mine pollution and unemployment. Mokgomotsi Mekgwe asked the question that why were 'they' the ones that were suffering from the mine's pollution but being excluded from its benefits?²⁵⁰ People continue to be affected by the effects of the mining process. One example that was made related to how the toxic materials produced by mining found their way into the community when it rained. This was made in criticism of how Glencore Rhovan Xstrata mine had not put up measures of protection such as fixing the roads and drainage of toxic material emitted through mining. This led to the destruction of mine property, private and public property.

²⁴⁹ Mokgomotsi Mekgwe, interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 3 September 2018. (Translated)

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

The protest ended with the arrest of some of the protestors, the creation of a community task team and the intervention by the mine. The role of the mining company, the local government and traditional council were blurred in this protest. Faced with complex channels of authority, the unemployment galvanized the rest of the community. The protest was shaped by various issues and had different meanings to different people. For example, a 24 year old woman explained that;

The strike from what I know was about water. People around here struggle with water, roads, employment ... and for tenders to not circulate amongst the same people so that other people can be given a chance ... apparently one person can have about five tenders ... which is unfair. They were also saying that the youth of Bethanie should be prioritized as the first people to be hired before people from outside. The leaders of the strike came with the mandate and only on the day of the strike, they were reading to the people that what they were fighting for. The leaders of the strike came with the mandate.²⁵¹

The protest was faced with various challenges from the start. While the protestors were clear on who they wanted to address the protest to, various issues continued to be brought up. Not only did people have different expectations of the protest, they were also fighting different battles. The unemployed wanted the promises of jobs to be realised while others saw the protest as a way into the mine and to solidify their position as community leaders while serving themselves.

²⁵¹ Thato Lebethe, interview with Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019. (Translated)

There were a lot of leaders that I can remember but not all of them got something out of the strike ... through my own observations ... the leaders were pushing their own agendas so that they can get something out from the mine. Some of the people were employed at the mine then fired so the strike was their revenge. For example Mccoy, Kenny and Lucky were fired from the mine. The leaders used the strike to get back at the mine using the community. The community did not benefit anything from the strike. For example, water, we are still going to the taps to get water. We have taps in the yards but there is no running water.²⁵²

One of the young women who was elected during one of the meetings to be part of the protest argued that, not all people got what they were fighting for. She said that even though she was pregnant at the time of the protest, she felt side-lined by the leaders when the mine began implementing the things that they were fighting for. She explained that 'they don't call me anymore because they have tenders from the mine ... people fight for their own agendas ... another protest will come and new leaders will emerge and they will be the ones to eat.'²⁵³

It seemed impossible to get the leaders of the protest to sit down and have an interview with me about the protest. Amongst the leaders was a young man that I had known from middle school. I asked him for an interview which he hesitantly agreed to but would not take my calls. He had informed me as I was making my request that he was now dealing with tenders and had important things to do. One of the projects that he had been in charge of, was the

²⁵² Thato Lebethe, interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019. (Translated)

²⁵³ Mapula Lebethe, interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, December 2019. (Translated)

development of the sports grounds. Their state can be better explained by a young woman who commented thus; 'can you call that thing a sport ground? I would not allow my child to play there ... he just dumped netball poles on it and left it like that without even clearing the grass...but we see he benefitted from the protest because he has a car now.'²⁵⁴

I remember during the protest, the leaders went forward to the mine and formed a task team without the involvement of the community. They elected themselves. They made promises, that this year in March [2019] there would be water. The only thing that they have done is the boreholes in the community but who at this age and time still has to go to the taps to get water with a wheelbarrow. Think about this, the old women who live alone ... still need to go to these taps. However, the task team were not the people that initiated these plans of boreholes, the plan was already in process. The councillor and his ward committee ... these were the promises of the municipal ... and the mine had also promised to help. The task team just took the credit for the work.²⁵⁵

When the police arrested some of the protestors, the local owner of a hardware store in Bethanie known as Mohammed bailed all of the nineteen people for R500 each. This case was dropped because of lack of evidence. One of the arrested people said that 'the court said that if they get evidence, they might be charged again ... apparently there was a video shot during the protest ... I am scared and maybe they are just scaring us but I am scared.'²⁵⁶

²⁵⁴ Itumeleng (did not provide surname), interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019. (Translated)

²⁵⁵ Thato Lebethe, interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 19 November 2019. (Translated)

²⁵⁶ Linky Khonou, interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 18 December 2019. (Translated)

We were arrested after running away from the police shooting, some people were just standing by the side watching but they were also arrested ... I regretted everything after, asking myself, where was I going ... It was nice in the beginning ... but when I thought about what this would do to my family, I was scared. They didn't say anything because they did tell me not to go but I insisted.²⁵⁷

Various issues come up when people got arrested. Some leaders began to fight amongst themselves. 'We did get support from the task team ... but they started fighting among themselves, accusing each other of stealing money...and things got mixed up. Because the case ended up being dismissed, we were supposed to get the R500 bail money back, those of us who were arrested, but Belinda refused ... she made excuses to not see us. She said she was not around until we found out that she was around. We went to confront her at her home and she gave us more excuses ... on the last day of our court appearance, not all the leaders were there because they had already started fighting among themselves.'²⁵⁸ Tactics to intimidate people were common and the amnesia of leaders overwhelming. Some of them are now in charge of tenders to clean the streets or look after sports grounds, however, not much has changed in the community. One of the arrested participants, recalled that on their way to the police station, the police car was stopped and a young woman was released after a conversation that took place between the police and one of the protest leaders.²⁵⁹ The police not only showed preference over the individual but also raised questions in the minds

²⁵⁷ Linky Khonou, interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane Bethanie, December 2019. (Translated)

²⁵⁸ Linky Khonou, interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, December 2019. (Translated)

²⁵⁹ Linky Khonou, interview conducted Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019. (Translated)

of those that were arrested. Linky Khonou argued that they did not complain because they could not understand what was taking place.

The only work that I see done by the ward committee is the one on safety...making sure that people are safe...the one for cleaning the roads does nothing. The welfare one, were they are supposed to look after the children who are not okay does nothing.²⁶⁰

During the protest, various calls were made to the councillor for support but he did not show up. It was suspected that he had fled Bethanie and used the excuse of having work to do on his farm. A similar call was made to the chief. The protestors accused the chief of not taking an interest in their challenges. It is no surprise that these forms of authority acted in these ways. Councillors are known to sell things that are supposed to be provided for free. In Bethanie, the councillor is mainly associated with writing proofs of residents. That is the common and mostly only contact that people have with their councillor. 'The councillor's job in Bethanie is just to give people proof of address. To be honest, he does not have a job to do.'²⁶¹ This is similar experience that people have with authority in Bethanie. This is particularly because chieftainship in Bethanie has in many ways been distanced from the community.

The strategy of the protest was to call on the attention of the mine. The protestors believed that this could be done with road closures; however, it was only effective to a certain degree. 'During the strike, we were singing and closing the roads. We only managed to close one

²⁶⁰ Thato, interview with Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019. (Translated)

²⁶¹ Tshagofatso Maotwane, interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019. (Translated)

entrance at the mine and there are two. We could not close the other one because it is far. The mine continued to operate. The roads were closed with trees, rocks and car tyres ... It is disturbing because we were trying to get the attention of the mine and the mine is aware that we want something that will help us in the further, but the mine continued to operate. It is really disturbing.²⁶² Although the mine eventually set down with the team leaders and began addressing the demands of the protestors, it was an uneasy task. The mine promised that residents of Bethanie would be prioritised during hiring processes. Furthermore, they promised to develop the community by building and maintaining sports facilities, the clinic and for tenders of these developments to be run by residents. The called a meeting with the leaders of the protest to hear their demands. What was intriguing was the way some of the protestors perceived of the mine.

After years of battle with the traditional leadership in Bethanie, the people, mostly the young people regarded the mine as their only hope. Mainly this is due to the mishandling of funds by the chief that led to the freezing of the trust account. 'There are rumours that the money of the lekgotla, have been frozen ... the funds have not been leaving the account so they have to work with the mine straight ... so that is why people decided to go straight to the mine.'²⁶³ The local government is also accused of mishandling of funds.

It was the government's job to give us water but the money was eaten. Even at the traffic department, they did say that the money came out but we don't know who ate

²⁶² Tshego Maotwane, interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019. (Translated)

²⁶³ Tshego Maotwane, interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019. (Translated)

it. The mine also took out money so that we can get water in the yards. So it is the leaders who know where the money went and the rest of us are in the dark.²⁶⁴

The protest was able to uplift others. That is not only in material terms but gave some people hope that the community of Bethanie has organize itself under a common issue and take it up. 'Now people can riot in Bethanie, at least you can see now Bethanie is flourishing with people that are working because the mine was taken to the task ... apartheid is no longer here but in fact, it is not yet eradicated ... the whites inside there, they are still hanging, clinging fast on the apartheid system.'²⁶⁵ Demands of the protestors were not all met. Many of them are still unemployed and there are still no skills training centres for example. Young people in particular were also experimenting with new repertoires of protest such as collective action and displays of destruction.

