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Khoisan ancestry and Coloured identity: A study of the Korana Royal House under Chief Josiah Kats

by

Sharon Gabie

Student Number 0712848V

Research report submitted in fulfilment of the requirements

of

Masters by Coursework and Research

in

Anthropology

at the

University of the Witwatersrand

Supervisor: Prof David Coplan

January 2014

DECLARATION

I, Sharon Gabie, declare that this thesis is my own unaided work and personal endeavor except as indicated in the bibliography and acknowledgements. It is submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the Masters of Coursework and Research Degree (in Anthropology) at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa, Johannesburg. This thesis "Khoisan Ancestry Coloured Identity: A study of the Korana Royal House under Chief Josiah Kats" has been submitted before for examination at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Signed:_____ **At: _____**

Sharon Gabie **Date: January 2014**

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ABSTRACT

The advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994 coincided with International Legislation where the International Labour Organisation ILO Convention 1969 – Indigenous & Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 was prominent in their 'rights to roots' campaign, closely followed by the 1994 United Nations Draft - Universal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. These international debates filtered through to local communities in South Africa, who was still in the infant stages of democracy. The newly installed government glanced off ethnic loyalty in favour of the spirit of nationalism as the building blocks to unity in the new State. Under leadership of the African National Congress (ANC), resurgent voices of Khoisan revivalist groups appeared to reassert an identity linked to particularity. This was done in the wake of a colonial and apartheid past, where these institutions destabilised identities hence the formation and mobilization of new political structures amongst neo-Khoisan Revivalist groups. Many of these neo-Khoisan groups are spearheaded by self-appointed leaders to mobilize support on the basis of ethnic loyalty to foster notions of 'belonging' to an ethnic society and the scramble for resources. This thesis looked at the contemporary view of those who are in the process of identity reclamation. It has done so by using the Korana Royal House as a vignette to look at the broader Khoisan movement. The thesis looked at the evolution of naming rules and customs and how these interrelate in different contexts and the international discourse about concepts like indigenous and traditional groups.

The thesis also focused on some of the revival processes of the Korana identity linked to indigeneity as opposed to traditional leadership as espoused by the Bill on traditional leadership. The thesis concludes that Chapter 12, of the Constitution of South Africa of 1996, which recognise the role of traditional leaders in society is being challenged by the re-entering of groups like the Korana and others claiming recognition on their status as indigenous people.

List of Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BMS	Bethany Mission Station
CCHDC	Cape Cultural Heritage Development Council
COGHSTA	Cooperative Governance Human Settlements and Traditional Affairs
GAPON	Gauteng and other Provinces of the North
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IRASA	Institute for the Restoration of the Aborigines of South Africa
KUF	Khoisan United Front
LMS	London Missionary Station
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NHTL	National House of Traditional Leadership
NKC	National Khoisan Council
NP	National Party
RDLA	Department of Rural Development and Land Affairs
RDLA	Department of Rural Development and Land Affairs
SAPCO	South African Progressive Civic Organisation
UDF	United Democratic Front
UN	United Nations

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

The generic word Khoisan is an academic term coined by a German Anthropologist, Leonard Schultze in the late 1920s[1]. Smith (1995: xx) notes "the collective name, Khoisan, is often used, but this should be restricted to either language or the larger aboriginal gene pool, which is usually contrasted with Bantu-speaking Iron Age farming people". Indeed as Penn (2005: 8) points out that in dealing with terminology such as 'Khoikhoi', 'San' and 'Khoisan' (other authors use the term Khoe-San) cognisance should be taken that it involves real people and real processes, that these words are not ahistorical categories but historical categories and social constructions, a terminology which increasingly causes a degree of tension and controversy. For the purpose of this study I will use the term Khoisan, where I quote the work of authors I will note the spelling as per that authors choice of terminology.

In its legal state and everyday use in South Africa, the term Khoisan encompasses five main groups, that of the Cape Khoi, Nama, San, Griqua and Korana. The purpose of this ethnographic undertaking is to understand how and why the latter group seek to establish and restore an 'own identity' within Khoisan structures and to gauge what life was like for these individuals pre-1948, as well as how it is remembered by the interlocutors who identify themselves as Korana: to understand the dynamics which contribute to their understanding of being a Korana (what constitutes their 'Korananess'). The intention of this thesis is not to solve the problem of identity, or naming categories but to comprehend the problematic nature of this identity, how people remember their history, their experiences of the everyday as narrated through stories told to them from generation to generation and personal encounters of the every day. In order to explore this topic, I have sketched a brief overview of the origins of the name Korana and discuss their loss of land and identity focussing on the emergence of the Korana Royal House (1996 to date) under Chief Josiah Kats. It is worth stating from the outset that the plight of the Korana Royal House as seen in the 21st century cannot be discussed in isolation from the broader Khoisan structure and the contentious issue of Coloured identity. For the purpose of this study when I refer to Coloured identity I only include those individuals who self-identify and affiliate themselves with the Khoisan struggle and take issue with how they are classified.

[1] http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/khoisan-identity

1.2 Background

The term Hottentot or Hüttentüt is a derogatory term that was given to the Khoikhoi to described their speech as 'German quack' because it sounded more like the chat of a parrot than human speech, a mere gibberish, which the Dutch found difficult to understand (Hahn 1881: 2). According to Hahn (1881) in the mouths and understanding of Khoikhoin people the term Khoikhoi referred to 'men of men' or men *par excellence* (Hahn 1881: 2) not Hottentot while referring to other tribes in the region as Sā or Sonqua as noted by Hahn (1881). Distinguishing between those formerly occupying the Cape vicinity known as Hottentot, Hottentot proper or Cape Hottentots while those who inhabited Griekwaland West, South of the Kalahari, or Great Namaqualand were called by their tribal names Griqua, Namaquas,!Kora or Koranas indicating a separation from the Khoikhoi tribes referred to as Hottentots of the Cape Colony (Hahn 1881).

Theal (1910) asserts that early records of the Dutch referred to the Gorachouqua clan as the first break-away group from the Cape District. This breakaway group, according to Theal (1910) was pioneered by their leader named Kora or Choro. The person Kora or Choro is vaguely introduced in the work of Theal (1910) without much descriptive detail about who he was and what his role was in the trajectory of the South African history nor that of his followers, except that authors like Theal (1910) refer to them as raiders and cattle stealers. When Kora died, his son Eikomo became his successor, according to Theal (1910). The pioneers of the group, those who followed Eikomo, called themselves Koraqua, meaning "people of Kora" (Theal 1910: 386).

Cope (1967: 154) assigns character to Xhoré, (note spelling of name) when he states that Xhoré the Hottentot was born in 1580 and played a role in preventing the English from settling in Saldania. The work of Strauss (1979) is an attempt to strengthen and give a voice to the role that Korana people played in the Southern interior; discussing the two wars they were involved in the 19th century. The Korana, she notes have in many contemporary accounts been written into the archive through travel logs by colonial officials, farmers, missionaries and traders who held an 'ethnocentric' and 'anti-Hottentot' bias about their laziness, describing them as disgusting smelling people, stock and tobacco thieves (Strauss 1979: v). Ethnocentrism is upheld when one judges another culture and way of life by the values attached to your own culture and way of life. The Korana according to Strauss (1979),

were seen as uncivilised and barbaric. This is noted when Strauss (1979: v) quotes Theal observing the following

> If all South Africa – possibly all the world – had been searched, a more utterly worthless collection of human beings could not have been got together than these ragamuffin vagabonds who refused to submit to the restraints of law and order, and set the colonial government at defiance. The only grievance that any of them had was that part of the ground they roamed over was being occupied as farms, but the Xhosas, Koranas and Afrikaner Hottentots would have had ample locations assigned to them if they had contested, as other members of their tribes had done, to lead settled lives.

Suffice to say, as stated by Clastres (1977: 185-6) "It is said that the history of peoples who have a history is the history of class struggle. It might be said with at least as much truthfulness, that the history of peoples without history is the history of their struggle against the State". This can be seen when Penn (1995: 23) notes that "the Korana had an earlier (and more obscure) history of complex and diverse group formation which makes it virtually impossible to state with any certainty where they originated or which groups comprised the core of conglomerations". This struggle of the Korana evident in the chapter 4 and 5 where I examine how the Korana were made *'locus standi'* invisible in the eyes of the law (Beddy: 2007: 202) and the argument by Erasmus (2012) on the role Wuras', the missionary at the Bethany mission station played in contributing to the disintegration of the Korana.

According to De Jager (2009: 14), Jacob Kruger, a deserter from the Cape colony was the leader of the "swart volk". His mannerism was that of an outlaw (not desirable to the missionaries) who as Theal (1910) stated refused to submit to law and order, always dealing underhandedly and getting into trouble with the law. Under the leadership of Jacob Kruger the "swart volk" had internal factions which led to a split, one group calling themselves "Reghandse" and the breakaway group was known as the "Towenaars". The "Springbokke" were under *kaptein* (captain) Jan Bloem and the "Taaibosch" clan under Koos Taaibosch. The latter group according to De Jager (2009) stationed themselves around a fountain which they named Koransfontein, earlier records spelling it as "Korans Fonteyn". According to De Jager (2009: 14) the farms in the areas of what is today named as Doornkuil, Doornspruit, Driekuil, Gestoptefontein, Humanskraal, Kreekuil, Witpoort were all Korana *krale* known as outposts. De Jager (2009) posits that if one knows what you are looking for, signs of these *krale* can still be seen.

The Korana as seen in contemporary society are in the process of reclaiming and restoring an identity, albeit constructed but strongly linked to land claims. Those who self identify as Korana people today can invoke stories and narratives about past everyday experiences that were passed down from generation to generation: what it was like growing up during this time for their forefathers and also their own similar encounters. Chief Josiah Kats remembers these 'krale' saying:

> From Bester next to Wildebeesfontein, still had a lot of '*krale*' (camps). In 1961, this was broken down to build a cement road from outside the gate of Nooitgedagt to Barkly West. They demolished my '*krale*'.[2]

Image 1: A museum display of a late 19th century Korana *krale* next to the Orange River



Illustration pictured in Upington Museum

Penn (2005: 45) points out that "Korana" is a catch-all term describing 19th century "great hotch-potch of diverse and fragmented people". According to (Penn 2005: 45) "Korana" is a word applied to groups of people predominately (but not exclusively) of Khoi origin, dispersed and severely dislocated by the colonial frontier (which continued during apartheid). This leads one to question who Kora, Cory or Chora, the leader of the Korana was and what contribution he had in the South African historiography for people as seen in contemporary society to construct or re-invent an identity[3]. Strauss (1979: v-vi) notes, "few have sought to

2 "Bester langsaan Wildebeesfontein, daar het nog altyd groot klomp klip krale gestaan. Daai klip krale is in 1961 afgebreek toe hulle pad maak vir n sement pad vanaf Nooitgedagt se hek tot na Barkley Wes. Toe het hulle my krale afgebreek. The emphasis in the above illustration on 'my krale' refers to ownership in land through heritage and lineage.

3 According to Penn (1995: 44) a traveller stumbling across a grave west of Sneeuberg in 1777 said it "was the grave of a chief of the Cambedo Hottentots called [the] 'Coranas' nation who had been killed by an elephant". Further to the east he the traveller commented some "Khoi on the

understand why the Korana acted as they did, and to explain their actions in terms of the prevailing conditions, their own values, claims and desires, and the options open to them".

In chapter two I discuss the research methods that I have engaged with. Chapter three discusses the literature reviewed and the theoretical concepts used for this study. Chapter four addresses the issue of the emergence of indigenous identities internationally and how these debates filtered through from the national, to the local, to grass roots levels about identity reclamation and recognition. In these debates we locate the resurgence of the neo-Khoisan politics and as this study will show the reclaiming of a Korana identity. Chapter five differentiates between labelling, framing and naming which more powerful state bureaucracies and political parties use. The study shows how such labels are used to influence how categories of people are treated. Chapter six is an attempt to give voice to the main interlocutor, Chief Josiah Kats, and how he remembers certain aspects of the tradition and culture as part of the lived experience and as narrated to him by his family. This is in no way a generalisation of what the Korana culture and traditions ought to be but a story narrated and told through his eyes and his understanding. Chapter seven discusses Korana identifiers such as medicinal plants and remembering the landscape.

Chapter eight including the observations at the National Khoisan Dialogue draws on multiple conclusions. Though the various efforts of by these individuals and organisations are laudable and represent an earnest effort to right the wrongs of the past, the same problems still persist. The problem was encountered by ex-President Nelson Mandela in 1995 (Waldman 2001: 44-45), where efforts were made under the new dispensation to incorporate leaders specifically

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Sneeuberg and Fishriver with the *trekboers* and the Xhosa who call themselves Cora – thus Coranas is the plural". Engelbrecht' study of the 1930's according to Korana oral traditions is that their great leader was Kora. An earlier account of the Korana by Theal (1910: 386) noted that after the death of Kora, his son Eikomo succeeded him and the pioneers that followed him called themselves Koraqua, meaning "people of Kora". According to Penn (1995: 44-5) it would appear a group of Khoi called Korana before 1770 lived south of Nieuweveld before dispersing to seek employment with *trekboers* and Xhosa, others going north to the Orange River. For example Buysdorp in the Limpopo Province is named after Coenraad De Buys, a *trekboer*, who lived a Korana lifestyle (Korana way of life has been described by various authors as a people with an innate desire to steal cattle to live lawlessly), who married Korana women migrated into Transoranje in 1814, legend has it that he was the first Transvaaler, building a mixed following of his own (Leśniewski 2010). Generations of families grew up on this farm identifying as Korana. Who was Kora the person? Who are the Korana? What was his contribution in historiography of South Africa that so many people can identify as Korana? The origins of the Korana story remains an unsettled topic needing further investigation that is much larger than the scope of this project.

those vocal leaders found under the Griqua leadership, when the presidency sought lay a wreath to pay homage to the fallen heroes, the event was derailed by faction fighting resulting in a call which still reverberates today, that all these groups and people lack unity – Khoisan people need to speak with one voice to ensure that they are as strong as the voices or the people they represent. In order for the Khoisan movement to achieve plausible outcomes with the processes they negotiate with government in terms of the Coloured label, and in terms of making positive changes in the communities they claim to represent, the report concludes that a national debate, similar to the census process should be taking place to reach an amicable solution regarding this label. While the efforts of Chief Kats and a few others seem commendable they are unable as a small group to affect macro changes like altering or amending the Constitution of South Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 Methodology

2.1.1 Rationale of the research

On the 9 February, 2012 President Jacob Zuma welcomed Khoisan leaders into the National House of Traditional Leaders. This was a victorious occasion for all these Khoisan groups like the Cape Khoi, Nama, Griqua, San and Korana. The motivation for embarking on this research stems from a simple, yet complex question: Who are the Khoisan people? This question continues to be the topic of discussion among the men and women in the environment and spaces I encountered in the course of this research.

In 2011, a research group formed by one of the biggest higher education institutions in South Africa, together with two researchers backed by a well-known research institute from overseas and a Randburg based company, recruited fieldworkers to assist on the project, examining race relations. They focused on race relations in the context of finding work, and the mode of transport used to and from work, and the time it takes individuals to reach their final destination. The first sets of questionnaires were distributed in Eldorado Park - a predominantly Coloured area - then in Riverlea, Davidsonville and Westbury across the spectrum of Indians, Blacks and Whites - the four tier system of classification used in South Africa. Most fieldworkers, including me, encountered situations where people categorically stated that they are 'Khoisan' and not 'Coloured' but the forms did not make provision for such a classification. There was, however, a box to tick "other" where one could write South African, which most interlocutors preferred. However, the fieldworkers ignored this request and instead neatly ticked the box for Coloured based on their observations and the language people spoke. Numerous households refuted the label Coloured with some suggesting that the fieldworkers scratch out the word Coloured and overwrite it with Khoisan (i.e., notably Griqua or Korana). The questionnaires I worked on had countless red marks over them, following the requests by people to re-identify themselves. My brief encounter with this project left more questions than answers: Who are the Khoisan people? And what does it mean to self-identify as Khoisan or Korana?

What finally sparked my research interest to complete a project with oral histories narrated by those who classify themselves as Khoisan was a visit to Cape Town, where I witnessed a

traditional dance being performed. On enquiry, I learned that it is called: "*die Nama stap dance"*. This experience coupled with the fieldwork I was involved in mentioned above, researching race relations and finding work led to this attempt in field research, a project in understanding what people are saying about the everyday at grassroots level and how this all unfolds at the three tier namely the social, the political and the economic spheres.

2.1.2 Research topic

The title of this research is Khoisan ancestry and Coloured identity Politics: A study of the Korana Royal House under Chief Josiah Kats (also known as Katz or Katte).

2.1.3 Research questions

The research question is divided into three parts, namely:

1. Recognition of Khoisan leaders is a new phenomenon in South Africa. How can this new platform of Khoisan ancestry be used as a vehicle to discuss issues of identity politics and land claims?
2. Secondly, though recognition and acceptance into the National House of Traditional Leadership has been granted, what does it mean to communities in affected areas and what kind of recognition is the government willing to grant?
3. Thirdly, the Korana Royal House has affiliated itself with a private company called Future Vision Strategies. The aim of this aspect of my research is to establish the reasons behind this decision by Chief Josiah Kats and what role this company plays in the affairs of the Korana Royal House?

2.1.4 Research design

The approach used was a qualitative research method. The sites for the research were in different areas in the Northern Cape which included areas such as Floors in Kimberley where Josiah Kats resides, Rosedale in Upington, Askham in the Kalahari, and Heidedal in Bloemfontein (Free State). A qualitative research approach was employed; it is helpful as a method that seeks to understand people's views and experiences of social interaction in their own words (Bryman 2004). Thus the qualitative research approach focuses on society and culture. It uncovers and describes beliefs, values and attitudes that structure the behaviour of a group (Bryman 2004). This means that a social phenomenon in its natural setting was looked at in an attempt to understand or interpret problems in terms of the meaning people

bring to them. These qualitative methods (Bryman 2004) were adopted for their potential to provide rich contextual perspectives on issues one may not get from standardised formal questionnaires.

2.1.5 Research methods

According to Bernard (2006: 342) "participant observation fieldwork is the foundation of cultural anthropology. It involves getting close to people and making them feel comfortable enough with your presence so that you can observe and record information about their lives". As a participant observer I watched and observed what people do in their natural settings. This technique was very useful for observing people as they went about their daily lives in Rosedale, Upington and for walking through a squatter camp called Khoisan Valley with Chief May, who is known to people in that area as the Korana Chief.

