Julia Pauli

THE DECLINE OF MARRIAGE IN NAMIBIA

Kinship and Social Class in a Rural Community

[transcript] Culture and Social Practice

Julia Pauli
The Decline of Marriage in Namibia

Culture and Social Practice

To my father Gerhard Pauli 1937-2017

Julia Pauli is Professor of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Hamburg, Germany. Her main research interests are gender and kinship studies, transnational migration, and class formation processes. She has conducted extensive ethnographic fieldwork in Mexico (since 1995) and Namibia (since 2003). For "Anthropology Southern Africa" she co-edited a special issue on continuity and change in Southern African marriages with Rijk van Dijk (2016/2017).

Julia Pauli

The Decline of Marriage in Namibia

Kinship and Social Class in a Rural Community

[transcript]

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at http://dnb.d-nb.de

First published 2019 by transcript Verlag, Bielefeld

Cover layout: Maria Arndt, Bielefeld
Cover illustration: »Just married«, © Michael Schnegg
Printed by Majuskel Medienproduktion GmbH, Wetzlar
Print-ISBN 978-3-8376-4303-9
PDF-ISBN 978-3-8394-4303-3
https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839443033

Printed on permanent acid-free text paper.

Content

List of tables

List of figures

Acknowledgements

This book has grown into its present shape over more than fifteen years. I am deeply indebted to all the people who, with their care, generosity, support, insight, criticism, thoughtfulness and wit, have helped me throughout.

First of all, I wish to thank the people of Fransfontein who made this research and book possible. They welcomed Michael, my husband and fellow anthropologist, our daughter, Liliana, and me into their homes and lives. In so many ways they helped us learn and understand. With incredible generosity they shared their time, food, stories, sorrows, joys and so much more with us.

The term "assistant" does not do proper justice to the multiple ways in which Francois Dawids, Fiona Ilonga, Sara Jod, Titus Kaumunika, Valery Meyer, Jorries Seibeb, Emma /Uiras, Lydia /Uiras, Manda /Uiras and Otto /Uirab guided and helped us through the research. The collection of our ethnographic census data was also supported by Goldine !Ases, Alexia Gertze, Elly Gertze, Dina /Goagoses, Gideon/Goagoseb, Ivonne /Goagoses, Friederika Kana //Gowases, Rheinhardt Haraeb, Perpetina Jod, Hubert Kahono, Ferdinand /Nanubeb, Maria Philips and Brigitha Pietersen. I express my deep thanks for the dedication with which they supported us.

When we arrived in Fransfontein for the first time in June 2003, we received generous support from several local institutions. As these are public institutions, I acknowledge them by name: the leadership of the primary school, Ben Xamiseb and Charlotte Hanabes; the Swartbooi traditional authority and senior councilor Esegiel /Uirab; the local town clerk Nikey Saal; the local nurse Lischen /Khunuxas; and Damara traditional authorities Festus Aseb and Erika /Khunuxas.

During later stays, Bisey /Uirab and Wilhencia /Uiras were so kind to let us stay in their house. Many thanks also to Tara DiTommaso for her support while we all lived in Fransfontein and for allowing me to use her photo of Fransfontein.

With their consent, all Fransfonteiners who assisted the research in any way are mentioned by name. I also use the real names for official and historic figures, like

politicians and traditional leaders. Yet, in order to protect the privacy of my interlocutors, I am using pseudonyms for all other people from Fransfontein.

In Windhoek, I want to thank several people and institutions who helped me at various stages of the project. Beatrice Sandelowsky has been a constant help and a great inspiration from the very start. Her work at the University Centre for Studies in Namibia (TUCSIN) has made a long-lasting impression on me. Similarly, the help of Christo Botha has been crucial for the success of the project. For their important support and insights, I also want to thank Werner Hillebrecht from the National Archives; the late Bennet Fuller; Philippe Talavera; Ndeyapo Nickanor; Ivy Maponga; the Legal Assistance Centre; the Khorixas Magistrate's Court; and the church archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Republic of Namibia in Fransfontein, Khorixas and Outjo.

The work for this book started while I was heading sub-project C10 of the interdisciplinary special research project "Arid Climate, Adaptation and Cultural Innovation in Africa (ACACIA)", based at the German universities of Cologne and Bonn. I thank the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German research foundation, DFG) for its financial support of the project.

In 1999, Thomas Schweizer, admired teacher, mentor and my *Doktorvater* (doctoral supervisor), passed away at the age of 49. His early death was a great loss for all students and colleagues at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Cologne. After Thomas's comprehensive support and guidance during my PhD, my postdoctoral research started with more uncertainty and anxiety. I am thus deeply thankful to Michael Bollig, then head of ACACIA, for offering me the opportunity to become assistant professor at the Cologne institute and submit a proposal for a sub-project within the ACACIA program. Michael Bollig's outstanding knowledge of anthropology and the Southern African region has guided me throughout the research and writing process. I also thank my ACACIA colleagues for welcoming me into their midst and supporting my project. During my Cologne years and also later in Hamburg, Hartmut Lang and Cornelia Limpricht provided much welcomed intellectual input and inspiration for which I am very thankful. At the Cologne institute, numerous colleagues offered encouragement, criticism and their insights on various parts of this book. I especially want to thank Monika Böck, Michael Casimir, Ute Dieckmann, Martina Gockel-Frank, Clemens Greiner, Michaela Haug, Arno Pascht, Martin Rössler, Werner Schuck, Dorothea Schulz, Ute Stahl and Thomas Widlock. In Cologne, I was also fortunate enough to meet Robert Gordon and profit from his great wit and impressive knowledge of Namibia and Southern Africa.

In 2009, an earlier version of this manuscript was accepted as habilitation treatise by the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at the University of Cologne. Upon receiving

this distinction, my Cologne years came to an end. In 2011, I changed to the Universität Hamburg. My sincere gratitude goes to my colleagues there: Jan Budniok, Joachim Otto Habeck, Waltraud Kokot, Roland Mischung, Laila Prager and Christian Strümpell. I am also thankful for the helpful conversations with other Hamburg colleagues working on Namibia, especially Richard Kiaka, Theresa Linke and Michael Pröpper.

In 2015, Rijk van Dijk and I organized a conference on marriage in Southern Africa at the Hamburg Institute. A number of papers presented at the conference were published as a special double-issue in *Anthropology Southern Africa* in 2016/2017. The exchange with Rijk van Dik has strongly influenced my thinking on marriage and class in Southern Africa. It is with great gratitude that I thank him. I have also profited greatly from the comments and insights by the conference participants: Jennifer Cole, Douglas Falen, Christian Groes-Green, Mark Hunter, Nelago Indongo, Deborah James, Adam Kuper, Michael Lambek, Isak Niehaus, Lillian Pazvakawambwa, Jaco Smit, Jaqueline S. Solway and Hylton White. Maren Rössler has been a constant source of exchange and support, not only at the conference but also beyond.

My thanks go to colleagues and friends Erdmute Alber, Christine Avenarius, Bettina Beer, Andrea Behrends, Cati Coe, Clara Meyer-Himmelheber and Tatjana Thelen for the insightful comments on passages and ideas of this book. For the preparation of the various versions of this book, I thank Leonie Schwinn, Susanne Lea Radt and Caroline Jeannerat.

Family and friends have helped to keep me going throughout the years of research and writing. I am sincerely thankful to Elke and Ulrich Schnegg, my parents-in-law, for their great support with childcare and their continuous interest in the project and in Namibia. Clivia Schnegg, my sister-in-law, joined us in 2003 during our very first steps in Namibia. Since then she has supported us in numerous ways. My dear friends Ulrike Winkelmann and Freia Königer have been a constant source of enthusiasm and help over the years. I also sincerely acknowledge my brother, Ingmar Pauli, and my sister, Helena Pauli, for their sibling support and care. My mother, Margret Pauli, has always been a great inspiration to me. Her intellectual curiosity, sensibility and warmth have in so many ways helped me write this book. I am deeply thankful for her continuous support.

There are no words that could express how much I thank Michael Schnegg for all the years of sharing and caring. Without him, there would be no book. He has shaped my thinking, research, writing and living in innumerable ways. I am deeply thankful to him for all of this. Our daughter, Liliana, was one year old when we went on our Namibian journey. With her gentle and friendly character and her wonderfully bright mind she opened many Namibian hearts and homes for me. I am genuinely thankful for her wholehearted enthusiasm about growing up with two anthropologists busy doing fieldwork.

Finally, I dedicate this book to my father, Gerhard Pauli, who passed away on December 5, 2017. I am profoundly thankful for all his support and for reading everything I gave him with so much care and enthusiasm. He has been my earliest and probably my longest-lasting mentor, reader and friend.

CREDITS

A portion of the Introduction appeared in Julia Pauli, "African Marriages in Transformation: Anthropological Insights", in *Introduction to Gender Studies in Eastern and Southern Africa: A Reader*, edited by James Etim (Rotterdam: Sense, 2016), 95-114.

Portions of chapters "History through Biography" and "Postapartheid Livelihoods" draw on material published in Julia Pauli, "The Female Side of Male Patronage: Gendered Perspectives on Elite Formation Processes in Northwest Namibia". *Journal of Namibian Studies* 8 (2010): 28-47.

Portions of the chapters "Postapartheid Livelihoods" and "Forming Families" first appeared in Julia Pauli, "Demographic and Anthropological Perspectives on Marriage and Reproduction in Namibia", in *Towards Interdisciplinarity: Experiences of the Long-Term ACACIA Project*, edited by Wilhelm J.G. Möhlig, Olaf Bubenzer and Gunter Menz (Cologne: Heinrich-Barth-Institute, 2010), 205-234.

Portions of the chapter "Postapartheid Livelihoods" draw on Julia Pauli, "'Sharing Made Us Sisters': Sisterhood, Migration and Household Dynamics in Mexico and Namibia", in *The Anthropology of Sibling Relations*, edited by Erdmute Alber, Cati Coe and Tatjana Thelen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 29-50, reproduced with permission of Palgrave Macmillan; and Julia Pauli, "Pathways into the Middle: Rites of Passage and Emerging Middle Classes in Namibia", in *Middle Classes in Africa: Changing Lives and Conceptual Challenges*, edited by Lena Kroeker, David O'Kane and Tabea Scharrer (New York: Palgrave, 2018), 249-272, reproduced with permission of Palgrave Macmillan.

A portion of the chapter "Contemporary Fransfontein Marriages" draws on material published in Julia Pauli and Francois Dawids, "The Struggle for Marriage: Elite and Non-elite Weddings in Rural Namibian Community", *Anthropology Southern Africa* 40, 1 (2017): 15-28.

Portions of the chapter "From Decline to Distrinction" first appeared in Julia Pauli, "Celebrating Distinctions: Common and Conspicuous Weddings in Rural Namibia", *Ethnology* 50, 2 (2011): 153-167.

Portions of the chapter "Forming Families" draw on Julia Pauli, "The Key to Fertility: Generation, Reproduction and Elite Formation in a Namibian Community", in *Fertility, Conjuncture, Difference: Anthropological Approaches to the Heterogeneity*

of Modern Fertility Declines, edited by Philip Kreager and Astrid Bochow (Oxford: Berghahn, 2017), 43-71.

Portions of the chapter "Intimacy Outside Marriage" were first published in Julia Pauli, "Creating Illegitimacy: Negotiating Relations and Reproduction within Christian Contexts in Northwest Namibia", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 4 (2012): 408-432.

Introduction

ANNA'S WEDDING

Lifting her veil and smiling gratiously, 25-year-old Anna was leaving the Fransfontein Lutheran church. With badly concealed envy and grim faces, several young women stood outside the church and watched her. Anna's expensive silvery satin wedding dress, with beautiful embroidery and lace, blazed in the bright midday sun. Josef, now her husband, walked by her side, not as triumphantly as she looked and clearly exhausted, but with a content gaze. The wedding party slowly streamed out of the church and into the courtyard outside. Four couples of bridesmaids and groomsmen, all dressed in shades of glittering purple, followed the newlyweds. Behind them walked the bride's and groom's parents. The humble dress of the husband's mother stood in sharp contrast to the luxurious textiles worn by the wedding couple and their bridesmaids and groomsmen.

Anna's wedding in late April 2004 was the fifth wedding that my husband, Michael Schnegg, and I attended in Fransfontein, a rural community of 137 households located in the semiarid former Damaraland, today Kunene South, northwest Namibia, where we conducted field research from May 2003 to September 2004 and from July to September in both 2005 and 2006. As at the other weddings before, the moment when the newlyweds left the church and proceeded into the courtyard was filled with relief, joy and triumph. They had made it! Anna's wedding pictures, my field notes and my memories of the day once again revive the exhausted happiness that reflected in the newlyweds' faces. A few months later, Anna agreed to a life story interview.

During the interview we talked about Anna's wedding day and what happened after she left church as a married woman. As is common in Fransfontein, the newlyweds proceeded to the Fransfontein fountain to take wedding pictures. Water is not only the most important resource in arid Namibia. It is also loaded with symbolic meaning and value (Hoernlé 1923). On their way to the fountain, Anna and her husband Josef passed several groups of spectators who commented on the wedding.

Anna described the scene in the following way: "While we were passing, I heard one of my mother's sister's daughters tell another girl watching: 'Oh, Anna, she is so young, and she wants to marry! She is too young! I can't see why she should marry. I am not married.'" Like the unfriendly gazes of the women watching Anna and Josef leaving the church after their wedding ceremony, the envy of Anna's mother's sister's daughter was hardly hidden. The likelihood that she might ever marry herself was small.

Today, only about 30 per cent of the Fransfontein population 15 years and older is or has been married. Yet, of those 60 years and older, the overwhelming majority (more than 70 per cent) was married. It is only with the men and women who were born in the mid-20th century that marriage rates started to decline, resulting in less than 20 per cent of men and women in the age bracket of 20 to 50 ever having married. One explanation for this change might be a steep rise in the age at marriage. We saw above that Anna's mother's sister's daughter, who is several years older then Anna, was convinced that Anna was too young to deserve marriage. Yet an elevated average age at marriage is only a partial explanation and, by itself, is of rather limited explanatory power.

Demographic variations like a later average age at marriage have to be understood as expressions of more profound underlying societal changes (Antoine 2006). Transformations in Namibian marriage practices have been framed and structured by dramatic political economic changes in the 20th century, roughly ranging from the creation of reserves by German colonialists early in the century, over the establishment of homelands during apartheid and the South African annexation of Namibia, to the celebration of independence and freedom from colonial rule since the 1990s. During this time frame, marriage has changed from an almost universal practice and collectively experienced rite of passage, creating social cohesion and community, to a celebration of difference and distinction by a small elite. Importantly, the appropriation of weddings for class distinctions commenced long before the end of apartheid and colonial rule. Since approximately the late 1960s and during the 1970s, marriage rates in Fransfontein started to decline while wedding practices became increasingly elaborate and expensive. Substantial political changes at that time, especially the establishment of homelands, resulted in an array of new constraints and burdens for the great majority of the population while the agency of a small minority was significantly enhanced and extended. This minority rather rapidly consolidated and formed a local elite.

It is this book's central aim to describe and explain these multiple transformations and their interplay (i.e. changes in marriage rates but also political, material and ideational transformations) and to reflect on their consequences for the already large but nevertheless still growing group of non-married (and probably never-to-be-married) Fransfonteiners. The book's theoretical and methodological frame draws on practice

theory and recent reflections on the dialectics between structure and agency with Pierre Bourdieu's theorizing on the reproduction of inequalities through mechanisms of distinctions (Bourdieu 1984 [1979]).

Building on the work of practice theorists, I define agency – thus an actor's capacity to reinterpret and transform relations to some degree – not as opposed to structure but as a constituent of structure (Bourdieu 1977; Johnson-Hanks 2006, 2007b; Ortner 1984, 2006; Sewell 1992, 2005). Structure – very loosely defined as the reproduction of patterns of relations including both ideational and material dimensions (Sewell 1992, 2005) – is thus to a certain degree always contested. Because structure both empowers and constraints agency, this dialectic dynamic continually questions the reproduction of structure and can modify structure and agency. Consequently, a focus on social practices is key for an understanding of structure and agency as well as their transformations.

Approaches informed by practice theory focus on the asymmetrical relationships of power (Ortner 1984: 12; Wardlow 2006: 5). Sewell (2005: 145) stresses that "structures, in short, empower agents differently, which also implies that they embody the desires, intentions, and knowledge of agents differently as well. Structures, and the human agencies they endow, are laden with differences of power". To understand the interplay between the changes in wedding practices and marriage rates on the one hand and, on the other hand, the establishment of apartheid's homelands and the emergence of localized elites, a closer look at the varying degrees of empowerment for different actors and groups of actors within specific structures and time periods seems to be especially important. By combining participant observation (which elicits information on how actors maintain, transform and reinterpret relations within structures) with life narratives (providing insight into women's and men's motivations, perceptions and legitimizations of their actions and life events), I grasp central facets of actors' agencies. I also reflect on how life narratives are not "objective" sources on the course of people's lives but are always framed by processes of memory and the current lifeworlds of the narrator.

Structures that frame the agencies elicited in such a way are multidimensional, that is historical, economic, political, social, normative, demographic and ritual. The attempt to pay attention to multiple structures and their entanglements has been inspired by Bourdieu's (2008) analysis of French bachelors in rural Béarn and their difficulties of marrying. I try to capture the historic dimensions (and the differences of power within these) through the elicitation of the political economic history of the region and of how these macrostructures are reflected at the level of the household and the individual as, for example, in terms of the distribution of wealth and education. I also consider normative and social structures, especially in terms of gender, reproduction, family and kinship. Further, and in this I follow Emile Durkheim (1930) and Jennifer Johnson-Hanks (2007a), demographic rates like marriage rates are also

considered as structures "evoking certain forms of action from individuals without individuals necessarily being aware of the rates or explicitly orienting their action toward them" (ibid: 3). However, similar to all other structures mentioned above, the reproduction of demographic structures is again dialectically interwoven with agency, thus demographic structures both shape and are shaped by individual agency. Consequently, my differentiation between the information I explicitly elicited on agency and the data I gathered on structure is somewhat artificial.

Lastly, I carefully analyze ritual structures. Wedding practices have changed tremendously in Fransfontein over the past 40 years.[1] Until the late 1960s, wedding and engagement practices had a relatively simple and inexpensive structure. From the 1970s onwards, these ritual structures have been successively appropriated by emerging elites and thoroughly transformed in the process. Today, engagements and weddings have become the most important social sites to publicly demonstrate class distinction. Weddings are now indicators of social class and stratification.

SOCIAL CLASS AND CLASS DISTINCTIONS

Bourdieu (1984 [1979]) has thoroughly analyzed the mechanisms of distinction used to sustain the reproduction of ruling classes, especially in his "ethnography of France", a book on "distinctions" based on expressions of "taste" in France. Bourdieu distinguishes social position based on both cultural and economic capital and expressed through different types of occupation from what he terms lifestyles. On a more abstract level, Bourdieu further differentiates three large social classes (encompassing social positions) which he dynamically constructs using a range of information, especially occupation, but also other data such as place of residence: the ruling or upper class, the middle class and the popular class. Social positions and lifestyles are densely intertwined but not equal, allowing for change and variations. The varying lifestyles are accumulations of different dimensions of tastes, such as tastes for music, sports or furniture. Through their tastes, social classes produce and

1 In popular discourse, people in Fransfontein often distinguished a wedding from a marriage: while they used the word "wedding" to describe the ritual practices that publicly turn two individuals into a married couple, they used "marriage" to denote a state of being. In anthropological discourse, such a distinction is often not undertaken, demonstrated by the two influential anthropological encyclopedias by Seymour-Smith (1986) and Barnard and Spencer (1996): while both have entries for "marriage", "marriage payments", "marriage classes" and "marriage rules", they have none for "wedding". In this book I use both terms, with the term "wedding" used more specifically for the ritual practices of becoming married and "marriage" more generally for both practices, processes and the state of being.

legitimize distinctions. Bourdieu's (1984 [1979], 1990) concept of the habitus is central for the understanding of these processes.

The habitus of a person connects a person's social position to the person's lifestyle. According to Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant (1992: 136), the habitus is the internalization of a specific type of economic and social condition. As such, the habitus is a socially constructed system of structured and structuring dispositions acquired through social practices. Based on his research in France, Bourdieu (1984 [1979]) states that all classes have a characteristic habitus. While the habitus of the ruling class is characterized by distinction and the construction of legitimate taste, the middle class hopes to strive ahead through education and appropriation of the ruling class' tastes, while the popular class constructs a popular taste. Taste can thus be grouped into three categories, each linked to social position and class: legitimate taste, middle tastes and popular tastes. Importantly, legitimate taste legitimizes power, as Bourdieu (1984 [1979]) is able to show with an impressive amount of statistical data. Thus the knowledge of a certain lifestyle (e.g. specific pieces of music, fashion or art) publicly legitimizes and reproduces social and economic inequalities. However, only if the different dimensions of legitimate taste remain exclusive do they serve as markers of distinction. As soon as cheap copies are available to the mass population, the marker of distinction looses its potential to create distinction. It changes from a sign of sophisticated taste into a mass product. These processes of taste appropriation create a paradox situation for the upper class: on the one hand, their taste legitimizes their position or power yet, on the other, their taste is under constant threat of appropriation by (mainly) the middle classes. Consequently, legitimate taste has to appear stable and justified while continuously creating new markers of distinction.

Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) treatment of French reproduction and legitimization of class distinctions has to be viewed and also criticised against the background of his wider theoretical approach (see Calhoun et al. 1993). Three concepts are especially important for Bourdieu's general theorizing: the previously mentioned habitus, conceptions of capital, and field (Calhoun 1993; Postone et al. 1993). All three are interlinked. Capital, thus different forms of accumulable social-symbolic resources, and habitus, namely embodied social structures, lead to positions within specific social fields: "The position of a particular agent is the result of an interplay between that person's habitus and his or her place in a field of positions as defined by the distribution of the appropriate form of capital". (Postone et al. 1993: 5) Fields are semi-autonomous, with agents and their own accumulation of history, forms of capital and logic of actions. Their autonomy is restricted insofar as capital can be transferred between fields. Fields are hierarchically ordered on three levels (LiPuma 1993: 16). The first and most specific level comprises the distinctive fields. On a second level, these fields are located within a "field of power" defined by class dynamics. Finally, classes are located within these general fields of class relations. Edward LiPuma

(1993: 16) summarizes Bourdieu's conceptualization in the following way: "This view of social structure tries to link class and status, relate both to action and practice through the habitus, and provide an account of the reproduction of hierarchy".

Bourdieu's conception of habitus, field and class has been criticised, for example, by LiPuma (1993) and Michèle Lamont (1992). Lamont points out that Bourdieu's theory of fields and classes assumes rather closed and homogeneous structures. However, as her research on French and US-American upper middle class men shows, the markers of distinction and the relative positions of her respondents are defined by open, changing, and interpenetrating semiotic and social fields and not by stable and closed ones (Lamont 1992: 183). Instead of presupposing fields and classes, Lamont calls for empirical research that analyzes how boundaries are established and vary across groups (not only classes), who is excluded by these boundaries and how they affect inequality. Lamont (1992: 188) further criticises Bourdieu's habitus concept as focusing too exclusively on proximate structural conditions and not reflecting enough on the fact that "people do not always perceive the world only through their own experiences and that they often borrow cultural models that are decoupled from their own lives". Thus, according to Lamont, processes of change and dynamic of the habitus remain unclear (see also Lash 1993).