In June 2018, Tebogo Job Mokgoro became the sixth premier of the North West province. This took place after the previous premier was removed from office. The North West Provincial government announced that on the 15th of April 2019 the Premier would address the Bakwena ba Mogopa and Bapo-ba-Mogale about administrative issues that the groups had been experiencing.²⁶⁶ This meeting was reported to be held between the Premier and the Traditional councils. Although this meeting was made public, the residents of Bethanie are still unclear about the outcomes.²⁶⁷ According to some of the participants, the premier came

²⁶⁴ Mapula Lebethe, interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019. (Translated)

²⁶⁵ Sydney Mataboga, interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane Bethanie, December 2019. (Translated)

²⁶⁶ North West Office of the Premier, 14 April 2019, <https://www.gov.za/speeches/premier-mokgoro-meet-bakwena-ba-mogopa-and-bapo-ba-mogale-traditional-councils-14-apr-2019>.

²⁶⁷ Participants in this study demanded that I found out what the outcomes of the visit by the premier was. Although this is beyond the scope of this study, people recalled the Hawks and Corruption Watch coming to

in 2018 and promised to help sort the issues experienced by the Bakwena. They suspected that he came because of the elections and hence he did not come back to them. The participants argued that the Premier had since not reported back to the community about some of the issues that they had raised. Although the outcome of the protests were not entirely clear in Bethanie, there is no doubt that the protest has had a lasting impact. The youth have become very vocal about issues that affect them and the community and publish their thoughts on social media. The youth have also been more vocal and willing to have conversations about chieftainship, what it means to them, local government and its role. This has certainly opened up conversations.

In a capitalist society, relations have been reduced to money and hence compromising ideas of family. The working class has been reduced to commodities, lacking stability and in constant waiting. Post protest the leaders of the protests received tenders and jobs from the mine. Currently, there are several projects in Bethanie, such as fixing the roads and the playground, all run and managed by the leaders from the protest. What came out clear, while speaking to some of the participants was that, they understood that at the end of the protest the leaders would benefit more than ordinary people, and that they had been used before by other leaders; however, they believed that supporting the protest might get them closer to their goals.

Bethanie to investigate the issues in the village regarding chieftainship and maladministration of the tribal account. They claimed that they have since not received feedback from the organisations and the premier.



The mine has since opened up the space in the sports grounds in the West section of the community, where residents could go and register their companies for free. The space also allows for small business holders to host meetings and use computers from there. However, for others, there has not been much change since the protest. Nthabiseng, a young woman from Bethanie, noted that one of the leaders whom she knew and grew up with in the east, Donald, got a tender to fix the sports grounds. She alleged that Donald chose to not fix the sports grounds in the east. Furthermore Nthabiseng alleged that this was disadvantaging children and people generally who would like to use such facilities, like herself, who loves to play netball with her peers.²⁶⁸ Other leaders who now have tenders have called on people from the community to come work for free and only paid them with lunch. This has dampened the spirit of those who protested, particularly those with high hopes from fellow community members.

²⁶⁸ Nthabiseng (did not provide surname), interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, 20 December 2019. (Translated)

The recruitment station, the chief's offices and local government offices are all sites or space where the September 2018 protest was targeted. Geographic and structural spaces have influences on communities. In turn, people and communities influence the same spaces. They give meaning to them. The first section looks at and reconfigures time and space and its relation to structural violence. It explores the Glencore Xstrata mine's recruitment station as a site of mobilisation, the space that created the conditions of the protest of 2018. The second section probes the role of youth in Bethanie and their particular place in the protest. The third section speaks to the significance of the protest in relation to previous protests in Bethanie is examined. This chapter looks at the Bakwena Ba Mogopa Recruitment and Development Centre (the recruitment site in short) as a site of mobilization. By framing the protest in a deep historical context of issues of unemployment, youth politics and protest action in South Africa, this section shows the significance of space in the local politics of Bethanie and how it facilitated collective action. Although there is no direct historical record of when the station became a significant space in Bethanie, it can be assumed that this took place after the establishment of the Rhovan platinum mine in this place in the late 1980s. The geographical closeness of this station to the mine, the chief's offices and the local government's offices creates an interesting point of analysis. A metaphor or not, it shows that in Bethanie, you almost cannot think of one without the other. Here, I speculate, perhaps more in the metaphorical sense- that this proximity allowed for collective action against the mine, and by extension the chief and local government.

Moreover, the recruitment station serves as a space where the youth wait for jobs from the mine. When you wait, it is not just about being dispossessed or the capacity to work, there is this surplus energy. Capacity is being made idle, so what do you do? Do you protest? What

are the repertoires of struggle? Disguised as a choice, people remain by the recruitment station because they are being made idle. Even though the decision to remain by the station partly explains the people's need to be the first in line, more is happening in this space. Moreover, by centralizing this space, we see the conditions that framed the violent protest of 2018.



FIGURE 6: IMAGE OF THE GLENCORE RHOVAN XSTRATA MINE RECRUITMENT OFFICE BOARD. TAKEN BY KEFUOE MAOTOANE, BETHANIE, 14 NOVEMBER 2019.

“Motiko” The recruitment centre - the production of space or idle time?

The image above shows the board for the Glencore Rhovan Xstrata recruitment office and the operating times of the office. Motiko is a colloquial term loosely translated as ‘ticking’. This term required me to manoeuvre between English and Setswana to not only understand the

meaning but what it represented, and this did not go without consequences.²⁶⁹ In Bethanie the term forms part of a language of unemployment in the everyday experience of residents and in particular the unemployed. Many unemployed people in Bethanie travel to the recruitment office in the village every day searching for work. The flow of people begins in the early hours of the morning and has become routine to most. After being registered, they tick their names every day of the week in hope of receiving work. For others, or rather most, they stay around the office for the rest of the day, playing cards, talking or drinking in the hope that if an official from the mine comes to the recruitment office looking for workers they are available immediately. Another possibility is that they stay around the office because of what the space represents and/or creates for them. Here they are a collective, and not individualised. They are not asked questions about how they are spending their time. The youth in particular engage in this routine. They spend their days waiting.

It is difficult to periodise when young people started ‘hanging’ around the recruitment office, however, the flow and rhythm of unemployed men and women to the office is noticeable. The recruitment office is located a few feet away from the offices of the Bakwena ba Mogopa traditional authority as well as the various homes of past chiefs. The office is located relatively near the Rhovan mine in the western section of Bethanie, commonly referred to by residents as Moseja (loosely translated as overseas)- section of Bethanie also commonly referred to as the west section.²⁷⁰ I will be focusing on the processes of motiko, beyond a rhythmic weekday

²⁶⁹ Having asked the participants why they referred to the mine recruitment office as motiko and where the term emanated from, it seemed to refer on to uses of language and how people make sense of the process. There is no clear period in which this term can be located in terms of usage. However, with my little knowledge, to not in linguistic, however knowledge of Setswana, the term seems to personalise the process, the experience of people who engage in it. It is not clear what you are trying to say here. Please rephrase.

²⁷⁰ The term Moseja in Setswana may be loosely translated as overseas in English. However, there is no sea in Bethanie but a river that divides the community in terms of the West and East sections.

experience but as a spatial location that may be looked at in the form of production and collectivization.

The site of the recruitment office and surrounding spaces that these young people occupy in the morning and throughout the day consists of the supermarket, post office benches and tavern. This daily routine has collectivized the unemployed and in particular the youth. Together they grieve about the promises of employment that seem to be far and few in between. In her work on the youth of Khutsong in Carletonville, Molemo Moiloa tackles the issue of nostalgia whereby these youth are longing for a different political present.²⁷¹ This idea becomes particularly important in understanding the youth of Bethanie in their struggles against unemployment, mine establishment, traditional leadership, local government, forms of belonging and, most importantly, locating them as political and social agents. Everyday routines like walking and having conversations with people are not often seen as political. These routine like activities that the protestors engage in, particularly around the site of mine recruitment station created spaces of congregation. These spaces of congregation created by the unemployed are central in understanding the shift in protest action in September 2018.

Judith Butler notes that 'many people think that grief is privatizing, that it returns us to a solitary situation and is, in that sense, depoliticizing. But I think it furnishes a sense of political community of a complex order, and it does this first of all by bringing to the fore the relational ties that have implications for theorizing fundamental dependency and ethical responsibility.'²⁷² The site of the recruitment office in Bethanie brings the unemployed

²⁷¹ Molemo Moiloa, 'Youth in Khutsong, South Africa: Nostalgia for a Different Political Present', *Journal of Peace Psychology*, 18, 3 (2012), p. 329.

²⁷² Judith Butler, *Precarious life: The powers of mourning and violence* (London: Verso, 2004), p. 22.

together, whether deliberate or not. It can be explained as a space that has collectivized the unemployed. The recruitment office has also been previously contested and challenged by the unemployed. This was evident in the early 2000s. The contestation of this space has led to not only the division of the unemployed people but of the community too.