According to Bernard (2006: 210) "semistructured or in-depth interviewing is a scheduled activity. A semistructured interview is open ended, but follows a general script and covers a list of topics". This method was used to conduct an oral history interview with Chief Josiah Kats to gain more insight into the traditions and lifestyle of the Korana people, as well as with people who identify themselves as Korana. The distinction made here is that there are those individuals who claim that they are Korana descendants and there are those who affiliate themselves to the different groupings as part of belonging to the broader Khoisan structures actively participating in the process of self identification.

The first interview with Chief Kats took place on 8 August 2012, while he was on business in Pretoria (Johannesburg). This opportunity was used to make a video recording of the discussion for the study to put on record. The video-recording was useful in later discussions when the actual research commenced in November/ December 2012, used as a tool for a controlled environment of previous discussions. It has also been of help to establish rapport with the family of Chief Josiah Kats, especially his wife. The negative view that people have of researchers, especially amongst the Khoisan people, is in part due to researchers and other individuals visiting the Chief to gather information from him and publish his stories as their own independent research. To overcome this negative view and establish good relations with the family of the Chief, I made a copy of the interview I did with him and handed it over to them. This put me in good stead with the wife of the Chief and reinforced the relationship of

trust and honesty which is so important in interacting with people. By having given the family a copy of the DVD I had assisted creating a memory that will be accessible for future use by the family in a small way creating their own personal archive so that younger members of the family can one day listen to the struggle, dreams and vision of their great grandfather. For the purpose of this thesis the entire recording was not used but only those factors the researcher considered important to address issues of what contributes to the Chiefs understanding of being a Korana.

The method of semi-structured interviewing was combined with what is known as ethno history (Wood 1990); an important methodology which refers not only to written documents considered the primary source of information, but also to any source on the past that may be useful to the study. These include, among others, oral histories, photographs, maps and archaeological records. This method also combines historical narratives or accounts written with anthropological insights like "culture history, the reconstruction of past life ways or understanding cultural processes" (Wood 1990: 81). This is considered important to this study, as a means of understanding the meanings people bring to reinventing themselves. According to Vansina (1962), ethno history in Africa consists of a large quantity of non-written historical sources of cultures and traditions that are still in the consciousness of individuals, thus resulting in the fact that most data can still be collected favourably. It was understood that the different methods of photographing, video recording and semi-structured oral history interviews serve as empirical documented evidence to be used in this study and for similar future research endeavours. These different methods have allowed me to gauge to what extent a collective memory exists in the different communities and different areas to separate out, as much as possible, the reliable information from the fiction to arrive at a dependable and impartial conclusion.

2.1.6 Sampling and data collection

According to Scott and Marshall (2009) a population can be described as all possible elements that can be included in the research. The population is a collection of objects, events or individuals having some common characteristics that interested the researcher. The interlocutors for this study were purposely chosen for their contribution and knowledge about old customs and traditions. They are 60 years and older, though activities of young people are also included in the study. As an interpretive researcher, a spectrum of events, like attending

the inauguration of Bishop Nel and his wife, where Chief Josiah Kats was the guest of honour (see appendix A), visiting Khoisan Valley, in Rosedale Upington (see appendix B) and attending the Mr and Mrs Khoisan function (see appendix C) in the Kalahari were examined to see how people identifying as Khoisan construct and create meaning out of the social worlds in which they participate. Although the research project concerns the Korana Royal House it was impossible not to discuss what other groups and individuals identifying either as Griqua, Nama, San or the neo-Khoisan like Gauteng and other Provinces of the North (GAPON), Khoisan United Front (KUF), South African Progressive Civic Organization (SAPCO) and many more are doing as this forms part of the larger debate about identity reclamation.

2.1.7 Gaining access

Access to interlocutors was made easier (with some difficulty at times) with my on-going interest in researching Khoisan politics since 2011. This was facilitated by keeping in contact with those who self-identify as Khoisan. In May 2012, I was invited by the CEO of GAPON to attend a question-and-answer-session after the meeting was held with the Directors of the organization. I arrived early and a decision had to be made whether they should allow me to sit in and observe the meeting. Before the meeting could start they waited for Josiah Kats, not known to me at the time, who arrived a few minutes later with a Caucasian gentleman assisting him. All the board members voted against my presence in the meeting, as I was sitting in the foyer I could hear them speak. The decision was left to Chief Josiah Kats, who told them to let me in, which they did and I observed the proceedings of the meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to elect a new chairperson in the form of Joseph Little, who is a controversial figure and no stranger in the Khoisan circles, he was instrumental in setting up the Cape Cultural Heritage Development Council (CCHDC) in 1996, and in 1997 he registered a Section 21 non-profit to openly address issues of Coloured marginalisation (Besten 2006). After the meeting I spoke to a few members and established rapport with the Chief.

This was the second time that I attended a meeting that involved the Directors of these neo-Khoisan groups. There were some individuals who acted as ‘gatekeepers’ during the process of the field work. When I first met Steven Kats, at a South African Progressive Civic Organisation (SAPCO) meeting he fashioned himself as the person in charge of dealing with

all access related matters to Chief Josiah Kats, and all correspondence and appointments went through him. At the time, in 2011, I was interested in understanding the Griqua story. White (1997: 108) defines "Gatekeepers, sponsors, and the like (indeed, most of the people who act as hosts to the research) will operate in terms of expectations about the ethnographer's identity and intensions". White (1997: 108) refers to the "town-girl" tension where ambiguity factors in because, as noted by White, as a researcher you are perceived as an individual who participates in a social reality that fundamentally rejects them, particularly in the field of study that I embarked on.

During the June/ July vacation of 2012, after confirming with Steven that I had a meeting organised with the Chief I left for the Northern Cape. When I arrived in Kimberley, I contacted Steven again and he told me that the meeting would have to be rescheduled. We agreed on another date and I informed him that I would go to Douglas (100km out of Kimberley) to speak to people in this area while I waited for his confirmation. Each time I telephoned him he gave me a different reason as to why I could not meet with the Chief. I eventually managed to find a way around him by soliciting the help of my late grandfather, who telephoned some of his colleagues in the church for the contact details of Chief Kats. When I made a stop in Kimberley en route home I was told by Chief Kats and his wife that Steven is not their son though they share the same surname, he is a distant relative.
The fact my late grand-father was a well known evangelist throughout the Northern Cape personally helped me with the study in this field and with gaining access into people's homes to be able to speak to them. These are small communities where people know one another and sometimes the 'label' of researcher was an advantage because people see you as an instrument through which they can voice and re-tell their stories.

2.1.8 Ethical considerations

Scott & Marshall (2009) define ethics as being the rules or standards governing the conduct of a person or the members of a profession. The researcher should be clear on the fact that participation in the research is voluntary and the participants have the right to refuse an interview and can withdraw at anytime so as not to be coerced into participation. In the cases where information was obtained through rumors, I took care to use pseudonyms to refer to individuals whose conversations described grievances about occurrences in their communities. People speak about what affects them as a community; however, I had to

ensure not to have a biased view and to hear other opinions. These concerns are real for the people who raise them and following the work LeCompte and Schensul (1999) who note that the interpretive paradigm views culture as both cognitive and affective, as reflected in shared meanings and as expressed in common language, symbols and other modes of communication. That these shared constructs and meanings are "situated" – meaning that they are located in or affected by the socio-political, economic and other contextual characteristics of those who advocate them (LeCompte and Schensul 1999: 49).

According to Kvale (1996: 117) research involves moral behaviour which is more than ethical knowledge and cognitive choices. It involves the person of the researcher, his or her sensitivity and commitment to morality and action. White (1997: 107) notes that in the field of research "self-disclosure and one's very presence within a setting can have long-term effects on participants and nonparticipants alike". This implies that the decisions made by the researcher/s are critical to the knowledge generated and the quality of the research project. Participants are paramount in any study and according to Joan Cassell cited in (White 1997: 107) "proposed instead that field researchers [should] be guided by the principle of treating people as ends rather than means - an idea that contains the obligation to do as much good to subjects as possible, to be open and honest, and to share any benefits with them".

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 Literature review and theoretical framework

On reviewing the literature it became apparent that not much has been written about the Korana people compared to the history of the Griqua and Bantu-speaking peoples of South Africa. In most cases, the literature has recorded their history in relation to other groups, most notably the Griqua and Tswana. The work of Barnard (1992) drew extensively on Engelbrecht (1936), noting him to be the primary source on Korana social structure and memory culture. Besten's (2006) thesis offered a brief account of how the Korana have been overshadowed and absorbed by other groups such as the Griqua and Nama. Engelbrecht (1936) as cited by Barnard (1992: 165) distinguished between up-country and down-country Korana groups. These include the Taaibosch ('Tough-bush') and their offshoot the Links (or 'Lefties' with the 'Springboks' - probably the most senior of the Links) from up-country (now the Boland), and those who stayed behind during early migration; namely, the Kats (or 'Kats', 'Katte'). According to Barnard (1992) these groups were living along the Orange River. Research by Besten (2006) on *Griqua Identities and Post-Apartheid Khoe-San Revivalism* made some mention of the Korana which reflects an incorporation of the Korana, San and other Khoe-San descendants as well as Bantu-speaking people - most notably the Tswana or BaTswana (Cavanagh 2011: 69) - into a homogenous Griqua identity (later generally known as Coloured [Barnard 1992: 27, 156 &176]).

Archival research by Besten (2006: 25) revealed that in 1823, the Griqua population numbered about 1 600 people, with 1 000 more living at distant settlements and at surrounding stations and approximately 1 800 Korana "living among them, under their influence". Owing to their close proximity, Korana and Tswana shared social, economic, cultural and linguistic traits (Besten 2006). The Griqua had Korana and San in their employ and, as Besten (2006) pointed out, cultural items like clothing circulated in different communities and intermarriage took place

> The number of Bachapins[4], who have taken wives from the Koras, is not small. This seems to be a prevailing custom with that class who can afford to purchase them, while at the same

[4] The Bachapins also known as BaTlhaping, a group of Tswana (Setswana) speaking people also lived along the Orange River. Smith (1995: 302) note that the "agro pastoral Tswana were (and are) polygynous [polygamous], and the choice of wives was not restricted to within the Tswana

> time the Kora parents prefer foreign husbands for their daughters, because the Bachapins pay them oxen, which is more than they can obtain in their own tribe. On the other hand, the Kora, as if to counterbalance this irregularity, are equally unpatriotic in their choice, and often select their wives among the Bachapins (Besten 2006: 26).

Waldman's (2001) approach on the Griqua conundrum was to address issues of Coloured identity politics and Griqua social life that prevailed in this group by excluding the Korana with brief mentioning but no concrete discussion on how they, through social forces formed part of this heterogeneous group of people. Besten (2006) included them into the broader Griqua multi-ethnic group in his discussion of the Coloured question in neo-Khoisan politics – an issue not addressed in Waldman's work. 'Griquaness' consisted of multi-ethnic groups; as noted by Van Tonder (1952) the Griqua became a homogenous group of people made up of heterogeneous peoples. According to Van Tonder (1952) Cornelis Kok, a 'Baster' was seen as a great hunter and an influential 'kaptein' possessing a big herd of cows and grazing lands at outposts on the Orange River, which made him admirable to his followers. His following grew exponentially; so much so he did not have enough 'wild' (meat) for the growing clientele under his captaincy. Some of these followers Van Tonder (1952) avers began to raid other clans. Van Tonder (1952) postulates that Kok took a keen interest in protecting the BaTlhaping who suffered raids and plundering by the much feared Jan Bloem, a trekboer, who married Korana women and lived a lifestyle of raiding and marauding, even killing as he went along. Bredekamp (2001) noted the various neo-Khoisan revivalist groups in post-apartheid South Africa, referring to Josiah Kats of the Korana Royal House and many other groups but did not elaborate much on the social structure of any of the groups only their formation and challenges.

The basis of this thesis is that people employ different methods to construct and re-invent themselves and their identity. Louw (2006) produced a documentary for her Master's thesis on the Nama people following the oral history of the reconstruction of the medicine bag. In a similar vein this thesis seeks to trace stories through oral narratives of how those who self-identify as Korana; how they remember and reconstruct their identity through the use of medical plants.

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society". Intermarriage between Korana and Tswana was of such a nature that as Smith (1995) posits, higher status men took wives from lower status groups resulting in the widening of their social patronage, but high status women never married downwards.

The medicine bag travels in the family from generation to generation filled with medicinal plants picked in the veldt used with contemporary lennon drops bought over the counter in stores. The thesis also recounts the story of a girl called Leticia who grew up believing that she was Coloured because at school and in her environment people never talked about their culture, except when they spoke about Coloured politics. After finishing a course in journalism she began documenting her family history and that of the Bondelswart Nama who hailed from South West Africa (Namibia). Louw (2006) makes a very important observation in recording and making an archive of the medicine bag belonging to the Schwarz family - members of the Nama group from Upington. Louw (2006) followed Foucault by stating that visualising and recording documentation of oral accounts blur the boundaries between history, as we know it, and the histories of an object whose existence had never been written about before. "The awareness of the voices of 'others', the plurality of stories to tell and the fluidity of the stories creates a new form of history trying to develop its own theory" (Louw 2006: 45).

Thus following Vansina (1985), this act of remembering as discussed of the reconstruction of the medicine bag is a re-creation of what once was through oral narratives. This means that one is not only taking into account written text but all the different narratives and oral stories available to restructure this particular object. According to Vansina (1985), this attribute of oral tradition as information recalled in memory is different from written documents. This takes cognisance of the special interest of people who reconstruct histories: that they reflect both the social needs of the present and also how they grapple with what is thought to be a reality of the past (Vansina 1985).

Denis (2008) contends that oral history is like the reconstruction of the medicine bag noting that such stories are a kind of history where historical information circulates by word of mouth, particularly in African societies. Traditions (for example, those pertaining to the Zulu royal family), are preserved by traditional elders and authorised storytellers (Denis 2008).
Denis (2008: 2-3) asserts that according to the constructionist school, knowledge about the past travels from generation to generation and involves complicated sets of social relationships, power struggles and mental associations. Thus according to Hendricks (2004), although ethnic identities are socially constructed, they have a real sense of value for those engaged in its construction, especially where access to resources is based on one's identity.

Wells (2008: 36) explain what ethnic identities mean to people and why they have them as follows; ethnic identities is a "Eurocentric colonial mindset" that imposed the notion that one's ethnicity explained everything and can account for things like the character and quality of a person or group. Competing for resources one's ethnicity evoked a sense of kinship, family and security and by affirming one's ethnicity counteracted the allegations of inferiority.

Denis (2008: 7) noted how oral history was conceptualised in 1977 when the phenomenon was started by the neo-Marxists whose interpretation of the South African past did not pay much attention to race-centred explanations. Instead, they insisted that oral history, folklore and popular culture could be explained within a historical paradigm. The structural Marxist contended that the political economy was important to understanding the past which led to a narrowly focused urban history of the formation of the African working class; culture and resistance (cf. Cavanagh 2011). The implications of this narrowly focussed view are seen post-1994 where identities like that of the Korana, and by implication neo Khoisan groups are being constructed.

3.2 Theoretical framework

3.2.1 Identity politics

The phrase 'identity politics' can be described as actions that come from a particular location within society in direct defiance of universal categories that tend to subsume, erase or suppress this particularity (Calhoun 2002). Englund (2004: 12) noted that some scholars have suggested that there is no need for a distinct identity; he referred to Eriksen (1993) who proposed "post-plural hybrid forms" of identity by stating that "the right to an identity does not seem to entail the right *not* to have specific (usually ethnic) identity". Identity politics in this ideology must be rooted in a particular culture and the protection of minority cultures are therefore important in political life. Everybody needs an identity, claim these proponents (Englund 2004).

3.2.2 Re-inventions and social identity

The significance of re-inventions is illustrated by Besten (2006), who asserted that the action of Khoe-San revivalist groups had a tendency to rub off on people with no affiliation or attachment to these groups. Besten (2006) uses the example of an ex-United Democratic

Front (UDF) member, Jean Burgess - an activist who considered herself as being black for a very long time and aspiring to the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) - deemed it necessary to re-invent herself by constructing a 'culture' and creating 'cultural specificity' on Heritage Day in 1996:

> [A] Xhosa man ask me, in front of all the people in the hall, where my culture and heritage was … It made me feel like nothing. I couldn't answer him. I started searching for it … I wanted it so badly, I would do anything for it. It's difficult to explain what it means to have one's culture denied (Besten 2006: 295).

The significance of this quote addresses the deep-seated notion of wanting to belong: "It made me feel like nothing, I started searching for it". Jean, in the above statement, was looking at culture, firstly as an object denied to her and secondly, as something that can be found once a thorough search for 'it' was made. For Jean as noted above, embracing Khoe-Khoe heritage restored her dignity. Culture, according to Abu-Lughod (1990), which is evident in the above statement, creates the 'other', like the Xhosa man was 'othering' Jean. Bereketeab (2004: 225) noted that though identities are "constructed is not to imply that they do not have a real meaning for those who believe in them".

3.2.3 Cultural legacy

3.2.3.1 Symbolism and belonging

With the advent of democracy in South Africa, the government, according to Kuper (2003) wanted to anchor their status as Africa's frontrunners on human rights. The ANC government under ex-President Mbeki entered into symbolic gestures as a smoke screen to show that as a government they are actively involved in addressing the injustices left by apartheid. Kuper (2003) points out that on April 27, 2000, President Mbeki unveiled the coat of arms. According to Kuper (2003: 394) two figures from Bushmen paintings appear on it with, underneath the sculptures is written "*!ke e: /xarra //ke"* when translated meaning "Unity in our Diversity" noting that the precise meaning of the passage is obscure. Kuper (2003) notes that in this bizarre twist of symbolism the language that received preference, is a language not recognized as one of South Africa's 11 languages. According to Kuper (2003) the only ethnic group that is given this status has long vanished from the scenes or so it was believed in the words of Mbeki's "I am an African" speech, in which Bredekamp (2001) notes that their descendants refused to be categorised as having died out. This gesture of symbolism, Kuper

(2003) notes, might boost South Africa's reputation in the field of human rights, but the ultimate test is the country's policy on indigenous people.