Like Lamont, LiPuma (1993) questions the pre-existence and the boundaries of Bourdieu's fields and classes. He interrogates the existence of distinct classes as a necessity for Bourdieu's thinking (since they are what is being reproduced and legitimized): instead of taking classes and fields for granted, one has to scrutinize the specific cultural formations that produce these categories in the first place. While for Bourdieu the cultural formations and categories of distinctions are in the end arbitrary – it is not the categories themselves that interest Bourdieu but their use as markers of distinction – LiPuma explicitly calls for a cultural analysis of these cateogries.[2] Similar to Lamont (1992: 180) and Sewell (1992), LiPuma stresses that resources and classes are only meaningful within their cultural context. Critique thus concentrates on Bourdieu's too homogeneous, fixed and stable notion of class, the little attention he has paid to processes of change of habitus, and his lack of attention for the cultural formation of categories such as field and class.

How then can Bourdieu's theoretical insights and the critique of his thinking be fruitfully applied to the Namibian lifeworlds analyzed here? First of all, one might argue that Bourdieu's theoretical approach in *Distinctions* (1984 [1979]) is not suited for this ethnographic context and that his reflection on precapitalist societies as outlined in his work on Algeria provides a more appropriate theoretical frame (Bourdieu 1977). Bourdieu theorizes that in precapitalist societies, elites directly and constantly re-create

2 If this is not done, then it would remain unclear "what sorts of categories should be taken as historically specific and which as trans-historical" (Calhoun 1993: 82).

relations of dominance while in capitalist societies (such as the French one) elites depend on institutional orders to express and reproduce their interests. However, George Marcus (1983: 46) has observed that "most anthropological studies of elites […] are mixtures of both modes of domination discussed by Bourdieu". Thus, just like most ethnographic cases discussed by Marcus (ibid: 47), in Fransfontein there are both "powerful families and powerful institutions". In many instances powerful families and powerful institutions, such as the bureaucratic structures of apartheid's homelands, are indeed interwined. This already indicates a high level of heterogeneity and fluidity regarding the production and reproduction of distinction and class in Fransfontein.

I follow Bourdieu's critics insofar as the concept of rather closed class boundaries and the notion of a stable and durable habitus are not well suited to the dynamics of Fransfontein's class formation processes. Bourdieu analyzes a society, France, that is marked by very pronounced and long-term class differences.[3] The Namibian postcolonial situation is more fluid and heterogeneous, with classes and habitus in the making. Nevertheless, despite this justified critique of Bourdieu's construction of groups and habitus, I want to show that Bourdieu's dynamics of distinction – the continuous demand for new markers of distinction elites produce in order to legitimize their positions – are at the heart of the class formation process in Fransfontein. Here I also take inspiration from Abner Cohen's (1981) seminal work on Creole public servants and professionals in Sierra Leone. Cohen unravels how through their cults, practices and symbols, including wedding rituals, Creole elites justify and legitimize their privileged class position. In Fransfontein, elites and their markers of distinction have recently emerged, albeit out of older cultural forms and practices that render a cultural analysis of these previous formations necessary. Wedding celebrations are one of the central arenas to express these distinctions and to introduce new markers of distinction. Following LiPuma and Lamont, I analyze the cultural production of marriage into a valuable resource and, following Bourdieu, how this culturally transformed resource is being used and reproduced to manifest class distinction. This does not imply that marriage has been of no value before the emergence of these elitist dynamics of distinctions. Bridewealth is a characteristic element of many "African" marriages. However, the scale of expenditure and the forms of ritual expressions have thoroughly changed, mainly serving the desire for distinction of the new elites (Pauli/ van Dijk 2016).

So far, I have used the concept of "elite" to describe the group of people in positions of power, wealth and influence. In some recent work, however, the concept "emerging African middle class" has partly replaced this older terminology. I examine this in the next section.

3 However, LiPuma (1993: 23) stresses that this homogeneity is probably a partial artifact. Internal divisions of social structure and class along racial and ethnic lines are not considered and Jews, Algerians and Moroccans do not appear in *Distinctions*.

From elites to emerging middle classes

In her in-depth treatment of the use of the concepts of elite and (middle) class in Africa, Carola Lentz (2016: 25) observes: "Since the 2000s, interest in the middle classes, once heralded as the main forces behind industrialization, urbanization and bureaucratization but then somewhat neglected by social scientists (albeit not by historians), has experienced a renaissance, this time on a global scale". Up to then, African elites and working classes had been at the center of research interests, to be interrupted by a period of little class analysis in the late 1980s and during the 1990s (Spronk 2014). Lentz (2016: 24) emphazises that a lot of the research now running under the lable "emerging middle classes" has strong thematic overlaps with older studies of African elites. Education, modernity and progressiveness are central to both terminological approaches. But unlike middle classes, elites have more often been seen in moralizing terms, condemning them as corrupt and exploitative (Behrends/Pauli 2012). This might also help to explain why many recent studies prefer the seemingly more "neutral" term "emerging middle classes". Since the 2000s, several edited volumes and monographs have revived the study of class through the lens of the middle class, both on a global scale (Heiman et al. 2012a; López/Weinstein 2012) and in the African context (Kroeker et al. 2018; Melber 2016; Southall 2016).

Not surprisingly, almost all of this research builds on Pierre Bourdieu's (1984 [1979]) analysis of distinction. Consumption and lifestyle are central practices through which the new or emerging African middle classes are being scrutinized. But unlike Cohen's (1981) political analysis of an African elite through its conspicuous consumption (see also Veblen 1994 [1899]) and elitist celebrations, a thorough ethnographic analysis of the symbolism and practices of the nature of the African middle class is still outstanding.[4] Here, I use consumption, habitus and lifestyle as central modes by which to understand class formation. I clearly share this approach with recent African middle class studies. But I will not use the term "middle class" to describe and analyze the group of people who came into office and power in Fransfontein since the 1970s and who have changed marriage practices so thoroughly. Instead, I classify them as "elite". I have two reasons for this decision.

My first reason concerns regional research traditions. In Namibia, recent ethnographic and historic work on class formation uses the concept of elites (see Tötemeyer 1978 for an older work that retains its importance). Gregor Dobler (2014) meticulously describes elite traders in colonial Ovamboland. Mattia Fumanti (2016) analyzes different generations of elites in the northern Namibian town of Rundu. And

4 Rachel Spronk's (2012) work on young professionals in urban Nairobi certainly goes in this direction. Yet her focus is not on the analysis of (middle) class but of gender and sexuality.

in neighboring Botswana, Richard Werbner (2004) has fruitfully used the concept of the elite to study the upper strata of Kalanga society.

My second reason is more complex. Namibian class formation and the resulting social classes have to be historically situated. They have to be understood against the background of the country's complex colonial and postcolonial history. During its liberation struggle against apartheid, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) followed a socialist ideology. After Namibian independence in 1990, SWAPO's ideology became increasingly neoliberal and market friendly (Melber 2014). The extent of the subsequent spread of an emergent "black" Namibian middle class is contested. According to a recent study by the African Development Bank, which defines the middle class as those living on USD4-20 a day, only 9 per cent of the Namibian population falls into this category (*The Namibian*, May 11, 2015). Thus, some observers perceive SWAPO's turn towards capitalism, neoliberal politics and nepotism through affirmative action programs as a central reason for the persistence of dramatic economic inequalities (Dobler 2012; Melber 2011).

During apartheid, the vast majority of the Namibian "black" population was excluded from any form of wealth accumulation. After Namibia's full administrative "integration" into the Republic of South Africa in the late 1950s, the country was administered as a *de facto* fifth province by South Africa, with apartheid structures (Wallace 2011: 261-271). A boundary was drawn between "whites" and "blacks", with "blacks" excluded from almost all access to power and privilege. One of the apartheid "homelands" created in the wake of this move was "Damaraland", which included the Fransfontein region. The establishment of "ethnic" homelands also initiated processes of internal stratification. For a happy few, the establishment of infrastructure and bureaucracy within the homelands meant new and long-lasting possibilities of enhancing one's living conditions (Rohde 1997; Tötemeyer 1978). A local, "modern" elite of "style-setters" (Plotnicov 1970: 293), such as administrators, businessmen, politicians and teachers, emerged in Damaraland and the other homelands (Dobler 2014; Tötemeyer 1978). This was a small, regional elite, which enjoyed its status only within an artificial, local context; it was not a national middle class. During the apartheid period, national elite and middle class positions were occupied by the "white" minority.

Following Chris Shore and Stephen Nugent (2002: 2), I define elite as a "privileged minority" occupying the most influential positions and roles in the governing institutions of a community. Such a definition is always context dependent (Fumanti 2004): the local elites of the apartheid era were clearly a privileged minority, and only existed "on top" of their respective local strata and the respective homelands. Recently, Carola Lentz (2016: 24, 40) has suggested a more restricted definition of elites as "persons or small groups with leadership roles". To a large extent this definition also applies to the apartheid-period homeland elites. Many of them were indeed

in leadership positions within the homeland. With the end of apartheid in 1990, these local homeland elites became part of a newly emergent national, "black" urban middle class. Affirmative action programs aimed at promoting the previously disadvantaged "black" population fostered the growth of this class, as did new investments in the mining, fishing, construction and telecommunication industries.

Much anthropological work on middle classes is reluctant to define the concept of the middle class (Brosius 2010; Heiman et al. 2012b; Scharrer et al. 2017). Nevertheless, some conceptual overlaps between the various understandings can be detected. Thus, people belonging to the middle classes have acquired a certain level of social and economic security, albeit one that is heavily context and culture/lifestyle dependent. Importantly, people who see themselves as belonging to the middle class perceive difference between themselves and those above and below them (Lentz 2016: 41). These perceptions of boundaries and distinctions are both symbolic and social (Lamont and Molnár 2002).

After apartheid and with independence, the political-economic landscape of Namibia has become more diverse and fluid. An urban, "black" middle class has emerged in the national capital of Windhoek and in other urban areas (Melber 2014). This new middle class is still strongly linked to the rural areas. It largely consists of successful migrants from rural areas like Fransfontein "commuting" between urban middle class and local elite livelihoods (Pauli 2018). Although I will mention this group of migrants, my focus here is not on them but on the local elites living in Fransfontein. By and large this group has continued to be "on top" of the local social strata, often but not always in leadership positions, since the apartheid period. Given this continuity, it thus seems to be appropriate to classify them as a local elite and not as an upper or an emerging middle class.

This terminological decision should not, however, conceal that the Fransfontein elite is heterogeneous. The differences in wealth and lifestyle of the families of the wedding couple mentioned above show this. While Anna and Josef earn a stable income and both of Anna's parents are also permanently employed, Josef's unmarried mother never had the luck of enjoying a secure income. Her dress was much humbler than the expensive garments worn by the wedding couple and their bridesmaids and groomsmen. Class distinctions thus divide families. But the wedding also shows that the Fransfontein local elite is still densely connected to the non-elite, especially through such kinship ties. Lentz has repeatedly emphazised this heterogeneity in processes of African class formation (Behrends/Lentz 2012; Lentz 1994: 45, 2016).

THEORIZING AFRICAN MARRIAGES

The multiple entanglements of marriage with class formation processes make it an especially apt topic to study colonial and postcolonial lifeworlds. It is thus surprising that from the mid-1980s onwards hardly any research on marriage and weddings has been conducted in Southern Africa. This paucity stands in remarkable contrast to the centrality of the institution until the 1980s, documented in several influential volumes (Comaroff 1980b; Krige/Comaroff 1981; Kuper 1982; Mair 1969). Rijk van Dijk and I (Pauli/van Dijk 2016) have argued that the paucity of anthropological studies of marriage in the 1980s and 1990s is very likely an outcome of David Schneider's 1984 critique of structural-functionalist approaches to kinship and marriage. Since the late 1990s, a revival under the lable "New Kinship Studies" has taken place (Carsten 2004; Sahlins 2013). This has introduced novel concepts such as relatedness (Carsten 2000) to emphazise the dynamic character of kin ties. Yet so far, marriage has hardly been studied within this new research agenda to kinship.

In Southern Africa, marriage has recently re-emerged as a central topic in anthropological research. Since the beginning of the new millennium, a number of studies have focused on marriage and kinship. Van Dijk (2010, 2012a, 2012b, 2017) has studied the institution in depth in Botswana, Danai Mupotsa (2014), Hylton White (2016) and Jaco Smit (2017) have analyzed marriage in South Africa, and I have examined marriage and weddings in Namibia (Pauli 2011, 2017a, 2018; Pauli/ Dawids 2017). Some authors have discussed the meaning of marriage in situations where it is largely absent (Hunter 2010, 2016; James 2017; Schaumburg 2013). Aninka Claassens and Dee Smythe (2013) edited a volume on the decline of marriage and land issues in South Africa, including work on bridewealth and marriage rates by Stephanie Rudwick and Dorrit Posel (see also Posel/Rudwick 2014; Posel/Rudwick/Casale 2011; Rudwick/Posel 2015) and on the problem of defining marriage by Victoria Hosegood (see also Hosegood/McGrath/Moultire 2009). Several of the authors of a special issue on marriage in *Anthropology Southern Africa*, which van Dijk and I edited (Pauli/van Dijk 2016), have done research on marriage and kinship for decades. This allowed the special issue to take a long-term perspective on the continuities and changes of the institution (Kuper 1982, 2016; Niehaus 1994, 2017; Solway 1990, 2016).

This book builds on this research and discusses the transformations in marriage through the lens of several broad anthropological perspectives that I label as "metanarratives".[5] I use the term to stress the rather high degree of coherence within these

5 This brief overview of some of the main arguments of anthropological thinking about African marriage in the 20th century is, of course, not at all comprehensive. The sketch aims to show how selected anthropologists have theorized African marriage, that is what models

interpretative frameworks. Similarly, James Ferguson (1999: 14-17) applies the concept of a "metanarrative" to analyze the way anthropologists, among others, have perceived and constructed "modernity" and "urbanization" in the Zambian Copperbelt. I start with British social anthropology and a metanarrative that centres on the *leitmotif* of the stable African marriage, examined in the next section.[6] This metanarrative is only one among at least four metanarratives to describe change and continuity in African marriages (Pauli 2016), the following three discussed in the subsequent sections. The second metanarrative is that of the destruction of "the" African marriage and family system and the third (and most unspecific) one is that of change of African marriage and family systems.[7] Finally, the fourth and most recent metanarrative used to interpret transformations in African marriages highlights fluidity and plurality of African marriages. I then discuss the possible emergence of a new, fifth metanarrative that aims at understanding the dramatic increase in wedding costs and the parallel decline in marriage rates, especially in Southern Africa.

Stability of African marriages

African marriage has played a pivotal role for the development of anthropological theory and thought. British social anthropology viewed African systems of kinship and marriage as the central ordering principles of pre-colonial society that lacked a centralized political power: it viewed the political, economic, religious, social and legal as being channeled and structured through kinship and marriage. Indeed, Alfred Radcliffe-Brown (1987 [1950]: 1) commenced his famous introduction to African systems of kinship and marriage by stressing how essential kinship and marriage are to all aspects of African life: "For the understanding of any aspect of the social life of an African people – economic, political, or religious – it is essential to have a

and narratives they have constructed to understand, interpret and explain the institution and its transformations.

6 This does not mean that divorce is not mentioned in the contributions; quite the opposite (e.g. Fortes 1949: 84-87). However, the metanarrative of the stability of African marriage focuses on the societal level and does not necessarily mean durability of individual marriages.

7 My classification of the literature into these four "metanarratives" is only one possibility of ordering the thinking and findings on African marriage. One might also differentiate between studies following British descent theory and those based on French alliance theory (Parkin/Nyamwaya 1987a). However, for the development of my argument (understanding the decline in marriage rates), a closer look at alliance theory would not add any new thoughts beyond the British school as both alliance and descent theory treat marriage as a stable universal (Borneman 1996).

thorough knowledge of their system of kinship and marriage". Thus at least in British social anthropology of the first half of the 20th century, studying kinship and marriage was the thing to do. Several now-classic studies of kinship and marriage stem from this period (for Africa, see especially Evans-Pritchard 1951; Fortes 1949).

The 1950 collection entitled *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, edited by Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde (1987 [1950]), presents a good overview of the general approach of British social anthropology to the study of kinship and marriage at that time. After Radcliffe-Brown's introduction, in which he defines terms, classifications and structures for a study of kinship and marriage, nine anthropologists present their ethnographic findings. The contributions, as for example by Hilda Kuper on the Swazi of Southern Africa or Meyer Fortes on the West African Ashanti, are all written in present tense. Social features, to borrow Radcliffe-Brown's term (1987 [1950]: 3), like divorce or levirate, are discussed in relation to their function(s) within social systems. The central aim of the collection is thus to understand "a system as it exists at a certain time, abstracting as far as possible from any change that it may be undergoing" (ibid). Radcliffe-Brown and all other contributors to the volume of course clearly realized the dramatic influences and changes African systems of kinship and marriage were undergoing. Yet despite or perhaps even because of these changes, they perceived an urgent need to thoroughly describe the "pure" or "abstract" (i.e. pre-colonial) kinship and marriage systems and their functioning before they would vanish: "To understand a process of change we must make a diachronic study. But to do this we must first learn all that we possibly can about how the system functioned before the changes that we are investigating occurred". (ibid)

For the British structural-functionalists, marriage was a stable, timeless and recursive institution, as Borneman (1996: 220) has so convincingly shown. Although marriage does imply movement (mainly of women) and reification of social structure, from the level of abstraction "marriage itself remains bounded and stable as it functions to reproduce timeless structures" (Borneman 1996: 220). How then is structure reproduced through African marriage? First, marriage is described as universal. Everybody will marry sooner or later in his or her life and thus be an integral part of the reproduction and rearrangement of social structure (Barnes 1952: vii; Fortes 1949: 81; Radcliffe-Brown 1987 [1950]: 43). The universality of marriage is vividly described by Fortes (1949) in his *Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*. To stay single is described as something that only the most deviant members of society would attempt:

> There is something wrong, by native standard, with men and women who never marry; and they are few. In the whole of Tongo I knew only knew five men who had never been married and who would, according to common belief, never marry. One was obviously mentally defective; another was an invert; two were said to be so ugly that no woman would accept them, but both were definitely unbalanced and eccentric; and the last was a gentle old man who, it was

said, had never had the enterprise to find a wife. I heard of no women who had never married. Deformities which do not wholly incapacitate a person or arouse repulsion are not a bar to marriage. The blind, the deaf, and the lame find spouses if they are otherwise able-bodied and presentable. (Fortes 1949: 81-82)

Fortes' ethnographic description leaves no doubt about the universal character of marriage.[8] However, what counts as marriage is a rather large and flexible category for the Tallensi. Fortes shows that many first unions dissolve after some time. To capture the flexible character of these marriages, he classifies them as "experimental marriages" (Fortes 1949: 84). This leads to the second important feature of African marriage described by many British social anthropologists, namely the procedural character of marriage: "To understand African marriage we must think of it not as an event or a condition but as a developing process". (Radcliffe-Brown 1987 [1950]: 49) Marriage develops through different stages involving successive prestations (in general bridewealth in the form of cattle, payments, gifts, services) exchanged between the groom's and the bride's kin groups. Thus, marriage processes have a certain degree of flexibility and can even be reversed and dissolved. However, there is an endpoint to this process (in general after the negotiated bridewealth has been given) when a couple is considered as married.

Finally, marriage is defined in mainly legal terms. African marriage "legitimizes" children and publicly manifests fatherhood (Fortes 1949: 82). Through marriage, the husband and his kin gain "certain rights in relation to his wife and the children she bears" (Radcliffe-Brown 1987 [1950]: 50). Summing up, Radcliffe-Brown (ibid: 51) stresses that African marriage always involves two "bodies of kin", that is two kin groups that reproduce and rearrange social structure through marriage. The stability of marriage as an institution (being universal and sooner or later involving all segments of society through kin groups) thus is essential for the general reproduction of society. Given the dominance of social equilibrium and stability in the British school's theorizing of African marriage, it is not surprising that the second prominent metanarrative of African marriage captures the opposite side of stability, namely destruction and decay, the focus of the next section.

8 Fortes' generalization focuses on the Tallensi. However, the same argument is made by Radcliffe-Brown (1987 [1950]: 43) for African marriage in general, Henri Junod (1962: 182) for the Tsonga of South Africa and John Barnes (1952: vii) for the Ngoni of Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia): "Adults are assumed to be married, and the assumption is justified. Marriage is seen by the Ngoni as part of the natural order. Unmarried adults cannot fill important roles and are regarded as overgrown children whose anomalous condition must be explained by reference to malady or a physical or moral defect". Barnes (ibid) concludes that both "traditional" *and* "modern" marriage among the Ngoni is of "universal and permanent character".

Destruction of African marriages

Following Radcliffe-Brown's and Forde's central aim to describe African systems of kinship and marriage as they exist at a certain time and "abstracting as far as possible from any change" (Radcliffe-Brown 1987 [1950]: 3), Radcliffe-Brown limits his reflections on change to a few lines in his introduction to the volume:

> African societies are undergoing revolutionary changes, as the result of European administrations, missions, and economic factors. In the past the stability of social order in African societies has depended much more on the kinship system than on anything else. In the new conditions kinship systems cannot remain unaffected. The first changes are inevitably destructive of the existing system of obligations. (ibid: 84-85)

Because kinship and marriage are so central for the organization of African society, any change in kinship and marriage is perceived to be more or less "destructive" for the whole society. Mark Hunter (2007: 654) has termed these constructions of change "teleological narratives of 'family breakdown' in Africa". He stresses that, albeit their ethnographic richness, a number of South African ethnographic studies since the 1930s (e.g. Krige 1936; Longmore 1959) have fueled the perception that "African families were in slow but steady decline" (Hunter 2005: 396; see also 2007: 694).

Harriet Ngubane's (1987) research on Zulu and Swazi marriage and kinship is an example of both the ethnographic richness attributed by Hunter to these South African ethnographic studies and the construction of a metanarrative of destruction of the African family. Many researchers have analyzed the centrality of bridewealth and cattle for Southern African marriage and kinship systems (for excellent discussions, see Comaroff 1980a; Kuper 1982). Marriage payments among the Nguni (to which both Zulu and Swazi belong) are expressed by the term *lobolo* (Ngubane 1987: 173). Ngubane shows in great detail how a complex web of economic and social rights and duties is built and maintained through the exchange of cattle between the bride's and groom's kin groups. She argues that this form of social organization is of special importance to women because it reduces their social and economic vulnerabilities. However, on a more general level, and very much in line with Radcliffe-Brown's and the British school's perception of the centrality of kinship for societal organization, Ngubane stresses the fundamental importance of kinship for the general social, economic and political organization (ibid: 177). Consequently, if kinship and marriage are so central for the general societal organization, any change to it has to be perceived as catastrophic. Ngubane puts forward the position that marriage as an institution was substantially weakened by the monetization of *lobolo*, that is the substitution of cattle for cash in bridewealth prestations. This, she noted, had severe effects for both the kinship structure and society in general: "To undermine the structure of

a kinship-based society, which by definition is one in which rights and obligations derive primarily from bonds of agnation and consanguinity, as in the institution of *lobolo*, is to undermine the whole social fabric". (ibid: 180) Her language very tellingly expresses the metanarrative of destruction: she writes of "social disorganization"; that the consequences of change are "devastating"; and that women are "victims" and families "suffer" (ibid: 180-181). Main triggers behind these changes are processes associated with "cultural contact" (Hunter 2007: 694) and colonization, thus processes of monetization and commercialization, urbanization, Christianization, apartheid, migration and industrialization. However, Hunter (2004, 2005, 2007, 2009a) and other researchers (see, for example, Moore and Vaughan 1994) have questioned the myth of the destruction of African families and marriage as misleading and insufficient to appropriately understand the complex social dynamics observable in kin, family and marriage transformations. The next section focuses on the third metanarrative, that of change, which to some extent responds to Hunter's and Moore and Vaughan's concerns.