At some point there were two markets. One was that kgotleng [short for Lekgotla, or traditional leadership offices] and the old one. So when you go tick at the new one, the people at the old market would complain and when you go to the old one the same thing would happen. This started to confuse people and conflict arose between the two markets. Lucky and Banda [leaders in the protest] started the new market. To be honest, I saw change in that market [recruitment] because they would at least be able to hire people for the granite companies and mine. At the old market that never used to happen [they only recruited for the mine]. The new market had many opportunities. And with the old market, women were not hired for contract jobs but the new market did not discriminate. We just wanted the two markets to not have conflict and come together.²⁷³

A new recruitment office in Bethanie sprung up around 2017 located at the lekgotla offices. This office recruited people for more diverse jobs, though mostly part time. It recruited people for the granite companies that have leases on Bakwena ba Mogopa land and it also recruited people for community projects. This was different from the 'old' office that mainly focused on recruiting for the mine. This created a lot of conflict as job seekers felt that they had to

²⁷³ Mapula Lebethe, interviewed conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019.

choose between the two offices. The two stations were in competition with one another and commotion would often arise in on station or another. The new recruitment station based in the lekgotla offices was forced to shut down as a result of this.

Tensions between the two recruitment stations were becoming very common. This tension only subsided when the new recruitment station established at the lekgotla was forced to shut down. The end of this conflict did not however ease the anxieties of the unemployed. Many of them continued to complain about the recruitment process and the employment contracts that mostly came as short contracts. The unemployed partly blamed the Human Resource department at the mine for the contracts. These contestations and anxieties are best articulated by a young 27-year old man from the east section in the following way:

Before June, we were ticking at the recruitment centre looking for work...and the people at the recruitment centre had meetings with us. They said that we are not getting the positions in the mine and asked us what we are going to do about it. What is the way forward? Do we approach the mine or kgosi? But because the kgosi does not live here in Bethanie and sometimes when we call him, he would not attend but send old men and women to attend on his behalf. So they then decided that we should go straight to the mine and find out what is happening. When they went to the mine, the mine wanted a memorandum ... before the protest, they kept going to the mine but the HR was crushing them ... so because they were being crushed by the HR and that is someone from the community, they decided that we should protest. The people [at the recruitment site] wrote the memorandum and went to the police

station to get a stamp on the memorandum so that they can conduct a peaceful march, the HR called the police station to tell them that they should not stamp the memorandum because he might lose his job ... there are things that he has been doing that the community does not know ... so we think that he is corrupt or that he is just looking out for himself and not where he comes from. He just wants money for himself.²⁷⁴

There were many allegations that were levelled against the HR department, and Duncan Molapisi was singled out (as an employee in the HR department) of the mine. The allegations included that he was 'selling' jobs and preferring people from outside the Bakwena ba Mogopa communities. These allegations are also said to have been highlighted in the memorandum handed to the mine before the protest.²⁷⁵ What is however clear from these allegations against the mine's HR is that the recruitment office/site was central to the protest. This further calls for the examination of this site as not only a structural space of job seekers but an important space of engagement about common challenges. It also highlights the ways in which people use space and engage with it even if it may be created for a specific reason. The office and the spaces around it that people interact with for periods of time cannot only be looked at structurally.

²⁷⁴ Tshegofatso Maotwane, interviewed by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 15 November 2019. (Translated)

²⁷⁵ Although various leaders in the protests who participated in this study through formal interviews or informal conversations promised to share the memorandum and the documents released by the mine at the end of the protest, this did not happen. Therefore, the interviews are the main source of these documents. This posed an issue of interpretation and various protest participants highlighting issues that were of most interest to them at that given time.

Michael Ralph in the article 'Killing Time' published in 2008, explores Senegal's labour crisis by looking particularly at unemployed young men and noted that they were associated with tea drinking rituals which they used to 'kill time'. According to Ralph,

People associated typically high rates of unemployment with young men not simply unable but unwilling to secure work ... Absent opportunities to develop the skills employers seek, young men hang around in the streets, people repeatedly told me, wasting their time in tea-making rituals.²⁷⁶

The idea of killing time in this section is thought of in parallel with the idea of waiting (mentioned earlier). In Bethanie, the most evident ritual is that of unemployed people travelling to the market each day. However, there are other rituals that the unemployed performed that can be observed at this site. One common ritual is the sight of the young men smoking weed, collecting/combining resources to buy beer and playing dice, whereas young women play cards, sit in the shade or soak in the sun of winter. These rituals can be looked at as killing time, as Ralph suggests; however, it is clear that the gatherings are not just idle but somehow produce a space whereby people can share their problems, sit in silence or share ideas. I argue that this is not idle time but active waiting. This can also be seen as a site of production of space.

There is very little statistical data on the unemployed, particularly on young people in Bethanie; however, the active youth during the protest was significantly from the east section

²⁷⁶ Michael Ralph, *Killing Time*, Duke University Press, 26, 4(2008), p. 1.

of Bethanie, youth who form part of the relatively new section in Bethanie. Throughout this section, I loosely use the term young or youth in relation to both men and women within this group. Clive Glaser in his book *'BoTsotsi': The Youth Gangs of Soweto* suggests a conceptualization of the notion of youth that I think is useful in analysing this category of people. Glaser notes that;

'Youth' is an ambiguous concept. There is no sociological consensus about its limits. The term has been used to describe a specific political or subcultural element. It has also been used as a rather rigid age-defined category, usually spanning the years fourteen to twenty-five. The most useful discussions on the subject, found largely in social anthropological literature, defines youth in terms of social and family hierarchies, independence and responsibility.²⁷⁷

For most part of this categorization, this study did look at the youth in rigid numerical terms; however, this was complicated by some of the informal conversations that I had with the unemployed in Bethanie around the recruitment office. For example, the young men that continuously complained about their girlfriends or women that they liked being 'stolen' from them by 'men' with cars. This was striking as they hardly referred to themselves as men. This is not only a question placed on their masculinity and/or manliness but also how the state of unemployment can relegate one to perpetual child-like state. The young women complained about how they were unable to 'maintain' themselves and in some cases their children. These young women lamented on the challenges of not being able to buying clothes or shoes with

²⁷⁷ Clive Glaser, 'Being Manly': Themes in the History of Urban Youth Gangs, in Clive Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi: The Youth Gangs of Soweto 1935-1976* (Cape Town, South Africa: David Philip Publishers, 2000), p. 3.

their own money for themselves and their children while having to rely on their parents. These conversations seemed to question not only their material needs but desires and ideas of personhood, identity and futures. Deevla Bhana and Rob Pattern examined ways in which young African people in KwaZulu Natal expressed their 'ideals of love and romance', and argued that claims to love involved negotiating poverty and economic marginalization.²⁷⁸ While it would be simplistic to view the claims of young men as economic dependent, Bhana and Pattern seem to capture the sentiments above. What is most intriguing to me from the sentiments from the young men and women in Bethanie, is their ideals and conceptions of personhood.

One of the common conversations around this category of people was the lack of entertainment in the community. Some of these youths explained their behaviours/tendencies of drinking by the tavern or sitting here for most of the day or constantly gathering money for weed, as a sign of lack of local officials, the chief and the mine to invest in them. They continuously made the examples of the unavailability of a library in Bethanie, a skills training centre and sports ground. For example, a young woman who decided to abstain from the protest expressed that many young people in Bethanie wanted to work in the mine because it is seen as the only source of work. She further expressed that 'we cannot all go work at the mine; therefore, the mine must help the youth of this community to further their studies by creating skills centres and offering bursaries to learners.'²⁷⁹ It was particularly striking to listen to these reasons when the protest was still on going. Her reasoning was also a way of thinking about job alternatives but she also

²⁷⁸ Deevla Bhana and Rob Pattman, 'Girls want money, boys want virgins: the materiality of love among South African township youth in the context of HIV and AIDS,' *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, 13, 8 (2011), pp. 961-972.

²⁷⁹ Rebene Montsoedi, interviewed by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 16 November 2019. (Translated)

displayed a sense of having given up on the mine as the only source of employment. Sydney Mataboga argued that he had heard from leaders of the protest that there were issues in getting the traditional authorities to sign on the protest because many of the leaders were considered 'migrants' in Bethanie.²⁸⁰ Some of these leaders were considered to be migrants in Bethanie simply because they do not have long/extended historical ties in the area.

The youth of Bethanie and unemployment

There has been a profusion of literature on youth unemployment in South Africa particularly from the 1990s although there is a much longer history of this.²⁸¹ Glaser noted that, 'during the 1990s, unemployment amongst black urban youth spiralled out of control. In 1993 it was reported that fewer than 5 percent of South African school-leavers were absorbed into the job market'.²⁸² While many studies have focused on unemployment and in particular unemployed young men, there are certain distinctions that should be made about gender. Glaser argued that generational differences or definitions cannot be separated from gender

²⁸⁰ Sydney Mataboga, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 6 July 2019. (Translated)

²⁸¹ An interesting historical perspective of this longer history can be found in works such as Mark Hunter in an article titled: Masculinities, multiple-sex-partners, and AIDS: the making and unmaking of Isoka in Kwa-Zulu-Natal, *Transformation: Critical Perspective of Southern Africa*, 54, (2004), pp.123-153. And Sex and money, township style: the contemporary *isoka* and the challenge of AIDS, Coming of age in the 1940s and 1950s: working to become *unumzana*, women's 'purity', and the limits to *isoka*, and Simons J, 'Customary unions in changing society', in *African Women: their legal status in South Africa* (London: C Hurst & Co, 1968). The list of literature addressing issues of unemployment particularly among young people is long and can stretch even earlier in South Africa. For more recent literature: RSA (Republic of South Africa). Youth Unemployment summit. 2012. Pretoria: Department of Labour, Mlatsheni, C. and Rospabe, S., Why youth unemployment is so high and unequally spread in South Africa. 2002. <http://www.uct.ac.za> [Accessed 31 May 2022], Alet Harmse, Phillip Blaauw and Rinie Schenck, 'Day Labourers, Unemployment and Socio-economic Development in South Africa', *Springer Science*, 20 (2009), pp. 363-377).