3.3 Conceptual framework

3.3.1 What is meant by recognition?

The project of reclaiming indigenous ancestry is, of course, not unique to South Africans and neo-Khoisan groups. The last few decades have seen a global alliance of indigenous movements press for recognition and for legal status. According to Englund (2004), the politics of recognition revolves around identity, which can be understood as a self-image that individuals and groups have. Englund (2004: 1) quotes Charles Taylor, who argued in 1994 that "the demand for recognition comes to the fore in the current politics of nationalism, in the aspirations of minority groups, in some forms of feminism and the broad movement of 'multiculturalism'". In other words, these groups do not question the nationalist discourses that preceded it but, as Englund (2004) noted, the politics of recognition represents an effort to become part of the state and so transform it. In colonial and post-colonial societies Korana people according to Erasmus (2012) faced an extraordinary battle in establishing their identity. Erasmus (2012: 63) points out that the Korana were described as "uncivilized, morally derogate and lazy people". This complex see-saw articulation of what it meant to be a Korana, the rejection and denial of this identity at particular junctures became the force on which Griqua (later renamed Coloured) identities are based on in contemporary society.

3.3.2 The "Declaration" its meaning

Daes (2011) asserted that the problems and needs of indigenous peoples were not addressed by the United Nations and other bodies before 1969. According to Daes, (2011: 11):

> The World's Indigenous peoples will forever remember 13 September 2007, which marked the date of the proclamation by the General Assembly of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples ('the Declaration'). This historic event signified the beginning of the realization of the vision, aspirations and basic rights of indigenous people living in all parts of the globe

The United Nations Declaration, the 'Declaration', made possible these discourses and debates that migrate across the borders of time and space, between friend and foe connecting people with similar issues.

3.3.3 Indigenous vs. Traditional leadership

There seem to be no academic consensus on the meaning of the word that describes indigenous people (Igoe 2006). Various authors describe indigenous in various ways. However there is some sense of agreement that indigenous people or the indigenes are those individuals in the minority. According to the UN Special Rapporteur[5], "there is no internationally agreed upon definition of indigenous peoples, states adopt different definitions in terms of their particular contexts and circumstances. The term indigenous is frequently used interchangeably with other terms, such as "aboriginal", "native", "original", "first nations", or else "tribal" or other similar concepts. (Point No. 20 on report).

Scott and Marshall (2009) define tradition [al] as a set of social practices that seek to celebrate and inculcate certain behaviours, norms and values. This means that individuals in a certain culture will follow the practices set for that culture. This is observed in the paying of bride wealth or the initiation of boys into manhood and practised in certain African cultures.

[5] Rodolfo Stavenhagen was invited by the South African government to access the state of indigenous people.

CHAPTER FOUR

"The world has got the habit of holding international summits, but no one ever does any climbing"[6] (Statement by Josiah Kats at Summit – Dialogue between Nations, Kimberley)

> Khoisan, rise from the vast valleys of Africa,
> Khoisan, this was once in your hands
> This could be, once more, your promised land
> (Poem read at the 1997 Khoisan Conference - Lee, 2003: 101)

4.1 Identity Politics

4.1.1 The rise of the indigenous discourse national and international

This chapter explores the emergence of indigenous people's organisations around the world in which the Korana identity is located post-1994. It also examines issues relating to the larger Khoisan discourse around identity and the politics of recognition in the context of indigenous versus traditional leadership.

The world's aboriginal peoples are, in one way or another, engaged in struggles over land, identity, recognition, and self-government. As Hodgson (2002: 1037) contends "increasing numbers of historically marginalized groups are becoming indigenous by joining transnational networks and alliances that promote indigenous mobilization and by demanding recognition and rights from their respective nation-states and the international community".

Oomen (2005: 112) quotes Charles Taylor who in 1992 said: "It is hard to find a democratic or democratizing society these days that is not the site of some significant controversy over whether and how its public institutions should better recognize the identities of cultural and disadvantaged minorities". The Indigenous & Tribal Peoples Convention (ILO) Convention 1969 concerning indigenous and tribal peoples in independent countries was a glimpse of the upcoming prominence of "rights to roots" (Oomen 2005: 113). This was then closely followed by the 1994 United Nations Draft Universal Declaration on Indigenous Rights (Oomen 2005). The Declaration recognised the inherent right of indigenous people to respect and promote their characteristics as indigenous people and their rights to land, territories and

[6] Indigenous Summit – www.dialoguebetweennations.com

resources derived from political, economic and social structures (Oomen 2005). According to the Cobo definition, named after J.R. Martinez Cobo[7], in the UN Declaration, indigenous is defined as a community or people who:

> 1) have a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, 2) consider themselves distinct from the other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories or parts of them, 3) form at present non-dominant sectors of society and 4) are determined to preserve, develop, and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as a people, 5) in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions, and legal systems (Lee 2006: 458).

Lee (2006) argues against the Cobo definition, claiming that this is not applicable in all parts of the world. Lee (2006) offers a proposition to understand indigenous in terms of two sets of criteria. The first criterion Lee (2006: 459) proposes as *Indigenous One* which essentially takes the historical trajectory into account of the various periods, for example, in the Americas after 1492, in Australia after 1788, and in Siberia probably from the 1600s following the expansion of the Russians. The notion of *Indigenous Two,* looks at indigenous claims, not through the lens of the European settler states, but through agrarian polities in which the dominant ethnicity situates itself in one or the other as the "Great Traditions" from which the indigenes are excluded (Lee 2006: 459). These according to Lee (2006) include India and its scheduled tribes, Malaysia with its Orang Asli and Indo China's Montagnards. While in some places Lee (2006) states that both category one and two are used together, complicating the task of defining indigenous, he further postulates that *Indigenous Three* might be useful for groups reclaiming lost identities, such as the Neo-Khoisan groups in South Africa (Lee 2006: 459).

According to Levi and Dean (2006) an indigenous identity provides people with a way to defend local cultural practices and worldviews through political mobilisation. Levi and Dean (2006: 8) further note that an indigenous identity also provides people with an idiom of social belonging, habits and ways of life which distinguish them from the "national" populations. Eriksen (1993) cited in (Waldman 2001: 7), in a footnote, proposes that when looking at the concept of indigenous from a post-colonial perspective, an indigenous identity "stresses

[7] J.R. Martinez Cobo provided a definition on indigenous people in his study on the Problem and Discrimination against indigenous people, generally referred to as the Cobo definition http://indigenouspeoples.nl/indigenous-peoples/definition-indigenous 29/07/2013

internal differentiation … indigenous people are … 'non-state people' who are well-positioned to spur controversy against the state".

This presents a radical move away from the earlier thinking of citizen-state, where the state, for example the apartheid government, determined most of the individual's opportunities, collectives now have the right to freely determine their relationship within states and to foster a spirit of co-existence and mutual benefit (Oomen 2005). In the case of the San people in Botswana, the government, as discussed by Lee (2006: 459), "refused to participate in the 1993-2003 UN Decade of Indigenous People, on the grounds that in their country *everyone* was indigenous". What is implied by indigenous, Lee (2006) states has been contested in other parts of the world such as in south and south-east Asia, where the same claim as in Botswana is made: that everyone in the country is indigenous.

The attention given to cultural rights in the 1990s is not a new phenomenon (Oomen 2005, Waldman 2007). The third-generation of human rights (S 27 of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights) is mirrored in the South African Constitution. It declares, according to Oomen (2005: 112) that:

> In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion or use their own language

This third-generation of human rights refers to a period in which political discourse concerning human rights and culture became unprecedented in terms of the claims of the Canadian native people; the Surinamese opposition to gold-digging in their areas; discussions on the liberation of East Timor; and greater autonomy for the pygmies in Cameroon and the Basques in Spain (Oomen 2005). Hall (1996) notes that, in Britain, Australia and Jamaica, questions about cultural identity have been at the forefront of the national imagination.

These international developments affected the local political processes in South Africa with the surprise re-entry of groups like the Griqua, the Nama, San and the Korana (Oomen 2005). These groups according to Oomen (2005: 113), once highly marginalized under apartheid and lumped together as Coloured or derogatively labelled Bushmen and Hottentot, reinvented themselves as South Africa's First Nations - the "lost tribes of Africa". They accomplished

this through working with NGOs like First Peoples Worldwide, the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in South Africa and the South African San Institute (Oomen 2005) contributing to the awareness of contested meanings and influenced the perceptions about reclaiming indigenous status (Oomen 2005). According to Oomen (2005: 113) journalists set out to find the "real Griqua" in Griquatown, discovering only leaders while people continued to identify themselves as Coloured though highly successful in capturing national and international attention.

The South African government, in order to demonstrate its adherence to these new developments made an attempt to engage the people, more specifically the Griqua. In September 1995, according to Waldman (2001: 43), ex-President Mandela visited Griquatown to acknowledge the "traditional leaders of the Griqua community" and lay a wreath at the monument of Andries Waterboer. According to Waldman (2001) disagreements between the Griquas of Adam Kok and those of Campbell ensued, as to which leader should be recognised, and a decision was made to lay two wreaths - one for each leader. After this visit, an ANC Press release read "President Mandela and the ANC believe that the unity of the Griqua people will allow them to assume their rightful place in the house of traditional leaders in South Africa" (Waldman 2001: 45). While this visit was intended to solve the problem of leadership, according to Waldman (2001), it lingered on for another decade.

At an inaugural meeting held in Geneva 1996, a group of Boers, White Afrikaners from South Africa claimed that they too are indigenous and that their cultures are under threat by the ruling African National Congress (Kuper 2003). Thus the issue of self-identification, according to Igoe (2006), highlights the complex paradoxes that arise when the term indigenous is applied. Robins (2001: 847) remarks that, "[i]n South Africa, like other parts of southern Africa, the term indigenous is used to distinguish the black African majority from the European settlers and Asian minorities".

According to a report issued on the 7 September, 2007 by the United Nations General Assembly (the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples) certain articles declared, among others[8]

[8]I have noted only those articles that surfaced in my field site as they were found to have been referenced by my interlocutors and some of the community members in general. These communities

Article 27

States shall establish and implement, in conjunction with indigenous peoples concerned, a fair, independent, impartial, open and transparent process, giving due recognition to indigenous peoples' laws, traditions, customs and land tenure systems, to recognize and adjudicate the rights of indigenous peoples pertaining to their lands, territories and resources, including those which were traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used. Indigenous peoples shall have the right to participate in this process (p. 10)

Article 28

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to redress, by means that can include restitution or, when this is not possible, just, fair and equitable compensation, for the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used, and which have been confiscated, taken, occupied, used or damaged without their free, prior and informed consent

2. Unless otherwise freely agreed upon by the peoples concerned, compensation shall take the form of lands, territories and resources equal in quality, size and legal status or of monetary compensation or other appropriate redress (p. 10 & 11)

Article 37

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the recognition, observance and enforcement of treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements concluded with states or their successors and to have States honour and respect such treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements.

2. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as diminishing or eliminating the rights of indigenous peoples contained in treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements (p.13)

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are not oblivious to what is stated in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People. Though they do not recite the exact wording they are able to indicate which article number they are referring too.

The South African Constitution adopted in 1996, Chapter 12 of the Constitution gives recognition to the role of traditional leaders[9]. It is against this backdrop that the dichotomy between traditional and indigenous leadership is discussed. In 2007[10] Chief Josiah Kats voiced the challenges faced by the Korana Royal House and by extension the broader Khoisan group when he noted that "the first challenge is to receive recognition in national constitutions". In his capacity as leader of the Korana Royal House in Kimberley, in the Northern Cape, Chief Kats confirmed in my presence that he will not sign the Bill of Traditional Leadership. His reasons were as follows when his wife asked him:

> "What will you say to the President when he asks you what do you want?" His immediate response to this question was "I will tell him I am not Black"

On questioning him about the meaning of Black from his point of view he responded:

> We are an 'inheemse mense' (indigenous people). Now that we are 'recognized' in the National House of Traditional Leaders we must go under the Black umbrella. In the Apartheid years we were forced to be Griqua people or risk being called a Korana-Bantu, a Naturel, or native and all these names... Traditional leaders are Black. Our cultures are not the same and their culture is not the same as ours. Today the Korana people are the problem for this land; they don't want to accept us. We have tried to negotiate with the government. They want us to accept who they say we are, they want us to be traditional people, and we cannot live 'inheems'. If you sign that you accept their culture then it will be written into the constitution and you get leadership...

The notion of being indigenous Lee (2003: 105) comments as follows

> 'Indigenous' can be a highly contested category even in the United States and Canada. In the case of the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina (and many similar examples), the question of who is and who is not an 'Indian' is often the subject of vigorous debate.

In South Africa with the revivalism of Khoisan movement's post 1994 a similar question can be raised: who do we classify as Coloured and who do we classify as Khoisan? Could this possibly be what the statistician referred to?

According to Cavanagh (2011: 10) by the 1930's Coloured people were accommodated in South Africa and had better access to amenities than 'detribalised' Bantu-speaking 'Natives'

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[9] South African Constitution – Chapter 12- Recognising Traditional Leaders
http://www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/1996/96cons12.htm

[10] Josiah Kats at United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 6th Session, Special Theme: Territories, Lands and Natural Resources. New York, 14-25 May 2007
http://olddoc.ishr.ch/hrm/nymonitor/new_york_updates/nyu_perm_forum_6session.pdf

and referring to oneself as 'inheems'[indigenous] meant receiving brutal treatment as meted out to the Bantu-speaking people. Hendricks (2004: 116) contends that the term Coloured was a trend commonly used throughout the colonial world as an offshoot for "othering" and for the oppression of the colonised. The 20th century ushered in segregation as the building blocks for a new nation state on the basis of racial exclusion, arguing that the construction of an identity is relational and tied up in existing power relations (Hendricks 2004). Fearful of discriminatory legislation meted out to Africans, Coloureds insisted on their 'difference', a system of divide and rule allowed the 'opportunity structures' to maintain their distinct identities (Hendricks 2004: 116). Thus, contrary to popular belief Hendricks (2004) argues that when the National Party (NP) in 1948 took over the ruins, Coloured identity was an already embedded identity, which flourished in the socially constructed context created by previous and successive governments.

The National Party further bolstered this identity through group identification (the Populations Registration Act of 1950), separate residential and social separation (Group Areas Act), education, employment and creating Coloured political institutions (Hendricks 2004). Through this social and economic materiality both the state and the Coloureds gained an interest in their differentiation. Unbeknown to them this essential difference was to become their Achilles' heel post-1994 as it this very same identity that they now denounce. The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) met with little success in Coloured areas for fear of re-inscription and those that embraced the Black identity used it as a double edged sword to move between identities (Hendricks 2004).

The ambiguity that plays itself out in the National House of Traditional Leaders (NHTL) where Khoisan leaders are 'recognised' (and by extension their followers/members) but institutionally they carry the label Coloured. The notion that an indigenous identity 'stresses internal differentiation' can be seen in the narrative of Chief Kats and his views, (Waldman 2007:7) citing Erikson (1993) who referred to this as 'non-state people' who can start controversy. Chief Kats and the interlocutors I engaged with, created a physiognomy to indicate and distance themselves from the overall term Black, which includes Black Africans, Coloureds and Indians, are finding themselves in a situation where they seek to differ with the internal processes in government. They are going against parochial racism and ethnic

exclusivism that will certainly clash against the ANC's non-racialist liberal modernism and the processes inside the NHTL.

The argument that Hendricks (2004) posits is that the proponents of non-racialism seek to normalise the racial question by asserting that the oppressed are solely Black and those who think differently suffer from false consciousness. The Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Amendment Act No. 41 of 2003 determine that if you are in a position of leadership your term lasts only for a specified period[11]. The Korana Royal House wishes to challenge this notion. Leadership roles in the House will change every other year, after which you get voted out and a new House is voted in. Chief Kats fears that after sometime "only Black people will occupy these seats" and no claims to "bloodline" leadership can be made because everything is being politicised. Chief Dods notes "what type of freedom is this, being forced to become traditional". Implicit in this statement of Chief Dods, is those who previously owned land in the Bantustans under separate development policies of the past were able to practise their culture and traditions (Horrell 1966). According to the Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act, No 46 of 1959:

> It was stated in a White Paper accompanying the Promotion of Bantu Self Government Bill that the Government had decided to return to the basic aims, pursued between 1913 and 1936 of identifying each of the various African communities with its own land in the reserves; and secondly of ensuring that Africans entered the 'white' areas (i.e. the remainder of South Africa) as migrant labourers only ... this Act abolished the parliamentary representation of Africans. It recognised 8 African national units – North-Sotho, South-Sotho, Tswana, Zulu, Swazi, Xhosa, Tsonga and Venda (Horrell 1966: 19)

The legislation under apartheid contributed negatively to people's lives, but this Act also aided in the nurturing of sub-national identities, hence the observation by Lee (2003) & Fairweather (2006) the distinction made by black South Africans is that whatever they have lost, they still have their Xhosa, Tswana or Zulu traditions. Their sense of identity and pride in who they are has remained intact. This is in contrast to Coloured people who now assert Khoi and San ancestry and those claiming First Nation Status. To further problematise the issue of Coloured people as noted by Cavanagh (2011: 11) that these people were dispersed and quite peripheral to the 'Native Question'. They did not live under a chieftainship as was the case in the Bantustans. They are now faced with assimilation into these structures.

[11] www.info.gov.za

At the time of transition from dominant white party rule to democracy a mythical atmosphere existed that everybody was part of the "rainbow nation" and forget what happened in the past, as this was now a new nation entering the "international game" (Waldman 2007: 161). Yet, the advent of democracy opened up new spaces where previously silenced voices are questioning their identity and their relationship to the state as active citizens in the making of their own destinies (Robins 2008). Englund (2004: 12) argues "that some scholars think that the scope and direction of politics are prejudged by the imperative of recognition for distinct identities". Hylland Eriksen (2001) quoted in (Englund 2004: 12) proposes "post-plural hybrid forms" of identity as "the right to an identity does not seem to entail the right *not* to have specific (usually ethnic) identity". Englund (2004) further notes that "everybody according to the ideology of identity politics is in need of being rooted in a particular culture, and the protection of minority cultures is thereby elevated to a major position in political life" Waldron (1995) cited in (Englund 2004: 12).