Change of African marriages

The metanarrative of change is much more difficult to summarize than the two other metanarratives. Nevertheless, a closer look at anthropological work focusing on change in African marriage reveals that the conception of change is but a variation of the destruction metanarrative. Similar to the latter, research on change sets up how things were before the change, in general labeled as "traditional", such as traditional marriage, traditional society or traditional social organization, and contrasts these with the changed phenomena, often labeled as "modern", such as modern marriage or modern families. There are numerous examples for this kind of conceptualization of the dynamics of African marriage (Barnes 1952; Bledsoe 1980; some articles in Krige/Comaroff 1981; and also some articles in Parkin/Nyamwaya 1987b; Pauw 1963; Schapera 1939). Some topics are especially prominent in this literature, namely the decline of polygyny and the rise of monogamy; the monetization of bridewealth and the commercialization of gender relations; an increase in the number of children born out-of-wedlock; and an expansion (or loss) of female autonomy and changes in household structures, especially an increase in female-headed households.

What distinguishes the change metanarrative from the preceding two, however, is a lesser degree of generalization and a higher degree of internal variation. While the metanarratives of stability and destruction picture large social entities as rather homogeneous, the change perspective allows for variation and internal differentiation. But often these variations are only seen to apply as a consequence of change, while the period before the change is assumed to be relatively homogeneous. Isaac Schapera's (1939) work in *Married Life in an African Tribe* on Kgatla families in the

former Bechuanaland Protectorate (today Botswana) provides an example. He summarizes the dynamics of change in marriage and family life as follows:

> It will have been gathered already that there has been no uniformity of change, and that the family is today not nearly as homogeneous as before. Some of its traditional features have disappeared completely, or else have become much common. Others persist strongly, or perhaps have been modified only slightly. (ibid: 333)

The tendency to imagine a past, that is to project contemporary ideas on past situations, has been thoroughly analyzed by historically-oriented research, most prominent in the work on the "invention of tradition" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2003 [1983]). Equally, Jane Guyer (1994) has cautioned researchers of African marriage and family against the perception that present configurations always represent sharp transformations of the past. Much more, they may be seen as "continuities with shifting emphasis" (ibid: 249).

Nevertheless, despite these sometimes problematic constructions of past marriage, family and kin constellations that can be found in some of the works cited above, the attempt to understand internal variations clearly extends the limited perspectives of the stability and destruction metanarratives. Caroline Bledsoe's (1980) research on marriage in Kpelle society, Liberia, is a good example for this opening up of perspectives and complexity. Bledsoe compares the options available to and strategies applied by Kpelle women (and to a lesser degree Kpelle men) within what she classifies as "more traditional" and "more modern" arenas. Underlying her analysis is the "wealth-in-people" system which binds people to superiors in ties of marriage, clientship and filial obligation. She argues that the "wealth-in-people" system continues to be of central importance for the understanding of Kpelle marriage and other social relations (ibid: Ch 3). However, because of political economic transformations, especially the emergence of a cash economy and the creation of new income opportunities through wage labor, marketing and cash cropping, the "wealth-in-people" model is being transformed – but not destroyed. Bledsoe's approach thus clearly fulfils Jane Guyer's call to study "continuities with shifting emphasis". Further, Bledsoe's detailed analysis of the varying effects that structural (especially economic) transformations have on the agency of different actors and groups of actors is also visionary for her time. Without using any of the terminology of practice theory,[9] her combination of structural analysis with the actions and perceptions of individual actors and groups of actors is an early example of this theoretical and methodological perspective. Bledsoe shows the ambiguous consequences of the monetization process: while new opportunities may open for some women (based on combinations of generation, location and class), as for example the choice to stay single, other

9 Major works of practice theory, such as Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), were being published around the same time as Bledsoe's book.

women's agency is further constrained. This complex perspective stands in sharp contrast to Ngubane's (1987) approach, discussed above. Ngubane's account does not distinguish between different groups of women but lumps all into one category of "victims" (for comparable insights about the problematic construction of the categories "women" and "gender", see Cornwall [2005]). Bledsoe's approach goes beyond the narratives of destruction, victimization and simple conceptions of change. It also expands the narrow normative and categorical perspective of marriage, thus one expressed in descriptions of Kpelle society as "patrilineal with brideservice and bridewealth", through an analysis of "how people's acts create and change institutions such as marriage" (Bledsoe 1980: 47). Agency, social practice and the dialectic of agency and structure, while not named explicitly, are nevertheless very present in her work. Hence in several respects, Bledsoe's ethnography, although still using the metanarrative of change and concepts like "traditional" and "modern" arenas, anticipates contemporary approaches highlighting negotiation, contestation and ambiguity of marriage.

Around the same time as Bledsoe's ethnography, a number of other researchers began to theorize African marriage in more ambiguous and complex ways. For example, in Southern Africa, the effects of labor migration on marriage were studied in comparably innovative ways as Bledsoe approached her research (Gulbrandsen 1986; Murray 1981a, 1981b; Sansom 1981; Spiegel 1975). The theoretical movement from models of African marriage that focused mainly on structure to more dynamic models that included actors' agency and the interplay between agency and structure can also be traced in the publication of three influential volumes on African marriage during the 1980s (Comaroff 1980b; Krige/Comaroff 1981; Parkin/Nyamwaya 1987b). In the early 1980s, John L. Comaroff edited two volumes on marriage, one on the meaning of marriage payments (comparing cases from Asia, Africa and Europe) and the other, together with Eileen Jensen Krige, on marriage in Southern Africa (Comaroff 1980b; Krige/Comaroff 1981). In the introductory remarks to both volumes, Comaroff (1981: xii) underlines that "the main thrust of research has been directed at the jural and structural aspects" of marriage and marriage payments. At length, Comaroff shows the deficits of the three variants of "structure-focused" (in a broader sense) explanations – structural-functionalist, Marxist and structuralist – to understand marriage payments. The contributions to both volumes all try to go beyond these limits, as do the contributions to the volume edited by David Parkin and David Nyamwaya (1987b). Tellingly, Parkin and Nyamwaya subtitled their introduction "change and choice", thus stressing both structural dynamics and agency (1987a). Acting as discussant at a symposium on demographic and anthropological perspectives on African marriage a few years later, Parkin again stressed that anthropological research on African marriage has moved away from normative approaches and towards "interactional" approaches that emphasize process, strategy and negotiation of conjugality (Bledsoe/Pison 1994: 9).

The three metanarratives of African marriage, however, cannot be placed in a chronological order. There is no evolution from stability over destruction to change and complexity. Although stability conceptions following the British tradition have become rare, they are nevertheless still present, as a recent publication on African families shows: "Because African women and men are expected to marry and have children, it has been suggested that marriage is nearly universal" (Oheneba-Sakyi/ Takyi 2006: 9). The metanarratives of destruction and of change equally continue to be influential. With the emergence and dramatic spread of the AIDS pandemic, the theme of the "destruction of African families" has certainly gained a new momentum (e.g. Gronemeyer 2002). Yet, while clearly acknowledging the tragic effects AIDS has on social relations, one must also consider the resilience of kin and family ties in the midst of such a crisis.[10] Again, crisis and change do not have one linear effect, such as the destruction of family and kin ties, but trigger various and complex reactions by individuals and groups of individuals. To understand African marriage and other types of conjugal and kin relations as dynamic social fields of negotiation, ambiguity and hybridity is probably the dominant contemporary metanarrative, the focus of the next section.

Plurality of African marriages

The plurality and dynamic of marriage forms are central topics of recent research on African marriages (for instance Cole 2004; Cornwall 2002; Helle-Valle 1999; Johnson-Hanks 2006, 2007b; Lewinson 2006; Masquelier 2005). These issues are not entirely new, though. Throughout the 20th century, attempts have been made to define and classify dynamic African marriages. However, more recent approaches – like Johnson-Hanks' (2007b) research on marriage, love and the Internet in southern Cameroon, or Jennifer Cole's (2004) work on sexuality, marriage and consumerism among Malagasy youth – have shifted the emphasis away from issues of classification and towards questions on the intermingling of love/sex/marriage and money/consumerism.[11]

The two related questions "What is a marriage?" and "When is a union a marriage?" are recurrent themes in most research on African marriage up to the present.

10 Gulbrandsen (1986: 25) suggested a similar reasoning two decades earlier when he reacted to Schapera's argument for the destructive character that labor migration has had on Tswana family life: "Although abandonment of polygyny and circular labor migration in combination have fundamentally transformed the systems of marriage and family relations, it can be argued that a pattern has evolved which ensures links of mutuality and support between productive and dependent family members".

11 Remarkably early, Schapera (1939: 15-17) also commented on these issues.

They are already mentioned by Fortes (1949: 84) in his reflections of what he classifies as "experimental marriages". Some decades later, Philip Burnham (1987: 50) suggests considering marriage not as a stable category but as a "bundle of interactional possibilities". He places marriage as just one among several types of conjugal unions (informal cohabitation, or church, registry or customary marriage) open to men and women, and their respective kin, for interaction. In their introduction to the volume in which Burnham's essay appeared, Parkin and Nyamwaya (1987a: 4) underline Burnham's approach and state: "This idea of all types of 'marriage' as representing a range of interactional possibilities for individuals and their groups complements that which sees marriage as the product of strategies: the logical possibilities are there, and people can strategize within them". All three authors stretch their use of the term "marriage" very far, virtually to the point of including most conjugal unions.

The difficulties in defining certain types of unions as marriage (and others perhaps as not) are closely connected to two central characteristics of African marriage: polygyny and its transformations, on the one hand, and the procedural character of marriage, already mentioned by Radcliffe-Brown (1987 [1950]) and often repeated in subsequent research on African marriage (e.g. Bledsoe 1980; Bledsoe/Pison 1994; Comaroff 1980b; Helle-Valle 1999; Lewinson 2006; Murray 1976; Solway 1990), on the other. I first discuss the dynamics of polygyny.

Although polygyny has declined in many parts of Africa and some African countries have even prohibited it, the practice and its transformations nevertheless continue to exist, as many studies indicate (Anderson 2000; Antoine 2006; Blanc/Gage 2000; Bledsoe/Pison 1994; Comaroff/Roberts 1977; Spiegel 1991; Timaeus/Reynar 1998; van der Vliet 1991). As early as 1977, Comaroff and Roberts already argued that the changes in polygyny did not mark a decline in the practice but rather its transformation. Restudying Schapera's 1933 descriptions of Kgatla premarital sexuality, Comaroff and Roberts (1977: 121) found that "the practice of polygyny has been replaced by an emergent social form with an essentially similar cultural logic". The emergent social form they identified is the practice of serial monogamy: thus, men continue to have multiple partners, yet the timing differs (for a related argument about women and their practice of "polyandrous motherhood", see Guyer [1994]).

Another variation of polygyny is described by Kristin Mann (1985) in her historical study of elite settlers in 19th and early 20th century colonial Lagos. She recorded how "outside marriages", that is long-term unions contracted outside church or statutory codes, caused much conflict among elite men and women. While these unions gave non-elite women access to resources and probably upward mobility, they threatened the position of "inside wives" and their children. Similar conflicts about "outside marriages" are portrayed by Barbara Harrell-Bond (1975) for conjugal unions in Sierra Leone and by Wambui Wa Karanja (1987, 1994) for the contemporary upper

classes of Lagos and Ibadan. Other polygynous variations are the so-called "little houses" in Tanzania (Lewinson 2006), the *bobolete* in a rural community in Botswana (Helle-Valle 1999) and the tavern women of Gauteng province, South Africa (Wojcicki 2002). Thus, Bledsoe and Pison (1994: 7) conclude their review of multiple partner unions with the following words: "Many of the new marriage forms that outwardly resemble monogamy actually follow patterns of *de facto* polygyny". Consequently, a range of conjugal relationships exists, dynamically combining customary practices, residence arrangements, state and religious laws, and sexual and other types of exchanges. Depending on one's definition, some of these relations will be classified as marriages, others not. Definitions focusing on shared residence might include "outside marriages" while definitions based on church or statutory codes will exclude these unions.

The continuity of polygyny is also connected to the procedural character of marriage, the second characteristic of African marriages that renders a definition of the institution difficult (some argue maybe even impossible, e.g. Ekong 1989: 40]). Marriage in many parts of Africa is a long, ambiguous process rather than a discrete single event established by a legal, ritual or economic transaction (e.g. Bledsoe 1980; Bledsoe/Pison 1994; Comaroff/Roberts 1977; Guyer 1994, 2000; Murray 1981b). Marriage payments, commonly in the form of bridewealth, are seldom transferred at once but through a process of events, with negotiations of bridewealth having implications for notions of legitimacy and personhood (Comaroff 1980b: 30). Bledsoe and Pison (1994: 4) describe the sequences of events that may finally lead to marriage: "The process transpires through a sequence of events that might include the exchange of symbolic tokens, making instalments on bridewealth payments, establishing a joint residence, or even the birth of a child. This process may extend over a period of months or even years". Further, the marriage process is often not a linear process but more closely resembles a continuous mix of movements in which relationships can be maintained, but also dissolved and renegotiated. Thus, it can be very difficult to define at what point in time someone is married and when a union begins. Bledsoe (1980: 7) has also noted in her ethnography of Kpelle marriage in Liberia that marital status is neither visibly nor audibly expressed. There are no special clothes for married folks and the words for woman or man are the same words as for wife and husband. The same applies to the situation in Fransfontein: *taras* refers to woman, wife and female conjugal partner, while *aob* refers to man, husband and male conjugal partner. This fluid construction of marriage has caused some headaches for social scientists, especially demographers who want to compare, for instance, the average age at first marriage or the percentage of a population that is married (Antoine 2006; Bledsoe/Pison 1994; van de Walle 2006a).

What then are the effects of these flexible structures for individual actors? Research written from a gendered perspective clearly stresses the enhanced agency

some women may gain through the fluidity of the situation (Cole 2004; Cornwall 2002; Helle-Valle 1999; Johnson-Hanks 2007b; Lewinson 2006; van der Vliet 1984). As some rather fluid and flexible relations do eventually end in marriage, this may justify that women also behave rather flexibly. Further, because the exchange of gifts, money and consumer goods is also an important aspect of betrothal and marital relations, the mixing of money, sex and love described in much recent ethnography (e.g. Cole 2004; Cornwall 2002; Helle-Valle 1999; Lewinson 2006; Thomas/Cole 2009) is not necessarily something that is condemned on the ground. This situation has also resulted in some puzzlement by and confusion among Western observers such as missionaries, early ethnographers and colonial administrators who were concerned that this intermingling was a form of prostitution (Gordon 2002; Hunter 2002).[12]

However, Cole (2004: 580-581) has stressed that while some women may profit from flexible conjugal notions, other women, especially those who have lost their "reputation" and may even be perceived locally as "prostitutes", experience severe downward mobility. Reputation and its ambiguities are tightly intertwined with economic issues and the flexible character of conjugal relations. As Cole notes for her Malagasy informants: "All girls who engage in the game of sex for money are constantly involved in a politics of reputation". (ibid: 581) She demonstrates that the reputation of economically unsuccessful women is especially threatened (ibid: 580). In other settings, the reputation of economically successful and independent women is questioned as well. In her research on gender relations in Ado-Odo, a small Yoruba town in southwestern Nigeria, Andrea Cornwall (2002) shows that economically independent women are classified as wayward and troublesome. Similarly, Virginia van der Vliet (1991: 237) observes a high degree of moral resentment against economically independent women in a 1970s Grahamstown town in South Africa: "Men seemed aware that these independent women were a nail in the coffin of patriarchy. They often reserved a special scorn for them and their offspring".

To access the reputation and character of conjugal and sexual partners, men and women engage in varying practices of "testing" a partner (Bledsoe/Pison 1994: 5; Dilger 2003; Gulbrandsen 1986: 13; Johnson-Hanks 2007b; Lewinson 2006; Pauli/Schnegg 2007; Smith 2003). These may include evaluations of a person's public reputation or tests on how a partner behaves in certain crucial situations (e.g. providing money in times of need, cohabitation, and the birth and support of children). In times of AIDS, other dimensions of "testing" have been added, such as the "examination" of the partner's physical body for "suspicious" marks that could point to the disease. Love is often constructed as the result of successful testing (Johnson-Hanks 2007b;

12 Helle-Valle (1999) has discussed the difficulties (and perhaps even impossibilities) of transferring the Western concept of "prostitution" to African contexts.

Lewinson 2006; Pauli/Schnegg 2007), that is love is perceived as the central expression of a partner's involvement in, caring for and investment in a relationship that becomes visible through "testing". As Bledsoe and Pison remark (1994: 5), the sometimes year-long liminal phase of "testing" a partner is a central aspect of the procedural character of marriage. Consequently, it is important to stress that the flexibility of conjugal relations (as noted above) is tightly embedded in a not-so-flexible moral and economic structure.

Yet there are limits to the metanarrative of flexible and dynamic conjugal and marital structures. I want to conclude this section with a reflection on these limits. I argue that there are at least three central problems associated with the notion of flexible, plural African marriages. First, to classify most conjugal relations as "marriages" results in an inflationary use of the term and a significant loss of differentiation and meaning. Second, this inflationary use of the term "marriage" discloses emerging mechanisms of marginalisation and new forms of exclusion. And, third, a focus only on the flexibility of conjugal relations ignores that the construction of marriage as a process ideally has an endpoint when a couple is finally considered married. I examine each of these three in turn.

My first argument has been inspired by a recent, undoubtedly controversial article by Warren Shapiro (2008) on the new kinship studies. Although I do not follow Shapiro's fierce critique of feminist and constructivist theory, I nevertheless think that his objection that not all types of relatedness can be taken as equivalent to kinship ties is justified. There are indeed limits to the construction of kin relations. Based on results from cognitive science, Shapiro highlights the distinction between focal notions of kin concepts, such as prototypes, from variations of these notions. Thus, although concepts like "father" are transferable, as in the conceptualization of God as father, this does not mean that all relations subsumed under the concept have the same quality. These thoughts may also be fruitfully applied to the study of African marriages. While there is no doubt a great amount of flexibility, plurality and dynamic in the construction of African marriages, this does not justify the conclusion that there might not be something like an emically defined "prototypical marriage" or that all conjugal relations are de facto marriages. What exactly constitutes a "prototypical marriage" will certainly vary from context to context.

In Fransfontein, people do, indeed, have an idea of a contemporary marriage prototype. This does not mean that the current prototype is fixed and has clear boundaries – quite the opposite: the edges are fuzzy and new elements are continuously added. But the marriage prototype acts as a baseline against which other types of relations are evaluated. An example may illuminate the argument. While people in Fransfontein acknowledge that cohabitation might be a step on the way to marriage, cohabitating unions are nevertheless negatively described as *#nu gomans omi*, literally a black cow house, and the physical structure the couple inhabits might be called

!hai-omi, a bad house. Locally, *#nu gomans omi* are not perceived as marriages but as variations of marriages. Thus, a couple living in a *#nu gomans omi* will not receive the same respect as a married couple. Additionally, children born to mothers living in *#nu gomans omi* will not have the same rights to their father's inheritance and property as children born to married mothers.

This leads to the second problem associated with the flexible and plural notion of African marriages. A strong focus on flexible constructions of marriage ties might potentially ignore mechanisms of exclusion underlying seemingly fluid structures (see also Bourdieu 2008). This point was made at a conference on anthropological and demographic approaches to African marriages:

> Claude Meillassoux, a discussant at the seminar, drew forceful attention to these sweeping changes in nuptiality and to their economic underpinnings. He stressed that these criteria become encoded into the marriage system, making conjugal hierarchies more entrenched: élite women are more likely to become "legitimate" or "insider" wives, while the status of other women deteriorates. (Bledsoe/Pison 1994: 19)

I argue that a central force behind the status deterioration of the majority of Fransfontein women is the tremendous decline in marriage rates, a decline crucially linked to class formation processes. While a small elite has appropriated the privilege of the "prototypical marriage", the overwhelming majority lives in relationships, like the *#nu gomans omi*, that are not granted respect and prestige and, importantly, lack access to central resources connected with marriage.

This leads to my third critique of the notion of flexible, plural African marriages. To focus only on the procedural character ignores that there is an ideal endpoint to the negotiations and flexibilities and that this endpoint – formally and publicly being considered as married – is not being reached by an ever-increasing number of people, in Fransfontein and beyond. The current strong focus on flexibility and plurality of African marriage may also explain why the de facto decline of marriage rates (which is only possible if there is an endpoint to the marriage process) in many regions of Africa has only recently been recognized by anthropologists (Pauli/van Dijk 2016). After having discussed the four metanarratives that have been central so far, I now turn to a fifth, emerging metanarrative.

THE DECLINE OF MARRIAGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Before analyzing changes in marriage rates, it is necessary to discuss how universal marriage has really been. Analysing genealogies, Rada Dyson-Hudson and Dominique Meekers (1996) have been able to show that the notion of nearly universal

marriage, so prominent in the stability metanarrative, is an overgeneralization for sub-Saharan Africa. They argue that this image has, in fact, been caused by measurement problems and reporting biases:

> In many studies, the universality of marriage is an artefact of the methods of data collection, since both census and survey data exclude emigrants and people who have died. The idea of universality of marriage also is based on emic statements of what people aspire to, but may not actually achieve until late in life, and sometimes not at all. (Dyson-Hudson and Meekers 1996: 318)

These findings caution against too general statements regarding both the universality of marriage and the decline of marriage rates.[13] For a number of years, however, both demographers and anthropologists have noted significant changes in marriage rates and family relations (Claassens/Smythe 2013; Hunter 2007; Pauli 2010a, 2011; Posel/Rudwick/Casale 2011). Discussing the effects of labour migration on Southern African systems of family and marital relations, several anthropologists became increasingly aware from the 1930s onwards of rising rates of children born premaritally. An early example is Schapera's (1933) work on premarital pregnancies among Tswana communities heavily involved in male labour migration. Based on urban research in the 1950s and the 1960s, a number of anthropologists reported similar rising numbers of children born out-of-wedlock and an increase in unmarried female-headed households for several South African townships (Mayer 1961; Preston-Whyte 1978). However, these developments were largely attributed to the effects urban life and migration were having on family compositions in towns. Despite Schapera's earlier work, rural areas continued to be seen as virtually untouched by these changes (Preston-Whyte 1978: 82). This changed when, based on rural research from the 1970s and 1980s, both Adam Kuper (1987) and Ørnulf Gulbrandsen (1986) began to describe tremendous changes in marital and family relations for rural Southern African communities. Kuper, whose ethnographic comparison of four Southern African marriage systems titled *Wives for Cattle* (1982) had described the universal marriage as part of the political and economic system, observed in 1987 "dramatic changes in the incidences of marriage and in the incidence of illegitimacy" (Kuper 1987: 141). In a 1978 restudy of the Botswana village where Isaac Schapera had conducted his researched in the 1930s, Marja Molenaar, one of Kuper's graduate students, found a "substantial increase in the number of unmarried women and in the number of children born out of wedlock. The decline in polygyny only partially accounts for these changes". (ibid: 141). As recent anthropological and demographic work on Botswana shows, these trends of declining marriage rates, an increase in children born out-of-wedlock and couples cohabitating without being married continue until today (Mokomane 2005, 2006; Setume 2017).