²⁸² Clive Glaser, 'Being Manly': Themes in the History of Urban Youth Gangs, in Clive Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi: The Youth Gangs of Soweto 1935-1976* (Cape Town, South Africa: David Philip Publishers, 2000), p. 1. The quote is placed to acknowledge that unemployment in South Africa is not new and that while context may vary there are many expended works that have looked at unemployment among the youth in greater detail.

socialization.²⁸³ For example, a young woman who lives with her family and her child had this to say about the everyday ritual of going to the recruitment centre:

I leave here [east section] early in the morning after dropping my child at creche to go tick my name. Most of the time I stay there at the market without any money for food, passing time by playing cards and chatting. I stay there in case the mine officials come and need people. By the time I go back, it's time to fetch my child from creche, and I realize that I have not cleaned my mother's house, but I wake up and do the same thing again tomorrow because I need a job.²⁸⁴

The above quote describes the weekly experience of this young woman seeking a job, waiting and her everyday experiences. Michael Ralph argued that in the case of Senegal, 48 percent of people were unemployed and the urban youth made up 40 percent from that number, moreover, 'college graduates are most prominent in this demographic, and most are women'.²⁸⁵ It was clear that unemployment while widespread among the youth in Bethanie affected the different genders in different ways and location, east versus west was also a factor. These differences in Bethanie however do not mean that there are no cleavages, hence, the 2018 protest. The pockets of people that spent most of their days near the office were mostly male. This posed a question to me about the visibility of women, particularly after having observed large numbers of them at the protest. The young women that I posed this question to responded that while they felt they were missing out on opportunities when

²⁸³ Clive Glaser, 'Being Manly': Themes in the History of Urban Youth Gangs, in Clive Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi: The Youth Gangs of Soweto 1935-1976* (Cape Town, South Africa: David Philip Publishers, 2000), p. 3.

²⁸⁴ Lerato, interview with Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November, 2019.

²⁸⁵ Michael Ralph, *Killing Time*, Duke University Press, 26, 4(2008), p.1.

they were not hanging around the office, they had obligations at home. This included taking care of their children, grandparents or house chores. This further highlighted the differences between men and women that are unemployed in Bethanie. The point being made is that even in trying to understand the production of space by these young people and looking broadly at their collective struggles of unemployment, it is important to still look at the specificities at what affected them and how it affected them based on whether they were men or women.

Catherin Burns took to analyse the Gerald Sekoto's painting titled 'The Waiting Room' which depicts an 'ordinary' waiting room in a South African hospital, and suggests that the waiting room is 'a spatial, temporary and metaphorical concept'. With this in mind, Burns makes the argument that the 'idea that we are in the waiting room of history has deep roots in political, scientific, economic and cultural discourses and accounts'.²⁸⁶ This is to point towards the earlier point about the various genders. Although the numbers of young women and men near the site of the office may be skewed, particular during the day once the rush to tick names has slowed, young women still find themselves in 'waiting'. They create networks of friends in the community to travel with them to the office, people to alert them if the mine officials come to the centre and people to pass time with in the community.

In 2018, the Department of Statistics South Africa reported that in quarter one, the unemployment rate was 26.7 percent.²⁸⁷ This report also highlighted that the youth were most vulnerable; however, this was not a unique problem to South Africa. The unemployment

²⁸⁶ Catherine Burns, Patience in the waiting room- the doctor will see you just now, Mail & Guardian, 6 October 2014.

²⁸⁷ Department of Statistics South Africa, Republic of South Africa, 2018, <http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=11129>.

rate among the youth (aged between 15 and 34) was at 38.2 percent, ‘implying that more than one in every three young people in the labour force did not have a job in the first quarter of 2018’.²⁸⁸ Furthermore, the article concluded that ‘young people have become discouraged with the labour market and they are also not building on their skills base through education and training – they are not in employment, education or training (NEET).’²⁸⁹ A young woman in Bethanie responded to the protest from a different vantage point. She decided to not participate in the protest. This was not because she did not believe the issues that were raised in the September 2018 protest were not valid, but that she wanted to have a wider discussion, not about jobs but about education. She argued that the mine had not done enough in supporting the residents of Bethanie with educational facilities or training. ‘This is what made people so reliant on the mine that uses them’, she said.²⁹⁰

The NEET rate, seen in conjunction with unemployment rates over 50%, suggests that South African young people face extreme difficulties engaging with the labour market. Certain factors such as lack of experience and length of unemployment may increase the vulnerabilities of these young people in the labour market.²⁹¹

The unemployed by the recruitment centre accused the mine of hiring people for short-term contracts and many of them did not see it as a sustainable way of work. The short-term contracts created many suspicions and anxieties as faces of people who get work come back months later to do the same ticking process again. The common suspicion was that the mine

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Rebone Montsoedi, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 19 November 2019. (Translated)

²⁹¹ Department of Statistics South Africa, Republic of South Africa, 2018, <http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=11129>.

did not want to hire the Bakwena ba Mogopa and that the short-term contracts were dangerous as people might start off fit and later be unable to get work because of failing fitness tests because of the conditions at the mine. These suspicions raged from people accusing outsiders for being preferred for jobs over residents of Bethanie, the 'buying' of jobs, particularly by outsiders, and a plot by the Human Resources department at Rhovan mine to not offer Bakwena ba Mogopa permanent jobs.

The collective activity of 'hanging' around the recruitment centre is fascinating, and not because it is assumed to be new. During apartheid example, people would wait outside factories and other places of work with the hope that if more people would be needed they could avail themselves. In more recent times, unemployed people can be seen in traffic areas or near warehouses and hardware stores, for example, looking for employment even if it is piece jobs. What is intriguing to me is the system used by the recruitment office in Bethanie. For a first time jobseeker, the office requires them to submit their details which include phone numbers, copy of identity documents and address as well as additional information on further training.²⁹² Even with this information at hand, the office still requires people to travel daily to tick off their names. If a job seeker takes too long without coming to the office, he or she would find themselves at the bottom of the list. Of course, this creates anxiety among the job seekers and some of the participants admitted to have been ticking for many years without employment. This then poses the question about how the process really works.²⁹³ Tied to the issue of unemployment is what has become synonymous with it, namely the category of

²⁹² Mokgomotsi Mekgwe, interviewed conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 16 November 2019. (Translated)

²⁹³ Recruitment officials in the Bethanie office refused to take part in this study and would refer me to 'try' the mine.

youth. We know that just because people are young does not mean that they protest, or are that they are prone to violent behaviour. More importantly, what does 'youth' look like in Bethanie? How do they define themselves as historical, political and sociological subjects? Initially, this research focused on the youth as a demographic of people between the ages 18 and 35, a narrow definition of what youth means.²⁹⁴ The term youth is, however, broad and in this particular instance it is used based on the protestors' and observers' descriptions.

Moiloa looked at the case study of Khutsong to understand how 'young people reinterpret and reengage historicity, inheritance, and memory, and creatively restructure their significance in order to navigate present realities'. Through this lens she was able to locate the actions of these young people in terms of nostalgia of a different political present. The Comaroffs in turn look at how ideas of personhood are linked to one's relation to others. I highlight this to show the importance of personhood as well as that of collectives and how people think of themselves in relation to political realities and self-making. When studies on youth emerged, little attention was paid to the youth as a constituency and their generational dynamics.²⁹⁵ Fortunately, there has since been a lot of studies. What has made the recruitment station again important is the way that it is able to bring these young people together.

The lack of recreational facilities, employment possibilities and opportunities for further education and training in Bethanie are just among the few frustrations that the youth of

²⁹⁴ Starting with 18 years for ethical reasons. This is not to say that people younger than 18 did not protest but that people who were approached were 18 and above.

²⁹⁵ Clive Glaser, 'Being Manly': Themes in the History of Urban Youth Gangs, in Clive Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi: The Youth Gangs of Soweto 1935-1976* (Cape Town, South Africa: David Philip Publishers, 2000), p. 2.

Bethanie face every day. The recruitment station and tavern are the common spaces of gathering for young people. That is because the hall that was built by the mine in the early 2000s is now dilapidated and the 'sports' grounds are mainly patches of land without equipment or facilities. A few years ago, the mine opened a sports ground and has been maintaining yet, but just like most things in Bethanie, there are politics surrounding it. The mine has also fenced these grounds, making them inaccessible. The young people in the east complained that these facilities are all located in the west further making it hard for them to access them. This again adds to the spatial tensions that already exist among different members of Bakwena. Without these recreational activities, many of these young people were concerned about how to spend their time.