Waldman (2001: 76) quotes Giliomee who argued for the recognition of ethnic strengths of ethnic loyalties rather than creating a "false national unity", when he urged the government to find the balance that is needed between national and sub-national (ethnic loyalties):

> (n)ation-building depends on the two main parties finding a balance between national and subnational loyalties. Only when a group is secure in its subnational identity can it fully enter into national political arrangements and help to forge a strong national identity.

The point Giliomee made about 'sub nationalities' was expressed in the incident between two governmental officials which erupted over comments made by Mr Manyi that there is "an over-concentration of Coloureds" living in the Western Cape and Trevor Manuel's subsequent response to this in March 2011[12]:

> Mr Manyi, you may be black, or perhaps you aren't, because you do not accept that label and would prefer to be "only a Xhosa". Whatever the label you choose, I want to put it to you that your behaviour is of the worst-order racist (2 March 2011).

The analogy that arises from this statement is that some of the interlocutors (Coloured people) also dispute that they are not 'Black', as will be elaborated on later in the chapter.

[12] Trevor Manuel's open letter to Jimmy Manyi
www.iol.co.za/news/politics/trevor-manuel-s-open-letter-to-jimmy-manyi-1.1034606

The capital 'B' in Black allows you to belong to the nation-state fostering nationalism while the lower case 'b' in Black refers to your ethnicity as seen in the statement. The newly installed government glanced off ethnic loyalty in favour of the spirit of nationalism as the building blocks to unity in the new State (Waldman 2001). The liberation movement avoided ethnicities, I argue because that such a project played into the plan of apartheid, however because ethnicity is enduring it is seen resurfacing strongly in post-apartheid South Africa. Bredekamp (2001) notes, that before the 1990s, no [Coloured] South African willingly admitted to be Khoisan, Khoekhoe or San. Only a few did so in varying degrees: however, at the turn of the 21st century, when apartheid was dismantled, joining global networks and events that took place internationally, saw certain Coloured people warming to the idea of reclaiming an identity linked to indigeneity.

To illustrate the above challenge of those Coloured people (here I only refer to those who assert differently), who willingly self-identify as Khoi and San (or Khoisan as the term is generally used), I will refer to a recording on the National Census debate given to me by an interlocutor. I have transcribed and paraphrased the recording to demonstrate the problematic nature of this debate about identity reclamation. It also depicts the controversy between citizen and state in the NHTL where Khoisan leaders are the split image of the same coin.

> **Question from caller:** Are we not bringing back the 1950 Population Registration Act in our stats using the name Coloured when it stated that a Coloured person is neither Black nor White? A Khoisan lady said she never complied with the stats because her culture is still being undermined to still be labelled Coloured. Many Khoi and San did not comply with the stats. How did they deal with classifying these people who will always have race questions?
>
> **Answer by statistician:** Khoi and San have been progressively fighting this issue around their race that they are not Coloured and therefore classified wrongly. In fact we see in the questionnaires where they have written Khoi or San. We have always used a standard questionnaire on it Black African, White, Coloured and Indian. To bring [in] the San or the Khoi [and] what it implies is [the same as when] … you bring the Basotho, the Xhosa, the Zulu and so on, to compete, and this is an issue that we are not sure [about] - whether socially it is the right thing to do ... [as] in our consultations in the 1996 census, 2001 and in 2011 it appeared 'less desirable'. The only way the Khoi and San can be classified [is] not Coloured ... it opens [up] the question of whether we can actually classify people by different nationalities or their differed tribal affiliations ... It is a complex issue that the San and the Khoi are raising. It's absolutely…; it's going to explode.

An analysis of the above statement reveals that it is undeniable to some people that scrapping the term Coloured and substituting it with Khoisan is problematic and could have political, economic and social ramifications, as noted by the statistician "it's a complex issue that the

Khoi and San are raising. It's absolutely; it's going to explode..." The question is what will explode? What did the statistician mean? So many things can be assumed regarding this 'explosion', which is a topic for another debate. However it should be noted that the post-apartheid government and the governments which might follow will see this same phenomenon occurring as people soldier on in reclaiming their identity (albeit constructed).

When Deputy President Thabo Mbeki made his 'I am an African Speech' in 1996 the assumption was that the Khoekhoe and the San of his native land were extinct (Bredekamp 2001: 192) however, their descendants refused to be considered as having died out (Bredekamp 2001, Oomen 2005) and let their previously silenced voices be heard across the globe.

The case of the Korana people as noted by Erasmus (2012) and as revealed through my ethnographic research confirms the notion that the debate around identity and sub-national identities is the underlying reason for the different activities taking place at grassroots level. This thesis is not looking to solve the crisis of identity politics but merely looked at activities at grassroots level and how people experience the everyday as self-identified Korana/Khoisan people. The question of Khoisan politics becomes imperative in this context - as seen by the two examples provided: firstly, the statistician admits that this category of Khoi and San (or Khoisan as contemporary used), is 'less desirable', following on from there a statement made by President Zuma that recognises Khoisan leaders publicly into the National House of Traditional Leaders.

Identity politics and the politics of recognition are two very complex concepts that this study's ethnographic work has attempted to reveal, exploring the meanings people bring to these theories at grassroots level. An earlier quote by Taylor cited in Oomen (2005) on (pg 21 of thesis) posits that there is no democratising society that is not the site for some controversy over identity and recognition. This, as is argued in this thesis, is a problematic issue in South Africa for those who are in the process of claiming an alternate identity. This paper makes the argument that one cannot fully comprehend this new phenomenon of Khoisan recognition without speaking about Coloured identity and how it became entrenched either by people themselves or as an opportunity for the state apparatus to divide and rule pre and post-1994. The question may then be fairly posed: who are the Khoisan people in South

Africa? Are they those previously classified as Coloured who wish to assert their Khoisan ancestry, as noted by Lee (2006: 459) that *Indigenous Three* might be a useful concept for groups reclaiming lost identities such as the neo-Khoisan groups? Or are they the people living on the periphery of the country, a perception held by many who asked 'where do I find Khoisan people'? Is it possible to allow for self-identification without prejudice? Can there be a third category added to the stark categorisation between Black and White? These are just some of the questions and challenges the Khoisan category represents, unanswered questions that underlies the difficulty of recognition and the type of recognition government is willing to submit too.

In the next chapter, through the lens of a pageant it can be seen how young people with the guidance of elderly in their communities are constructing a culture and an identity. In the words of Dean and Levi (2006: 8) "identity also provides people with an [a] idiom of social belonging".

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 The power of labelling

According to Moncrieffe (2007) there are various types of labelling that exists. Moncrieffe noted the difference between labelling and framing[13], stating that labelling involves power struggles in which the more powerful actors like the state bureaucracies and political parties use frames to label and influence how these categories of people will be treated. Moncrieffe (2007) notes that the processes of framing refer to how we understand something to be a problem. Furthermore, Moncrieffe (2007: 2-3) postulates that "framing and labelling are linked to the distribution of social, political and economic power, they are critical for securing hegemonic meanings and values". Secondly labelling and the process thereof can have unintended consequences, misrepresent whole categories of people and stigmatise them and sustain social and political orders. Korana peoples portrayal in history is noted as raiders and cattle thieves, however as noted by Strauss (1979) the question should be asked why did they do this? According to Barnard (1992) many historians seemed loath to discuss the Korana and the trajectory of events that they encountered and not in relation to other groups.

In 1848, according to Beddy (2007) the area between the Orange River, the Drakensburg and the Vaal River, was annexed and became British property. Beddy (2007) further indicates that in this territory Roman Dutch Law was adopted and written into their constitution. This law had serious implications for Korana people when the Republic of the Free State in 1854 adopted Roman Dutch Law; it made Korana people *"locus standi"*, invisible in the eyes of the law (Beddy 2007: 202). Their issues and complaints could not be heard in court. When Korana *stamhoofde*[14] sought assistance from the relevant officials for the harsh treatment they received they met with officials who were not interested in their wellbeing. The Korana people were not aware of the law and their change in legal status (Beddy 2007).

Erasmus (2012) points out this conflict stating that mistrust between Korana and the Griqua were always present. According to Erasmus (2012) on 17April 1834 four missionaries arrived at Bethany Mission Station (BMS) in the hope of working amongst the Tswana. The

[13] Framing in this context refers to how institutional structures like governments and other actors turn a situation into a problem or a solution according to their understanding of the situation.

[14] Each clan had its own leader to see to the needs of those in his group thereby keeping power decentralised. The leaders did not have much control over their followers and people could move freely to another leader, should they so wish (Beddy 2007).

missionaries met with Adam Kok II at Philippolis and according to Erasmus (2012), Rev G.A. Kolbe of the London Missionary Station (LMS) convinced the missionaries to work with the Korana along the river. Erasmus (2012) discusses how Adam II allocated five hectares of land to the BMS. In 1834 the mission station was founded and named Bethany (Erasmus 2012). Power struggles and disputes over positions ensued and the initial missionaries were recalled opening a space for Rev. Wuras, who was appointed chairperson of Bethany (Erasmus 2012). The missionaries assumed that the Korana people would easily succumb to the pressure which settlers were exerting on them, and give up their land. According to Erasmus (2012) the missionaries wanted the Korana to acknowledge Griqua authority, infuriating Korana leaders who chose to leave the station rather than concede to Griqua supremacy.

While in conversation with Chief Kats he recalls the following about Waterboer's leadership at the time[15]

> When John Campbell, Livingston, Waterboer and Adam Kok came to Griquatown they were 'Basters'. Adam came with the idea of Khoi culture and Andries Waterboer worked with Adam to fight the settlers at Piketberg. When they moved to Griquatown the English looked for an 'ouderling' (pastor) they asked Adam but Adam refused because he wanted to remain an 'inheemse leier' (indigenous leader). It was agreed that Nicholas Waterboer could be made 'ouderling' (pastor). The English terrorised Adam because he did not want to work with them. When Campbell said they must be Griqua's, we knew them as grigriqua. Waterboer became 'ouderling', was send to a school in Victoria West to become a teacher, to teach 'ons barbarise mense' (the barbarians) but not to read and write only to speak English. That's how we lost our mother tongue language. Our people suffered under Waterboer.

Chief Josiah Kats in the above narration reflects on what life was like for his forefathers under leadership of Waterboer. His statement is not the only one that I encountered about the dislike in the way Griqua people negotiate issues. Many ill feelings exist at grassroots level toward Griqua people. My interlocutors, the people I encountered narrated the story that they were never in favour of being assimilated under Griqua leadership. However during the course of my research I came across a personal testimony by Chief Mathysen (appendix D, DVD[16]. Chief Mathysen, hails from the Korana Royal House, great grandchild of Goliath

[15] This narration is possibly one of the many stories that have been told to him by his parents.

[16] Video material for a documentary which will be aired towards the end of 2013 beginning 2014 on the South African Broadcasting Service – SABC. It is mostly about First Nation status which falls outside of the scope of this paper but for purposes of the study about the fluidity of identities and associations I have included it here.

Yzerbek, a Korana *'kaptyn'*[17] who went to live under Adam Kok III for protection at Philippolis. On questioning him about his decision of not working with other Korana leaders, Chief Mathysen narrates the story that as a young man he decided to associate himself with the Griqua people because of their activism during the early 1960's when the voices of vocal Korana *'kaptyns'* has disappeared. According to Chief Mathysen, he has been working closely with leader of the Griqua at the time, Andrew Abraham Stockenstrom Le Fleur II, until his passing in 2004. Chief Mathysen narrates the story that Andrew Abraham Stockenstrom Le Fleur II turned down the personal request by ex-President Mandela which offered them traditional leadership in the 1990s (noted in Waldman 2001). Andrew Abraham Stockenstrom Le Fleur II, according to the narrator responded saying to ex-President Mandela that he is "firstly a Khoisan than a Griqua, an indigenous leader not a traditional leader", echoing the same sentiments as Chief Kats with the difference that the Griqua leadership was recognised by colonial governments though they exploited them for their own good, suppressed under apartheid and recognized again in the new dispensation under the leadership of the ANC. Chief Mathysen notes "he turned down the life of luxury, dying a poor man for the greater good of the Khoisan struggle". Looking into the distance, he continued, "the people today do not understand what the vision was, building a nation, unity for the Khoisan"[18]. This observation made by ex-President Mandela still reverberates in Khoisan structures in contemporary society. As a researcher I had firsthand experience of this behaviour of 'leaders' at the National Khoi and San Dialogue that is elaborated on in chapter 8.

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[17] The word Kaptyn according to Waldman (2001: 68) as defined by Ross, when translated into English means 'captaincy'. Society elects these leaders until they pass away, however they have very little power over their constituencies and people could freely associate with any Kaptyn.

[18] The latter discussion is not on the DVD, its part of a brief encounter with Chief Mathysen obtaining further information. The aim of including this DVD is firstly to illustrate how fluid identity is among these the Khoisan groups. For the purpose of this study I have only used the introduction when the speaker notes that he hails from the Korana Royal House, being a great grandchild of Goliath Yserbeck a Korana *Kaptyn* who sort refuge under the leadership of Adam Kok III contrary to what my interlocutors claimed that they were forced into being Griqua when the testimony of Chief Mathysen and the subsequent discussion suggest voluntary association with the Griqua movement, on his part. The rest of the of the discussion incorporates analysis from academics at the University of the Witwatersrand and from the Human Rights Lawyer, Roger Chanel, instrumental in the Land Claims process of the Khomani San, as well as voices from Khoisan members speaking about First Nation status. The introduction before the voice over starts illustrates the various cultures and traditions echoing the notion by Englund(2004) that everybody is in need of an identity and "social belonging" as espoused by (Dean and Levi 2006: 8).

According to Erasmus (2012) Wuras, a missionary at the station, through his devious dealings with the Griqua leaders managed to dispose of the Korana taking their land in the process. Erasmus (2012) argues that in 1844 it was agreed that Bethany belonged to the Koranas and that the BMS was merely entitled to a stand. Wuras according to Erasmus (2012) promised that the agreement would be kept safe, that Bethany was too small to accommodate all the Koranas, assuring those leaders who left with their followers their land was in safe custody. What transpired was that the initial five hectares of land given to BMS by Adam II in 1834 grew to 42 000 hectares of land (Erasmus 2012). When Korana leaders lodged complaints, Korana members who were not part of the BMS were driven off the land. Beddy (2007) describes a similar situation in terms of the law where Korana view was made invisible in the eyes of the law. During my fieldwork Chief Kats noted "Wherever the Griqua put their feet down, they sold our land. They did it in the past and still continue to do so at present"[19].

The role of language according to Erasmus (2012) plays an important function in how the world is viewed. Through the use of language states and bureaucracies are able to frame and label individuals, projects, and other social activities in terms of how they understand it. As noted in the argument of Erasmus (2012: 63) language "provides us with a special pair of glasses that heightens certain perceptions and dims others". According to Latour (1996) social interaction presuppose the presence of several constitutive/essential elements. By this he means that there must be at least two actors; they must be physically present and they must be linked by behaviour that entails an act of communication. The result being modification, brought to bear on the behaviour of the other, before their interaction. Singh (1996) as cited by (Erasmus 2012: 63) notes the following with regards to the epistemology of knowledge created:

> the colonisers gained a privileged epistemological position whereby they could claim knowledge, after which they could process and circulate the new knowledge within the framework of civilisation and barbarism, tradition and modernity, Christianity and heathenism

Negative perceptions of the Korana people according to Erasmus (2012) contributed to the turmoil that the Korana people are facing. They are depicted as an "uncivilised, morally

[19] "So ver as die Griekwas kom, verkoop hulle net ons gronde. Hulle het dit in verlede gedoen en nou doen hulle dit weer"

degenerate and lazy people, with an innate desire to steel cattle" (Erasmus 2012: 63). Erasmus (2012) asserts that these are some of the factors that contributed to the difficulty that the Korana people have in establishing their identity, hence the phenomenon post-1994 where Korana people seek their own identity and recognition as a people. According to Penn (2005: 163) the word "Korana" is a catch –all term to describe diverse and fragmented peoples severely displaced by the colonial frontier, who eventually were labelled by the state bureaucracy to fit the framework of policy of the colonial and apartheid state.

In their study on socially embedded identities looking at experiences of interracial unions out of four categories the black identity has been studied the most thoroughly (Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002, Cavanagh 2011). They argue that border identities are seen as neither black nor white but a blend of the two. Daniel's quoted in (Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002: 337) conceptualises this as "blended identity" describing it as one that "resists both the dichotomization and hierarchical valuation of African American and European American cultural and racial differences." Those who construct the border identity "biracial" see this as an entirely new racial category (Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002: 337). The Protean identity allows for fluidity or "integrative identity" (Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002: 338) allowing biracial's to move between black and white unlike the single identity where the choice is exclusively white or exclusively black. One drop of blood from either parent black or white came to be known as the one-drop-rule that Davis argues black communities have internalised and have ironically become its defenders, Rockquemore and Brunsma (2002).

When the Deputy President Thabo Mbeki made his 'I am an African Speech' the assumption was made that the Khoekhoe and the San of his native land are extinct (Bredekamp 2001: 192):

> I owe my being to the Khoi and San whose desolate souls haunt the great expanses of the beautiful Cape - they fell victim to the most merciless genocide our native land has ever seen, they who were the first to lose their lives in the struggle to defend our freedom and dependence, and they who, as a people, perished in the result

These statements coupled with Giliomee's assertion of ethnic loyalty further exacerbate the point made by Bredekamp (2001) makes when he states that 'their descendants refused to be defined as died out' (2001: 192). In his opening address in 2001 at the Khoisan National Consultative Conference, the then Deputy President Zuma said the following as part of his speech

> The growing sense of pride amongst people of Khoisan descent about their roots in Southern Africa will bring increased benefits. For centuries people referred to as Basters, Coloureds, 'Hotnots', 'Boesmans', Griquas and Koranas have been made to feel ashamed of their identity[20]

As already mentioned people commended the President for acknowledging how they have been made to feel ashamed of their identity, their loss of language and self-worth. Was this just rhetoric on the side of the Presidency? To what extent are they willing to accommodate the Khoisan leaders who do not have constitutional recognition since the NKC was formed to address this matter in the 1990's? How will Khoisan leaders be accommodated? Will it be through assimilation as traditional leaders? Does it mean that Chapter 12 of the constitution that gives recognition to traditional leaders will be amended to include Khoisan leaders? These are all burning questions that need to be addressed if there is an earnest drive by the government to right the wrongs of the past as noted in the statement issued above.