13 Catherine Allerton (2007) comes to a comparable conclusion for South and Southeast Asia.

For South Africa, similar macro and micro level trends are described (Hosegood/McGrath/Moultire 2009; Mhongo/Budlender 2013; Posel/Rudwick 2013). Based on long-term ethnographic fieldwork in South Africa's Kwazulu-Natal province, Hunter (2007: 692) shows that "throughout the 20th century a growing number of women gave birth out of wedlock". To further extend his ethnographic findings, he incorporates macro level national census data into his analysis. Despite a number of data problems, Hunter is able to present chronological data on marriage status for the South African population classified as "African". He shows that, from 1936 to the 1980s, between 50 to 60 per cent of the "African" population 15 years and older has been married (including both civil and customary marriages). Then the number of people classified as married declines to 42 per cent in 1980, 38 per cent in 1991 and 30 per cent in 2001. Hunter concludes: "Census data support the claim that there has been a quite dramatic decline over the last four decades". (ibid: 695) While he stresses that the factors behind the decline are complex, he explicitly mentions women's increased economic independence and, with rising unemployment rates since the 1970s, men's inability to secure bridewealth (*ilobolo*) and to act as provider (Hunter 2009b, 2010). He concludes that, in South Africa, "marriage today is, in many respects, a middle-class institution". (Hunter 2007: 695)

As in Botswana and South Africa, marriage rates are also declining in Namibia. According to the 1992 Namibia Demographic and Health Survey (MOHSS 1992), Namibia has very high proportions of unmarried women at the end of their childbearing years compared with most other countries in sub-Saharan Africa (Bongaarts 2007; Raitis 1994: 112). Furthermore, the total fertility rate of unmarried women is only one child lower than that of all women, and many women give birth before marriage (Raitis 1994: 116). In a similar vein and using the same data set, Gage (1998: 25) reports that 37 per cent of all births in the five years preceding the survey were premarital births. Demographers have highlighted a rise in the mean age at marriage as a central explanation for the transformations in marriage and fertility systems (Bongaarts 2007; Garenne/Zwang 2005). Some anthropologists have also noted declining marriage rates in different parts of Namibia (Fuller 1993; Gordon 1972; Iken 1999; Tersbøl 2002).

Demographers Michel Garenne and Julien Zwang (2005: 166) raise the important question of the extent to which these trends might be especially characteristic for Southern Africa: "High levels [of premarital fertility] such as those noted in Namibia, Botswana and South Africa, as well as late average age at marriage and premarital fertility at older ages, seem to be a feature of modern South Africa, and especially in the former apartheid areas". Similarly, in a recent publication on changes in median age at marriage and HIV/AIDS prevalence rates of 33 sub-Saharan countries, John Bongaarts (2007: 75) finds that "countries with late marriage and high HIV prevalence are concentrated in southern Africa". Therborn (2006: 38) has equally stressed

the uniqueness of Southern Africa's marriage transformations: "On the whole, Africa has belonged to the vast world regions of virtually universal marriage […] However, in recent times Africa also includes some deviants, above all in Southern Africa". Recent demographic and ethnographic research in Southern Africa thus clearly indicates that marriage rates have substantially declined, age at marriage has markedly increased and premarital fertility rates have increased.

Although these developments are especially pronounced in Southern Africa, some of the trends can also be observed in other African regions. Uche Isiugo-Abanihe (1994), for example, has shown that, among highly educated Igbo-speakers in Nigeria, marriage is being delayed, age at first marriage is increasing and the proportion of never-married individuals is rising. He concludes that marriage is not early and universal anymore. As main reason for these changes, he cites exploding bridewealth costs, far beyond reach for the majority of men. He even speaks of an "inflation of bridewealth".

Adeline Masquelier (2005: 59) notes very similar developments in Dogondoutchi, a Hausaphone and predominantly Muslim town in rural Niger, where a common perception pertains that today's youths are facing a crisis of unprecedented proportions: "The 'crisis' centres on their inability to marry and to achieve full social seniority". Marriage in Mawri society is central for social maturity and without marriage the young do not become adults. Bridewealth and wedding costs have increased tremendously and "young men without the means to marry find themselves condemned to a kind of limbo life" (ibid: 60). Alcinda Honwana (2012) has aptly coined the term "waithood" to describe this state in limbo. These observations resonate with my description of the envy and jealousy that the bride Anna experienced when she got married. Masquelier provides further explanations why bridewealth and wedding costs have exploded so much. According to her, there is "a widespread sense in Niger that a growing thirst for the prestige earned through the staging of extravagant wedding celebrations has contributed to the spiralling bridewealth inflation and, by implication, the postponement of marriage for many" (Masquelier 2005: 62-63). To celebrate (class) distinction and modernity through weddings and marriages is not only an African, but a global trend (Argyrou 1996; Bristol-Rhys 2007; Kaplan 2013; Kendall 1996; Lankauskas 2015; Reed-Danahay 1996).

Another West African example is the decreasing probability of age-specific marriage in southern Cameroon (Johnson-Hanks 2007b). As Isiugo-Abanihe and Masquelier, Johnson-Hanks (2007b: 652) emphasizes how marriage rates are entangled with economic dynamics: "Of course, there are many reasons for this decline; however, the disjuncture between aspirations for marriage and real-life opportunities plays a central role". Importantly, she stresses that a decline in marriage rates does not necessarily mean a decline in the meaning and relevance of marriage. Indeed, it may mean just the opposite:

That is, marriage rates are not declining because marriage is becoming irrelevant or because it is less systematically valued than in the past. Rather, marriage is becoming more rare precisely because it is so terribly important to women's status that it be done well. (Johnson-Hanks 2007b: 652).

For Fransfontein, I would add that marriage has become "so terribly important" not only for the status of women but for the status of a local elite. Marriage has become rare for an increasingly large group of Fransfontein people. Men and women who, because of their meagre economic and "real-life opportunities", are unable to marry have been degraded to being the audience at elite weddings. The celebration of distinction through conspicuous weddings has become the elite's central arena for a demonstration of class and the legitimization of privilege.

Following Ferguson (1999), I have used the term "metanarratives" to label the various interpretations of the transformation of African marriage. The first four, stability, destruction, change and plurality, have been central lenses through which African marriage has been interpreted. The currently dominant metanarrative, plurality or fluidity, emphasizes the great flexibility and adaptability of marriage (and also kinship) in both past and present times. Yet this metanarrative also has significant limits, especially that it does not consider a strong increase in wedding costs and the parallel decline in marriage rates, developments that have been observed in several parts of Southern Africa. In general, these dynamics have to be linked to class formation processes and a substantial increase in economic and social stratification. A new, fifth metanarrative is thus emerging, one that is characterized by low occurrence and high value of marriage. I suggest that this emerging metanarrative could be labelled the "exclusivity of marriage": it draws out how in many parts of Southern Africa marriage rates are at an unparalleled low while marriage as an institution is extremely valued.

AIMS, LIMITS AND STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

The overall aim of this book is to understand how marriage in Fransfontein has turned from an almost universal institution into a celebration of class distinction. To pay close attention to the complex entanglements of marriage with political economic processes, especially class formation processes, but also gender dynamics and reproductive changes, a methodologically and theoretically plural approach is needed. Theoretical approaches roughly summarized as "practice theory" are key for my understanding of these developments. This has both methodological and theoretical implications. To grasp the interplay between structure and agency as carefully as possible, I draw on various methods and data. These include archival data, like church

registers, systematic participant observation of engagements and weddings, life narratives, general participant observation, economic and demographic surveys, census data and group discussions. In terms of theory, I combine macro level explanations proposed by demographers, approaches popular in anthropology at the intermediate level of the household, and micro level examinations that focus on individual actors and their agency, common in anthropology, sociology and history.

Western anthropology has a long tradition of research in marriage, gender and reproduction in Africa. This history of involvement has, however, also caused irritation and rejection. In feminist anthropology, the question of the extent to which Western researchers could study African gender, marriage and sexuality has been discussed virulently (Arnfred 2004; Cornwall 2005; Kolawole 2004). A recent book by Francis Nyamnjoh (2008) further challenges any "Western" attempts to understand African social dynamics through social science research methods. With these caveats in mind, I nevertheless hope that my findings contribute to the overall understanding of past and current dynamics of marriage and class formation processes in Namibia and Southern Africa. I follow Bruce Knauft's assertion that "approximation" and "pragmatic possibilities of comprehension" are intersubjectivley possible:

> While ultimate knowledge of others' experiences or actions (or even their existence) is impossible, greater or lesser approximations of this otherness are possible; indeed, they provide the basis of all social living. Absolute impossibilities should not blind us to pragmatic possibilities for comprehension, translation, and representation across the intersubjective divide. (Knauft 1996: 46-47)

Doing research in postcolonial Namibia is permeated by power differences and inequalities. My attempts to reciprocate and to reflect these differences and injustices in my writings are approximations but not solutions. Despite these complex circumstances, Fransfonteiners showed great willingness, and often also joy, in talking with me about marriage celebrations and wedding dreams. People proudly introduced me to the ways in which marriages are currently celebrated in Fransfontein. Marriage continues to be one of the most central aspects of Fransfontein life. For everybody involved in our research, there was never any doubt that marriage was a well-chosen topic. This resonates with Adam Kuper's (2008: 733) reminder not to abolish the study of marriage and kinship from anthropology:

> Marriage choices are regarded in very many societies as the most important decisions in life, almost certainly too important to be left to any individuals to make for themselves. It would be a disaster if anthropologists found that they had nothing to say about matters that are so essential to most of the people we live among, to say nothing about our recent ancestors, and, perhaps, even ourselves.

The book is divided into three parts, following the dramaturgy of background, main act and consequences. In the three chapters of Part I, I present the methodological, conceptual and ethnographic background to the study. In the first, entitled "Fransfontein Fieldwork", I reflect on my fieldwork situation in the Fransfontein region and present the different kinds of data gathered. The chapter also discusses a number of theoretical concepts that have been suggested to analyze change over time. Out of these concepts, I develop an approach that combines biographic, cohort and generational perspectives. "History through Biography" gives detailed information on the political economic developments of Fransfontein with a detailed description of the emergence of indigenous, local elites since approximately the 1970s. The third chapter of Part I, "Postapartheid Livelihoods", presents ethnographic portraits of contemporary, postcolonial lifeworlds in Fransfontein.

In the two chapters of Part II, I tackle different aspects of the transition from common to elite marriage. "Contemporary Fransfontein Marriages" presents a detailed outline of how weddings are being practiced in Fransfontein today. The findings are discussed in light of other historic and regional studies. "From Decline to Distinction" extends these findings and describes how and since when marriage rates have declined in Fransfontein. The chapter unravels the ways in which marriage has turned into the central arena for class distinction by local elites. Special attention is paid to how new forms of consumption have been integrated into wedding rituals, making weddings increasingly more conspicuous and costly.

Part III discusses some of the main consequences of the decline of marriage in two chapters. "Forming Families" links the transformations in marriage to the formation of families and reproduction. Detailed life stories, mainly of women, help to explain how marriage, sexuality and reproduction have been entangled and disentangled during different periods of time and for various generations. "Intimacy outside Marriage" discusses how intimate relations are formed, maintained and resolved outside and beyond marriage. The chapter also scrutinizes the increasing stigmatization of children born out-of-wedlock and transformations in inheritance practices relating to marital status.

The conclusion discusses my main findings in global comparison, investigating the specificities of the Namibian situation. It ends with a reflection of the possible long-term consequences of class distinctions through marriage in Fransfontein and beyond.

PART I

Fransfontein fieldwork

> The white men named places after themselves, and after the women they were with or the women whom they had left behind, after the men they wanted to placate or impress: Salisbury, Muriel, Beatrice, Alice Mine, Juliasdale, West Nicholson.
> And they gave some places hopeful names: Copper Queen, Eldorado, Golden Valley. And obvious names: Figtree, Guinea Fowl, Lion's Den, Redcliff, Hippo Valley. And unlikely, stolen names: Alaska, Venice, Bannockburn, Turk Mine.
> In 1896 the Ndebele people had rebelled against this Europeanness.
> *Fuller/Don't Let's Go to the Dogs Tonight*

Right from the start of our fieldwork we realized that claiming property through naming is a very common practice in Namibia. It was mid-May 2003, and my colleague and husband, Michael Schnegg, and I had just arrived at Windhoek airport for the very first time, together with our one-year-old daughter, Liliana. Already the half-hour drive from the airport to the city filled us with amazement. We were struck by the vastness of the countryside and the incredible varieties of shades, colors and forms. But our positive impressions were disturbed, at least in our perception. Along the road we were travelling on, tall fences framed our view on either side. Later we learned that most of these fences had been built during apartheid, when labor was still cheap and easily available for 'white' commercial farmers. From time to time we saw large signs announcing the names of the farms we passed. As Alexandra Fuller's (2003) description above of how Europeans appropriated the Zimbabwean landscape by naming, Namibian farm names contained a strange mix of African names, female European names, English animal names, and borrowed names of Western regions,

countries or cities. Later, and with some irritation, I even encountered a farm called Paderborn, the name of the provincial German town where I grew up.

This European appropriation of land does not cover all of Namibia. It is not applied in those areas that the Germans first called "reserves" and the South Africans later remodeled into "homelands". Today, these areas are referred to as "communal areas", distinguishing them from the so-called "commercial farming areas". Unlike in the commercial areas, where farm names mark the division of the land into privately owned plots, in the communal areas only settlements have names, but not the land itself. Fencing is almost nonexistent in the communal areas. Thus, these varying practices of naming the landscape are also expressions of borders dividing the country and its different inhabitants. Very early on it became apparent to us that if we wanted to do field research in a "communal area", we would have to cross the border between what was considered "white" areas (i.e. most commercial farms and those parts of towns and cities mainly inhabited by people of European descent) and what was perceived as "black" territory (i.e. the communal areas and "townships"). Our landlady in Windhoek told us that for her such a crossing-over would be unimaginable. Living in the country as a Namibian of German descent in the third generation, she perceived the divide between herself and her "black" workers as insuperable. However, she assured us that, as foreigners, the passage across might well be possible for us.

We had not identified a specific research site before arriving in Namibia. In 2002, the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, Germany's national research foundation) accepted my research proposal for a project on demographic, economic and social transformations in a multiethnic community in the former Namibian Damaraland, from a historic and ethnographic perspective, as subproject C10 of the interdisciplinary special research project Arid Climate, Adaptation and Cultural Innovation in Africa (ACACIA) based at the German universities of Cologne and Bonn.[1] In 2003, and after a few days in Windhoek, we thus started a two week tour through the former Damaraland, today part of the Kunene and Erongo regions, in search for a suitable community.

We had defined the criteria for such a community rather loosely. Given the scarcity of research on Damara culture (Barnard 1992: 199), we had decided to focus on the former Damaraland and to work with people that perceived themselves to be Damara. Within the ACACIA project itself, the lives of Damara people had until then only been investigated from a historic but not from an ethnographic perspective (Gockel-Frank 1998). The few sources on Damara culture and livelihood available to us at the time clearly indicated that despite apartheid's attempt to territorially divide Namibians by ethnic categories within so-called homelands, the lived reality in

1 For an overview of the research program, see ACACIA (2011).

most communities in the former Damaraland was multiethnic and multilingual (Fuller 1993; Gordon 1972; Kuper 1995; Rohde 1994, 1997; Sullivan 2000, 2003).

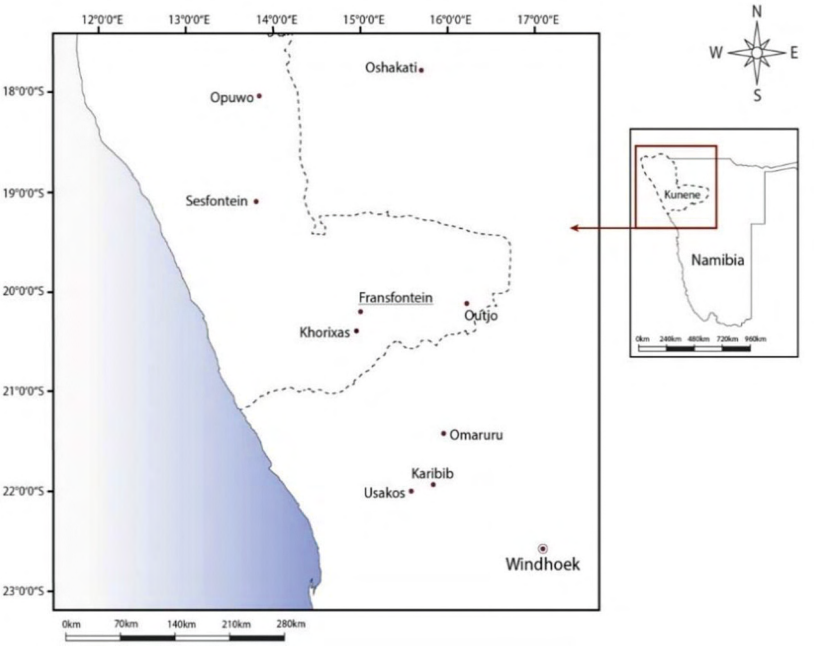
Another criterion was the presence of a certain historic depth, especially in terms of the availability of church registers. In a previous research project on ritual change in Tlaxcala, Mexico, Michael Schnegg (2005, 2007b) had successfully analyzed church registers to understand historic-demographic processes. Similarly, a group of Finnish researchers working in the former Namibian Ovamboland had used church registers to analyze population dynamics that would otherwise have been impossible to reconstruct (Notkola/Siiskonen 2000; Shemeikka/Notkola/Siiskonen 2005; Siiskonen/Taskinen/Notkola 2005). We were thus looking for a community for which there were church records and that had a long history, possibly back to the German colonial period or even earlier. Because of previous visits to the archives of the Rhenish missionary society in Wuppertal, Germany, we knew that several communities in the former Damaraland provided such a long-term perspective.

Finally, after visiting Omaruru, Karibib and Usakos in central Namibia, we added another criterion. Several Namibian towns, such as the three we had been to, are still largely divided into "white", "colored" and "black" areas.[2] In the town of Omaruru, we stayed in a guesthouse run by German pensioners. The couple had moved to Namibia roughly ten years earlier. In Germany, the wife had worked as a clerk and the husband had been unemployed. In Namibia, the wife's German pension money plus the extra income generated by the guesthouse allowed them a relatively affluent lifestyle. They employed two men from the Omusati region, northern Namibia, and treated them in an almost preposterous imitation of an imagined colonial lifestyle. One of the two middle aged, married men was called the "garden boy", the other one the "house boy". Here too, naming was used as an expression of appropriation and power. The landlady called the man helping with the domestic work "Serane", even though he had told her over and over again that his name was "Matthias". Yet the landlady thought it ridiculous of him to expect her to start using a different name than the one she had memorized. The behavior of these Omaruru retirement migrants might be extreme (but also see Widlok 1999: 193-194),[3] yet the vignette points to the racism that continues to be widespread in postcolonial Namibia.

2 The terms "white", "black" and "Colored" to differentiate between groups of people on a racial basis are very problematic. However, the classification into, for example, "white" commercial farms and "black" communal farmland, which stems from colonial times, is still being used today. I use the terms because of their continuing applicability in present-day Namibia, though realizing their political context and racist origins (see Kössler 2005: xiv).

3 There is a significant community of German retirement migrants in Omaruru. They can be rather challenging to approach for research purposes. Ulrike Winkelman, a journalist friend

Figure 1: Map of Namibia with Fransfontein



Source: Figure reproduced with permission by Michael Schnegg.

In this situation, the boundaries separating the different Namibian groups did not appear very permeable to us. We could not imagine staying in the white part of town and commuting daily to work in the township, locally often called the location. We explored living in the location itself, but warnings from all sides that this might be too risky with a small child dissuaded us from pursuing this further. Thus, a rural community in the communal area that was not marked by these stark ethnic (and also economic) forms of segregation, seemed most suitable for us. All of this we encountered in Fransfontein, our last destination on our exploratory tour (see Figure 1).

Fransfontein is located on gravel road C35, one of several routes from Hentiesbaai on the coast up to Ruacana on the border to Angola. It is a quiet road; mosttraffic to the north of the country uses the tarred B1, which runs further to the east of Fransfontein. Because of the way unpaved roads are constructed in Namibia, the road is elevated above the level of the village. A driver passing by only sees a few mud huts with

who visited Namibia in 2004, was unable to conduct interviews with them because they were afraid of being classified as "racist".

Figure 2: Fransfontein, southern Kunene region

Source: Photo reproduced with permission by Tara DiTommaso.

corrugated iron roofs, a newly built and brightly painted government building, an old, decaying government building and a bewildering wooden cabin surrounded by barbed wire. The latter are the remains of a Norwegian development project that tried to enhance the livelihoods of Fransfontein's women. The project ceased to exist years ago, and all attempts at reviving it ended in internal conflict. During our research, the building was sometimes used for official celebrations, like on Independence Day. The center of the village itself is, however, not visible from the C35; one has to leave the road and drive into the village. The Fransfontein community is located at the foot of the Fransfontein Mountains, a chain running in east-west direction. Most buildings are made out of local materials, such as cow dung and mopani poles (a locally cultivated timber). Unlike cement buildings, these houses are hardly visible on bird's-eye photographs. The one shown here (see Figure 2) is taken from the Fransfontein Mountains and captures the vastness of the landscape and the isolation of the community.

The Fransfontein community is surrounded by 25 settlements, where most of the inhabitants' livestock are kept. These settlements can range quite widely in size: some

are rather small, with only a handful of households, while others are large with several dozens. All of these communal settlements are permanently inhabited, often with larger numbers of older and retired people residing there. The research on which this book is based concentrated in particular on Fransfontein village, and less on these surrounding settlements. Michael's research on water management, institutions and nature conversation, in turn, focused primarily on the settlements in the communal area (Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg/Bollig/Linke 2016; Schnegg/Linke 2016). Our research collaborators Clemens Greiner and Theresa Linke conducted ethnographic research in different settlements in the communal Fransfontein area (Greiner 2008; Linke 2017).

Most of the settlements to the north of the Fransfontein Mountains are inhabited by people who classify themselves as Damara, while the settlements to the south of Fransfontein are more multiethnic, including people who identify themselves as Ovambo, Herero, Nama and Damara. About 30 kilometers to the northeast, the Fransfontein communal area borders commercial farmlands, still mainly owned by white Namibians. Approximately 20 kilometers to the south lies Khorixas, the regional capital with a hospital, several stores, schools and a petrol station. Here Martina Gockel-Frank, another research collaborator, conducted her field research on HIV/AIDS and reproductive decision making in 2005 and 2006 (Gockel-Frank 2007, 2009).