This ties in to the widespread criticism of youth in Bethanie engaging in drugs by adults in the community. This is obviously not new to Bethanie but it is interesting to note as the older residents find themselves nostalgic about the past. They argued that crime in the area was little to none. This was because of the way the community was structured and ways in which they policed themselves. Nowadays, one often hears stories of old women or children being raped, houses and shops being robbed and people being mugged throughout the community. If we are to take the words or concerns of the adults and elderly seriously, then Bethanie has changed in terms of crime. Why this has become common is still not clear especially if we are to locate the period in which it became a major source of concern. The reason to point this out, is to show how the youth (and in this particular case, outsiders) are viewed by the community. Some of the residents argued that, the problem of crime was as a result of the Bakwena not wanting to admit that their children were capable of it and hence putting all the

blame on outsiders. One of the men that sells fruits and vegetables by a street corner in the east, explained that, he was concerned about how people like him (outsiders- from Malawi) were painted because he had tried to build trust with community member and had been a victim of crime himself in Bethanie. These are complex yet intertwined narratives of how young people are viewed in the community.

How violence found itself in the September 2018 protest

Ben Arnold Lohmeyer in the article 'Youth as an artefact of governing violence: Violence to young people shapes violence by young people' makes the argument that the transition in youth is a process of governing violence into sanctioned forms. 'Furthermore, the article argues that the physical, structural and symbolic violence done to young people, shapes the violence done by them. While this argument provides very useful insight on how young people use and react to violence, it does not tell us much about their histories but rather anticipates and predicts their behaviour. Because a person is young and is faced with violence does not necessitate the response of violence. Lohmeyer further argues that youth is an intensely governed period. And while it may be so, youth can also be a period of reinvention.

Wahbie Long argued that shame and envy 'when framed at the societal level – are not only among the principal drivers of violence in South Africa, they are also responses to violence in the broadest sense of the term, that is, violence as a manifestation of power that denies people their humanity'.²⁹⁶ Violence can also be seen as a way of reclaiming that power through protest. In 2018, the sentiment of protestors was that of powerlessness.

²⁹⁶ Wahbie Long, 'Shame, envy, impasse and hope: The psychopolitics of violence in South Africa',

Powerlessness in the sense that the mine is built on the communal land of the Bakwena yet jobs are not available, that there is a chief and local councillor yet there is still lack in basic needs of the community. For years protests took place in Bethanie, a seating with the councillor, a hall meeting with the chief, a burning of the chiefs office but none of these protests resulted in the moment of 'uprising' as 2018.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the persistent realities of inequality in Bethanie by highlighting unemployment, youth politics and the protest of November 2018. 'Go dula letsatsi lohle ko mothikong', or 'sitting all day by the recruitment office' may be the way that the youth of Bethanie publicize their grief. Can we conceptualize the recruitment centre as the site of grief? And what does that mean? For many of the people ticking off their names, the recruitment centre is a long travel, particularly for those in the eastern section of Bethanie. Perhaps the people that linger near the recruitment centre stay on to avoid the long travel back home in the heat. Or perhaps the thought of going back home and then receiving a message or a call from friends that there is a mine official and that the jobseeker has to rush back to the recruitment centre is exhausting. Whatever the deep reasons, it is clear that there is something happening at the site, the space. One of the common scenes in Bethanie, particularly in the morning, is people walking to the recruitment centre. These people are young and old, men and women. In the long grid designed by the centre, there is no question of education or qualification. Near the recruitment centre is a tavern, a shop, the lekgotla and a *kota* [fast food] place. The recruitment office is also located on the western section of

Bethanie. Like many facilities, schools, lekgotla, ATMs, big chain shops, they are on the west. This spatial division of west versus east is the legacy left behind by the divisions of Mabidibidi.

In order to understand the reasons behind these particular tropes, the motivations and what people think they would be able to get out of that, we have to look beyond the sociological category of class, gender. It is important to bring out the classic triangle of class, race and gender so that people understand who is involved. This is to say, it is not a matter of being poor and young and therefore you burn a tyre, in order to understand why things emanated in the way that they did in 2018. We need to stretch back, understand the history of the space and resistance. The post-apartheid resistance landscape tends to write of protests such as that of Bethanie as service delivery protests. While that tells us a lot about the socio-economic categories of structural unemployment that people are facing, it does not do a lot in terms of shedding light on the repertoires of struggle or ideas of 'freedom' or right and wrong motivating those struggles. To understand the protest of 2018, I wanted to adopt a spatial relational perspective by drawing attention to the recruitment station. People getting together and talking to each other. While this protest can easily be written off as a service delivery protest, my own intervention here is trying to look at this political event according to a different conceptual framework, placing it in a deep historical context to see what it can tell us about the local politics of Bethanie. In an attempt to make claims to violence, I understand that having a view of spasmodic view on it is not satisfactory, and in this chapter, I have attempted to use a much deeper historical view to a broader conception of violence and forms of protest. This is in attempt to show the phenomenon of violence. People think, they make thoughtful decisions that lead to protest; it is not just the bodies that they are in.

The September 2018 protest unlike the Mabidibidi war that took place in Bethanie in the 1940s and was characterised by the marching of men to the chief's court (discussed in Chapter two), occurred under much different circumstances. The availability of the media, however limited is one indicator of how much things had changed. The protest was driven substantially by young people and adults in the community. It included a relative diversity in that its focus was not solely on the Bakwena ba Mogopa but generally on the residents of Bethanie. It was also under different political and local conditions such as democracy and a growing diverse Bethanie community. What we can see from both these protests is the ways in which they have impacted Bethanie. There have been many changings and continuities in Bethanie since the period of Mabidibidi and 2018.

Without looking at them as merely spectacular events, these protests are significant in that they were both violent protests. This chapter has tried to show the significance of the two violent protests as well as to bring focus to the protests, contestations and incidences of violence that have taken place over time in Bethanie. It has highlighted the continuities and shifts in Bethanie in moments of protests. Pivan and Cloward argued that 'protest is not a matter of free choice, it is not freely available to all groups at all times'.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁷ Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A Cloward, 'The Structuring of Protest', in Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A Cloward *Poor People's Movement: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), pp. 1-40.

CONCLUSION:

Inserting the 'local' dynamics of Bethanie in the broader historiography of South African protests and violence

This thesis aimed at tackling multiple key questions in the case study of Bethanie. These included: what were the repertoires of protests in Bethanie? What were the generational and other social dynamics in Bethanie? What were the conditions that enabled the 2018 protest? What made the 2018 protest different from previous protests? More importantly, how did people in Bethanie – both those who participated and those who abstained from the protest – think about the protest? What were the local people's conceptions of violence? Finally, how have institutions such as traditional leadership, the church, the government (local and national) and mining affected the community of Bethanie over the years?

A deliberate decision was made during this research of not imposing concepts and ideas on the residents of Bethanie. This final section of the thesis attempts to put in conversation the vast literature on rural areas, protest, violence, violent protest, youth and generation as well as unemployment studies in relation to the case study of Bethanie. I have argued that the literature on the former bantustans such as Bophuthatswana and Lebowa have created a foundation for studies such as this to take place. I argued that while South Africa has been characterised by violent service delivery protests, rural communities such as Bethanie that have remained off the beaten track of academic scholarship promise to tell us something very original and refreshing about the nature of social protest. Bethanie has experienced moments of violent protests from the early twentieth century to the present; however, violence is not a common repertoire of protest in this village. More importantly, I have emphasised that

violence should be read from various lenses, such as in the way scholars like Chabani Manganyi and Andre du Toit have suggested previously.¹

The first case study of protest that I have explored in this thesis involved conflict between sections of Bakwena ba Mogopa the missionary in Bethanie, a conflict that is commonly known as Mabidibidi. The events of Mabidibidi emanated from the conflict that arose from Makolokwe, a neighbouring village of the Bakwena ba Mogopa who fell under the jurisdiction of the Kgosi in Bethanie. A series of events in Makolokwe began to show the tensions between the Bakwena ba Mogopa there and the church and led to some members joining the Bapedi Lutheran Church. After the resignation of Reverend W.H. Behrens and his successor Behrens Jr., Karl Buhr was appointed as the missionary in Bethanie. This is when the cracks began to open in Bethanie. Buhr's leadership was different from the previous missionaries. He wanted control over the schools and made decisions without the communities of Bakwena ba Mogopa. Although he did later on revive the council of 72 that Behrens initiated, his reputation was already discredited by his earlier actions.