5.2 Mobilization and self identification

The point that Bredekamp (2001) makes that no-one was willing before the advent of democracy admitted to being either Khoi or San, I postulate is the problem of contemporary identification or self-identification that makes it difficult in the new dispensation to see past that which history has allowed people to de-associate themselves from. Latour's (2005) work on *Reassembling the Social: Action-Network-Theory* propose that the social is already made and when interacting with interlocutors one should be wary and allow them to tell/show you what the social is in their hands. Those who classify themselves as Khoisan are solemnly trying to deal with this conundrum of identity reclamation and attempting to change the social order of classification.

My interlocutors praised the President for acknowledging their struggles, first when he was deputy President in 2001 and in the speech he made on the 09 February 2012 during the state of the nation address. However, when one takes into consideration the comments made by the statistician after the census results was released: the acknowledgement was made to an invisible people. Who did the President acknowledge?

[20] Address by Deputy President Zuma to the opening of the National Khoisan Consultative Conference, 29 March 2001

In defining what identity politics entail Calhoun (2002) refers to it as being the collective sensibilities and actions that come from a particular location within society threading on belonging and sameness. According to Calhoun (2002) this type of rhetoric is a persuasive tool for mobilising members of populations, particularly those that feel marginalised and mistreated. According to Besten (2006) Joseph Little was instrumental in setting up the Cape Cultural Heritage Development Council in 1996/97, registered a Section 21 non-profit company and also heading up neo-Khoekhoe groups in the Western and Eastern Cape. Besten (2006: 295) contends that the justification for this was to openly address Coloured concerns when he quotes Little as saying they launched in "response to the government's affirmative action policies, under the previous dispensation we [Coloureds] weren't white enough, with the next we weren't brown enough".

Besten (2006) notes that proximity and contact of one's social interaction has the tendency to influence certain actions of individuals. Hence the phenomenon we see erupting throughout the neo-Khoisan movement: aligning oneself with the struggle of the day. As previously mentioned I now return to the example of Burgess quoted by Besten (2006) to illustrate the internal conflict link to identity politics and the concept of Black/Blackness. Burgess's encounter as described below led her to question: Who am I? What is my identity, my culture? According Besten (2006), Burgess an ex United Democratic Front (UDF) activist not only considered herself as a Black person but also aspired to the ideals of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), found herself questioning her identity and BCM objectives on Heritage Day in 1996 when

> a Xhosa man asks me, in front of all the people in the hall, where my culture and heritage was…It made me feel like nothing. I couldn't answer him. I started searching for it…I wanted it so badly, I would do anything for it. It's difficult to explain what it means to have one's culture denied

Burgess like so many neo-Khoisan movements are in the process of questioning their identity and identity politics post-1994. For argument sake, if Burgess does not have a culture and tradition as implied by the Xhosa man, then who is she? The man who addressed Burgess spoke from an ethno-linguistic perspective. According to Bereketeab (2004: 226) an ethno-linguistic identity necessitates characteristics like descent, language and tradition defining a homogenous community. In the process he also stressed his Xhosaness as in the previous example of the race quarrel between the government officials. Not only did this man 'other'

Burgess but he made his culture and traditions essential as a measuring stick, assuming that group identity derives from a pure and fixed background.

While I was in the field, my interlocutor Mrs Assegaai narrated the following story:

> Go to town, they look at you like you are dirty; it's not bad mouthing them. I will say it in front of them. Recently we went to town to do shopping for the Church. We were three ladies. We pushed our trolley and a lady not knowing that one of the ladies with us understands her language says "Why don't these Bushmen wait in front of me, I am long fed up with them[21]," The lady responded "but we are not in your way, first we were in the way of the White man, now we are in your way…step over us as much as you like, you will never see the Kingdom of God, do you hear!

After narrating this story she continues by saying:

> With the White man we were in the middle, sucking after weaning. Now the 'baas' (master) is out now we are too white to be black, first we were too black to be white[22]

Erasmus (2012: 63) points out that language and the position that Wuras occupied, put him "in a privileged position to access the Korana mind, to influence relationships between social actors and to contribute towards the 'construction' of the colonial Korana". Secondly, Bereketeab (2004: 226) continues "that changes that took place under colonialism as well as during the national liberation struggle have necessarily affected the ethnic constitution". Burgess asks herself: what is her identity? Who am I? What was the ideology of BCM? Was it about pigmentation or the struggle of all the oppressed against the oppressors?

5.3 Pride in reclaiming identities

In the next section I briefly reflect on my trip to the Kalahari where I attended the Mr and Mrs Khoisan function held at Askham on the 1 December 2012. The function coincided with World AIDS Day. Some of the attendees included representatives from Arts and Culture; the

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[21] Gaan dorp toe, hulle gluur jou aan asof jy vuil is; ek praat nie sleg van hulle nie. Ek kan dit voor hulle sê. Nou onlangs het ons dorp toe gegaan om inkopies vir die kerk te doen. Ons was drie vroue wat die waentjie gestoot het, ek die vrou voor ons ontwete dat die een dame wie saam met ons is verstaan wat sy sê. Sy sê kan die Boesmans nie voor my wag nie, ek is lankal dik vir hulle". Die dammetjie wat verstaan het wat sy gesê het, antwoord toe en sê, "eers was ons in die Wit man se pad, nou is ons weer in jou pad. Loop oor ons so veel as wat jy wil, jy sal nooit die koningkryk van God sien nie, hoor jy my!

[22] Met die Wit man toe is ons in die middel, toe suig ons aan die agterspeen. Nou die 'baas' is nou uit, nou is ons te wit om swart te wees, eers was ons te swart om wit te wees. Reference being made to Adhikari (c2005) *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in South African Coloured Community.*

South African Social Services Association (SASSA) and the owners of the local community newspaper in the area and a local photographer.

According to Reischer and Koo (2004) anthropological records demonstrates that bodies have been and continue to reshape a myriad of culturally relevant ways. They contend that bodies are modified for many reasons i.e. to participate in a social group, or to claim an identity in opposition to a social group. According to Reischer and Koo (2004) the body becomes a location on which one creates desires, individuals attaching specific identities expressed through behaviour and the ability to retain ethnic and cultural heritage. The body become symbolic of cultural production for collective cultural identities, sites for agency and sites for ethnic expression as seen through this pageant. According to these authors two primary theoretical orientations exist namely the "symbolic body" and the "agentic body" where the former is a representational or symbolic nature of the body as a social conduit and the latter highlights the role the body plays as an active participant or agent in the social world (Reischer and Koo 2004: 298). Through this pageant the contestants are reclaiming their identity that is not socially recognisable and has been framed in such a way that people automatically distance themselves from it. These young people, through the guidance of their elders are utilising the platform that has been provided post 1994 to freely speak about who they are.



The five finalists from left to right in ethnic wear representing: Griqua, Nama, Nama-Korana, and Bushmen. Second princess stepping forward

The contestants of the 'stap' (the walk) was solely judged on their knowledge of history, their confidence levels in wearing traditional/indigenous attire and how well they could illustrate the background of the various Khoisan clans. Some did this with tremendous ease and

showed that as young people they are willing to embrace the culture and traditions as told to them by their elders.

According to Hobsbawn (1983) traditions which are old, are often invented, however as Hendricks (2004) claim earlier in (chapter 4) that it does not mean because the tradition is invented or constructed it is not real to the person engaging in the act of that reconstruction. This speaks to the point made by Latour (2005) that when engaging with interlocutors one should allow them to show you what the social is in their hands. Hobsbawn (1983: 2-3) notes the difference between custom and tradition, noting that "custom is what judges do; "tradition" (in this case invented tradition) is the wig, robe and other paraphernalia and ritualised practices surrounding their substantial action". Identities like tradition are not static, they are hybrid and people invent them and construct them as it evolves and influenced by the outside influences. They construct it and present it in their own way and their own understanding.



Young man wearing Bushmen Loincloth

The hall was full of young people and besides the talk on HIV/AIDS which was high on the list numerous requests went out to the young people from the contestants to be proud of their heritage. The hall was decorated with signs of symbolism such as the ramp that the young people walked on was made out of sand to illustrate that those before them had walked the land. On the stage were heaps of sand representing the dry sand dunes of the Kalahari and reconstructed huts that the Khoi and San use to live in (see appendix E). The outgoing Miss Khoisan of 2011 first thanked all the contestants for their participation and extended an

invitation to more young people to participate in Khoisan activities. With these words she left the improvised stage:

> Please people live out your culture, demonstrate your culture, and don't be afraid of anybody who comes to tell you that you are a Coloured or you are this and you are that. Your answer to them is that I am a proud Bushmen, I am a proud Nama, I am a proud Griqua[23].



An emotional crowning of Miss Khoisan 2012[24]

The missing elements from this function were Korana representation. When I enquired about their absence I was told that it was difficult to find young people who identify as Korana in the area though one girl introduced herself as a Nama-Korana. Erasmus (2012) explains the disintegration of the Korana people based on two possible reasons; firstly, how they were swindled of their land by missionaries, particularly focussing on the role that Wura's played as mentioned above and, secondly, Erasmus (2012: 67) notes that because of close contact, living in the same missionary station, the BMS, finally being outnumbered by the Tswana and the Griqua there were Korana "who consider[ed] themselves connected with [the] Griquas, for the sake of protection", thus assuming a Griqua identity because of their association with the Griqua in the settlement and their identification with the polity. Another reason as mentioned earlier by Chief Kats, was the fear of stigmatisation which is also noted in the work of Strauss (1979) and Erasmus (2012).

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[23] Asseblief mense leef julle kultuur uit, beeld die kultuur uit, wees trots, moenie bang wees vir enige mens wat julle kom sê jy is n Kleurling, jy is wat en jy is wat. Jy antwoord en sê: ek is 'n trotse Boesman, ek is 'n trotse Nama, ek is 'n trotse Griekwa

[24] Her body language body language was so authoritative and she used high and low pitches in her voice to emphasize words like proud Bushmen, proud Nama, and proud Griqua, the elderly in the hall cheering at her. These elderly people remembering a past life through her made them proud they told me

These young people did not use the word Khoisan in their dialect but stressed who they were within the broader Khoisan terminology for example using Khoisan-Bushmen, Khoisan-Griqua, and Khoisan-Nama. In a very subtle way they are deconstructing the meaning of the broader Khoisan term in their everyday life. These young men and women are making their voices heard, though they do not have the media cloud that captures these events and elevates them to higher platforms, but within the frequency of the community radio station and through the community newspaper they are raising awareness in the Northern Cape. The spectators and attendees were delighted with the zeal and enthusiasm of the young people, especially the elderly; through the performance of these young people they were able to relive part of their history.

This pageant, earlier discussions on the question posed to the statistician about Khoi and San identity and the events as they unfolded at the National Khoi and San Dialogue, is indicative of the problem the Khoisan category poses for the post-apartheid four tier racial classification. It is significant that a substantial amount of people are challenging and affirming an identity that the state does not recognise. According to Lee (2003: 97) up to "2.5 million Coloured South Africans would identify themselves as Khoi and San … but the opportunity for these people to explore their roots has been compromised and thwarted by the distortions of Apartheid".

CHAPTER SIX

Introduction

For the purpose of this section the interviews were entirely done in Afrikaans and translated into English. I have attached a list of the literal meanings for clarity on the Afrikaans words used in the text. In conceptualising this chapter I have decided to write it, modelled on work done by Richard Price (2002) on the Saramaka people. In his writing Price (2002) reserves the top of each page for the Saramakan people, copying their conversations verbatim, indicating with a dividing line, where his comments start. I will be writing each section, interpreting comment after. In the work of Price (2002), the line between the original text and Prices' analysis allows the reader to see the perspective of the people under study and more importantly this method of writing gives a voice to the voiceless. By adopting this style and trying to stay as close to the literal meanings of the Afrikaans language as possible I have decided to leave some of the Afrikaans words in the text (giving its English translation in parenthesis).

Chief Josiah Kats became involved in Khoisan politics in 1996 at the age of 57 years old. He was an active member until he was overcome by a stroke at the age of 64 years that slowed him down tremendously. In 2007 he spoke at the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 6th Session, in New York where he made known to the world the plight of the Korana people. In these settings people refer to him as Paramount Chief Josiah Kats.

Chief Josiah Kats was born in 1942 in Barkly West in the Northern Cape, near Kimberley. His father was Hendrick Kats (Junior), a Korana by descent and his mother was Margaret (also known as Mamties) Bitterbos, a San woman. He is the second eldest son of three siblings, two brothers and one sister. His schooling started at the age of nine years old and spanned over three years. At age twelve he started working at Vaalbos Swart as a digger on the mines. In 1968 at the age of twenty six years he married Joyce Abrahams. From this union they have four children two daughters and two sons of which one sadly passed away in 2010. He is the grandfather of 9 (nine) grandchildren and great grandfather of one child.

6.1 In the words of the narrator: Chief Josiah Kats

6.1.1 Food, health and drink

We mostly ate food out of the veldt. Grownups never ate 'bessies' (berries) from the tree, we laid them in the sun like raisins and afterwards we crushed them so that they almost form like a date. You then throw them in a dish and pour milk over it to eat. We also made our own biltong that we called 'toutjies' by just adding coarse salt and hang it. We never ate raw biltong. We used to braai it over the coal, crush it and poured warm fat over it. The types of food we used to eat were very healthy like rooster brood (dough placed over coal) that you could eat with a little fat but it was not cooked in fat. Dumpling, 'pot brood' (bread prepared inside a pot) and 'as koek' (bread baked under warm ashes). We were healthy and did not have all these complaints about high blood, diabetes and all types of sickness that we see today. For those travelling vast distances by foot, a special 'padkos' was made by using whole 'mielies'(maize) that you braai (barbeque) in the pot, when its cold it gets crushed and thrown in a bowl. Brown sugar is added and a little water is poured over and formed into a kind of meatball. When you feel hungry you just eat one or two of those balls and drink water because it swells in your stomach. When your father returns he must have some of the balls left for the children because it's sweet and travelling for days occur seldom. From the mielies we got we also made 'mielie grys', 'heel mielies'(whole corn) we called //khoe mielies (Samp). We ate healthy and you never knew when a child was over age because we stayed healthy, but today you are born with some sickness or the other. High blood pressure, diabetes, the most important diabetes and what we knew as 'rematiek' (arthritis) all these fancy names, they are so fancy that one could not believe they can kill you (laughing).

The beer we drank was made from 'hening mos'(honey comb) a healthy drink not the poison of today that people later called 'sal nie haal nie'(you won't make it). You drink that sour wine it makes your knees weak but you don't' tiep' that is 'sal nie haal nie, jy kan nie jou huis haal nie, jy lê en praat hier'(once you had wine your knees gets weak and you can't reach your home, laying in the street and talking to yourself), gif van vandag. (poison of today)!!!

6.1.2 On marriage – The Korana meaning of 'die hok meisie'

The following view of 'die hok meisie' is how Chief Kats understands it. According to Waldman (2001: 210) this ritual amongst the Griqua understanding of 'die hok meisie 'is that it is a ritual 'marriage' of a young girl to male water snake.

As a Korana nation we lived with our culture. We used to put young girls in 'die hok' because women are always in 'ballingskap' (exile or banishment). Where your future spouse comes from does not matter, but after you have married you must go to your husband's place. The reason for putting you inside 'die hok' is for older women to prepare you for your life ahead. These are normally young girls who start their 'siekte' (menstruation). You are being thought that wherever you come, don't live like a stranger, don't be sad, be strong build a family, make a nation, start a garden do everything to be a free person in the new land of your stay. That's why we put the girls in 'die hok'.

After marriage the young girl must stay with her mother-in-law so she can teach the girl how to serve her husband so when they leave and the husband goes away he will not long for the mother's cooking. I am married in 1968 but till this day I still miss my mother's cooking. This is a cause for concern in my household. Should it be that the women is useless the man can bring her back with a cow and sheep to her parents' house without saying a word to the parents, without greeting he walks away and the parents know that their child 'het sleg geloop' (something went wrong). Sometimes where they are [were] staying, if the lady has an affair, the man would take a branch from a tree and put their bedding on it, take it to his 'skoonwerf' (in-laws) and walk away. The children are his responsibility and should they have a small child still breastfeeding he/she will stay with the mother but once the child is off breast milk they go to the father. That is the culture of the Korana people. The marriage feast is about four days where people sing and dance 'die stap dance'.

6.1.3 The initiation for boys

Boys unlike the girls we treated differently not like the initiation that other traditional people do. Our boys, when they reached the age of eighteen we take all of them at that age out of the community and give them a herd of cows to go and start a life for themselves. Only boys get send without any girls and at that time the only girls that they could find were was Bushmen girls. They prefer to be called Bushmen and not San. There were always fights over the girls

especially between the Kats Korana and the Bushmen, because the latter group refused to let their girls marry outside of their nation. The day the young men met at Bucklands, where the two rivers meet, they fought so that the river looked like blood but the Korana were victorious. Like the Bushmen the Korana always moved across the land because they were always in search of water and grazing ground for their cows. They were rich in cows. Some people referred to them as the water Korana because of their cows.

6.1.4 Death and burial

Funerals for us were very simple, not complicated at all. When somebody died in those years he/she was not buried in a coffin. The colonists came with the coffin story. We use to bury the person in a foetal position (illustrating this position) on his side like somebody that sleeps. Stones were packed around you from what my parents told me and from what I have read. The skin of the cow is placed on top of you, and then we pack the stones and throw sand over you.

6.1.5 Blood ties

If a Bushmen girl marries outside of her own clan she gets cursed out of the family. According to their belief her blood gets bitter. Henceforth she is seen by the clan as Bitterbos. My mother [was] also called Bitterbos, she was Bitterbos from Pniel.