It was early June 2003 when we were driving north on the C35. At Fransfontein we turned off the road and entered the village for the very first time. We had had to rule out all of our other possible research sites and were quite nervous, uncertain whether this one would work out. We did not know anybody in Fransfontein. So, after driving through the village and seeing all its buildings, we decided that the local church might be a good place to start. The Protestant church had recently been renovated and was easy to spot. The resident priest turned out to be very friendly: he directed us to one of the church elders, Sara Jod. She and her grandson Hasafa were also extremely helpful – not just at the outset, but throughout the fieldwork. Sara accompanied us to the local school and arranged for us to rent one of the empty wings of the hostel as accommodation (after Namibia achieved its independence in 1990, the number of pupils in Fransfontein steadily decreased and two of the four wings in the hostel were no longer in use). The school principal, Mrs. Hanabes, helped us out with beds, a table, several chairs and other furniture. This accommodation offered us a good position from which to start our fieldwork and we stayed there for two months. Yet living there also showed us that the location and circumstances of the hostel meant that we were too detached from the community. Although primary school and the hostel were situated in the middle of the village, they were fenced in by barbed wire, creating an undesired border. When the local nurse offered us an alternative,

a house with electricity and running water that was intended for the resident nurse but that she did not wish to use as she felt it was too run down, we took the opportunity to move. Agreeing to paint the inside walls, hang up curtains and install a toilet and a shower, we were able to rent the house, living there from mid-2003 until October 2004. During shorter periods of follow-up research in 2005 and 2006, in turn, we stayed in the house of Bisey /Uirab and his family who were living in Windhoek but retained a second home in Fransfontein. Because this house was located in the north of the village, whereas the nurse's house was in the south, the combination provided us with a good insight into the various living arrangements of different parts of the community.[4]

During our first days in Fransfontein in 2003, Sara Jod also introduced us to the local governor, who is in charge of the water and electricity services and some of the traditional authorities. The political situation in Fransfontein is complicated, filled with tensions and strongly shaped by colonial and postcolonial history (see the next chapter). Sara accompanied us to meet Festus Aseb, the Damara *dana khoeb* (headman), a friendly and astute elderly man. Headman Aseb greeted us, then smiled and said that he would now give our daughter a name. Liliana should be called *oa !naas* (investigation) because her parents had come to live in Fransfontein to do an investigation of the local culture. This was our third encounter with the practice of naming in Namibia. This time the connotations of the name given were rather positive: by calling Liliana *oa !naas*, he provided us with a role and a position in the community. Later we learned that naming – each other or oneself – is a widespread practice in Fransfontein. Unlike the arrogant and racist naming by the German migrant couple in Omaruru or the appropriation of land by white settlers by applying names, both ways of excluding or controlling others, naming in Fransfontein is a way to start, value and sustain relationships. Fransfontein naming does not create borders but overcomes them, as we learned that day.

After a brief return to Windhoek, we began living in Fransfontein permanently from mid-June 2003 onwards. Our first days were dedicated to cleaning and home

4 In 2010, Michael received funding from the DFG for a long-term research project on local institutions and water management. (cf. LINGS n.d.) In the course of establishing this project, Michael renovated a local house in one of the settlements, returning to the communal area at least twice a year. I only returned to Fransfontein again in 2015. Having received a DFG grant to conduct research on love, marriage and intimacy in urban Namibia, I followed up on the life stories in Fransfontein from my previous research. I spent most of my time in Windhoek (August 2015 until January 2016), with only brief visits to Fransfontein. Data from this new research project will not be included here. The ethnographic present of this book are the years 2003 to 2006.

making. The hostel wing had not been used in years and the conditions were accordingly. The next step was to search for field assistants and for a teacher in Khoekhoegowab.[5] Again, we were very lucky. We found Jorries Seibeb, a pastoralist who had worked as teacher in adult education. He became our language teacher and field assistant and, soon, also our friend. Eventually, our Fransfontein fieldwork was conducted in four languages: Afrikaans (which we had begun learning in Germany before moving to Namibia), English, German and Khoekhoe. Of course, our fluency in the four languages varied considerably. Most young people spoke English with us, several of the elder people spoke German, and some Fransfonteiners spoke Afrikaans. Khoekhoe is the language most frequently used in everyday conversation. For most interactions in this language we needed the assistance of Jorries and, later, of Valery Meyer, who became my field assistant. When Valery joined me in 2003, she was in her mid-twenties and mother of a small son in my daughter's age. In 2004, Valery moved away, so when I returned to Fransfontein in the summer of 2005, I employed Emma /Uiras. In 2006, in turn, Emma had moved away and her sister Lydia /Uiras stepped in as research assistant.

The importance of reciprocity for successful ethnographic field research is acknowledged by many anthropologists (Pauli 2006). Edward Evans-Pritchard (1940: 13) informed his readers that the Nuer demanded tobacco in exchange for all his questioning. During his fieldwork in a school in the United States of American (USA), Robert Everhart (2001 [1997]: 180) observed: "My steady integration into their world revealed the importance of giving as well as taking in long term fieldwork […] I had, at last, recognized the place of reciprocity in productive fieldwork". What exactly will be exchanged varies, depending on context and persons involved (Pauli 2006). Reciprocity was an everyday topic during our fieldwork as sharing (*augu*) is a central social institution in Fransfontein (Schnegg 2006b, 2015, 2016a). We participated in several *augu* networks, giving small amounts of sugar, tea, meat, bread or matches and receiving, in a long-term perspective, the trust and ideas of our neighbours. All people who worked for the research project on a more regular basis received a financial compensation. Besides the four field assistants mentioned above,

5 *Gowab* means language, *khoe* human being. Often, Khoekhoegowab is referred to in an abbreviated form as Khoekhoe. I also use the two terms interchangeably. Both Damara and Nama (and also Hai//om) share Koekhoegowab, a Khoisan language and the main language spoken in the Kunene region where our research area was located. Khoekhoegowab is a so-called click language. Four primary clicks are differentiated: / (affricated) dental click; ! (implosive) alveolar click; ǂ (implosive) palatal click; and // (affricated) lateral click (for more details, see Haacke/Eiseb 2002).

13 other Fransfonteiners helped us in this way.[6] Most of them supported us with the ethnographic census and survey, both discussed in more detail below. It was positively viewed by the local population that we employed people from the Fransfontein area. Finally, all of the 750 persons who participated in the ethnographic census and survey received a mug filled with some sweets as a token of thanks. All qualitative interviews, though, such as life stories and expert interviews, were not directly reciprocated.

Another form of reciprocation was our involvement in a publication project with our local friends. By October 2004, at the end of our first long-term stay of one and a half years, we had learnt quite a bit about tensions and conflicts within the community. Although most people had stressed over and over again that the differences between ethnic groups were small to nonexistent in daily interactions, local political groups often used ethnic discourse to create and emphasize difference and achieve certain political goals. Together with local friends, especially with Otto /Uirab's input, we began to develop the idea of writing a book, but rather than focusing on the differences between people and living apart, we decided to focus on similarities and on living together. This led to *Living Together. Culture and Shared Traditions in Fransfontein, Namibia* (Dawids et al. 2007), a co-authored publication between five Fransfontein locals – Francois Dawids, Fiona Ilonga, Titus Kaumunika, Jorries Seibeb and Otto /Uirab – and Michael and myself, financially supported by the German Jutta Vogel Foundation. In addition to making the book openly available on the web (Living Together 2007), we provided printed copies to local schools, traditional authorities, churches and the local government office.

REFLECTIONS ON FIELDWORK WITH A FAMILY

Khoekhoegowab became our daughter's first language. Metaphorically speaking, this opened many doors for us. People were amazed how well this little blond girl pronounced the clicks. It was never a problem to start conversations. Most ethnographies today include a section with reflections of the field situation, including children and/or partners (van Maanen 2011: 77), and fieldwork as a family or a couple is increasingly being discussed in anthropology (e.g. Cassell 1987; Flinn/Marshall/Armstrong 1998; Gottlieb/Graham/Gottlieb-Graham 1998). Similar to the experiences of

6 Goldine !Ases, Alexia Gertze, Elly Gertze, Gideon /Goagoseb, Dina /Goagoses, Ivonne /Goagoses, FriederiTereska Kana //Gowases, Rheinhardt Haraeb, Perpetina Jod, Hubert Kahono, Ferdinand /Nanubeb, Brigitha Pietersen and Maria Philips.

many of these authors, I view the presence of a child with ambivalence. To explain this, I need to look at the fieldwork in its context.

Compared to my Mexican field research (Pauli 2000, 2008b, 2013), which I did mostly alone and with only a few visits by Michael, I felt emotionally much more at ease in Namibia. Loneliness and sickness were much less a problem for me in Fransfontein. This emotional stability was the result of my family being present during the fieldwork. Another critical difference between the two experiences was that I had run my PhD research in Mexico on a very meager budget, without transport or any other amenities, whereas we had sufficient funds to buy a reliable four-wheel car for the project in Namibia. Because both Michael and I had achieved our doctoral degrees, we were treated with respect in the field. This was very different from my research in Mexico, where I was treated as young and naive female student – which of course I was at the time.

The presence of our daughter Liliana underscored our adult status in Namibia. We were very lucky that in terms of health, everything went well during the research: there were no severe illnesses, and the snakes and scorpions left us untouched. Yet, especially at the outset of the research, I felt anxious and concerned about being in the field with my family. The following small episode gives an impression of my worries. Several weeks after moving to Fransfontein, we were visiting a family, sitting outside, chatting and enjoying refreshments. Liliana was playing in the sand with the other children. A man next to me coughed insistently, looking thin and quite sick. When we walked back to the hostel wing, we discussed what might be wrong with him and Michael suspected that the man might have TB. The next day Michael returned to the house and our host confirmed the suspicion: it was open TB, a highly contagious illness. Was Liliana in danger? We called different medical doctors and pediatricians who eventually calmed us down.

Although Liliana clearly felt very happy in Fransfontein, there were moments when I felt more uncertain. The very common practice of severe corporal punishment of children in all sorts of contexts (at school, at home, among peers) caused me great concern. I realized that my role as mother and that as researcher were coming into conflict with each other. Other anthropologists have reported comparable dilemmas (Flinn/Marshall/Armstrong 1998). Joan Cassell makes an observation that I share: having one's own children in the field makes it more difficult for the researcher to hold back personal information (1987: 258). This has positive but also negative corollaries. A "socially embedded" researcher is more likely to being perceived as a "normal" human being by the community he or she studies (Flinn/Marshall/Armstrong 1998: 9), a status the "lone researcher" might have difficulties obtaining. Yet the worries that the researcher will experience in relation to the health and security of especially small children lead to additional stress and tension.

It is difficult to say in what ways the presence of our daughter directly influenced the research process. Michael, however, strongly inspired and influenced my research in very positive ways. In her classic volume on women in the field, Peggy Golde (1986: 78) describes an ideal field situation: "If the goal of research is unbiased understanding, two people working together, preferable one of each sex, would provide the balance, the necessary check of objectivity, and the control of sex-determined or personality factors that one person, however artful, cannot accomplish alone". Our constant exchange of thoughts, observations and ideas has been the most important input throughout my research. I believe that the balance Golde mentions worked especially well during our Namibian research because we were in comparable social, academic and economic positions. During our Mexican research projects this had been different. When I did my PhD research in Mexico in 1996-1997, Michael established some close relationships with several men of my research community. However, it was always evident for everybody that I was doing the research and that Michael was just visiting me. Similarly, when Michael did his PhD research in Tlaxcala, Mexico in 2000-2001 (several hours away from the community where I had done fieldwork), it was very difficult for me to accept that the community did not perceive me as a researcher but mainly as the wife. In Namibia, it was clear from the beginning that we were both researchers and that we were jointly engaged in the research.

Reflecting on the research process, it is almost impossible to say who first had which idea and when. This intellectual density and fuzziness shows the advantages of joint field research. But conflicts may also appear if intellectual property becomes a contested terrain. Because of our previous Mexican research experiences, Michael and I knew that collaboration can also mean competition and even conflict. We agreed early on that only a constant attempt to discuss issues, including our own vulnerabilities, would lead to satisfying research for both of us. This does not mean that everything always went smoothly. Hurt feelings because the other had rejected an idea and discarded a research suggestion were as much part of the research process as ongoing discussions on the best methodological approach. But difficult debates also resulted in many positive tradeoffs: the high level of reflexivity produced an ethnographically sounder research approach, including the posing of questions and making of observations that one person alone would have missed.

For both Michael and me, the final topics of each of our research projects were not set when we started the fieldwork. I knew that I wanted to focus on cultural embeddedness of demographic processes, due to my previous research interests and the project (subproject C10) I was then heading within the ACACIA research group. Michael, in turn, aimed to focus on issues of social and economic security. We continuously helped each other with data collection and shared data. It took weeks in the field for me to realize how substantially marriage and non-marriage were shaping the

lives of people in Fransfontein. The idea to run a marriage questionnaire, which became essential to demonstrate the decline of marriage and the transformation of marriage rituals, was motivated by Michael's previous research on community celebrations in Mexico (Schnegg 2005, 2007b). Michael also inspired me to think more deeply about the entanglements involved in the decline of marriage and how it affected generations differently. This was triggered in particular by a small event in early 2004 when Michael and Jorries were conducting interviews with older married couples on marriage. On their way to one of the communal farms in the outskirts of Fransfontein, they met one of Jorries's relatives. The old lady stopped her donkey cart. She had heard of the interviews from other relatives. With a bitter undertone she said that one should better ask the young people what had happened to marriage: "They have ruined the whole thing". Our later reflections of the episode centred on the question of whom this old lady in her seventies meant when she spoke of "young people": was she referring to the generation of her children, born in the middle of the 20th century, or that of her grandchildren, born after the 1970s? Or was there even another group that she perceived of as "young"? And when exactly did this group of "young people" ruin marriage? In our discussions I recognized that in order to fully comprehend the changes that had happened in terms of marriage, I had to set the lived experiences of individuals within a larger historical timeframe.

STUDYING MARRIAGE OVER TIME: CONCEPTS, METHODS, DATA

Participant observation at weddings provided essential insights into the complex practices of class distinction and struggle. Michael and I systematically observed the ritual process in a dozen engagements and marriages. Two of our field assistants, Francois and Jorries respectively, got married during our fieldwork. Both Francois and Jorries were very close to us and integrated us into their marriage processes, as they did their relatives. This meant financial but also social and emotional obligations for Michael and me. And when conflicts emerged, we were directly drawn on to solve them. Yet not only the collection of ethnographic data, but also the analysis of marriage was a collaborative effort with our local assistants: in *Living Together*, Francois wrote a chapter in which he analyzed weddings and marriages in Fransfontein (Dawids 2007). In a joint article, he and I took his marriage as starting point for an examination of what we classified as "struggle marriages" (Pauli/Dawids 2017). In addition to the data elicited through participant observation, Michael and I collected information through an ethnographic census, a questionnaire on marriages, the examination of church registers, and the collection of life stories.

From March to July 2004, Michael and I conducted an ethnographic census (Pauli 2008a) in the wider Fransfontein region. Francois and Jorries assisted with translating the English census questions into Khoekhoegowab and Afrikaans. To ascertain the quality of the translation, two different translators retranslated the Khoekhoegowab and Afrikaans questions back into English. Michael and I have both used this census data for our respective projects and publications. The census questionnaire was split into two parts: a household questionnaire that dealt with the whole household and an individual questionnaire that addressed individuals. One central challenge in constructing a household questionnaire is the definition of a household (Hammel/Laslett 1974; Lang/Pauli 2002; Pauli 2008a; Rössler 2005: 174-176). Different criteria might be used to distinguish one household from another: co-residence, specific functions of the household or certain kinship ties that connect household members. These criteria can but do not necessarily need to overlap. The applicability of the concept of the household has been repeatedly questioned for African societies. While economists (and also demographers) prefer the household as a central social and economic unit, also in the African context, some anthropologists have insisted that lineages are the more centrally meaningful social unit (van de Walle 2006b: xxi). In the Fransfontein area, however, the lineage is not an applicable concept: rather, it is the household that is perceived locally as the central social unit, regardless of the fact that even here it is difficult to establish a uniform definition of what a household is.

To construct a culturally sound definition of the household, we discussed our ideas with different assistants and locals. There are several components to this definition. First of all a household is seen to be a residential unit. Despite the existence of dense exchange networks between geographically distant households, these units are not perceived as one "multilocal" household but as two separate, albeit closely related households. If in doubt about whether a person belonged to a certain household, we were told to probe where the bulk of a person's possessions were located. Further, Fransfontein households are consumptive and in almost all cases also productive units. Those who eat at the same fireplace on a regular basis are part of one household. In general, these people also share their incomes. Finally, most of a household's members will be linked through kinship ties. In this, the head of the household and how this figure is defined is critical for how to understand the relationships between household members, an issue that has also been thoroughly discussed (Pauli 2008a; van de Walle 2006b: xxxiii). In most cases, it was not difficult for our Fransfontein informants to name a household head: mostly they either named the eldest productive male person or, if there was none, the eldest productive female person.

The household questionnaire included questions on household composition, the standard of living (e.g. sanitation, type of dwelling), and economic strategies, including questions on social embeddedness and networks of household members. It elicited

basic demographic information (relation to household head, marital status, age, religion, education, occupation) for each member of the household, including of all children. In general, a household questionnaire would be answered collectively by several household members.

There were two versions of the individual questionnaire: a female and a male version. Most of the questions were the same for both, such as questions on migration, education and occupation, gender, sexuality and HIV/AIDS. Both male and female marital, conjugal, reproductive and birth histories and the use of contraceptives were elicited. The female questionnaire included an additional section on pregnancy, lactation, sterilization and abortion. The individual questionnaire always followed the household questionnaire and all household members of 15 years and older were asked to participate. The reason for this age mark was demographic: we did not expect and also did not encounter any women having a child before the age of 15. In all individual interviews, only the interviewed person and the interviewee were present.

Almost all households in the area agreed to participate. In total, we visited 329 households. For two households, the basic information remained incomplete. Thus, for some issues only 327 households can be analyzed. 750 individuals participated in the individual questionnaire (see Table 1). We visited all households of the Fransfontein community plus all households in the 25 settlements in the communal grazing area surrounding Fransfontein. We also visited four commercial farms bordering the Fransfontein area and owned by white Namibians, where we interviewed the workers and their families living in the worker locations on these farms. Contrary to Fransfontein and the communal area, both clear geographic units, the commercial farm sample is arbitrary and many more locations could have been included. The four commercial farms we visited were chosen because of the many links that their workers maintained with households in Fransfontein and its communal area.

Of the 844 possible individual interviews, 89 per cent (i.e. 750 interviews) were completed (see Table 1). Only roughly 1 per cent (7 interviews) of all possible interviews was refused. All people who refused to be interviewed were living in Fransfontein. Most of them were men who did not want to talk about the children they had fathered. Ten per cent (i.e. 88 interviews) of all possible interviews were incomplete for a variety of reasons: most often, and despite repeated visits, we were unable to find a specific person so that these interviews were in fact never begun. In other cases, interviews were incomplete when the interviewee had to leave and we were unsuccessful at rescheduling a follow-up meeting.

Before we started with the interviews we trained 13 local interviewers, all living in Fransfontein or the communal area and all well known to us. All spoke fluent Khoekhoegowab and English; some were also fluent in Otjiherero and Afrikaans. In

Table 1: Response rates in households and individual questionnaires

	Questionnaires				Refusal to participate		Total	
	complete		incomplete					
	HH*	**Ind***	**HH**	**Ind**	**HH**	**Ind**	**HH**	**Ind**
Fransfontein	137	353	0	27	0	7	137	387
Communal farms	161	338	2	60	0	0	163	398
Workers on Commercial Farms	29	59	0	0	0	0	29	59
Total	**327**	**750**	**2**	**87**	**0**	**7**	**329**	**844**

***HH** households; **Ind** individuals.

Source: Ethnographic census, July 2004.

April 2004, the local primary school allowed us to use some of their rooms for the course of interviewer training. At the end, we conducted a one day trial run in the nearby town Khorixas. This helped to further check the quality of the interviewers and the validity of the questionnaire. All of the interviewers received two T-shirts with the ACACIA logo to identify them (and to initiate interest in them and the ethnographic census), a financial compensation and a daily food allowance for the duration of the training and the interviewing process.[7]

We began conducting interviews in Fransfontein and then gradually expanded our interview radius. Some of the communal settlements were very remote and it took more than an hour to reach them. During the evenings we checked all interviews and, where unclarities arose, revisited households and individuals. Many people appreciated that we only worked with local assistants and some even gave this as the reason why they decided to participate. In total, the ethnographic census generated information on 3738 persons, though many of these were dead or absent.

In 2004, Michael and I also administered a questionnaire on marriage to elicite information on wedding practices and marriage support networks. From January 2004

7 The interviewers were Goldine !Ases, Francois Dawids, Alexia Gertze, Elly Gertze, Gideon /Goagoseb, Ivonne /Goagoses, Rheinhardt Haraeb, Perpetina Jod, Hubert Kahono, Valery Meyer, Ferdinand /Nanubeb, Maria Philips, Jorries Seibeb and Emma /Uiras.

until September 2004 we were able to collect information on 132 marriage celebrations. We either interviewed the couple or one of the spouses. Often, children of the couple were also present. In general, people were very open to discuss their marriage celebrations with us. Expensive and elaborated marriages were presented with great pride. More simple marriages were discussed against the background of the decline of marriage. As the elderly lady mentioned above driving a donkey cart, older women lamented this development in particular, stressing that it used to be so much easier to tie the knot: all one needed was a ring, a goat and some singing in front of ones' house.

Several marriages are excluded from the sample due to incomplete information. For the earliest marriage celebration that we were able to record, celebrated in 1938 in Outjo – a town approximately 150 kilometers east of Fransfontein (see Figure 1) –the date and place are missing. For eight other marriages, the interviewed couples could not remember their marriage dates and other basic information. Almost all of these couples were born in the 1920s and 1930s. These marriages are also excluded. This reduces the sample to 123 marriages.

Another way to reach historical depth was through an analysis of church registers from the three parishes of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Republic of Namibia (ELCRN) in the region: Fransfontein, Khorixas and Outjo. The ELCRN grew out of the work of the Rhenish mission, one of the most influential missionary organisations in Namibia in the 20th century. During this period the parish responsible for the people of Fransfontein changed several times. From 1892 until 1907 church registers were kept in the Fransfontein church. These documents are nowkept at the ELCRN's archives in Windhoek where they can be consulted. Between 1908 and 1967, all records were kept in Outjo but the registers from 1960 to 1967 are missing. One complication with these Outjo materials is that they do not list the Fransfontein congregation separately from the other congregations in the parish. From 1968 to 1972, the Fransfontein church registers were archived in Khorixas, due to South Africa's implementation of the homeland system and the town's growth as regional center. From 1973 to 1983, Fransfontein had its own pastor stationed in the village, Pastor Hendrik Jod, who kept the church registers in the community. The registers for Fransfontein for the years 1984 to 1993 have proven untraceable, creating a second gap in the data. Since 1994, the church registers have been kept at the Fransfontein church and the current pastor and elders kindly allowed us to consult all records up to 2002. In total, the available church registers provide information on 1461 marriages for the period 1892 to 2002. As I discuss in more detail in the following chapter, the majority of the Fransfontein population consider their religious affiliation to be Lutheran. However, there are also a number of other churches present, especially the Roman Catholic Church. This means that the ELCRN church registers do not cover the entire population.