In 1928, the Hermannsburg Mission Society assigned Karl Buhr as the missionary to be stationed in Bethanie after the retirement of Behrens Jr. In 1933, the mission society and the traditional leadership of Bakwena ba Mogopa agreed to build a large new school in Makolokwe. Makolokwe, is a village of the Bakwena ba Mogopa a few kilometres away from Bethanie. The residents of Makolokwe at this time had already experienced a split in the Lutheran church that resulted in the establishment of the Bapedi Lutheran Church alongside the Hermannsburg Mission Society Lutheran Church. Missionary Buhr was responsible for

¹ See editorial introduction in Chabani Manganyi and Andre du Toit (eds.), *Political Violence and the Struggle in South Africa* (Republic of South Africa: Southern Book Publishers, 1990), pp. 4-5.

eight schools administered by the Hermannsburg Mission society in and around Bethanie. After the decision to build the new large school that would combine both the Bapedi Lutheran Church school and the Hermannsburg Mission Society school, Buhr wanted to be the school administrator. This was challenged by members of the Bapedi Lutheran Church who wanted the church to be separate from the school administration. Consequently, there was a lot of tension and conflict in Makolokwe. In 1934, a village council was established in Makolokwe, resembling the village council in Bethanie that was established by missionary Behrens Sr. It was supported by kgosi Johannes Otto More Mamogale of the Bakwena ba Mogopa. It comprised of 72 men who became increasingly vocal about their disapproval of Buhr as the school administrator.

Tensions between some members in Makolokwe, particularly members of the Bapedi Lutheran Church, began to spill over to Bethanie. The slogan 'Buhr must leave Bethanie' began to resonate with some people in Bethanie.² A school inspector from Rustenburg informed two teachers who were very vocal in the opposition to Buhr, that he would be transferring them as per Buhr's recommendation. This agitated some residents in both Makolokwe and Bethanie. 'They drove the children out of their classrooms, defying the school master, Isaak Poho, who supported Buhr and the chieftain. The schools in Makolokwe and Bethanie were subsequently closed.'³ Opponents of Buhr were sued for public disruptions of state institutions. They were found guilty and fined by the court in Rustenburg. This outcome however made them more popular in the villages of Bethanie and Makolokwe and strengthened the demand that Buhr must leave Bethanie.

² Heinrich Bammann, Bethanie in Transvaal, p. 35

³ Ibid., p. 36

Buhr received a letter in 1938 written on behalf of the Bakwena ba Mogopa but it was not signed by the traditional leadership. He ignored the letter and later he was confronted by about fifty people at his house.⁴ They removed all his furniture and placed it outside while proceeding to tell him that he must leave. Buhr reported the incident to the kgosi. Opponents of Buhr began teaching their own children separately and removed them from the confirmation classes administered by Buhr. After all these events, about 200 women closed all entrances to the church. The police were alerted but did not do anything. This led to the church being closed for two months.

Following the illness of Kgosi Johannes Otto More Mamogale, Daniel More was appointed as the acting kgosi in November 1938. He was appointed by the government commissioner called Yeats from Rustenburg. During More's installation, while Yeats was giving speech, he was interrupted by a crowd of women who said that they do not want More.⁵ These women proceeded to throw stones and injured the guests present in the ceremony. Police were called and a total of 28 women were arrested. Buhr referred to the people that opposed him in Bethanie as rebels and drunkards. In 1939 the people in Bethanie were using the name 'Agtertrekker' to refer to the people who remained loyal to the Buhr and Hermannsburg mission society. Those who opposed Buhr were referred to as 'Voortrekker'. In 1940, the Lutheran church in Bethanie was vandalised and set alight. Forty-six people were arrested and sentenced for six months charged with public violence.

⁴ Ibid., p.37

⁵ Heinrich Bammann, Bethanie in Transvaal, p. 38

These conflicts led to the establishment of two Lutheran churches in Bethanie. One was called the Bakwena Lutheran Church that belonged to the people who broke away from the Hermannsburg Lutheran Church. It was only in 1950 when the congregation of Hermannsburg Lutheran Church renovated the church. These events would also have a lasting impact in the community. In retrospect, they bring the question why do the people in Bethanie or the Bakwena ba Mogopa always reiterate that they are a peaceful people?

The period between 1959 and 1962 is what some of the elders in Bethanie refer to as the second Mabidibidi war. Even though the church still featured in this conflict, the main actors here were the traditional leadership and residents. 1959 was the year in which Kgosi Lerothodi Mamogale (Lerothodi II) was installed as the ruler of the Bakwena ba Mogopa. This caused a division among the Bakwena ba Mogopa because there were people who wanted David Mamogale to remain as the kgosi. David Mamogale had been the regent acting for Lerothodi who was still too young to lead at the time of his father's passing. This lasted for only three years but impacted the community beyond that time.

Chapter two was not only to relay the various stories of Mabidibidi, it was to also show that Bethanie had a longer history of conflict. In the beginning of this dissertation, I argued that the protestors, in particular, the young people that participated in the 2018 protest had not experienced the level of collectivisation displayed in September 2018. These sentiments were expressed parallel to those of the much older generation that shared their stories of Mabidibidi. They compared and/or felt reminded of the war of Mabidibidi.

Chapter three is an intermediary chapter that attempted to focus on three institutions that have had an impact on the lives of people in Bethanie. These institutions are the governments

(from the Union government to the apartheid and democratic governments), the traditional leadership and the platinum mining company. Firstly, the chapter has demonstrated how the land of the Bakwena ba Mogopa was acquired. The Bakwena ba Mogopa bought land with the assistance of the Hermannsburg Mission Society. Reverend W.H. Behrens who came to Bethanie as a missionary in 1865, facilitated this purchase. Multiple purchases of land followed after this. In the 1920s, kgosi Johannes Mamogale was accused of maladministration and misappropriation of funds by Bakwena ba Mogopa in Bethanie, Hebron and Jericho. While the residents in Hebron and Jericho especially used the courts to challenge their kgosi, they resisted government intervention in trying to depose him.

Secondly, the chapter has focused on the emergence of mining in Bethanie. In the 1980s Bethanie saw a lot of mineral prospecting on their land. In 1988 Glencore Xstrata Rhovan mine was established on the communal land of the Bakwena ba Mogopa. Kgosi Lerothodi Mamogale of the Bakwena ba Mogopa, former President of Bophuthatswana Lucas Mangope and the mining company all signed an agreement for the establishment of this mine. Recent literature has argued that the focus in historiography has shifted to the rural area because of the platinum potential and dynamics mining brings in former bantustan areas such as Bophuthatswana and Lebowa.⁶ While mining may have seemed like an advantage to not only develop the community and create jobs for the residents of Bethanie, many of the residents are still suffering from poor basic service delivery issues. Moreover, the mine being established in Bethanie attracted people from various areas outside the North West Province.

⁶ Sonwabile Mnwana and Gavin Capps, 'No chief ever bought a piece of land! Struggles over property, community and mining in the Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela Traditional Authority Area, North West Province', Society, Work and Development Institute, working paper 3, Wits University, March 2015, p. 6.

This intensified the politics of belonging in Bethanie. Identifying or reasserting one's Bakwena ba Mogopa-ness has intensified in the years that followed the mine's establishment.

Thirdly, the chapter attempted to focus on the changes and continuities of traditional leadership. It shows how the dikgosi in Bethanie have been integral to the local politics of Bethanie from issues of land, government and mining. Moreover, this chapter has placed a microscopic lens on the events of 2005, when the Bethanie residents took to the streets to protest the removal of the regent Sekgwakgwa Mamogale. The residents accused the Premier of the North West Province to have had a hand in the removal of the regent and replacing him with Christina Mathibedi. Sekgwakgwa Mamogale was the regent because the heir Motheo Mamogale was still a minor. Christina Mathibedi is the aunt of Motheo Mamogale. The events of 2005 brought to the forefront contestations over leadership and mining. Residents in Bethanie contested the imposed leadership by the North West Provincial government and more importantly the deals that their leaders were making without their consultation. Violence erupted in Bethanie when chairs were thrown at attendees of a meeting that the new regent Mathibedi was addressing. This was also followed by the burning of the Lekgotla offices and house of late Kgosi Lerothodi II. A few ringleaders were arrested and a commission of inquiry set up to assess the leadership battles in Bethanie. The commission made a number of recommendations. The most noticeable of these recommendations was the reinstatement of the regent Sekgwakgwa Mamogale and the declaration of kgosi Motheo Mamogale as the rightful heir.

This chapter showed the various contestations that have taken place in Bethanie. It showed the impact of land purchases in Bethanie. This would later on have an impact on the struggle

for resources when mining begun to take place in the village. It showed how mining intensified belonging and citizenry in the village. The chapter also highlighted the various contestations that took place with traditional leadership and how it is intertwined with local government as well as mining. In this chapter, I argued that these institutions have shaped the local dynamics in Bethanie. I showed that while these institutions have at times divided the community, they have also united them and we can observe that through the protests that I have highlighted.

The fourth and final substantive chapter of this thesis has brought into focus the September 2018 protest. It has looked at the protest from its genesis, to expressions of violence in the everyday routine of unemployed youth in Bethanie. In this chapter, I began by tracing the everyday routine of young people walking and spending time by the Glencore recruitment office. This routine shows not only the desperation of many of the youth in the community but the constant humiliation that they face. Having to wait not only for a day, but at times many years to get a job has been at the centre of my argument here. I have highlighted how the youth has used the space around the mine to mourning publicly and collectively for jobs. I have also shown how the mining operations have affected not only the community but the minds of these young people. These young people may not know the story of Mabidibidi but they have found ways of expressing themselves.