6.1.6 Kats the Pastor

Unlike the other traditional[25] *groups we did not do such a long process when asking for the ladies hand in marriage, like paying for the opening the months of the parents or representatives, the negotiations for a higher price and all that. We simply asked for 'bagadi' which can be any amount, not settled and not high in price. Our life style was more based on a biblical way of life, like the example of the young girl in Deuteronomy 27, the biblical*

[25] Although people refer to him as Chief his understanding of the word is different. He sees himself as being different from traditional leaders and traditional practices. He believes that problems are solved through divine intervention from a deity, a holy being, higher than man and not through a sangoma or witchdoctor as one would find in some African Cultures. The bride wealth paid in traditional African societies is not paid by those who believe in God or a being higher than men. The bagadi that parents ask for is respect for one another. The distinction is also made on the different forms of initiation. Ngwane (2004: 188) "A wound will not make you a man" referring to the cutting of the foreskin of the penis that symbolises the traditional way of initiation. According to Chief Kats, from what he can remember, young men at a certain age were sent out of the community to learn how to be a man.

interpretation of 'die hok meisie' when Judah was widowed and on his way to his animals he met a girl that was disguised as a prostitute. He asked her to have sex and she agreed not knowing that it was his daughter in law. She asked for 'bagadi' he promised to send her a goat upon his return, she asked that he then leave something else, which he did. He left his staff, ring and under coat. He kept his promise took the goat to where she said she stayed but when he got there she did not live there. During their encounter she conceived and when Judah heard his daughter in law is pregnant and unmarried he summons her and wanted to burn her alive because she had sin. What saved her life was the 'bagadi' that she could present to the meeting. That saved her life.

6.1.7 On community life

People were very friendly to each other and our culture toward your neighbour was that they are… like your family. When you slaughter the right shoulder of your 'slag ding' (the animal) goat or sheep goes to your neighbour. When your mother has cooked the evening meal a plate will go to the neighbours and the neighbour will do the same when she cooks, dishes will travel between the two houses. We did not greet verbally but you had to shake the person's right hand when you greet them, your right hand always belongs to the neighbour.

The above narration on the life story of Chief Kats reflects important points on historical narratives and generalisations seen as partial truths that not all findings of historical accounts are cast in stone. This is evident in Engelbrecht (1936) who critiques the findings of research carried out by Meinhof (1930) which suggested that Korana males did not marry Bushmen females. Engelbrecht (1936) evaluated these findings and according to him they were incorrect and highly unreliable making it difficult to credit Meinhofs' information on Korana and Bushmen marriages. Engelbrecht (1936: 69) refers to Danser who was the son of a Kora father and a Bushmen mother, that such intermarriages took place brought about by poverty which levelled the status of the Korana to that of the Bushmen. My ethnographic findings are in agreement with that of Engelbrecht (1936) who postulates that intermarriages occurred between the Kora or Korana men and Bushmen women. From the narration by Chief Josiah Kats as noted in the findings of Engelbrecht (1936: 69) that the Bushmen were divided into two groups, commonly known as "Bitter or Bitterbosse *(/Gumtena)"* or those who are not *(xK?au-tama-//?ẽis).* The surname 'Bitterbos' according to the understanding of Chief Josiah

Kats is related to miscegenation or mixing of blood which was considered to be blood filled of impurity from the San (Bushmen). This point also relates back to the point made about "border identities" and the protean identity allows for fluidity or the "integrative identity" allowing biracial's to move between black and white unlike the single identity where the choice is exclusively white or exclusively black.

Applying the same principle to the South African context, various Khoisan descendants are internalising and constructing an identity based on either maternal or paternal lineage and has fiercely and ironically become its defenders as noted by Bredekamp (2001). The argument as asserted by Bredekamp (2001) is that before the advent of democracy no one wanted to or freely associated with either the Khoi or San identity, only in small numbers. This phenomenon is fast changing. More and more individuals and collectives are asserting and embracing this idea presented to them on different platforms.

The recognition of Khoisan leaders in the National House of Traditional Leaders opened up this avenue of remembrance which in itself is contested by the Korana Royal House. Their avenue of remembering flows through the veins of 'inheemse leiers' (indigenous leaders) as opposed to traditional leaders though the term is sometimes used interchangeably the Korana people under study distance themselves from being labelled Coloured and refuse to be labelled as Black.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.1 Landscape and belonging

7.1.1 A Korana perspective - treating ailments

In this section I briefly describe how my interlocutors are making the connection to what constitutes legacy culture for them. Mrs Assegaai recalls the use of indigenous knowledge of plant extracts like Hotnospoeier, Kammagu and Kalmoes. 'Hotnospoeier' is used in treating babies who get convulsions/fits. Louw (2006: 80) notes that 'Hotnospoeier' is also used by the Nama for the treatment of ailments that include "Gure" – including raw ingredients such as tortoise shells or pieces of ostrich egg shells:

> A baby does not necessarily cry non-stop or scream, when he/she cries it is because he/she does not feel well, you must know that something is wrong with the child … now a person like me who knows medicine will look at the child and prepare a bit of 'Hotnospoeier', rub a small amount on my finger tip and put it in his/her mouth, that child will sleep. The 'Hotnospoeier' will cure that child; take the Devil out of him.

I wanted to know, why they call it Hotnospoeier or Hotnospoeier

Chief Dods opted to answer me but before he could do this he asked Mrs Assegaai if he could. I observed a cordial relationship and manner of speaking between them and attributed this to one of two things. They are neighbours and have a communal understanding and she respects his position as 'Chief' - though she does not let the gender dimension affect what she wants to say. I also thought that they were assisting each other in reconstructing knowledge and bringing meaning to their explanations. When she wanted to say something, but was uncertain of how she should explain it …, she would say "Chief help n bietjie dar" (Chief some assistance). At other times during the conversation he would do the same thing. He continued and answered the question:

> This medicine started with us. When the white man came they said our fathers and forefathers they are Hotnots or Hottentots. So the name means the powder that comes from the 'Hotnot'. Not only were we discriminated us against but our medicine as well

A distinction was made earlier by Chief Kats in Kimberley about their understanding with regards to traditional and indigenous ways, Mrs Assegaai reiterated the notion when she explains:

> All the medicines that we use come from the veldt. This current government's Black people want to know from me what you use x, y and z is for. I tell them look what we use to cure and what you use is not the same. Like when you are a sangoma, and I ask you what the different things are and you can't tell me or you tell me … I will not buy that medicine. In Upington I can recognise the veldt medicine I grew up with, I would say gave me a small piece of 'grashout' (grass wood) or 'Kalmoes' (calamus)

I then asked what you use *Kalmoes* for and she responded that:

> It is used for flatulence; it takes out all those winds out in your stomach. You crush it and pour water over it than you drink that water; it takes out everything that is dirty inside your body. We also use to eat Kammagu; you peel the thorns away and eat the inside. It's even good for cancer and helps with infertility, lots of women ate it. It does not get mixed with anything; you take it just as it is. Kammagu is found after a good rainfall in the Northern Cape, Upington particularly, the ground forms like it is bursting open and outcomes the Kammagu.

She continues by saying that "these people (referring to traditional healers) cannot tell me what there is in the veldt, which I can eat". In her discussion and from her comments she is set in her ways in thinking about the binary of traditional versus indigenous.

Louw (2006: 77), in her footnote, writes that there is no direct reference for '*Kammagu'*. The case study she did in the Northern Cape with the Nama Schwartz family reveals that 'Kammagu' is a medicinal herb that is rubbed onto the skin after making a small incision with a blade so the medicine can penetrate the body to heal it. Pienaar (2009: 78) did a study on Griqua traditional medicine noting that the herbs Griqua mixed for stomach ailments consisted of a mixture of "*Dawidjie-wortels, gradhoutwortels, rooigeetwortels, slanghoutwortels* ("snakewood roots") a type of *Galium*, *wynruit* (rue), dried pomegranate skin and toasted ostrich egg shell, grinded until it is in a powder form. She notes that this mixture is very strong and once she used it she was released of her spastic colon and knotted guts.

7.1.2 Ethno medicine

7.1.2.1 Indigenous method of treating 'kouegeur' (cold fever)

Ethno medicine is defined by Scott and Marshall (2009) as 'Folk' ideas and practises concerning the care and treatment of illness available within particular (usually non-Western) cultures-that are, outside the framework of professionalised, regulated scientific medicine.

Mrs Assegaai tells me about the use of 'Slangneus' to treat women suffering from cold fever after giving birth:

Mrs A: 'Slangneus' gets peeled off and cooked in 'vleis sop' (meat broth)

SG: Must you cook the meat and use the broth?

Mrs A: Yes, you take the broth of the meat *then* you cook that medicine in there. That's when a woman gets 'kouegeur' (cold fever) "do you know what I am talking about"? After birth, lots of times you hear that the woman got really sick; she looks like she is going mad. Now what happened just after birth "dit was sleg gewerk met haar" (she was treated badly). The nurses neglected their duty. The doctor will not get that woman healthy. The person who knows what is in the veldt will get that woman healthy. Who knows this?

SG: Oh no! It's the first time I hear this

Mrs A: You see, 'Slangneus' is a plant that has a sharp point that has a peel like a banana, that's how you would recognise it. That's how the First Indigenous people gave names to the herbs. Now, they come give it another name, they want to tell me that's not the name and I would say, "No I don't know it, I know it to be this name, now they look at each other. The other day a lady asked me at the clinic if I know the Bushmen, and I replied "I am one", she replied "those who doctor, I don't want the "K"[26] doctors do you hear me"! She says not the "K" doctors, but those who stay in the veldt are the proper doctors. Because he does not know the ways of the town only what's happening in the veldt that is the person I am looking for.

Mrs Assegaai smiles, looking very pleased with herself, she could not have given me a truer answer; "we are the people who know what's happening in the veldt".

Louw (2006) argues that those who practice traditional medicine combine it with their knowledge of Western medicine to allow the body to heal holistically. Elsa Smith, as noted by Louw (2006), is a primary health care worker and uses both methods to support her

[26] The word Kaffir is a derogatory term banned from being used post-1994 to refer to Black people. Mrs Assegaai uses the first letter to indicate who she if referring too.

patients. Mrs Assegaai, my interlocutor in Bloemfontein, also confirmed that she goes to the doctor for high blood pressure medication only, the rest of the ailments in her body she treats indigenously, jokingly saying "maybe its age related". Pienaar (2009) earlier admitted taking herbs that helped her with her spastic colon and gut. She narrates the story of a couple who had difficulty conceiving for more than ten years gave up all hopes of becoming parents.
Once they allowed their bodies to retreat from their busy life of work and scheduled lives they lived, they were able to conceive. Many couples according to Pienaar (2009) have some problem or the other that can easily be solved through natural cures, using plants and herbs found in nature, the traditional method. Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) assert that indigenous people throughout the world have unique world-views and associated knowledge systems that have been nurtured for millennia. Even as the world modernised their practises and beliefs have survived. According to Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) indigenous knowledge is rooted in long term inhabitation of a particular place that can offer lessons and benefits to everyone.

7.1.3 A lesson in indigenous pharmaceuticals

As we were sitting outside in the scorching sun that reached up to 45°C in Khoisan Valley, in Upington, Oom Tolman asked me "Why do you think I kill a porcupine"? I asked why? This was an attempt to spare myself the embarrassment. "I am not in need of his meat. I use his *pens* for decoration, but the real reason for killing it; he is an 'apteek' (a pharmacy). "Do you know what an '*apteek*' is (pharmacy)?" I nodded and he continued.

> The *pens (*the stomach), that is what I am interested in. You see a person can walk for miles without finding a single plant. Our eyes are not trained enough to always spot a plant. In the dry season like now, it's hard to spot a plant because there is no leave to show you where the plant is. I can sometimes overlook a plant, especially when it's the dry season here in Upington, but the porcupine can find it. He can go into darkest hour of the night, into holes, were nobody can find the growing plant, and he eats it. That medicine that is under the ground, he digs it up from underneath the ground. This is the best medicine that a human being can find. He found it; I kill it for its pens (stomach) that has all the cures in it. That is the "apteek". (Conversation with Oom Tolman 28/11/2012)

The above expression illustrates the connection between the individual and nature. According to Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) indigenous people gained their knowledge through direct contact and experience in the natural world. Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005: 11) posit that indigenous people engage in fauna and flora by using classificatory systems, using their own meteorology, physics, chemistry and earth science 'knowing one's inner world'. They

continue to note that indigenous societies, as a matter of survival have long sought to understand the world around them, specifically the land which they inhabit by recognizing that nature is underlain with many unseen patterns of order. While discussing the gathering and use of medicinal plants Mrs Assegaai makes a connection between herself and animal life noting "die klop van my hart is met die van die gogga" (Her heart beat is the same as that of the insect) who leads her when looking for medicinal plants. Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) referring to Alaskan Native people note that they learned to make detailed observations of animal behaviour around them. The interlocutor I engaged with (pg 54 of this thesis) describes his observation of the porcupine, what it represents and the importance of knowing how to seek out medicinal plants in times of drought. According to Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005: 11) the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) defines traditional knowledge as:

> Information that people in a given community, based on experience and adaptation to a local culture and environment, have developed overtime, and continue to develop. This knowledge is used to sustain the community and its culture and to maintain the genetic resources necessary for the continued survival of the community

This transmission of knowledge as discussed above, such as the treatment of particular ailments are shaped by and derived from human participation with their respective environment. Recognising the social structure Korana people had is both the product and the medium of participation arising from a particular kind of Korana way of living in their environment, Strauss (1979). Even though they were nomads, the Korana identified and retained hunting as an important aspect of their life, as well as keeping within a defined area claimed by a Korana Chief, in the 1800's along the Orange River. The river became their source of life, a sense of belonging and their permanence to nature (Strauss 1979: 25-26). This rootedness which can be traced to the earlier periods than the 1800's and their practices of treating illnesses highlight the significance of land inheritance as part of Korana identity. Without a sense of land ownership of a specific geographical location, they cannot claim Korananess as the two are intrinsically linked. This is shown on (page 52 of this thesis) when my interlocutor notes that all the medicine they use comes from the veldt and it is easily identifiable in Upington where she grew up, referring not only to the land but a specific geographical location on the land. The healing practices as espoused by my interlocutors are indicative of the relationship between the environment, society and the individual Korana interlocutors I engaged with who strongly link their identity to the land.

7.1.4 Symbolism and notions of belonging

On the 2nd of December I was back in Upington. This time I stayed in Papallelo, a mixed surburb of predominantly Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking people. Papallelo is about 5km from the Central Business District (CBD) in Upington. The name Upington still remains as is, named after Sir Thomas Upington, but what was striking is that the municipality was given a Khoi name between 2008 and 2009. When I made some enquiries I got different responses, but the general idea is that the municipalty was given that name so that the Khoisan people who stay in the area can have a sense of belonging. This question might sound repetive however, I will still repeat it, asking, who are the Khoisan people? Conflicting messages are sent out and one finds it difficult to pin down; the municipal letterheads are branded, the vehicles municipal staff use are branded (see appendix F) but somehow I got the feeling that the 'supposedly' Khoisan people either do not know the history, are not interested actors or it is just another name. Borrowing from Kruper (2003) this is a bizarre twist of symbolism, a language that is not officially recognised appears on official cars driven by official municipal workers, and municipal correspondence to households all had this symbolism.

At the Christmas lightning function (02/12/12), I stood there, on the lawns inside the stadium taking in the vibrant atmosphere and sense of community, when a gentleman dressed in black walked up and down before me. When he finally stood still long enough, I asked him if he can explain to me the use of the name //Khara Hais (see appendix G). Naturally I thought he was a municipal worker. He informed me that he is with the V.I.P security, hailing from the Freestate and when he started working there he had the same questions as I did. "Why do they use the name //Khara Hais for the municipality, when it is written in a langauge that is not officially recognised by the state (see appendix L). From the census analysis earlier (chapter 4) it is noticed that the statistician admits that the Khoi and San are raising valid points around their identity but it could be socially explosive.

Chapter Eight

8.1 Findings

The Korana Royal House is in dispute with the terms used in the Bill with regards to their status as an indigenous people. According to them signing the Bill in the National House of Traditional Leaders is tantamount to forced assimilation. If they sign the Bill it will mean that they are accepting being labelled Black. This is still denying their identity. This feeling was experienced under colonialism and during apartheid where they were robbed of their identity, language and culture. They note that under the apartheid government they were forced to become Griqua people or risk being labelled Korana-Bantu, naturel or native and received the same harsh treatment meted out to Bantu-speaking people during this time. Personal testimony from one person indicates free will and not forced assimilation to become a Griqua (see appendix D- DVD). They argue that there is a clear differential distinction; those who are traditional leaders and those that are indigenous to a place. Their understanding of indigenous is linked to the geographical area their ancestors occupied before contact with the colonizers. That people who are traditional are those Black chiefs that lived in the former Bantustans or homelands where they could practise their different cultures such as paying lobola for a man to take a wife. They also uphold the view that they are not Black people, the broad term Black includes all non-white people, Indians, Coloureds and Black Africans as is noted on the census form: a classificatory term used pre and post 1994.

In the Korana Royal House and in the different communities I visited, people were very sceptical about the close relations the Griqua maintain with the government for reasons of past run-ins and broken relations with previous governments. There exists a feeling of animosity between the Korana and other Khoisan members towards the Griquas. These different groupings that I came across are of the opinion that the latter group is hijacking processes and do not give them an opportunity to speak for themselves. According to Waldman (2001: 78-79) amongst all the different groups that existed, Griqua leaders were the most resourceful and possibly made up the biggest organisation, though they had internal factions they were able to establish connections with international associations to exert pressure on the government. Most members affiliating to Khoisan believe that the NKC is a mouth piece of the government and they are left out of important processes concerning the entire Khoisan group.

This was evident at the National Khoi-San Dialogue held in Kimberley, a momentous occasion for these descendants[27] of the Khoi-San communities, who for the first time since the establishment of the NKC, they met in one room. Tensions and emotions ran high with the opportunity being used to voice their dissatisfaction with both the way in which (their forefathers and themselves) were treated by the successive governments, colonial, apartheid and are currently being side-lined, as voiceless people, under the new dispensation. The mandate to the NKC from the onset was to assist in gaining constitutional accommodation and the recognition for Khoi-San communities, to the dissatisfaction to the people is that 18 years after the initial mandate, they are no closer to where they started from and a resolution was taken that the NKC must disband. The people resolved that five members per province be elected one from each group, totalling 45 members, making the structure more inclusive and representative as opposed to the initial 21 members since its inception increased to 30 members in 2011. According to the people the structure in leadership in the NKC remained static, referring to Mr Le Fleur heading up this structure and advocating a Griqua agenda instead of a national Khoisan agenda.