Both Gerd Spittler (1980) and Trutz von Trotha (1994) have stressed the problematic quality of church registers or state administered census data for varying political contexts (see also Kertzer/Arel 2002). Although their critique of the validity of this kind of abstract "power knowledge" (*Herrschaftswissen*) is more than justified, church registers as well as national census data nevertheless provide an important access to past demographic processes in Africa. Both African census data and church registers are understudied and more insight could certainly be gained from them (Notkola/Siiskonen 2000; Siiskonen/Taskinen/Notkola 2005; van de Walle 2006a).

My final approach to the study of marriage over time was through the collection of life stories. Because I wanted to compare the construction, perception and interpretation of specific essential events and rites of passage, for instance how women experienced their first love, their first sex, their marriage or their first birth, I collected the life stories of 20 Fransfontein women. My focus on women's lives has been a conscious choice. I believe that due to my focus on women and their narratives, women trusted me and were more willing to narrate from their own experiences. An equally in-depth treatment of men's lives would have been desirable. In parts, Michael has provided such insights. However, the focus of his research was different from my research questions. I have elicited several life stories from men well-known to us. Yet these insights are more limited when compared to the information I collected on women's lives.

The life stories provide information on how the women constructed and perceived crucial moments of their lives in hindsight, in comparison to the experiences of their agemates but also their grandmothers, mothers or daughters. I agree with Faye Ginsburg (1987: 626) who has stressed that "life stories can be seen as the effort of individuals to create continuity between subjective and social experience, the past and current action and belief". Life stories create personal continuity despite wider social change and even turmoil. In her work on discourses and activism for and against abortion in a US town, Ginsburg uses the life stories of pro-choice and pro-life women to understand their political positioning. At the beginning of her analysis, Ginsburg is puzzled why she is unable to interpret the women's positioning by "classic" social categories like religion or education. Only when she takes time into account an interpretation emerges. Ginsburg combines the way the women reflect the development of their own life courses, especially crucial events like giving birth, with her own classification of women by different birth cohorts and generations: "In the negotiation of critical moments in the female life course with an ever-shifting social environment, the contours of their own biographies and the larger cultural and historical landscape are measured, reformulated, and given new meaning". (ibid: 625) Ginsburg's approach is inspired by Karl Mannheim's (1952) classic essay on "The Problem of Generation" and his idea of "fresh contact" in the formation of generations (Alber/van der Geest/Reynolds Whyte 2008; Cole 2004; Fumanti 2016: 79, 238). Like

Mannheim, Ginsburg wants to understand the nexus between individual life cycles and larger historical forces. She distinguishes between the women's interpretations of transitional events in their life courses (like giving birth) and what she calls "the historical moment shaping the culture when these key transitional points occur" (Ginsburg 1987: 626). Ginsburg's approach will help me to interpret why the elderly woman with the donkey cart was so angry with the "young people" who have ruined marriage. Ginsburg's and Mannheim's uses of the concept of generation offer a fruitful approach to analyze change in marriage over time.

LIVED EXPERIENCES AND HISTORICAL EVENTS

> Our concern is not whether to study change in society but how to study it.
> *Wilson/For Men and Elders*

After a static – timeless – view of culture was thoroughly discarded, several anthropologists, like Monica Wilson, asked how to study "the intersection of personal history, general history, and the changing structures of developmental processes" (Rosaldo 1980: 110).[8] Although functionalists and structural functionalists like Bronislaw Malinowski (1929) and Meyer Fortes (1971 [1958]) introduced a perspective of time into their anthropological thinking, in the end their conceptualization remained quite static. While Malinowski's so-called biographical approach appeared to overcome the short time span of fieldwork, his construction of a "typical life" nevertheless created "the illusion of a static and homogeneous primitive society" (Rosaldo 1980: 109). Similarly, Meyer Fortes's concept of the development cycle of the domestic group was not historically embedded.

Renato Rosaldo (1980) was one of the first anthropologists who tried to overcome these theoretical and methodological shortcomings when he incorporated the demographic concept of cohort analysis as a master concept into his ethnographic approach.[9]

8 Elizabeth Colson (1983: 1) has discussed how "the thrust of time" has entered anthropological thoughts and methodologies. She argues that one important impetus has been given by repeated returns to the same research site over time, as she had been doing since the 1940s. By the second half of the 20th century, this approach had become quite widespread because of easier and cheaper travel opportunities.

9 Rosaldo (1980: 110) commented on anthropology's general disinterest (and other disciplines' interest) in the cohort concept as follows: "Although the concept of cohort analysis has hardly entered anthropological discourse, apposite though it may be, it has been widely

Through the notion of a cohort, Rosaldo (1980: 110) tried to understand "individual biographies in their historical, cultural, and social structural context". He thus broadened the anthropological perspective of time, similar also to Johannes Fabian's considerations: "As soon as culture is no longer primarily conceived as a set of rules to be enacted by individual members of distinct groups, but as a specific way in which actors create and produce beliefs, values, and other means of social life, it has to be recognized that Time is a constitutive dimension of social reality". (Fabian 1983: 24) Rosaldo's use of the concept of the cohort was inspired by Norman Ryder's (1965: 859) seminal article that proposed the cohort as a "macro-biography", thus "the aggregate analogue of the individual life story". For both Rosaldo and Ryder the cohort offered the possibility to go beyond a collection of autonomous life stories and a limited understanding of history based only on periodic events. In this, they were both influenced by Mannheim's (1952) and José Ortega y Gasset's (1933) thoughts on generations. Ortega y Gasset (1933: 859) viewed the cohort as the most important concept in history because of its "dynamic compromise between mass and individual".

Ryder provided the following demographic definition of the cohort: "A cohort may be defined as the aggregate of individuals (within some population definition) who experienced the same event within the same time interval". (Ryder 1965: 845) In demography, the event that is often taken to form a cohort is birth (Glenn 1977: 8; Ryder 1965: 845). However, the approach can be applied to cohorts identified by any significant and enduring event in the life course (Ryder 1965: 847). Other examples of events that form cohorts are marriage cohorts (people marrying in a similar time period), or school cohorts (people starting or finishing school at the same time). Cohorts are not only summaries of individual lives but have distinct characteristics and compositions, such as varying sizes (like the baby-boomers). Because of this historic situatedness, each cohort experiences the world differently from its predecessors (Ginsburg 1987; Rosaldo 1980: 112).

Cohorts can be used to analyze two types of dynamics: intercohort variations (comparisons between cohorts) and intracohort variations (comparisons between members of one cohort). Intercohort analysis tries to understand in how far subsequent cohorts differ, on the basis of the understanding offered by Elizabeth Colson (1983: 4): "To be young is to be young at a particular time and place; each age-cohort is unique". One might, for example, ask in how far the divorce rate was lower for women born in the 1950s, because of a more conservative socialization, than for those born in the 1960s, brought up under more liberal circumstances. Unlike a periodic analysis that focuses on the distribution of specific events during specific times

discussed in other disciplines". Exceptions to Rosaldo's general remarks were anthropologists working on demographic issues, like Elizabeth Colson (1983).

(e.g. the number of divorced women in 1980 compared to 1990), cohort analysis tries to understand social change (e.g. an increased practice and acceptance of divorce) embedded in the lived experiences and historically singular circumstances of a specific group of people defined by their birth dates (see also Ginsburg 1987).

Ryder and Rosaldo differed in their understanding of the cohort, not in how they applied the intercohort analysis but in how they treated intracohort variation. This disparity stemmed from the fact that they defined and used the concept of the cohort differently. For Ryder (1965: 847), cohorts were structural categories with comparable analytic power as other central social categories, such as class, ethnicity or gender. That a cohort exhibits some kind of collective identity is possible but not necessary. Thus, Ryder's cohort is an analytic category: "Commonality is likely but not community". (ibid: 855) He discussed the peer group as a subset of the cohort, defined as a group of people of the same age with attitude-forming relationships among each other. This definition had similarities to Mannheim's (1952: 304) concept of the "generational unit", which he understood as subgroups within a generation that are often in conflict with each other. Thus, as Mannheim's generational unit, Ryder's peer group is only a small fraction of the total cohort. In this situation, intracohort variations might show that a peer group significantly varies from other cohort contemporaries. Consequently, Ryder (1965: 847) stressed that the comparison between cohorts always had to be supplemented by an analysis of the variations within cohorts: "Different subsets of the cohort have different time patterns of development. Youth of manual and nonmanual origins differ in length of educational preparation and age at marriage". As examples of intracohort differentiation, Ryder listed education, occupation, marital status and parity status.

Rosaldo approached the cohort very differently. He stated: "The point of entry in cohort analysis is an inquiry into the extent to which a number of individuals have become self-conscious about their identity as a group in the face of life chances terribly different in appearance from those of their elders and their juniors". (Rosaldo 1980: 111) Thus, to apply the cohort concept, the ethnographer has to search for those political, economic and social events that cause "life chances to terribly" differ so that individuals become self-conscious about them. In the case of the Ilongot, amongst whom Rosaldo did his research, a number of historical events had these effects on a marriage cohort of 20 men who were loosely related through inter-marriages that took place in the period from 1955 to 1958. Katherine Newman (1986) suggested a very similar kind of application in her comparison of US "women of the depression" and "women of the Sixties" and their experience of postdivorce downward mobility. Newman preferred to use the term "generation" to highlight the shared consciousness: "A generation is a special kind of birth cohort: a group of similarly aged people who share some important formative experience. The focus of the term 'generation' is on the shared experiences,

Table 2: Overview of time-structuring concepts

Macrobiography	**Cultural Patterns**	**History**
Cohort as an aggregate of individuals experiencing the same event within the same time interval [general definition]	**Age group** as a temporal, culturally defined stage in life (e.g. based on norms and values) [general definition]	**Time periods** structured by (significant) events
This includes	**This includes**	
Generation as a group of people sharing a formative event (Newman)	The concept of the life cycle	
Peer groups as a group of similarly aged people with attitude-forming relations (Ryder)	The genealogical concept of generations	
Cohort as a self-conscious group experiencing very different life chances from other groups (Rosaldo)		

not on age". (ibid: 232)[10] For both Rosaldo and Newman the focus was thus not on intracohort variation but on intracohort homogeneity – the groups they studied were purposefully formed by two events: age (birth) *and* historic event(s). In constrast, for Ryder a cohort was defined by just *one* event – often birth.

Nevertheless, the differences between the varying conceptualisations of the cohort are not that large. What Newman termed "generation", Rosaldo "cohort" and Ryder "peer group" were all just variations and extensions of the basic concept of the cohort: a cohort is an aggregate of individuals who experienced the same event within the same time interval (see Table 2). The three authors simply varied in the level of group consciousness, namely the level (and necessity) of awareness as to how far a similar lived experience leads to group cohesion. For my own application of the cohort and the generation concept, I combine these approaches.

10 One problem with Newman's definition is that the span of a generation is fuzzy. Kertzer (1983) discussed in detail the many problems associated with the imprecise and polysemic use of generation in the social sciences. Because of these difficulties he suggested not to use the concept but instead to analyze age, cohort and periodic effects (ibid: 130-131).

Cohort analysis thus offers a strong and flexible tool to understand and analyze change both between and within specific groups formed through specific, time-bound events. Yet not everything changes. To analyze what might remain similar despite varying cohort experiences, the concept of age groups and the life cycle is helpful. In her research on abortion, Ginsburg (1986: 625) observed: "In the narratives, all the women are struggling to come to terms with problematic life-cycle transitions, but in each group, the way they experience those as problematic is associated with very particular historical situations". Specific norms and values are closely linked to the life cycle: "Age ascription is the cross-sectional counterpart of cohort differentiation. Similarities of experiences within and differentiation of experience between age groups are observable in every culture". (Ryder 1965: 846) Of course, age specific norms are also dynamic. However, the coherence of the life cycle and the norms and values ascribed to certain life stages can counter the potential for change. In my research on reproductive changes in rural Mexico, I described that the number of women taking modern contraceptives strongly increased for certain birth cohorts (Pauli 2000). However, before the birth of a child, not a single woman – independent of her birth cohort – took contraceptives. Regardless of whether a woman was born in 1950, 1960 or 1970, she did not use contraceptives before the age of twenty-two. Yet, women born from 1970 onwards took more and more diverse contraceptives than women born before the 1970s. A combination of cohort and life cycle/age group analysis makes it possible to analyze these changes and continuities together.

The concept "generation" can also be defined in a way that resembles more closely the mechanisms through which age groups and the position in the life cycle structure time. Parallel to Newman's definition of generation as a group of people sharing a formative event, another common use of the concept in anthropology is genealogical in nature (for an overview, see Whyte/Alber/van der Geest 2008). Generations in this respect are temporal units of kinship structure. Like age groups and the life cycle, this definition of "generation" highlights cultural patterns rather than temporal variations. Table 2 summarizes this discussion of the different concepts.

So far I have discussed what Ryder (1965: 859) summarized as *macrobiographies* and *cultural patterns* and only briefly mentioned the periodic concept (the third column in Table 2). Before Ryder's path-breaking work, the periodic perspective with its focus on points in time (e.g. comparing the number of marriages in 1950, 1960 and 1970 in a population) was the most dominant one in demography. Today, cohort (or macrobiographic) and periodic approaches are common in demography. In anthropology, ethnographic studies conducted over a period of time have fruitfully applied the periodic approach for comparisons. A good example is Jane F. Collier's (1997) study over time of a Spanish village. She compares village life in the 1960s

and the 1980s and discusses in how far her findings extend or even contradict popular "modernization" discourses. There are thus different ways of thinking about and conducting research into the intersections of lived experience and historical event. For my analysis of the decline of marriage, I take generations and cohorts as my starting point. To this I later add reflections on how generations and cohorts are entangled with formative historic events and the life cycle.

GENERATIONS AND COHORTS OF FRANSFONTEIN WOMEN

I distinguish three generations of women.[11] The lived experiences of the women are tightly connected to the colonial and postcolonial situation in Namibia. Until the mid-20th century, Fransfontein women's lives were framed by the exploitation they experienced by white settlers. Many of the elder women worked on commercial "white" farms, underpaid and on very insecure terms, for substantial periods of their lives. The overwhelming majority of these women later established themselves as communal farmers. I classify this group of women the "older generation" (born between 1915 and 1944). With the establishment of apartheid and the Damaraland homeland in the 1970s, the lives of the next generation of women (born between 1945 and 1964) differed substantially from the lives of their mothers. I label this the "middle generation". During apartheid, economic stratification gained momentum. A small group of newly elite women profited from these developments. But the vast majority of women (and men) continued to live lives in economic and political limbo. Finally, in the 1980s and accelerated further with independence in the 1990s, the political and economic context changed again. The new-won freedom brought new opportunities for women, especially for women of the "younger generation" (born between 1965 and 1994). However, new threats and insecurities also emerged, the most tragic one being HIV/AIDS.

The way I construct the three generations thus resembles Newman's (1986) approach to the concept of generation. I classify Fransfontein women into three generations based on the observation that they form groups "of similarly aged people who share some important formative experiences" (Newman 1986: 232). In how far these three generations of women "have become self-conscious about their identity as a group

11 Detailed information on the political and economic history of the region follows in the next chapter. Here, I only give some basic information on the livelihoods of the women in order to construct the different generations and cohorts that this study focuses on.

Table 3: Birth cohorts and generations of married and unmarried women

Genera-tion	Number of women		Birth cohorts	Number of women		Number of life stories	
	All	Married		All	Married	All	Married
Older generation	78	59	1915-1924	11	10	4	3
			1925-1934	26	25		
			1935-1944	41	24		
Middle generation	106	36	1945-1954	47	14	6	2
			1955-1964	59	22		
Younger generation	180	20	1965-1974	65	15	10	1
			1975-1984	89	5		
			1985-1994	26	0		
Total	**364**	**115**		**364**	**115**	**20**	**6**

in the face of life chances terribly different in appearance from those of their elders and their juniors" (Rosaldo 1980: 111) is debatable. Above, I cited the lady in her seventies who commented on "young" people ruining marriage. In their life stories, women of one generation had markedly different experiences from those of other generations. Yet, the generations did not really perceive themselves as self-conscious groups. My classification is, thus, also influenced by Ryder's (1965) more analytic approach. Further, I also consider Ryder's call to analyze both inter- and intracohort variations. As Table 3 shows, marital status strongly varies not only between generations and cohorts but also within them.[12]

Whereas 76 per cent (59 out of 78 women) of the women of the older generation are or have been married (and are now widowed), only 34 per cent (36 out of 106 women) of the middle generation are married (Table 3, columns two and three). For the younger generation, women born after the mid-1960s, only 11 per cent (20 out of 180 women) are married. A late age at marriage leads to high numbers of unmarried

12 The data discussed here were collected with the help of the ethnographic census and the life history interviews.

women in the youngest cohorts. After classifying the women in Fransfontein into three generations, I then apply a finer classification to divide the three generations in 10-year birth cohorts (Table 3, columns four to six). These birth cohorts correspond to Ryder's definition of a cohort. The classification is not based on any formative event or self-conscious group; it is simply a grouping of the three generations in terms of time periods as method to grasp more subtle changes within one generation. The oldest woman in the whole population of 364 women was born in 1916, the youngest in 1990. After an analysis of the distribution of all 364 women by age, a division into eight 10-year birth cohorts, starting with the 1915-1924 cohort and ending with the 1985-1994 one,[13] seemed most appropriate. Demographers analyzing large datasets often use one-year birth cohorts, yet the present study did not offer enough cases to group women into such narrow categories. Ten-year birth cohorts are more appropriate for our data. For each of the eight birth cohorts, I conducted at least one and often several life story interviews. Half of all "life story" women belong to the youngest generation.

The classification into generations can be fuzzy at the edges. This becomes evident when one takes a closer look at Olga, born in 1942. By age, she should be assigned to the older generation. Yet, because she was one of the very first women to work as a domestic worker for the state, her economic (and also reproductive) autonomy was very different from the lives of the women in the older generation and I decided to assign her to the middle generation.

In the following chapters, a combination of cohort (plus generational) and age grade (plus life cycle) analysis is used to understand the conjugal and reproductive dynamics in Fransfontein throughout the 20th century. In addition, periodic analysis is applied, especially in the chapter on the decline of marriage in Part 2. I analyze changes in the performance, economic implications and meanings of marriage over different time periods (e.g. marriage in the 1960s, in the 1970s and in the 1980s). I also examine closely the practices of weddings, focusing on the lived experiences of different generations and cohorts of women and men. The different approaches on the intersection of lived experience and historical events discussed so far thus help us understand continuities and changes in marriage and reproduction from an individual, a macrobiographic and a historical perspective.

13 Only women who were 15 years and older in 2004 were interviewed. This means that the youngest women interviewed were those born in 1990, and that the last birth cohort (1985-1994) does not include any women born between 1991 and 1994.

History through biography

The turmoils of the late 19th and the 20th centuries touched the lives of Fransfontein men, women and children in many and at times inconceivable ways. The Berlin conference of 1884/1885, the two world wars and the end of the Cold War all affected the fates and life chances of the inhabitants of Fransfontein, regardless of the town's geographic remoteness. As early as 1844, the Rhenish Mission Society commenced its work in Namibia, first in the southern parts of the country and then expanding to the central region. With the Berlin Conference, the formal colonization of Namibia began.[1]

Very quickly thereafter, indigenous Namibians of southern and central Namibia lost the basis of their livelihoods: their land. Both the needs of the white settler community with its demand for land and labor and the strategies and aims of the Rhenish Mission Society shaped and reshaped Fransfontein's geographic appearance. In 1905, Fransfontein became one of the first reserves of Germany's colony of "Southwest Africa". In 1915, in the midst of the First World War, Germany succumbed to South Africa's expeditionary forces. After a brief intermittent period (1915-1920), the League of Nations granted South Africa mandatory power over Namibia in 1920. The consolidation of South Africa's colonial power implied further cuts to the freedoms of indigenous Namibians. After the Second World War, South Africa submitted a petition to the newly formed United Nations (UN) for permission to integrate Namibia into South Africa. This petition was rejected. However, with the victory of the National Party in South Africa in 1948, the country illegally annexed Namibia, ruling it as its "fifth province". In this manner, Namibia was included in the National Party's racist apartheid policy. In 1966, this step led the UN to revoke South Africa's League of Nation mandate to rule Namibia. The International Court of Justice confirmed in 1971 that South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia was illegal. Despite this,

1 For further information on the history of Namibia, see Wallace (2011), Lau (1986), Hayes et al. (1998).

South Africa went ahead to establish almost a dozen "homelands" on Namibian territory. "Damaraland" was created, which enclosed the Fransfontein reserve, one among several remote reserves. Two decades later, it was the gradual decline of the Cold War era that had a significant impact on the lives of Fransfontein people. Cuba's withdrawal of its forces from Angola in 1988 led South Africa to accept UN Resolution 435 from 1978, which led to Namibia's independence in 1990.

Of course, the fact that Fransfontein's fate was locked into national and global events was comparable to the situation of other regions in Namibia. Yet each community and each region experienced, suffered through and resisted these changes in their own unique ways. Although much historical work remains to be done, several excellent political-economic histories of communities neighboring Fransfontein have been published.[2] Bennet Fuller (1993, 1998) has written an ethnography on the development of Otjimbingwe and Sesfontein. Much of the following has profited from his insights. Equally, Richard Rohde's (1994, 1997) historically grounded ethnography of Okombahe has been central for my understanding of the local reactions to the Odendaal plan, which led to the implementation of homelands, and the introduction of apartheid in Namibia (see also Rohde/Hoffman/Cousins 2000). These two publications are, to my knowledge, the most in-depth treatments of communities of the former Damaraland. Other historic and ethnographic work on communities within former Damaraland does not explicitly focus on the social and political history of the region but remains valuable for insight into specific aspects, such as its environmental history and its forms of natural resource management (Botha n.d.; Linke 2017; Schnegg 2016b, 2018; Sullivan 1996, 2000, 2003), its mining towns (Kuper 1995), its migration history (Greiner 2008, 2011), its pre-contact and early colonial history (Gockel-Frank 1998; Lau 1986, 1987) and everyday life under apartheid (Gordon 1971, 1972).

Fransfontein is and has always been multiethnic. Since the community's establishment in the 1890s, both Damara and Nama people have lived together in the region. Most everyday practices transcended ethnic boundaries (Dawids et al. 2007), though a sense of ethnic belonging continues to exist. Thus, work on Nama history has also provided insights, even though it focuses on southern Namibia, especially Reinhart Kössler's (2005) detailed history of two southern Namibian Nama communities, Adelheid Iken's (1999) ethnography on Nama female-headed households and Sabine Klocke-Daffa's (2001) ethnographic work on reciprocity and sharing in the

2 Because of Namibia's large geographical range, "neighboring" communities can be removed from each other by tens to hundreds of kilometers. Fransfontein's closest neighbors are the communities of Okombahe (approximately 2 hours by car), Sesfontein (2 ½ hours) and Otjimbingwe (3 ½ hours).

southern Namibian community of Berseba. The third largest ethnic group that has lived in the Fransfontein area for several decades is made up of speakers of Bantu languages, who migrated into this area in the 1930s. Giorgio Miescher (2006) provides a historic account of their life prior to their move to Fransfontein and their migration, with further information provided by Michael Schnegg (2007a) and Clemens Greiner (2008). Schnegg's (2007a) analysis of the antecedents and consequences of an early colonial war in the Fransfontein area explicitly focuses on the multiethnic history of Fransfontein and is thus another central source for my discussion.