The 3rd of September 2018 was an important moment in Bethanie. The residents took their issues to the streets by protesting against the mine. They expressed that they felt excluded from the mine – they did not get opportunities for jobs and that service delivery was poor in their community. Through the disruption of mining activities and destruction of available and

symbolic mining property, they made themselves known. They were organised in their approach and were met with police violence. Nineteen of the protestors were arrested and later released, leaving a bitter taste to the protestors who simply wanted to be heard. This protest was to articulate the structural violence that they had been experiencing for many years. In this chapter, I argued that the protest itself was not as spectacularly violent as many other protests in South Africa are described, but that this was new in Bethanie. I showed this but highlighting the importance of youth at the forefront of protest unlike the previous protests in Bethanie. I showed how the breakdown of institutions of the local government and traditional leadership have impacted Bethanie. While these institutions may have been integral in the previous protests, the 2018 protest was mobilised very differently.

The Bakwena ba Mogopa and Bethanie in its entirety have a long history of contestations. Like other communities in former Bantustan areas, the community of Bethanie is quite complex and dynamic. Researching Bethanie's history of contestations has highlighted how dynamic the community of Bethanie is. There are many other aspects of this community that this research was not able to explore. These include the formation of the Bakwena ba Mogopa as a group, the forced removals of the Bakwena in the 1980s, the meaning of land to them as well as understanding different dynamics among the Bakwena as a group for example. I believe that there is so much more that can be learned from this community - that is not to treat them as exceptional but rather to add to the history of South Africa. This thesis aimed to highlight the protests in Bethanie. It has shown how important local dynamics should be taken seriously when trying to understand protest. This research has shown how the everyday lives and routines of people and community are important to understanding protests and in particular violent protests.

Bibliography

Primary sources:

Newspapers / Periodicals

- Business day
- Citizen
- Mail and Guardian
- News Age
- New Nation
- Pretoria news
- Sowetan
- Star
- News24

Online sources

SA history online, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/afrikaner-newspapers-and-newspaper-industry-1830>.

Corruption watch: Mining Royalties Research Report 2018. Provincial Gazette for North West No. 6434, 21 Sep 2007, Vol. 250

<https://www.mmegi.bw/news/bakwena-ba-mogopa-get-king/news>

<https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2014-03-02-north-west-mining-royalties-misused-says-inquiry-report/>

<https://www.gov.za/speeches/premier-mokgoro-meet-bakwena-ba-mogopa-and-bapo-ba-mogale-traditional-councils-14-apr-2019>

Interviews and Informal conversations/interviews

- Bonanza Poho, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019 (Translated).
- David Maotoane, Interview conducted by K E Maotoane, Bethanie, 3 January and December 2019 (Translated).
- Eric Pooe, Interview conducted by K E Maotoane, Bethanie, 6 July and November 2019 (Translated).
- Itumeleng (did not provide surname), interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, December 2019.
- Joseph Mothibe, Interview conducted by K E Maotoane, Bethanie, 5 July 2019 (Translated).
- Mogomotsi Mekgwe, Interview conducted by K E Maotoane, Bethanie, 5 July and November 2019 (Translated).
- Jacob Maotwane, interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November and December 2019 (Translated).
- Kgothatso Seroke (and anonymous friends), Bethanie, November 2019 (Translated).
- Keitsi, Interview with Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019 (Translated).
- Lerato, Interview with Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019 (Translated).
- Linky Khonou, Interview with Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November and 19 December 2019 (Translated).

- Mapula Lebethe, Interview with Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November and December 2019 (Translated).
- Moleboheng Mamogale, Informal interview with Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019 (Translated).
- Mpho Maotwane, Interview with Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019 (Translated).
- Rosa Mongale, Interview with Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019 (Translated).
- Senose Mathabane (and anonymous friends), Interview with Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019 (Translated).
- Sherly Thupa, Interview with Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019 (Translated).
- Sydney Mataboga, Interview conducted by K E Maotoane, Bethanie, 6 July, November and 19 December 2019 (Translated).
- Thato Lebethe, Interview with Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November and 18 December 2019 (Translated).
- Tumisang, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, 7 July and November 2019 (Translated).
- Tiny and Tshepang Kgobane, interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019 (Translated).
- Tobie Moloto, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, December 2019 (Translated).
- Rebone Montsoedi, Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019 (Translated).

- Kantse (did not provide surname), Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019 (Translated).
- Koko Mperi (did not provide surname), Informal interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019 (Translated).
- Malume wa Bonanza (did not provide name and surname), informal interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019 (Translated).
- Margret Mahuma, Informal interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019 (Translated).
- Nick Motloun, Informal interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, November and December 2019 (Translated).
- Koko Meme (did not provide surname), Interview conducted by Kefuoe Maotoane, Bethanie, November 2019 (Translated).

Secondary Sources:

Unpublished theses

Maotoane, Kefuoe E. ‘‘Hao Wa Mono’’: The Politics of Exclusion and Everyday Life in Bethanie, c. 1980s to the Present’, (Honours thesis, University of the Witwatersrand), November 2018.

Unpublished secondary sources

Bowman, Andrew. ‘Dilemmas of distribution: financialisation, boom and bust in the post-apartheid platinum industry’, Society, Work and Development Institute, working paper 6, Wits University, July 2016.

Capps, Gavin and Malindi, Stanley. 'Dealing with the Tribe: The Politics of the Bapo/Lonmin Royalty-to-Equity Conversation', Society, Work and Development Institute, working paper 8, Wits University, May 2017.

Hermanus, May., Walker, Joshua., Watson, Ingrid. and Oliver Baker, 'Impact of the South African Minerals and Petroleum Resources Development Act on Levels of Mining, Land Utility and People', in Suzanne Dansereau (ed.) *LABOUR, Capital and Society/ TRAVAIL, Capital et societe*, 48, 1& 2 (2015), pp. 11-39.

Moodie, Dunbar and von Holdt, Karl. 'New Frontiers of Mining in South Africa' in Suzanne Dansereau (ed.) *LABOUR, Capital and Society/ TRAVAIL, Capital et societe*, 48, 1& 2 (2015), pp. 2-10.

Mnwana, Sonwabile., Mtero, Farai and Hay, Michelle. 'Dispossessed the Dispossessed? Mining and Rural Struggles in Mokopane, Limpopo, Society, Work and Development Institute, working paper 7, Wits University, September 2016.

Mnwana, Sonwabile and Capps, Gavin. 'No chief ever bought a piece of land! Struggles over property, community and mining in the Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela Traditional Authority Area, North West Province', Society, Work and Development Institute, working paper 3, Wits University, March 2015.

Mnwana, Sonwabile. 'Between 'Locals' and 'Foreigners': Mining and Rural Politics of Belonging in North West Province, South Africa', in Suzanne Dansereau (ed.) *LABOUR, Capital and Society/ TRAVAIL, Capital et societe*, 48, 1& 2 (2015), pp. 157-181.

The History Workshop, 'Oral History: A guide for educators. Unpublished paper', Mpumalanga Provincial Government Department of Education: Oral History, Guide for Educators. Compiled by members of History Workshop at the University of the Witwatersrand, 2004.

Saul Dubow, *Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919-36* (United States of America: Palgrave Macmillan, 1989), pp. 1-248.

von Holdt, Karl. (2011) 'Overview - Insurgent citizenship and collective violence: analysis of case studies' in K von Holdt, M Langa, S Molapo, N Mogapi, K Ngubeni, J Dlamini & A Kirsten (eds) *The Smoke that Calls: Insurgent Citizenship, Collective Violence and the Struggle for a Place in the New South Africa*, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV) and the Society, Work and Development Institute (SWOP): University of Witwatersrand.

Wahbie Long, 'Shame, envy, impasse and hope: The psychopolitics of violence in South Africa', Department of Psychology: University of Cape Town- WISER seminar University of the Witwatersrand, 11 March 2019, pp. 1-23.

Published Articles

Peter Alexander, Rebellion of the poor: South Africa's service delivery protests – a preliminary analysis, *Review of African Political Economy*, 37, 123 (2010), pp. 25-40.

Ben Arnold Lohmeyer, Youth as an artefact of governing violence: Violence to young people shapes violence by young people, *Current Sociology*, 66, 7(2018), pp.

Michael Ralph, Killing Time, *Duke University Press*, 26, 4(2008), pp. 1-31.

Deevla Bhuna and Rob Pattman, 'Girls want money, boys want virgins: the materiality of love among South African township youth in the context of HIV and AIDS', *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, 13, 8(2011), pp. 961-972.

Mark Hunter, 'Masculinities, multiple-sexual partners, and AIDS: the making and unmaking of Isoka in KwaZulu-Natal', *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, 54, (2004), pp. 123-153.

Craig Jeffrey, 'Timepass: Youth, class and time among unemployed young men in India', *Journal of the American Ethnological society*, 37, 3(2010), pp. 465-481.

Clive, Glaser. 'Youth and generation in South African history', *The Journal of South African and American Studies*, 19, 2(2018), pp. 117-138.

Alexander, Peter. 'Rebellion of the Poor: South Africa's service delivery protests – a preliminary analysis', *Review of African Political Economy*, 31, 123(2010), pp. 25-40.