Owing to anonymity I refer to two members in particular who my interlocutors constantly mentioned as contributing to their ill feelings toward the Griqua. I use the same pseudonym to describe both of them: 'Mr Dream Maker'. The one individual acted as a tax collector promising pay outs to people with regards to land claims, while the other capitalises on his academic title as 'Dr', stayed with a certain family while he was busy writing a theses that afforded him this title, all the while living off the kindness of the people, both preying on their the peoples vulnerability and scant education. Individuals paid faithfully in the hopes that they will be helped soon with their land claims. Mr 'Dream Maker' cons people out of their hard earned money; everybody in their pathway was defrauded. Pensioners, the elderly people and the vulnerable all suffered the same fate. The irony is that 'Mr Dream Maker' only makes his own dreams come true enjoying tax free money taken under false pretence. The actions of 'Mr Dream Maker' makes people more resentful towards the Griqua though it

[27] It was noted at the dialogue when one speaks of Khoi and San in contemporary society in the 21st century, you are not speaking of the same people whom the missionaries encountered, nor are you referring to people who academics like Isaac Schapera and Professor Tobias and others encountered. For this reason the term Khoi and San and their descendants is frequently being used in these circles.

was admitted to some degree that not everybody in this group are the same while they consider the others as sell-outs. Those identifying as Griqua and living the same circumstances are not a threat to them. Those who get access to resources and material goods create animosity among the various groups and in the community at large. Some individuals even go as far as changing their surnames to fit in with the group that they claim to represent at the time, showing that they themselves have aspects of fluidity and that identity politics among these groups are not static. Those who do not affiliate with any of the Khoisan groups are aggrieved to see what is happening. One burning question I came across is "Why must they (Griquas) get a car to 'jol'[28] (driving around for fun) while the rest of us, also attending to Khoisan matters must walk, or see to our own transport needs, why"?

Many praised President Jacob Zuma for acting on a promise that was made in 2001, when the then Deputy President noted at the opening of the Khoisan National Consultative Conference that Khoisan descendants who were made to feel ashamed of who they are by previous governments now have a chance to redeem themselves. However various Khoisan groups are sceptical of the current government's close alliance with mostly the Griqua leaders. Ex-President Nelson Mandela in 1995 asked for unity amongst the Griqua leaders (Waldman 2001). On an occasion while engaging in a general discussion with some community members, one Griqua subject boasted that their "relationship with the government of the day is such that they get listened to". This attitude that some Griqua members are displaying shows arrogance and makes people despise them more because they can refer to a history that has been noted, while others can only rely on their oral traditions. In 1995 ex-President Nelson Mandela visited Griquatown for a wreath laying ceremony; the monument was intended to honour Andries Waterboer, the Griqua *kaptein* 1820-1852, recognising Andrew Abraham Stockenstrom Le Fleur (Waldman 2001: 44-5). Factionalism and infighting prevented this from happening and Mandela laid two wreaths on "Griqua soil" to appease the vocal Griqua organisations, one under Adam Kok and the other under the Campbell Griquas.

The broader community is of the opinion that the Griqua, through structures like the NKC are working with the government of the day. Their past experiences as Korana/Coloured with authorities makes them very sceptical about the direction these Khoisan leaders are taking, as

[28] The word 'jol' in Afrikaans has various meanings, like 'jol' when you go to a party, 'jol' when are in a relationship. The use of the word 'jol' for this chapter means having fun, going on a joy ride.

most of them are Griqua leaders representing all members who self-identify as belonging to either group.

In 2012 with the opening of the ANC centenary celebrations members of the Griquas Royal House under Adam Kok V, walked a few meters behind the flame that went to the different provinces. Some people wanted to know the meaning of it. Why do they have such a friendly relationship with the government of the day? Did they not learn from the mistakes their forefathers had made who were used and cheated by successive governments?

Post-1994 Coloureds, Indians and Black Africans all fall under the umbrella term Black while White gets categorised as such, irrespective of their origins. Most Khoisan people and especially those affiliated to the Korana Royal House under study refute the term Black and the notion of Coloured. We are not given an option; we don't want "baas skap, apartheid in reverse" (Interview Mrs Assegaai and Chief Dods, 17/12/2012). Under apartheid all the various groups that existed were not given an opportunity to choose their own identity but theirs was systematically stamped out, being labelled as a Coloured. The motive of this apartheid strategy comes under question for members of the Korana Royal House, refuting multiple identities, and in the National House of Traditional Leaders, forced assimilation. Chief Kats upholds that the Korana people are indigenous.

The Korana Royal House is not in agreement that one can only occupy a seat for five years and after five years be re-elected. Their sense is that the 'Black' people will take over all the reins leaving them in the 'cold', forsaking what they refer to as 'bloodline' leaders where one's heirs can benefit from such heritage. If there is no suitable person is in the family or the heir is still a minor, then only can someone be elected to oversee the position. According to them, the Korana, the National House of Traditional Leaders is linked to closely to the ANC, the governing political party, it is more of a political organ than one that will benefit the people. They note that leaders already benefitted from a fourteen million rand land claim in Schmidtdrift (appendix M) where Directors of the Griqualand West Trust were paid huge bonuses not considering the communities they claim to represent. Chief Kats was instrumental in assisting government officials in identifying claimants for the above land claim but due to ill health (he suffered a stroke), the members of the Trust transferred the funds from the Khoisan Trust into the Griqualand West Trust Fund where all funds had been

squandered (see appendix M). With these funds, four farms were bought of which none is existent today and the balance of over four million Chief Josiah Kats avers could have been used to generate more profits and to utilise the farms effectively.

8.2 The aims & objectives of the Korana Royal House under Chief Josiah Kats

Following the above mentioned incident, the Korana Royal House is in the process of establishing its own trust with the help of Future Vision Strategies. Chief Josiah Kats admits his inability to properly comprehend legal documents presented to him for signing, which he has signed off on numerous occasions resulting in him signing away his house as surety, leaving them homeless for a while. He now uses the services of Future Vision Strategies who assists him in drawing up legal documentation like the Trust Fund and accompanying him to meetings where his presence is requested and possible signing of documents are presented to him. This service is provided to him as pro-bono, which means it takes longer than usual to get matters operational. According to him setting up the Trust is partly in response to what happened with the Griqualand West Trust but also through Future Vision Strategies he has been in contact with other organisations who wish to help him in establishing a legacy for the Korana people. Processes of claiming land back that Korana has lost are being discussed. I am not at liberty to state the names of countries and individuals, who once the Trust is established, offered to assist in training young people on how to properly farm dry arid areas as seen in the vast landscape of the Northern Cape, which will strengthen their self-determination as a people.

The aims and objectives of the Korana Royal House are to run an Indigenous Department, with the assistance of Future Vision Strategies, parallel to the National House of Traditional Leaders. This will be based on the Canadian model where First Peoples run their own schools, get involved in museum projects, entertainment and tourism and raise funds to sustain their project of self-determination (Hendry 2005). The Korana Royal House maintain that by approaching the issue of traditional versus indigenous in this manner will make them less dependent on government and enlarge the whole Khoisan group. It is also, they hope, will eliminate this scramble for resources and in-fighting amongst each other for positions to claim benefit from the government. This is envisioned through establishing a council of elders made up of all the Korana leaders. It is clear from the above discussions that the

broader Khoisan structure, and amongst the Korana themselves, lacks leadership as noted in the call for unity by ex-President Mandela. Chief Kats with the help of Future Vision Strategies hopes to put such structures in place, and once they are operating as they should, other groups will be incorporated. According to Chief Kats sharing such a view with leaders who are clearly there for individual benefit is preposterous and unthinkable. The Khoisan struggle as seen by one interlocutor who describes the factionalism likening it to a situation where a dog owner throws "a bone to hungry dogs, where the owner knows they will fight over it". At the National Khoi and San Dialogue I witnessed such behaviour, standing next to a government official who remarked "these people are playing right into the governments' hands. We expected them to act this way, this is nothing new".

8.3 Analysis

The struggle for recognition is not unique to South Africa as I have mentioned in the report. Globally minority groups are facing similar dilemmas, but the South African case of reclaiming an indigenous identity is particularly interesting. My experience in the field was that people make very clear distinctions between "us" and "them", hence my question who gets to be classified as Coloured and who gets classified as Khoisan? When I address the issue of Coloured identity I only spoke about people who embrace their Khoisan heritage and take issue with how they are classified. When the leaders and government use these terms how do they make the distinction? Discussing issues of Khoisan ancestry/politics through the vignette of the narrative in the Korana Royal House was imperative to situate the arguments that Chief Josiah Kats and others[29] made in the larger international debate about indigeneity and identity reclamation.

Khoisan recognition cannot be fully realized until Chapter 12 of the Constitution, which recognizes traditional leaders, be amended to include Khoisan leaders and give them full recognition; only then can the vision of Chief Kats and others be realized, the vision of running parallel structures (albeit indigenous). Another alternative would be establishing a formidable Khoisan brand instead of assimilation into traditional structures. This was also noted in the work of Waldman (2007: 161) who argues that the South African government is challenged by these movements to recognise the so-called "third-generation" right of human

[29] Institute for the Restoration of the Aborigines of South Africa (IRASA) dealing with indigenous identities

rights or collective rights as integral to the South African constitution and to fully integrate the Khoisan people in the processes of governance. A 2005 report by the UN Special Rapporteur on indigenous people in South Africa (number 12 on the report) notes that the official statistics do not reflect the presence of indigenous people. It is argued in this thesis as noted by Cavanagh (2011) that those who became known as Coloured were relegated to the periphery of the 'native' question during the apartheid years and the establishment of the Bantustans. Korana, Khoisan, neo-Khoisan groups for the duration of apartheid did not live under a chieftainship as was the case in many of these homelands. Neither did they live 'inheems' (indigenous) as claimed by Chief Josiah Kats, except maybe in small pockets of communities where they are farm workers where these traditions like 'die hok meisie' were practised. Apartheid cultural relativism though bad in some way allowed for cultural practices to be preserved and not lost like that of the Khoisan groups (and their descendants by implication). For this reason, as discussed in chapter 7, there is an attempt from these cultural groups to recover lost cultures. Cavanagh (2011) makes the point that during the period of the 1930's referring to oneself as "inheems" (indigenous) meant being treated like the Bantus. Coloured people, as noted by Hendricks (2004) insisted on their difference. I argue that this essential difference which was insisted upon is now the obstacle not only for the current government but for the Khoi and San groups who assert an identity linked to particularity and land claims.

I have included the census debate in this thesis because I thought that it is essential to see how people relate to the everyday in their social settings and how they perceive of themselves, as well as to evaluate what an identity means to them. I have looked at the census in terms of identity and questioned if recognizing Khoi and San is not a viable option, if it's not a viable identity than whom did President Zuma recognise when he was saying Khoisan Leaders are recognized in the House of Traditional Leaders. Given the country's colonial history and apartheid past it is a difficult task to answer these questions and narrow it down to simplistic views as noted by Leśniewski (2010: 22) when he notes "despite our problems with an unequivocal definition of the Korana as a group, it seems that contemporary writers had no such problems". They have carefully packaged the term and as discussed by the statistician these categories will explode if it is not carefully managed by the government.

In my field site, with my interlocutors what I found was that the term Khoisan, is trying to integrate two different terms that are not the same. People are deconstructing it by saying

Khoisan-Bushmen, Khoisan Nama, Khoisan-Griqua still using Khoisan but adding onto it their understanding and meaning.

Before the 1940s Korana people were forced to go under the Griqua umbrella as people narrate the story, or risked being labelled Bantu. In 1948 when the National Party came to power they institutionalised the term Coloured through various Acts like the Population Registration Act (1950) and the Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act, No 46 (1959), where the Bantustans were created; these had a great impact on culture, and still impact current debates about ethnicity and race. Hendricks (2004) argues that people themselves already embraced the term Coloured identity in this way setting themselves apart from other groups. The apartheid government cemented the term Coloured stating that it had subgroups like Griqua, Nama, San and Korana amongst others, because it was easier for them to deal with one term instead of many, thereby silencing and taking individual identities away.

As a researcher focussing on a particular group, in this case the Korana Royal House and Korana cultural identifiers, I have been privy to observe how the broader Khoisan community interact with governmental structures on issues to change the social order of classification. In asking the question as noted on pg 8, on how this platform of Khoisan recognition can to be used to discuss issues of Coloured identity was further illuminated at the National Khoisan Dialogue an event that was organized by the Department of Rural Development and Land Affairs (RDLA) in Kimberley from the 14-16 April, 2013. Over six hundred delegates attended this dialogue sponsored by department. Here again, the issue of Coloured identity came under the spotlight.

The National Khoi-San Dialogue presented an opportunity for the state (through its officials) to observe and engage on a personal level (and not through fieldworkers collecting data to be analysed) what people are feeling, thinking and how they wanted to be classified going forward in future. This poses a real challenge for the government, firstly as researcher I observed this in a very minute way through interacting on a one on one basis with interlocutors in the field and through the performance as seen in the Mr and Mrs Khoisan function. The body was used as a political object to make a statement to other young people and the community about identity and identity politics in South Africa which proved a real social issue as was seen at this dialogue which I attended. The ideology of assimilation rather

than other co-opting these leaders seems to be a more viable option to the state, thereby preventing a situation that can have socio-political ramifications.

8.4 Strengths and weaknesses of the study

This study afforded me the opportunity to listen to how people think about and experience the everyday. The interviews were done in Afrikaans, a language which is used commonly in these circles which made it easier for people to express themselves. The difference between this work and other work done on Khoisan/Coloured people is that I have handled my interlocutors in a contemporary vein. My approach has been different in that I have assessed my interlocutors not so much as a pundit, but rather as a mirror reflecting contemporary events, people's views and their impressions.

The fact that I am a woman of Colour coming from essentially the same social background, (except that I am in a position to write about them) being interested in what they are doing, I believe made it easier for my interlocutors to engage with me. I have had firsthand experience of histories that my interlocutors still remember and probably never shared with anyone until I engaged with them. As an anthropologist viewing them through an anthropological lens, I interacted with them on the basis of who they say they are, thus was a tremendous success for doing this kind of research where the person's identity is contested on so many levels. I believe that research has taught me that when one interacts with people on such a personal level as noted by White (1997: 107) "self-disclosure and one's very presence within a setting can have long-term effects on participants and nonparticipants alike". By this I am referring to the DVD recording that I made with Chief Josiah Kats.

By showing it to his wife I established a relationship of trust with her and the family. Another strong aspect of this project I believe is that the DVD recording is not only serving as a symbol of memory, i.e. an object in the museum but a real living person in the here and now giving personal testimony of his views and understanding of events as they are occurring. Many researchers are viewed in a negative way, I encountered through stories people narrated, because the interlocutors are seen as information bearers while the research is in progress, but once the research project was over, researchers pack up and leave. As noted earlier in the section on ethics by White (1997), people should be treated as ends rather than means in the project of research.

The weakness of the study is that I did not fully engage with the wife of the Chief Kats and other women married to these men. It has since become apparent that the wives who are the support structures of these men might reveal details that one might not necessarily get from their husbands. A case in point was when I showed the DVD to his wife she listened attentively to what he had to say. This is when she posed the question to him "What will you say to the President when he asks you what do you want?" This question was very crucial to this project revealing the hidden politics behind his struggle and the broader Khoisan debate, the tensions and faction fighting since the start of his involvement around Korana identity. She briefly referred to the once cordial relationship between Chief Kats and David Taaibosch (see appendix I) where David Taaibosch and many other Korana leaders and leaders from the other groups worked closely together and had one vision. A vision according to her, which included addressing social issues like the drug abuse which is rife in the communities, teenage pregnancy, education of the youth in cultural activities and skills development through active participation in rebuilding moral values of young men and women for a better society. She briefly mentioned the invitation Chief Kats received from the Zulu King[30] in 2011 to visit his homestead (see appendix J).

Chief Kats and a delegation of San leaders were invited to attend the auspicious occasion of the unveiling of a solar water system. The visit was also intended to inform the King about Korana history and the future plans for the Korana people. What is important is to note is the date 16 May 2011, months before President Zuma announced the recognition of Khoisan leaders in the NHTL. As I mentioned earlier, I was asked on numerous occasions, where one would find Khoisan people? Gaining access to this information was only possible through slowly building a relationship of trust that took much convincing on an already time-constrained project.

The challenge as an anthropologist and researcher coming from a similar background as those that I was researching came when it was assumed that I should know and understand the context of their plight; of course, in some instances I could identify with the things that my interlocutors talked about. Research is never free from cultural bias, where this is the case, these are views tempered by multiple experiences within a society very few South Africans

[30] I travelled to Bloemfontein in the Free State to meet with Chief Dots and Maria Assegaai, as these are the individuals in Heidedal working with Chief Kats to establish a branch in the community where they live. I also wanted to see the photos of the visit which were with Chief Dods.

understand. Travelling by taxi and the great distances my interlocutors stayed from each other also impacted on how many people I could interact with in any given day while in the field. The time in which this research took place during the months of November and December 2012 made the task even more strenuous because people had made plans for the Christmas season.

In Upington, the gap which I identified in this specific municipality (//Khara Hais) is, though the offices are under the auspices of Cooperative Governance Human Settlements and Traditional Affairs (COGHSTA), there are no official structures representing the people and language that they so proudly display on their municipal cars, official letterheads etcetera (see appendix K). In an area with such rich history of Khoi and San people and the recent developments of Khoisan being 'recognised' presumably the people who lived on the banks of the Orange River flowing through the town, and the subsequent name change of the municipality between 2008 – 2009 to //Khara Hais, seemed befitting that the municipality would have such structures in place to be representative in their symbolism "die mense regeer" (the people govern, see appendix G). This led me to conclude that this could be because of the contention that exists in clarifying who are the indigenous leaders and who are the traditional leaders are? When one unpacks "die mense regeer" (the people govern), who governs who? Thus referring to a point made earlier; who are the Khoisan people?

8.5 Conclusion

In conclusion the research looks at the different ways in which people perceive of their identities post 1994. Though these communities are relatively small in numbers there remains potential to still collect valuable data from the elderly people living in these communities. This data is considered valuable data in the sense that the elderly are seen as vessels containing oral history about culture and tradition that is not archived in libraries or written in books. This they narrate in the private spaces of their homes where we observe that young people are warming up to the idea of embracing a constructed culture publically as narrated to them by their elders. In the audio visual recording (see appendix K) the young lady addressing the audience, like Leticia whose story is told through text, in the reconstruction of the medicine bag, noting the same issue: they had not been told their history in schools.