My objective is not to write a history of the social, political and economic developments of Fransfontein in the late 19th and the 20th centuries. To achieve my general aim, an understanding of the transformations of marriage, reproduction and class, I rather discuss historic processes as that which frames individual lives and sets the limits and opportunities for individual actors. Of course, structure is not possible without agency and vice versa (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984; Schnegg/Pauli 2010; Sewell 1992, 2005). The life stories I gathered show the interdependency of structure and agency, making visible the "complex nexus of individual responses to the political, environmental and economic circumstances" (Rohde 1997: 273). I use the concepts of generation and cohort, introduced in the previous chapter, as analytic devices. Cohort and generational analyses, thus what Ryder (1965: 859) has called "macro-biographies", connect individual life experiences with larger historical forces. My concern here is thus neither with a general historic description of the community nor with an exclusive focus on individual lives. I am rather concerned to understand history through biography, by integrating an analysis of periodic events with that of generations and cohorts.

The previous chapter, "Fransfontein Fieldwork", introduced three generations of women. Other classifications might also be possible. Chris Tapscott (1995: 154), for example, has suggested a division into a formative period up to 1974, the intensive years of war from 1974 until the onset of independence in 1989, and the postindependence era. His classification, however, is based on historical developments in the northern parts of the country, which differ quite substantially from those in central and southern Namibia (Pankhurst 1996; Silvester/Wallace/Hayes 1998). Unlike Namibians in the north, only few people in Fransfontein had direct contact with the warfare of the 1970s and 1980s. Inversely, the northern territories did not experience the trauma of massive land dispossession that all southern and central Namibian communities (including Fransfontein) experienced. Similarly, where only few women in the north worked on white settler farms, numerous women and couples from central and southern Namibian communities like Fransfontein made this experience.

For many Fransfontein women that I classified as belonging to the older generation (born between 1915 and 1944), working and living on white commercial farms

was the central experience during most of their productive and reproductive lives. I begin my diachronic analysis with their lives. Previous events and circumstances, like the colonial formation of the "Damara" ethnic group or pastoralist pre-colonial livelihoods of inhabitants of the area, will not be discussed (Fuller 1993; Gockel-Frank 1998; Riechmann 1899; Rohde 1997; Schnegg 2007a). The establishment of homelands in the 1960s and 1970s greatly changed the livelihoods of the Fransfontein people and ushered in the next generation that I look at. In this period, the living conditions of many deteriorated even further while for a small emerging elite new opportunities arose. The women who reached their productive and reproductive prime during this period I have labeled as "middle generation" (born between 1945 and 1964). Following Rosaldo's (1980: 111) approach to distinguish generations, the life chances of these women were "terribly different in appearance from those of their elders and their juniors". The youngest generation of women, born between 1965 and 1994, came of age after Namibia gained independence. Although class formation in Namibia has strong antecedents in the pre-independence era (Abrahams 1982; Jauch 1998; Tapscott 1993, 1995), for the majority of the population independence has meant a significant change in their lives. This is clearly expressed in the life stories of the younger women who described increasing individual liberties and less racist discrimination. But they also mentioned new threats, especially the fear of an HIV infection. The discussion below, of history through biography, is structured by the central experience of each of the three generations of Fransfontein women: life on white commercial farms, apartheid, and independence, respectively.

THE OLDER GENERATION: A LIFE ON COMMERCIAL FARMS AND RESERVES

When I meet Rose for the very first time in 2004, she is sitting in front of her house, cooking on an open fire. At that time she is 78 years old. All her life she has been working hard, as a worker on commercial farms of white farmers and as a farmer herself in the communal area. Both her hands and her face express years of struggle and pain; they are very dry, with many wrinkles.

Rose was born in the 1920s, in one of the settlements surrounding the Fransfontein community. When she was a young child, her parents started working on the German farm "Ritterstall" (stable of the knights). For most of the time, Rose remained in the Fransfontein reserve, separated from her parents. In her teens she also started working at "Ritterstall". There she met her future husband, Jacob. Jacob was born in 1919 and grew up in the Okombahe reserve which the Germans had established in 1905. Neither Rose nor Jacob received any formal education. For a while,

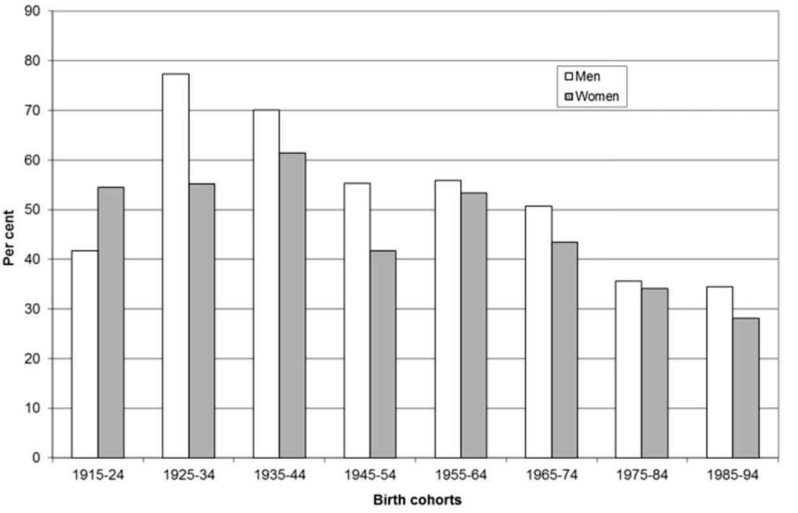
Rose, Jacob and Rose's parents all worked at "Ritterstall". But when a conflict arose between Rose's parents and the farmer, all four of them left the farm. The following years were very challenging for Rose. Jacob and Rose worked on different farms, but everywhere the conditions were bad. Workers were treated in humiliating ways, physically abused and undernourished. During this period Rose and Jacob lost the first two of their children shortly after birth. Through Jacob's parents, who had found work with an Afrikaner farmer by the name of van Zyl on the farm "Twyfel", Jacob and Rose also found employment. In 1942, while working for van Zyl, Rose gave birth to Olga. Olga survived early childhood and grew up in the Fransfontein reserve. Here, the elderly members of the family were taking care of the family's livestock and the children, while the productive family members worked on white commercial farms.

Several more children were born to Rose and Jacob. In this situation, the couple decided that they wanted to get married. Van Zyl agreed to support them with some clothes. He preferred married couples as workers and paid them better. Rose says that it was much easier for a worker to become a foreman on the farm when he was married. During the week of their wedding, Jacob received a note from his relatives in the reserve asking him to come as several of Jacob and Rose's livestock had disappeared. For several days Jacob searched the reserve for the animals. Rose was unable to accompany him because she was very advanced in pregnancy. Upon Jacob's return the farmer was angry at his protracted absence and the wedding was cancelled. Despite many conflicts with van Zyl, Rose and Jacob continued working for him.

For several decades, Rose and Jacob had to work on white commercial farms. They were forced into this because there was never enough food and not sufficient grazing for their livestock in the Fransfontein reserve. Labor migration on white commercial farms has thus been a very common experience in the family. All of Rose and Jacob's 12 children were born on white farms. In the mid-1980s, Jacob and Rose retired and started living permanently at one of the settlements in the Fransfontein area. Their house in the settlement has four multipurpose rooms all made out of local materials. There is no electricity and the water is retrieved from a borehole. The household's main source of income is the pension money that Rose and Jacob receive. In 1988, and several decades after their first attempt, Rose and Jacob finally got married. They were among the elderly and long-term couples whom the local pastor visited on their farms and married in a very inexpensive and brief ceremony. The lived experiences of Rose and Jacob are exemplary for the older generation, as Figure 3 demonstrates.

Forty-four per cent (172 of 387) of all women and 49 per cent (178 of 362) of all men of 15 years and older have worked on white commercial farms. Thus, almost half of the population has been drawn directly into the white settler economy. Yet,

Figure 3: Working experiences on commercial farms



working experiences on commercial farms vary strongly between the cohorts, as Figure 3 demonstrates. In the cohort of men born between 1925 and 1934, almost eight out of ten men worked for white farmers. In the following cohort, seven out of ten men had to make the experience. Then, the percentages gradually decline, indicating the rise of other income opportunities besides communal farming and working on commercial farms. This process starts with the birth cohorts I have classified as the middle generation, thus the cohorts born between 1945 and 1964. The only exception to this process is the female birth cohort of 1945-1954 with remarkable low percentages. Below I will explain this deviation. The low percentage for the first cohort of men born between 1915 and 1924 can be explained with the then still existing option of independent communal farming; many of these older men were still able to survive as communal farmers. This independence vanished for the following cohorts. Other employment options besides communal farming (which became increasingly untenable as a mode of survival because of continuous land dispossession) and labor migration on commercial farms were virtually non-existent, including mining, an option that only arose later.[3]

3 Pastor Eliphas Eiseb is an exception to this rule. He was born in 1918 and became an ELCRN pastor. In the 1980s he served as acting king for the Damara Council. He lived in Fransfontein from the late 1980s onwards, and passed away in 2007.Together with Professor Haacke from the African languages department at the University of Namibia, Pastor

As Figure 3 shows, the percentages for women with working experiences on white commercial farms are in general lower than those for men. This can be explained by the fact that several couples did not stay and work together on commercial farms. In these cases, the men were engaged in labor migration while the women stayed in the reserve and kept the farm household running. Still, significant numbers of women left the reserve and worked for white commercial farmers.[4] The percentages are highest for the first three cohorts, those cohorts I have classified as being part of the older generation. More than half to two thirds of these women have lived and worked on white commercial farms. The first cohort of the middle generation, women born between 1945 and 1964, clearly differs from this pattern. Where the preceding cohort (1935-1944) had more than 60 per cent of women with experiences of working on commercial farms, only 40 per cent of the women born between 1945 and 1954 made these experiences. The reason for this decline is a new income alternative besides commercial farm work that arose at this time: twenty-five per cent of the women of this cohort found employment as domestic workers. In 1964, the Frans Frederik Primary School and its hostel were inaugurated in Fransfontein. In the following years, several women in their twenties found employment as domestic cleaners at the school and hostel. For women and men of the youngest generation, born between 1965 and 1994, work on commercial farms has become only one option among others. Especially young men have been able to find temporary employment on one of the surrounding commercial and today also safari farms, for example as guides for hunting expeditions.

Not only do the percentages of women and men with working experiences on white commercial farms vary between cohorts. The length of time spent on commercial farms also varies between cohorts. While men and women of the eldest generation have, on average, spent more than a decade of their lives as workers on white commercial farms, the number of years spent on commercial farms declines for the middle generation (1945-1964). Fransfontein women and men of all generations have tried to reduce their time on white commercial farms. Relations between white settlers and indigenous Namibians were often problematic and tense.

From the time of the German colonization of then South West Africa, the economy was geared primarily to the demands of two groups: foreign capital controlling

Eiseb wrote the first (and only) comprehensive dictionary of Khoekhoegowab (Haacke 2007; Haacke/Eiseb 2002).

4 In this respect, southern and central Namibia clearly differ from northern Namibia. The contract labor system in north Namibia forced only men into waged employment, not women. Men in southern and central Namibia were also forced into waged labor, but they were allowed, and sometimes even encouraged, to bring their families with them (Iken 1999: 4).

the lucrative mining industry, and the white settler community (Simon/Moorsom 1987; Tapscott 1995: 154). Both sectors demanded cheap labor and were interested in the indigenous population only as unskilled workers and not as consumers (Tapscott 1995: 154). Local production was virtually absent and the import of consumer goods was oriented towards the needs of the colonial elite. The white settler demand for land meant a massive dispossession of land for the indigenous population of southern and central Namibia. From the beginning of land appropriation in 1883 by the German trader Franz Adolf Eduard Lüderitz, who bought large areas of land in southern Namibia from the local Nama chief Joseph Fredericks, there were different types of appropriation by white settlers, traders and officials, ranging from illegal appropriation to "deals" with local leaders (Schnegg 2007a; Werner 2004: 293). With the end of German colonialism in 1915, indigenous Namibians in the central and southern parts of Namibia, the so-called police zone, had lost much of their land and livestock (Jauch 1998: 27).[5]

The arrival of white settlers also meant a gradual end of the transhumance system with its high level of adaptation to ecologic variations (Botha n.d.; Rohde 1997; Rohde/Hoffman/Cousins 2000; Fuller 1998: 194). White farm owners started drawing boundaries around parcels of land, marking them with fences. Thus, privately-owned land (and the expression of such in the fixation of borders through fences) stood in contrast to how Damara, Nama, Herero and Baster communites of southern and central Namibia, divided into small mobile groups with low levels of political centralization, used land and water communally in the pre-colonial period (Rohde 1997; Werner 2004).

The history of land dispossession in Fransfontein corresponds closely to the above description. According to oral traditions of the Swartbooi Nama (*//Khau-/goan*), they were herders from south and central Namibia who arrived in the area around Fransfontein in the 1890s.[6] Searching for water, the Swartbooi encountered the Fransfontein fountain and named the place after one of them, Frans Swartbooi. However, as Damara oral histories narrate, they were already settled in the area around the fountain, a place they had named *Anipira a he* (the place where the birds drink). This is confirmed in the writings by missionary Heinrich Riechmann of the Rhenish Mission

5 The "police zone" was created under German colonial rule in 1906 when the north of the country was formally separated from the central and southern parts. Within this central and southern "police zone", whites were permitted to settle (theoretically under police protection). Under South African martial law (Proclamation 15 of 1919), no person could cross the border of the "police zone" without permission. The line also became known as the "red line" (see Silvester/Wallace/Hayes 1998: 3).

6 For more details, see Schnegg (2007a) and Riechmann (1899).

Society of Wuppertal, Germany, who settled in Fransfontein in 1891. With the establishment of Fransfontein by Riechmann and the Swartbooi, the Damara were moved to Tsumamas, a spring about 25 kilometers east of Fransfontein (Riechmann 1899; Schnegg 2007a). In 1905, the Germans turned Fransfontein into a reserve (RSA 1964; Werner 2004: 295) while Tsumamas was declared white commercial farm land. Some of the Damara families continued to stay on the newly established white farms as workers, building fences, dams and roads; others migrated to the reserve area. Yet these events of 1905 were not the first Fransfontein experiences of land dispossession through white colonizers. A war in 1897/1898 between the Swartbooi and their Herero-speaking allies and the German *Schutztruppe* at Grootberg, close to Fransfontein, is an example of the conflicts that grew out of land "deals" between local leaders and German officials. At the time, the Swartbooi not only lost a significant amount of land but had to surrender to the German *Schutztruppe* with half of the population of Fransfontein being imprisoned in Windhoek (Riechmann 1899; Schnegg 2007a). The manner in which the Swartbooi fought against the Germans is only one example of resistance against land dispossession and German colonialism of this period.[7]

During the South African occupation from 1915 onwards, land dispossession continued. From the 1930s to the 1950s, an especially generous Land Settlement Program – described as one of the most generous settlement schemes on the planet (Fuller 1993: 50) – tried to attract white farmers, mainly from South Africa, to Namibia (Fuller 1993; Kambatuku 1996; Moorsom 1982: 32; Rohde 1997: 252-253; Sullivan 1996). One consequence of this in-migration was the creation of "large blocks of economically disadvantaged voters able to extract concessions from the government" (Fuller 1993: 48), concessions that generally went to the cost of the indigenous population. However, partly because of its peripheral location and partly because of its vulnerability to drought, the area that later became classified as "Damaraland" was one of the last areas to be settled by white farmers (Rohde 1997: 253).[8] The majority of surveyed farms in the north-west Damaraland were not settled until 1954 (Kambatuku 1996). At that time land speculation by white settlers was booming and the value of the surveyed farmland was at its height (Fuller 1993: 52-56; Sullivan 1996: 15, 17).

7 Another example is the uprising of Hendrik Witbooi at Hornkrantz in 1894. Of course, the war of 1904-1907 and the subsequent genocide of the Herero (with an estimated 75 to 80 per cent of the population killed), including tremendous losses for Nama (with an estimated 50 per cent of the population killed) and Damara people (Fuller 1993: 27), is the most well-known instance of resistance against German colonialism in Namibia.

8 This excluded the not-inhabited coastal strip.

From the perspective of the Fransfontein population, the robbery of their land was thus a gradual process, a "creeping occupation" (Schnegg 2007a: Figure 2). By the end of the process in the 1950s, the Fransfontein reserve was a small island in a sea of white commercial farms (see maps in Schnegg 2007a). White settler demand for land led to a strong need for cheap labor. In the 1920s, over 60 per cent of the non-white population within the so-called police zone worked on white farms in rural areas (Botha n.d.; Rohde 1997: 247). During that and the following decades, the western Namibian reserves of Okombahe, Fransfontein and Otjohorongo functioned as labor reserves for the surrounding settler farms (Rohde 1997: 261). This is also clearly expressed in the high percentages of Fransfonteiners from the oldest generation who worked on white commercial farms (see Figure 3).[9] For the eldest generation of Fransfonteiners, occupational opportunities other than labor migration or communal farming were virtually non-existent. Similarly, educational possibilities were very limited for indigenous Namibians and, just as in South Africa, upward mobility was strongly constrained by a job color bar (Tapscott 1995: 154).

There was a strong connection between the massive land dispossession of indigenous Namibians, the white economy's labor needs and the establishment of "native" reserves (Werner 2004). Reserves were first established by the German colonial administration: after the 1904-1907 war, it set up six small reserves, including the Fransfontein reserve with an area of 36.188 hectares (Werner 2004: 295). After Germany surrendered to the Union of South Africa in 1915, South Africa adopted this policy. Its Native Land Act of 1913 served as a "prototype" for "separate development" within Namibia in the first years of its colonial rule (Fuller 1993: 25; Werner 2004: 296). In the 1920s, there were three reserves inhabited primarily by Damara/ Nama speakers in western Namibia: Fransfontein, Okombahe and Sesfontein. The "Herero" reserve of Otjohorongo, which was later incorporated into "Damaraland", was created in 1925 (Sullivan 1996). The establishment of the reserves alongside the growing of "white" commercial farms heralded the beginning of the dichotomy between "communal" and "commercial" land, one that still applies today. A restricted access to land by the indigenous population thus also determined their high availability and low cost to the colonial economy (Werner 2004: 292): the reserves allowed white farmers and the government to shift responsibility of all social costs (such as old age pensions or health care) to the communities on the reserves and thus to the workers

9 Until the uprising of 1904-1907, it was mainly indigenous Namibians from southern and central Namibia who were exploited as cheap sources of labor (Tapscott 1995; Jauch 1998). After the genocide, a system of recruiting migrant contract labor from northern Namibia was established (Tapscott 1995).

themselves (see Fuller 1993: 55). But because of the limited value of the land given to the indigenous population, the people were not able to accumulate enough assets to survive independently of the "white economy" and were forced to work for the settlers and to tolerate dismal working conditions (Werner 2004: 292). Additionally, heavy taxes on grazing were imposed to extract indigenous labor from the reserves (Fuller 1993: 55).

Because of the difficult working conditions on commercial farms, many Fransfonteiners tried to work as rarely as possible for white commercial farmers. Many other indigenous Namibians tried avoiding the farming sector altogether and preferred working on the mines. However, no one of the eldest generation of Fransfonteiners worked for the mines – most likely because there were no active networks linking them up with the mining areas. Working conditions on white commercial farms were bad and cruel mistreatment was common (Fuller 1993: 57), including both physical mistreatment and starvation: "Physical abuse was a possibility and hunger a certainty". (ibid: 58) The diet consisted of a ration of white corn meal and sugar, which by itself is not a nutritious diet (ibid). However, workers were earning too little to supplement this meager diet and many suffered from malnutrition and diseases associated with a weakened condition. In these situations, many women of the eldest generation endured miscarriages and the loss of one or several children while working on commercial farms, as Rosalie's story above illustrates.

Given the racist conditions under which the reserves were created, life in the "native" reserves was often not much better. They were administered by so-called Reserve Boards, responsible for managing the Reserve Administration Trust Funds in which a reserve's revenues, mainly from taxes, were deposited (Sullivan 1996: 21). Although these boards were set up to administer the internal affairs of the reserves, they "were in effect institutions designed to ensure that the economic development of these areas was in line with the interests of White farmers" (Rohde/Hoffman/Cousins 2000: 327). Thus, these "native reserves" established by the South Africans from 1915 onwards were not created to foster a sustainable livelihood for indigenous Namibians but to fulfill white settlers' need for cheap labor (Werner 2004: 292).

After the German colonial government established Fransfontein as a reserve in 1905, it expanded in size in the 1930s, again in accordance with the needs of the white farmers in the region rather than for the good of its inhabitants. The expansion came about when expanding land occupation by white settlers in 1938 forced a group described as "Ovambo" (composed of Ovambo- and Herero-speakers) was forced to leave Otjeru, a settlement located between Outjo and Omaruru that had been granted to them by the German administration (Miescher 2006). The leader of the group, Lazarus Amporo, asked Petrus Swartbooi, then head of the Fransfontein Reserve Board and leader of the Swartbooi, for support and for permission to settle in the Fransfontein

area. Petrus Swartbooi was in favor of the idea and, given the limited size of the Fransfontein reserve, submitted a petition to the colonial administration for an extension to the reserve, a request which was granted.[10] This migration was probably the largest migration into the Fransfontein reserve; yet it was followed by a number of smaller, additional ones, as for example the "!Ganeb migration" of the !Ganeb family in the 1940s (Schnegg 2007a). Yet the extension of the reserve did not occur in proportion with the growing population: while becoming more multiethnic, it also became more crowded. At this point it had a police station with a police commander who submitted a monthly report to his supervisors in Outjo, updating them on livestock and grazing, the number of visas issued, the crimes committed and a classification of the population by ethnicity.[11]

The lives of the older generation in Fransfontein were thus characterized by experiences of extreme loss in both movement and property. This generation had to endure the consolidation of the reserve, the continuous deprivation of land and autonomy, and the forced need to work for white farmers. Until the 1960s, "blacks in Namibia were totally excluded from all positions of influence or authority within the Namibian polity" (Abrahams 1982: 21). People were forced to work at the lowest level of unskilled labor, in the case of Fransfontein's older generation as workers on white commercial farms.

For the oldest generation of the residents of Fransfontein, the lines of confrontation ran between what was perceived as the "natives" and the "white settlers", and not (yet) along ethnic lines (Lau/Reiner 1993: 11). Indeed, "apart from a few piecemeal exceptions, rural reserves were not intended to be confined to particular ethnic groups until the Odendaal Plan was tabled in the early 1960s" (Silvester/Wallace/Hayes 1998: 46). At this point, a policy of "politicised ethnicity" thoroughly changed the structure of indigenous Namibian communities (Kössler 2005: 8; Maré 1993), a development we see shaping the middle generation.