Alexander, Peter and Pfaffe, Peter. 'Social Relationships to the Means and Ends of Protest in South Africa's Ongoing Rebellion of the Poor: The Balfour Insurrections', *Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protests*, 13, 2(2013), pp. 204-221.

Breckenridge, Keith. 'The Allure of Violence: Men, Race and Masculinity on the South African Goldmines, 1900-1950', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24, 4(1998), pp. 669-693.

Beinart, William. 'Beyond 'Homelands': Some ideas about the History of African Rural Areas in South Africa', *South African Historical Journal*, 64, 1(2012), pp. 5-21.

Comaroff, Jean and Comaroff, John L. 'The Madman and the Migrant: Work and Labor in the Historical Consciousness of a South African People', *American Ethnologist*, 14, 2 (1987), pp. 191-209.

de Waal, Alex and Ibreck, Rachel. 'Hybrid social movements in Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 31, 2(2013), pp. 303-324.

Field, Sean. 'Turning up the Volume: Dialogues about Memory Create Histories', *South African Historical Journal*, 60, 2 (2008), pp. 175-194.

Heffernan, Anne. 'Black Consciousness's Lost Leader: Abraham Tiro, the University of the North, and seeds of South Africa's Student Movement in the 1970s*', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 41, 1 (2015), pp. 173-186.

Langa, Malose and Kiguwa, Peace. 'Violent masculinities and service delivery protests in post-apartheid South Africa: A case study of two communities in Mpumalanga', *Agenda*, 27, 1(2013), pp. 20-31.

Lekgoathi, Sekibakiba P. 'Rural Youth and Changing Patterns of Political Mobilization in the Northern Transvaal Village of Zebediela, 1976- 1990', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 43, 1(2018), pp. 21-42.

Lekgoathi, Sekibakiba P. 'Teacher Militancy in the Rural Northern Transvaal Community of Zebediela, 1986–1994', *South African Historical Journal*, 58, 1 (2010), pp. 226-252.

Lekgoathi, Sekibakiba P. 'Voices of Our Past: Oral Testimony and Teaching History', in J. Bam and C. Dyer (eds.), *Educator's Guide to the UNESCO General History of Africa* (Cape Town: New Africa Education for the Ministry of Education, 2004), pp. 43-52.

Mathabatha, Sello. 'The 1976 Student Revolts and the Schools in Lebowa, 1970-1976*', *South African Historical Journal*, 51, 1 (2004), p. 108-129.

Manson, Andrew. 'Fractions, contestations and mining's missing millions: the African National Congress in North West Province since 1994', *Transformation*, 87, (2015), pp. 55-71.

Manson, Andrew and Mbenga, Bernard. 'Mining and 'Traditional Communities' in South Africa's 'Platinum Belt': Contestations over Land, Leadership and Assets in North West Province c. 1996-2012, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 39, 2 (2013), pp. 409-423.

Mnwana, Sonwabile. 'Between 'Locals' and 'Foreigners': Mining and rural politics of belonging in North West Province, South Africa', *Labour, Capital and Society*, 48, 1 and 2 (2015), pp. 156-181.

Nyawasha, Tawanda S. 'Violent Cultures, Acting Citizens and the Passive State: Contesting Political Morality in South Africa', *South African Journal of Political Studies*, 46, 1(2019), pp. 37-50.

Posel, Deborah. 'The Scandal of Manhood: 'Baby Rape' and the Politicization of Sexual Violence in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, 7, 3 (2005), pp. 239-252.

Tilly, Charles. Contentious Repertoires in Great Britain, 1758-1834, *Social Science History*, 17, 2 (1993), pp. 253-280.

van Onselen, Charles. 'Crime and Total Institutions in the Marking of Modern South Africa: the life of 'Nongoloza' Mathebula 1867-1948', *History Workshop Journal*, 19 (1985), pp. 62-81.

von Holdt, Karl and Naidoo, Prishani. 'Mapping movement landscape in South Africa', *Globalizations*, 16, 2(2019), pp. 170-185.

von Holdt, Karl. 'The violence of order, orders of violence: Between Fanon and Bourdieu', *Current Sociology*, 61, 112(2013), pp. 113-131.

Wieviorka, Michel. Violence and the Subject, *SAGE*, 73, 1(2003), pp. 47-63.

Book chapters

Belinda Bozzoli, 'Interviewing Women of Phokeng', in Perks, R., and Thomson, A. (eds.). *The Oral History Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 155-165.

Bosworth, Michal. 'Let me tell you...': memory and the practice of oral history' in Joan Tumblety (ed.) *Memory and History: Understanding memory as source and subject* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 19-33.

Clive Glaser, 'Being Manly': Themes in the History of Urban Youth Gangs, in Clive Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi: The Youth Gangs of Soweto 1935-1976* (Cape Town, South Africa: David Philip Publishers, 2000), pp. 1-19.

Clive Glaser, 'Idle and Undesirable': Relocation, Ganges and the Youth Identity in Soweto During the 1960s, in Clive Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi: The Youth Gangs of Soweto 1935-1976* (Cape Town, South Africa: David Philip Publishers, 2000), pp. 95-125.

Delius, Peter. Mistaking form for substance: Reflections on the key dynamics of pre-colonial polities and their implications for the role of chiefs in contemporary South Africa, in Mbongiseni Buthelezi, Dineo Skosana and Beth Vale (eds.) 'Traditional leaders in a Democracy: Resources, Respect and Resistance', (Johannesburg: MISTRA Publication, 2019), pp. 24-49.

Dodd, Lindsey. 'Small fish, big pond: Using a single oral history narrative to reveal broader social change' in Joan Tumblety (ed.) *Memory and History: Understanding memory as source and subject* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 34-49.

Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A Cloward, 'The Structuring of Protest', in Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A Cloward *Poor People's Movement: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), pp. 1-40.

Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A Cloward, 'The Unemployed Workers' Movement', in Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A Cloward, *Poor People's Movement: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), pp. 41-95.

Lekgoathi, Sekibakiba P. 'The 1976 Soweto Students Uprising and its Aftermath in Parts of the Northern Transvaal'. In: South African Democracy Education Trust (ed.), *The Road to*

Democracy in South Africa Volume 7 – Soweto Uprisings: New Perspectives, Commemorations and Memorialisation, (Pretoria: UNISA Press: 2017), pp. 126 – 142.

Lekgoathi, Sekibakiba P. 'Youth Politics and Rural Rebellion in Zebediela and Other Parts of the 'Homeland' of Lebowa, 1976–1977'. In A. Heffernan (ed.), *Students Must Rise: Youth Struggle in South Africa Before and Beyond Soweto '76*, (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2016), pp. 109 – 118.

Lodge, Tom 'The interplay of Non-violent and Violent Action in the Movement against Apartheid in South Africa, 1983-94', in Roberts, Adam and Ash, Timothy G. *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to Present*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 213-230.

Portelli, Alessandro. 'What makes oral History Different' in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds) *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 32-42.

Thompson, Paul. 'The Voice of the Past: Oral history' in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds) *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 25-31.

Books

Butler, Judith., *Precarious Life: The powers of mourning and violence* (London: Verso, 2004).

Bonner, Philip., Delius, Peter. and Posel, Deborah (eds.). *Apartheid's Genesis, 1935-1962* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, Witwatersrand University Press, 1993).

Bornman, Flierea., van Eeden, Rene and Wentzel, Marie (eds.). *Violence in South Africa: A variety of perspectives* (Pretoria: Human Science Research Council Publishers, 1998).

Bozzoli, Belinda. *Theatres of Struggle and the End of Apartheid* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2004).

Comaroff, Jean and Comaroff, John. *The Truth About Crime: Sovereignty, Knowledge, Social Order* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016).

Delius, Peter. *A lion Amongst the Cattle: Reconstruction and resistance in the Northern Transvaal* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1996).

Donham, Donald L. *Violence in a time of liberation: murder, ethnicity at a South African gold mine* (NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

Evans, Ivan. *Cultures of Violence: Racial violence and the origins of segregation in South Africa and the American South* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

Glaser, Clive. *Bo-Tsotsi: The Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1935-1976* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2000).

Kepe, Thembele., and Ntsebeza, Lungisile (eds.). *Rural Resistance in South Africa: The Mpondo Revolts after Fifty Years* (Boston: Leiden, The Netherlands, 2011).

Kynoch, Gary. *Township Violence and the End of Apartheid: War on the Reef* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2018).

Manson, Andrew and Mbenga, Bernard K. *Land Chiefs Mining: South Africa's North West Province since 1840*, (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2014).

Manganyi, Chabani and du Toit, Andre (eds.), *Political Violence and the Struggle in South Africa* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990).

Ntsebeza, Lungisile. *Democracy Compromised: Chiefs and the politics of the land in South Africa* (Netherlands: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005).

Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like* (South Africa: Ravan Press, 1996)

Tonkin, Elizabeth. *Narrating our pasts: The social construction of oral history* (Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Tosh, John. *The Pursuit of History: Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history* (New York: Longman Publishing, 1991).

Vansina, Jan. *Oral Tradition as History* (London: James Currey, 1985).

Zizek, Slavoj. *Violence: Six Sideways Reflections* (London, Britain: CPI Bookmarque, 2008).