The experience of the everyday as mentioned earlier is not the same for any one individual. How apartheid was experienced by different people results in different kinds of emotions stirred up. At the dialogue, people as old as ninety six spoke about the restoration of their identity. The lives of these women (see three elderly women in appendix D with Nama hats) aged between 87 to 96, stretches from colonial rule through apartheid into democracy, and they like many others have questions around their identity, how the post-1994 epoch of democracy created spaces to address these deep seated issues.

In addressing the research question posed in chapter 2, it becomes indicative that the issue of identity and belonging be addressed at a national level. The term or category Khoisan poses problems for the post-Apartheid four tier racial classification system with the re-introduction of previously silent voices of these Khoisan or neo-Khoisan groups who amongst themselves lack unity. The call was made by ex-President Mandela, referred to earlier, that these groups must unite to represent the people with one voice, Waldman (2001) still reverberates as noted through my research travels. Notwithstanding, these Khoisan groups' poses real concerns and challenges for the government on how to accommodate them and the communities they represent.

8.6 The Debate

8.6.1 Observations at National Khoi and San Dialogue 14-16 April 2013

Interventions for future studies

While I was in the Northern Cape, Upington, doing my research I heard rumours about a National Khoi-San Dialogue (Appendix L) that was being planned. This information proved difficult to establish from officials at the time of the research during November and December 2012. The event took place over the weekend of the 14-16 April 2013, in Kimberley. The dialogue was organised by the Department of Rural Development and Land Affairs for Khoisan people. More than six hundred delegates from the nine different provinces attended. This dialogue coincided with the centenary celebrations of the Native Land Act of 1913, which many delegates disputed, stating that Khoi and San lost their land before 1913.

The issue of identity again came under the spotlight (Appendix K, video clip of young girl refuting the label Coloured). The atmosphere was electrifying and speaker after speaker touched on the difficulty of the Coloured identity. A report read by a departmental official concluded that there were only 350 000 Khoi and San people that can be accounted for. After this announcement the atmosphere became chaotic and the official was called back to apologise to the people. The people felt insulted and threatened to 'walk out' of the dialogue because they were invited there to address their concerns and grievances, but they are being dictated too, "it should be a dialogue as stated not a monologue", noted one delegate from the audience.

The indaba represented a historical moment for the people. Since the dawn of democracy and the establishment of the National Khoisan Council (NKC) in 1996/7 to address the issue of Khoi and San constitutional recognition, this was the first time that members from all five groupings met in such large numbers under one roof. Initially the NKC consisted of 21 members, of whom 9 members were added around 2011 to bring the number to 30 members to look after the interests of Khoi and San people and their descendants[31].

Day two of the proceedings saw a young man stood up in the crowd and addressed the master of ceremony saying "if he [sic] called the minister a kaffir he would be jailed or something will happen to him but it is completely normal to be called Coloured while they are not" (appendix M). The hall echoed with signs of agreement, whistling and clapping of hands while the very elderly people felt that the young man should have considered approaching the issue from a different angle, a more politically correct way instead of being so direct and forthright with the organs of state. Naturally before the end of the proceedings the young man, like the previous speaker had to apologize for their utterances (Appendix M, young man on stage apologising to the Minister).

The young man like the narrative of Burgess, as cited by Besten (2006), runs through every thread of this discussion with reference to identity politics and recognition of post-plural hybrid identities as espoused by its proponents, Englund (2004). Identity politics by proponents of this ideology notes that identity must be rooted in a particular culture, as seen

[31] It was noted at the dialogue that the people of today are not the Khoi and San who lived hundred years ago hence the officials referred to them as Khoi and San and their descendants

in the debate between the two government officials (as well as in the narrative of Burgess who discovers herself by affiliating to the Khoisan movement). According to proponents of this ideology protection of minority cultures is therefore important in political life as befitting their claim that everyone needs an identity, Englund (2004). This refers to a point made by Hendricks (2004) that Coloured people (here I only refer to those who assert differently) embraced this identity, though reluctantly, this difference is now their Achilles heel post-1994, albeit institutionalized by previous and successive governments.

I have included the audio visual copies of the DVD because it speaks to the census debate on pg 28 and issues of recognition in that are pertinent in the Khoisan movement. Although this is not the relevant statistical department, this opportunity presented people to engage government officials on a personal level, where individuals and groups were able to voice their concerns and where it was not such an impersonal process of filling out a document. This information supports my findings of the very diminutive[32] interaction I had with my interlocutors and supports Lee (2003) statement that there are many Coloured people in this Khoisan movement who pose a concern for the government. This movement like any other movement has elements of factionalism the issues they raise and are engaged in are real to them. The challenge for government is deal with this phenomenon, as the statistician admits, this is a trend that they have observed for years and containing the situation by keeping the apartheid classification in place. The conundrum faced by government and in the NHTL is one of assimilation, where Khoisan leaders are incorporated under the banner of traditional leaders or recognition is granted where these leaders are accommodated in Chapter 12 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996, to grant them the status of being indigenous as per the findings of the UN Special Rapporteur, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, when he visited on request from the government in 2005 to look into the issue of the indigenous people in South Africa.

[32] I engaged with only one group who forms part of the broader Khoisan group. The National Khoi-San Dialogue presented me with an opportunity to see how the larger group interact with each other and with government.

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APPENDICES

Participant Information Sheet

Sharon Gabie

084 880 0948

June/July 2012

Dear Sir/Madam

Re: Request for participation in research project

I, Sharon Gabie request your participation in this research project on ***Khoisan Revivalist groups in Post-Apartheid South Africa, looking at the Korana Royal House, the oral history of Chief Josiah Kats(z) and the connection to communities it represents. The social, economic and cultural make up of these communities.***

I am a Masters student in the Anthropology department at the University of the Witwatersrand.

I would appreciate an opportunity to interview you regarding my study.

Please note that your participation in this study is voluntary and there is no reward or penalty for not participating. Involvement in this research requires your participation in an interview and a questionnaire section of approximately one to one and a half hours which will be scheduled at a time and place that suitable for you. You will not be obliged to answer any questions with which you are uncomfortable and therefore have the option to decline to respond to any questions asked. You will also have the option of terminating **your participation** at any stage that you choose.

All data collected through the interview and the questionnaire or digital recording will be treated with the strictest confidentiality. You will also have the option of remaining anonymous in which case all transcripts and reports will be appropriately coded to ensure that your request is fully respected.

It is my understanding that the study will not pose any risks or result in any benefits for you. However, if you feel you have concerns regarding the study or if you require any additional information, please contact my supervisor, ***David Coplan on 717 4404*** to discuss this further.

Thank you for your support.

Kind regards,

Sharon Gabie

Semi-structured questions for Josiah Kats of the Korana Royal House

♦ Tell me more about yourself from childhood up to now?

♦ Can you tell me about your education and family life in detail?

♦ What impact does religion have in your life? What role do you play as far as religion is concerned?

♦ What according to you was the impact of all the political changes on your life and that of the Khoisan groups?

♦ What were the most significant events that you can remember?

♦ What role do you play in the community and in the broader Khoisan movement?

♦ What would you like your legacy to be?

Recording Consent Form

Korana Royal House Research

Sharon Gabie (researcher)

This research is about the recent developments of ***Khoisan Revivalist groups in post-apartheid South Africa, looking specifically at the Korana Royal House the oral history of Chief Josiah Kats(z) and the connection to communities he represents. The social, economic and cultural make up of these communities.***

I, Sharon Gabie ask if I may **RECORD** this interview with you. This means that I will have a copy of the interview that I can go back and listen to in order to make notes. I may also listen again to the interview in order to write down exactly what you said so that I can use in my report.

By signing this form, it means that you give your permission for me to make a recording of the interview.

Research participants name.....

Signature.....

Date.....

Video Recording / Photograph Consent Form

Korana Royal House Research

Sharon Gabie (researcher)

This research is about the recent developments of ***Khoisan Revivalist groups in post-apartheid South Africa, looking specifically at the Korana Royal House the oral history of Chief Josiah Kats(z) and the connection to communities he represents. The social, economic and cultural make up of these communities.***

I, Sharon Gabie ask if I may take photographs and where necessary make a video recording of the activities of the various group gatherings / or meetings. This means that I will have a copy of the video recording that I can go back and analyze in order to make notes. If need be, I may also view the recordings numerous times in order to write down exactly what the atmosphere was like during these gatherings for the purposes of writing my final report. The information gathered will be kept in a secure place; making sure no-one access has access to it, unless requested by you in a formal letter stating the exact purpose for requesting this information.

By signing this form, it means that you give your permission for me to make a video recording / take photographs of the event / occasion.

Research participants name.....

Signature.....

Date.....

Chapter Six Translations of Afrikaans Words

Afrikaans	English
Veldt	An open piece of land where plants and trees grows wild
Bessies	Berries that grows wild
Toutjies	Meat strips, sometimes stringy when eaten
Rooster Brood	Knead dough placed on a griddle like meat
As Koek	Knead dough baked under warm coals
Pot Brood	Knead dough placed in a plastic cooked in a pot or placed on top of meat to cook
Padkos	Food that one takes with you when you travel
Mielies	Maize
Braai	Barbeque
Mielie grys	Small particles from crushed maize that looks like rice
Rematiek	Arthritis
Heuningmos	A drink made with honey, the adjective mos also means to understand something
Tiep	When an individual consumed too much alcohol that they just fall asleep
Ballingskap	Women are seen as always being in exile. When she gets married she needs to leave her home and go and stay at her husband's place
Siekte	Translating this word into English means that you are not well, feeling sick, however here it refers to your menstrual cycle, it has nothing to do with your health
Skoonwerf	Translating this into English will refer to your in-laws; the literal meaning of the word is to have a clean yard
//Khoe mielies	Whole maize cooked in a pot. Other speakers of the language refer to it as samp

Appendix A



Chief Josiah Kats, his wife Joyce Kats and Sharon (Researcher) at the inauguration of Bishop Nel and his wife



Bishop Nel and wife, Chief Josiah Kats and wife

Appendix B

KHOISAN VALLEY – ROSEDALE, UPINGTON



Khoisan Valley: Yard of Oom Tolman



Illustration of Bushmen Huts



Daughter of Oom Tolman doing washing inside hut



Oom Tolman and granddaughters



Oom Willie, King Samuel, Oom Tolman, Chief May (Korana)



King Samuel, Myself, Oom Tolman, Chief May (Korana)

Appendix C

ASKHAM - KALAHARI MR AND MRS KHOISAN FUNCTION





Mr Khoisan 2012 and Petrus Vaalbooi

Appendix D

Chief Mathysen – Personal Testimony – Documentary to be screened on SABC about Fisrt Nation Status. For the purpose of the study the personal testimony is important as discussed in report

Appendix E



Improvised stage

Appendix F



//Khara Hais Municiple Vehicles

Appendix G

//Khara Hais Municipality

Community Function – Christmas Lights















Appendix H



10 October/November 2000

NCape News
PROVINCIAL FOCUS

Schmidtsdrift settlement agreement 2

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Martin Engelbrecht of the Griquas, Premier Manne Dipico and National Minister of Land Affairs, Thoko Didiza at the land settlement ceremony where the Griquas received an amount of R14 million for their land claim

The Settlement Schmidtdrift Land Claim

Appendix I



Chief Josiah Kats and David Taaibosch addressing school children

Appendix J



From left to Right: Chief Josiah Kats, Chief Dods, and King Sambane of Zululand (2011)



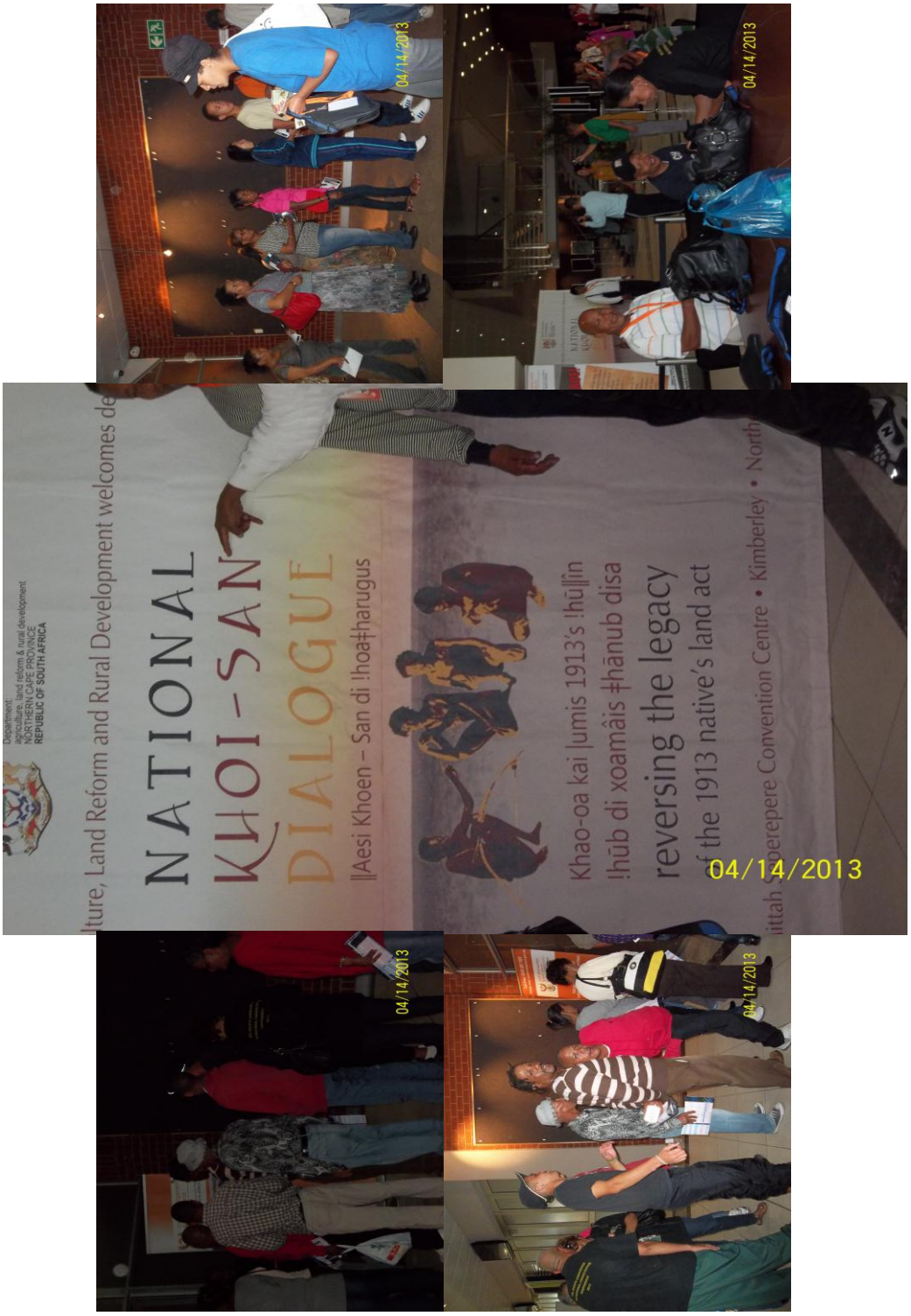
The launch of the Solar Water project

Appendix K

This an audio visual video clip of young girl speaking about identity, followed by speaker who addressed issues of recognition.

Appendix L

National Khoi-San Dialogue: Registration of delegates upon arrival 14/04/2013



A4 Collage – Minister Nkwinti (Department of Rural Development and Land Affairs- center) at the National Khoi-San Dialogue addressing delegates




16.04.2013


16.04.2013


16.04.2013


rural development
& land reform
Department:
Rural Development and Land
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRI
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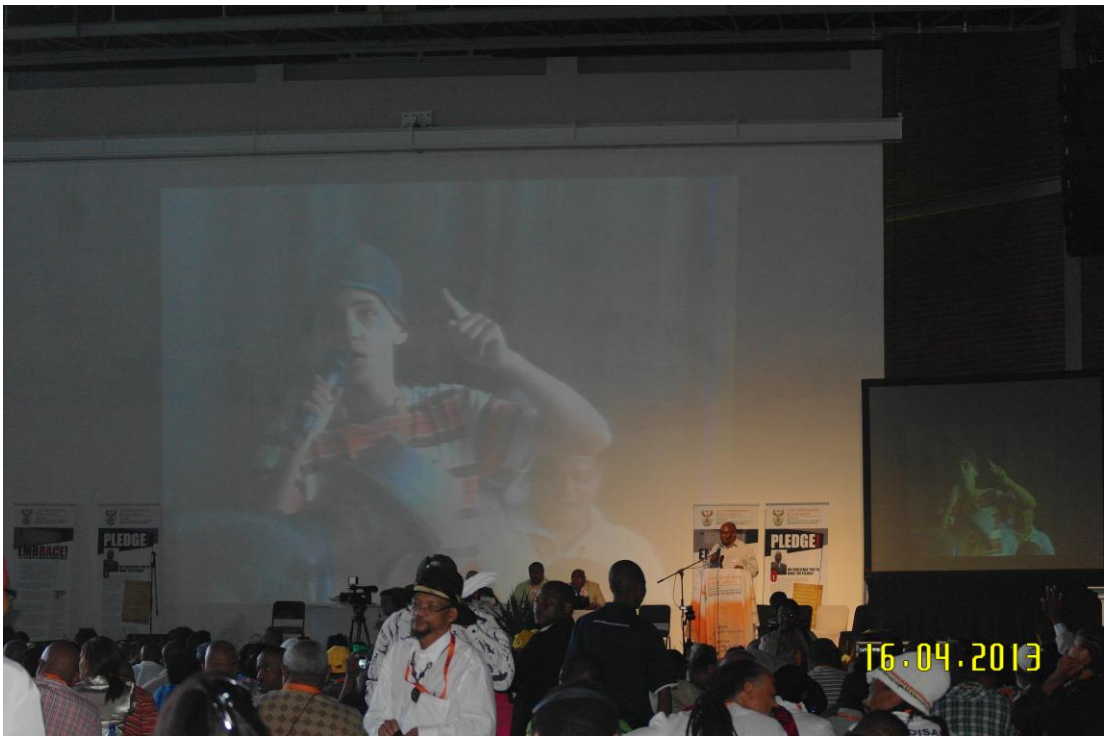


Ladies wearing Nama hats



Myself, Jan Pofadder (descendant of Lukas Pofadder) with Minister Nkwinti (Department of Rural Development and Land Affairs) at the National Khoi-San Dialogue

Appendix M



Young man asking a question about labelling



Young man on stage listening to the speaker who asks him to apologize to the Minister