

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements and Thanks		viii
Acronyms and Glossary		xi
List of Figures and Maps		xvi
List of Tables		xvii
 Chapter One:	 Introduction	 1
	1.1 Argument of the thesis	5
	1.2 Overview of political conflict and violence in Natal	13
	1.3 The existing literature on political violence in Natal	21
	1.4 The meaning of 'Zuluness' and Zulu ethnicity in KwaZulu-Natal	29
	1.5 Gender, generation and masculinity	33
	1.6 Space, place and spatiality	36
	1.7 Space, place and identity	45
	1.8 Scope of the thesis	53
 Chapter Two:	 Methodology	 55
	2.1 Questions of methodology	55
	2.2 Selecting a research topic	59
	2.3 Choosing the research site: Mpumalanga township	66
	2.4 The fieldwork process: collecting primary material	68
	2.5 Research lacunae	83
	2.6 Research ethics	84
 Chapter Three:	 From Freehold to Model Township: The Making of Mpumalanga – Space, Control and a 'New' Zulu Identity	 86
	3.1 Introduction	86
	3.2 Establishing a mission: the roots of power, governance and identity	89
	3.3 Georgedale in the 1940s and 1950s	97
	3.4 The 1960s - relocation	114
	3.5 Township life – a new politics and new identities	134
	3.6 Conclusion	153

Chapter Four:	Local Politics: Resisting An Ethnic Politics of Identity	156
4.1	Introduction	156
4.2	Public communal life (local politics) in the early 1980s	159
4.3	Friendship and intimacy	170
4.4	Tensions rise between political organisations	172
4.5	The first attacks	176
4.6	The formation of the Hammarsdale Youth Congress	181
4.7	Conclusion	183
 Chapter Five:	 National and Regional Politics: The Role of the State in Political Violence in Natal	 186
5.1	Introduction	186
5.2	Thinking about the South African state	189
5.3	The militarisation of the South African State	192
5.4	Regional politics in Natal and KwaZulu	201
5.5	State involvement in fomenting political violence	207
5.6	Conclusion	217
 Chapter Six:	 Mapping Political Violence in Mpumalanga Township	 220
6.1	Introduction	220
6.2	Violence and the spatiality of the body	222
6.3	The second spatiality of political violence – targeting the household	232
6.4	The third spatiality of political violence – capturing territory	239
6.5	Women, <i>kitskonstabels</i> and protests	246
6.6	From defending the borders to invading territory	253
6.7	Conclusion	278
 Chapter Seven:	 Ethnographies of Violence: The Making of Political Identities	 282
7.1	Introduction	282
7.2	Organisation / violence starts in the schools	285
7.3	Violence and political identity follows the boys home	296
7.4	Remaking place and political identity	305
7.5	Lived experiences of political violence	317
7.6	Conclusion	332

Chapter Eight:	Conclusion	335
	8.1 Restating the arguments	335
	8.2 Legacies of political violence	337
References		344