10 Schnegg (2007a) mentions that the South African administration might have agreed to the extension in order to accommodate Nama from Grootfontein and Walvis Bay rather than the "Ovambo" group from Otjeru.

11 Ethnicity captured in this way is very problematic and biased. However, as Schnegg (2007a) shows, ethnic heterogeneity clearly increased in the Fransfontein reserve from the 1930s to the 1950s as a result of this in-migration.

THE MIDDLE GENERATION: SEPARATED BY APARTHEID

The division into ethnic groups, so central to the construction of apartheid, not only resulted in the creation of "politicised ethnicity" (Kössler 2005: 8) between ethnic groups but also initiated processes of stratification within ethnic groups. To understand how these class formation processes during apartheid shaped the Fransfontein middle generation, it is necessary to first outline the new homeland structures.

After Namibia's full administrative "integration" into the Republic of South Africa in the late 1950s and 1960s, Namibia was administered as South Africa's fifth province. This annexation also implied the establishment of apartheid and the creation of "homelands" based on ethnic criteria in Namibia (Rohde 1997: 258). To achieve this, the South African government appointed the so-called "Odendaal commission" in 1962. Because of international critique, the implementation of the commission's suggestions, summarized in the "Odendaal plan" (RSA 1964), commenced only in the late 1960s (Vesper 1983: 107). One of its main recommendations was the creation of ten ethnically homogeneous and self-administered "homelands" (Vesper 1983: 113; Wallace 2011: 261-271), among these "Damaraland" that would include the Fransfontein reserve.

Because of the poor quality of the land that was allocated to Damaraland, already the Odendaal plan stated that the majority of the population would be unable to survive solely from the resources available in the homeland (RSA 1964: 93). Forty per cent of the newly created Damaraland was made up of desert (Wallace 2011: 263). For the creation of what came to be known as Damaraland, 223 farms were bought from their white owners, most of them only surveyed and settled since the 1930s and holding extensive cattle and small-stock enterprises (Rohde 1997: 258; see also Rohde 1994). In addition, some state land and the three existing reserves of Okombahe, Fransfontein and Sesfontein were allocated to the new homeland (Rohde 1997: 259). Unlike the 8500 hectares that were considered the minimum size of land a white farmer needed for farming, residents in the newly created Damaraland had to survive on a meager 250 hectares per family. Consequently, many Damara-speakers had to live on white commercial farms or in the Windhoek township Katutura in order to access employment (Barnard 1992: 213; Rohde 1997: 259). This situation was comparable to the situation in other homelands: "As none of these artificially created homelands was economically viable in terms of subsistence agriculture, the inhabitants were forced to look for wage employment in order to provide for their families" (Jauch 1998: 28).

As envisaged by the Odendaal plan, the structure of Damaraland's administration was grounded in notions of traditional leadership (RSA 1964: 93). A so-called Damara Council was established that took over the functions previously carried by the South

African Department of Bantu Affairs, except for issues of defense, security, foreign affairs and utilities which remained in the hands of the South African government. The council consisted of an appointed chief, his deputy, and the headmen and councilors for Okombahe, Fransfontein and Sesfontein. Head or chief of the Damara Council was "Damara King" Justus //Garoeb. The town of Welwitschia (later renamed Khorixas) became the administrative seat of this Damara regional government. The administration of Damaraland was subdivided into 12 *wyke* (wards). Fransfontein was ward nine, headed by *hoofman* (headman) Johannes Isaak Hendriks. Festus !Aseb, Petrus !Gaoraseb and Rudolf !Nawaseb represented ward nine as councillors.

With the intention to legitimize the new homeland structure, the first so-called "Bantustan-elections" were held in 1978 in Damaraland. However, these elections were boycotted by all political groups except for the Damara United Front which was linked to the South-African backed Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) (Sullivan 1996: 22). Then, in 1980, the Damara Council under Justus //Garoeb received a massive majority. This victory marked the rise of a strong regional power, based on a rather static "tribal" identity (ibid). It also marks the emergence of new patronage structures in Damaraland. The headmen and councilors of the newly created wards started to receive government payments for their administrative services. Further, they were now in charge of the distribution of pensions and wages (ibid: 23). Thus, the bureaucratization of the Damara homeland created a new elite of politicians and administrators, strongly intertwined with the Damara Council. Similar process also occurred in other homelands.

In Ovamboland, the new homeland structures created a "modernizing" elite, qualified through (Western types of) education and consisting of teachers, religious leaders, official/clerks and nurses; this new elite complemented the "traditional" elite of pre-apartheid times, consisting of traditional leaders and traders, often lacking any Western type of education (Tötemeyer 1978). This latter interconnection may even have had historic roots, as Gregor Dobler (2014) traces these types of links back in time into colonial Ovamboland. Writing about elite formations in the Kavango during the homeland period, Mattia Fumanti (2016) suggests that the disparities between "traditional" and "modern" types of elites might be a question of generations.

Who then formed the new homeland elites? A closer look at the institutional make-up of the homelands reveals at least three groups: politicians, civil servants, and professionals, such as teachers and nurses (Jauch 1998: 41; Tapscott 1995: 157; Werner 1987: 76). However, there was a certain occupational fluidity supposedly characteristic also for other African elite formation processes (Daloz 2003; Fumanti 2016): many politicians, for example, started out as teachers. The salaries this new elite earned was on par with salaries earned by white counterparts and were significantly higher than those of the average black worker (Jauch 1998: 41). During the

1970s and 1980s, most indigenous households continued to live in poverty and in some regions the situation even worsened (see Fuller 1993 for Otjimbingwe). For the professional, political and administrative elite, though, the economic situation significantly improved. The differences in wages in the later 1970s were marked: where black ordinary wage-earners earned R230 annually (even less in rural areas), the chairmen of the homeland executive committees had an annual salary of between R22.000 and R28.000, ordinary members of the (ethnic legislative assemblies between R3000 and R5000, and high school teachers R12.000 to R18.000 (Abrahams 1982). And in addition to their salaries, elite earners received access to housing, medical aid and pension schemes. In 1984, this class comprised approximately 15-20 per cent of all indigenous households (Jauch 1998: 41).

The emergence of the "new indigenous elite" was recorded by political activist, co-founder of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and medical doctor Kenneth Abrahams (Abrahams 1982: 21). In his work, he defines the elite as a group of people occupying positions of superiority by virtue of certain qualities (actual, claimed or presumed) of excellence or distinctions (ibid: 21). Introducing the elite with Janis Joplin's famous song line "Lord, won't you buy me a Mercedes Benz", he demonstrates how the impoverished workers of Katutura called the elite the *waserauta*, those who had "'sold out' – to South Africa or to the governing authorities or for financial gain. They are considered to have betrayed their people". (ibid; cf. Tapscott 1995: 157). Abrahams (1982: 22) shows how the percentage of indigenous Namibians employed in better paying jobs such as management positions or occupations in the health sector strongly increased in the 1970s, thus corresponding in time with the institutionalization of the homelands. He concludes:

> In short, due to a combination of factors, including the new political dispensation, the establishment of a National Assembly and Ministers Council, Namibianisation of the civil service, the creation of eleven ethnic administrations, the massive departure of skilled White workers, and the legal abolition of the Colour Bar in the private sector (commerce, industry, trade, agriculture, etc.), skilled and qualified Blacks are, for the first time in our history, able to become mobile in upward direction. (ibid: 23)

Abrahams (1982) compares the Namibian indigenous elites with postcolonial elites of other African countries and discovers both similarities and differences. In terms of lifestyle, consumerism and influence of "Western" products, practices and values, Abrahams sees the emerging Namibian indigenous elite as rather similar to other African elites. Huge amounts of public funds were invested into luxurious housing and vehicles (ibid: 30). Yet, unlike in other African countries, the indigenous elites in Namibia were a "pre-independence phenomenon" that developed long before the

country's independence. Despite their elite status, members of the new Namibian elites were confronted with the everyday racism inherent in the apartheid system. Apartheid then both enabled the emergence of new indigenous elites and at the same time constrained the lives of the new Namibian elites (ibid).

A moral evaluation of Namibian indigenous elite formation has thus to proceed very cautiously (Behrends/Pauli 2012). As Carola Lentz (1994: 151) warned in relation to Ghanaian elites, one should neither hold "partisan perspectives that idealise them as upholders of 'civil society' [n]or condemn them as exploitative patron-bureaucrats". While Tapscott (1993, 1995), Herbert Jauch (1998), Abrahams (1982) and Henning Melber (2007, 2011, 2014) critically assess the (mis)behaviour of many indigenous Namibian elites since the 1970s, Gerhard Tötemeyer (1978), David Simon and Richard Moorsom (1987), Dobler (2014) and Fumanti (2007, 2016) are much more cautious.[12] Fumanti (2007) stresses that there are significant differences between various Namibian regions regarding collaboration, cooperation and the political activism of regional elites that need to be considered when evaluating the elites in the decades before independence. In Damaraland, the new elite was not perceived as corrupt or exploitive. Rather, the Damara Council was viewed as successful by the local population: first, it seemed successful at redistributing wealth to the wards and, second, it fought to overcome historically ingrained negative stereotypes of the Damara people without compromising its support for SWAPO's nationalistic ideology (Sullivan 1996: 23).

The classification into modernizing and traditional elites is also helpful to understand the dynamics of elite formation in Fransfontein. Although a modernizing elite existed before the establishment of the homeland in the 1970s and 1980s, it was very small and mainly linked to the Protestant church that had been established in Fransfontein in 1891. By the time apartheid was introduced in Namibia, the Fransfontein church hosted a small school, hostel and a health station with one nurse and one pastor. The establishment of bureaucratic structures with the homeland notably increased this modernizing elite. Now, jobs as administrator or politician became available.

12 The involvement of the South African state in Namibian class formation processes is another field of inquiry on which the above mentioned authors differ. Jauch (1998), Abrahams (1982) and especially Tapscott hold the view that, with the implementation of self-governance through "homeland authorities", South Africa fostered the rise of a loyal and stabilizing class within the homelands: "As in South Africa at the time, the creation of a black middle class was intended to act as a hedge against the growing militancy of the masses and to counter their growing antipathy towards capitalism". (Tapscott 1993: 30, 1995: 156) In contrast, Fumanti (2007) underscores the agency and resistance of an indigenous elites in Rundu.

Additionally, a new school and a new health station were opened in Fransfontein, offering employment for teachers, nurses and domestic workers. This sudden availability of new employment opportunities changed the economic structure of Fransfontein. Almost all new occupations of influence, power and prestige were filled by men. Women were very differently integrated into the novel economic structures. They were placed at the receiving end, being offered low-paying occupations as domestic workers by the new male elite. This development was an important element in the establishment of a homeland patronage system.

Big men at work: Homeland patronage systems

> The development of a "homeland" bureaucratic infrastructure led to new economic dynamism based on state and leadership patronage.
> *Richard Rohde/Nature, Cattle Thieves and Various Other Midnight Robbers*

The colonial South African state was interested in the development of loyal indigenous elites. With the implementation of the homeland administrations from the 1960s onwards, emerging local elites had remarkable autonomy to administer public funds. A general lack of accountability presented opportunities for politicians, administrators and professionals to enrich themselves through corruption (Tapscott 1995: 157).[13] Although a commission of enquiry into corruption was established (see Rohde 1997; Werner 1987), the misappropriation of funds was not really sanctioned. Quite the opposite, as Tapscott (1995: 157) states; the behavior of the new "ethnic" elite was in a way welcomed by the colonial state: "It is evident that corruption and inefficiency, while not endorsed, were nevertheless tolerated as necessary for retaining the support of the leadership of the second-tier authorities".

A closer look at the dynamics within Damaraland reveals a rather complex picture. On the one hand, and similar to other homelands, there are multiple accusations of corruption, as for example the buying of cars without interest charges, or the allocation of "inconvenience allowances" and "private construction projects" (Botha n.d.). The Damara Council was described as "a money picnic", an observation based,

13 Not all researchers assess the extent of corruption within the homelands in equal measure. Tapscott (1993, 1995), Christo Botha (n.d.) and Abrahams (1982) see a strong presence of corruption. Simon and Moorsom, in contrast, consider it a much smaller phenomenon, stating that only "a handful" of politicians engaged in these practices (1987: 85-86). It is likely that corruption varied in the different homelands.

for example, on the fact that the Council overspent its allocated budget of R20 million in 1982–1983 by R9 million (Rohde 1997: 296).[14] On the other hand, there was also an awareness of significant administrative problems within the Damara Council. In the 1980s, the chairman of the Damara Executive Committee, King Justus //Garoeb, admitted that his administration lacked good administrators and was not able to deal with the influx of 28.000 people into Damaraland (Botha n.d.). //Garoeb also pointed out the difficulties in the interaction with white officials. In several instances, for example regarding the resettlement of Riemvasmaker people into Damaraland, South Africa had failed to consult with the Damara Council (Botha n.d.: 9).

It is remarkable that, despite a strong increase in internal stratification and multiple accusations of corruption, the Damara council was nevertheless supported by most of the Damara-speaking population of the region (Botha n.d.; Rohde 1997; Sullivan 1996). Above I already mentioned two possible explanations: the Council's success in remodeling the negative stereotypes of Damara people into a positive and self-conscious ethnic identity (Sullivan 1996: 23); and the perception that the Council did redistribute wealth to the local level. This redistribution was mainly channeled through patronage networks, as I describe below. Yet there is a third reason to explain the Damara Council's credibility among the local population: namely that the overspending of funds provided by the colonial South African government was perceived as a kind of resistance and revenge against the colonial power. Botha records it in the following manner:

> A telling comment on the differing perceptions concerning misappropriation of government funds was provided by Emil Appolus, former SWAPO member and "interim government" member. Accusations against the Damara Council-controlled government of having misappropriated funds, he stated, invited a reaction from among ordinary Damaras "… that they should have stolen more from the Boers". (Botha n.d.: 9)

Another example for a Damaraland *kai aob* (big man) (Rohde 1997: 294) was councilor Simon G. (Rohde 1997: 295).[15] G. was a very successful business man and one of the wealthiest men in the region. He died in 1985 in a car accident. He has variously been described as either a Damara Robin Hood or as a corrupt politician and petty criminal (Rohde 1997: 294). He drove a big Mercedes Benz and newspapers of

14 During the same time, the Council's contribution to the "homeland" budget was R640.000 (Rhode 1997: 296). This money was mainly gathered through the regional authorities' responsibility of collecting a monthly grazing fee of 5c per small stock and 60c per head of cattle to supplement their budget (Sullivan 1996: 23).

15 Singular *kai aob*, plural (two) *kai aora*, plural (more than two) *kai aogu*.

the 1980s described him as the best dressed man in Damaraland (Rohde 1997: 295). Remarkably, Damara residents did not view his grandeur as elitist snobbism but, quite the contrary, widely admired it as an expression of his ability to take advantage of the white apartheid regime (Rohde 1997: 296). Their positive evaluation of the local "big men" is confirmed in the political continuity of most of these actors in the postindependence period. Indeed, several of Simon G.'s "more discreet political associates, less flamboyant *kai aob* including King Justus //Garoeb and the present regional councillor for Khorixas district Simson Tjongerero, have remained in political office since that time" (Rohde 1997: 296).

The revenge and resistance discourse was backed up by a complex patronage system. Because of their positions, ward leaders, councillors and other administrators had access to important resources like drought relief and many other rights and privileges. Ward leaders and councillors were, for example, consulted on questions of residence and disputes over access to land, the latter being rarely taken higher than the ward level. The ward's authority also served symbolic and organizational functions: "Within the impoverished economy of Damaraland, networks of patronage associated with administratively legitimized leaders and their mediation in issues of access to the few resources available was highly significant within the homeland system". (Rohde 1997: 262)

Jobs were probably the most important asset that the new patrons distributed. With the establishment of Damaraland, new buildings, like health stations and schools, were built in the administrative capital Khorixas and – though to a lesser extent – also in smaller communities. In Fransfontein, the Frans Frederik Primary School was inaugurated in 1964. In 1980, its old, rather small hostel was replaced by a new state-financed hostel that offered job opportunities for women as domestic workers. A large community hall was built in 1978, today used in particular for weddings. In 2000, a small post office moved into one part of the hall. And in 1981, a health station was built in Fransfontein. In Khorixas, four primary schools and two secondary schools, all with adjacent hostels, and a hospital all opened between 1968 and 1982. Thus, both in Fransfontein and Khorixas job opportunities significantly increased and became a central element in the emerging patronage systems as employment came to be distributed through the local power structures (Sullivan 1996). This also legitimized the positions of the tribal authority (Rohde 1997: 262). Equally, "tribal leaders utilised their access to state authority and funds to expand their support" (Werner 1987: 76). Yet the *kai aogu* received more than political support and loyalty in exchange for their patronage. Often, they also received love and children. This gender dimension of their patronage behavior has rarely been explored (Pauli 2010b). In all of the newly built institutions, the hostels, schools and health stations, young, unskilled women were employed as cleaners, cooks or hostel matrons; many of them were lovers of *kai aogu*.

Hertha's story of how she received a lifelong occupation as one of the domestic workers in the Fransfontein school hostel highlights this central feature of the economic and social dynamics of patronage networks. Hertha was born in the mid-1950s and came to Fransfontein as a teenager. She continued her school career but dropped out at the age of 17 when attending grade 7 because she was pregnant with her daughter. The baby girl was taken away from her by her family and grew up with the father's family. In 1974, Hertha became pregnant again but lost the baby. Around that time she started dating one of the local big men; she was in her mid-twenties and full of admiration for the older, married man. He treasured her beauty and her youth. In 1978, she fell pregnant with his child. At the same time, he assisted her with gaining employment at the hostel – first temporarily to replace a worker on maternity leave (even though pregnant herself) and then, after the birth of her child, as a permanently employed domestic worker. The relationship with the *kai aob* did not last much longer than the birth of the child. However, this child was the only one of her children that ever received maintenance by the father. The fathers of her other four children never paid any maintenance; Hertha, however, did not sue them. Today, Hertha enjoys being economically independent. Although she does not earn a lot, she is happy to have a permanent income as a hostel worker. She has a small but well-kept house. She says that she never wanted to marry any of the fathers of her other children: that would have only meant an extra mouth to feed and the loss of her economic independence (Pauli 2007a, 2007b). When I asked whether she would have married the *kai aob*, she indicated reluctantly that she probably would have, but that he was already married when she met him.

Like Hertha, many young women in the 1970s and 1980s were lovers of influential men of the homeland's administration.[16] One of the ward's council members, now in his late fifties, provided us with information about all the children he knows he fathered: in total, he knows of 20 children he had with 11 women, one of them his wife (with her he has five children). Most of his children were born during the 1970s and 1980s. However, not all women who gave birth to children of *kai aogu* received support similar to what Hertha experienced. Some received smaller favors and others hardly anything at all. Conversely, not all women who were lucky enough to find domestic employment in the 1970s and 1980s were lovers of influential big men. Jana, born in the mid-1950s, started working as a hostel cleaner in the 1980s. She had

16 These gender relations did not necessarily cease after independence. Furthermore, not only the *kai aogu* of the new administrative structures had lovers and out-of-wedlock children in the 1980s; men of the "modernizing elites", especially teachers, acted in a very similar manner to the political *kai aogu*.

Table 4: Occupation of 381 women by birth cohorts

Birth cohorts	11	**Hostel worker**	**Other government employee**	**House-wife**	**Penny economy**	**Pen-sioner**
1915-1924	11					11
1925-1934	28					28
1935-1944	45	1	1			43
1945-1954	48	12	2	3	27	4
1955-1964	58	10	6	5	37	
1965-1974	68	2	2	10	54	
1975-1984	91		1	3	87	
1985-1994	32				32	
Total	**381**	**25**	**12**	**21**	**237**	**86**

been a member of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the party lead by Damara Council's head Justus //Garoeb, for some time. Every time she met //Garoeb at a meeting, she begged him for work and stressed that she had always been loyal to him and the party. Eventually, Jana says, he pitied her so much that he gave her the work. Not only women but also a few men received job favors from the *kai aogu*, as for example toilet cleaners or janitors; yet, most of the permanent, albeit low-paying jobs that the patrons gave away were given to young women who were often their lovers. Table 4 indicates how closely employment as a hostel and school cleaner is linked to two specific birth cohorts, namely women born between 1945 and 1954 and between 1955 and 1964.

Of the 25 women who found employment at the Frans Frederik hostel and school, 22 were born between 1945 and 1964. Furthermore, a quarter of the women born between 1945 and 1954 and a fifth of the women born between 1955-1964 have worked or are working for the hostel or school, compared to only one woman from the earlier cohorts and none in the later ones. All of the women were hired in the 1970s and 1980s when they were in their twenties and thirties. Most of them had children by men from the homeland administration who were influential at that time. Women in the "pensioner" category have never been employed as hostel workers or

at any other government institution such as the health station or the school.[17] I summarize state-financed occupations such as teaching and nursing in the column "other government employees". As with the emergence of hostel workers, better paid positions requiring higher qualifications (as in education, health care or the local administration) became more common in the 1970s and 1980s. The largest category of women, however, finds itself in the "penny economy" category. This is a broad category, including occupations such as taking in clothes for washing, collecting fire wood, working temporarily for commercial farmers, working as a pastoralist or helping in the mother's household.

Only two women born after 1964 were ever hired as hostel workers. Almost all younger women never had a chance to work in this sector – all positions were occupied before they came of age. Today, the rather inflated Fransfontein hostel and school sector is no longer expanding but rather being cut back. As Hertha's account of love and work has already indicated, the cohort employment pattern that becomes visible in Table 4 underlines that hostel work was one of the central modes of exchange between the *kai aogu* and a particular section of the local female population. Through hostel work the women received a certain degree of economic security and autonomy, most often in exchange for love and children.

Table 4 also shows the rise of "housewives". The discourse surrounding these married women is that they do not have to work because their influential and relatively wealthy husbands provide for them. In Part II, I analyze these types of marriage transformations in detail. Here, I only want to comment briefly on the entanglements between male patrons, their wives and their lovers (who sometimes became hostel workers). Splendid and expensive weddings were first celebrated in the 1970s. In fact, the above-mentioned member of the ward council who fathered 20 children with 11 women was one of the first people in the area to celebrate a large, sumptuous wedding in the mid-1970s. He married a former hostel worker who, after the marriage, stopped working and became a "housewife". One might argue that the male patrons of that time were very privileged – in opulent weddings they married their wives and at the same time continued relationships with other women with whom they also had children.

While the local big men thrived, the "small men", thus men without permanent and secure employment, lost out significantly (Rohde 1997: 296). Their chances of ever financing one of the increasingly more expensive weddings fell dramatically.

17 Every Namibian who reaches the age of 60 is entitled to receive a monthly pension. During our main fieldwork time in 2003 and 2004 the amount was NAD250 per month. The exchange rate between Euro and Namibian Dollar (NAD) was about 1:8 at the time of data collection.

During the last two decades, the postcolonial disempowerment of large portions of men has become a topic in African gender studies (Honwana 2012; Silberschmidt 2001). In Damaraland, "unemployed young men are unable to gather the necessary wealth – animals for slaughter, traditional beer and store bought liquor, a dress for the bride, and food for the reception – that a marriage requires. As a result, sexual unions remain informal, lacking the consent of the community" (Fuller 1993: 297). This situation creates underlying tensions that can turn violent (Rohde 1997: 297), lead to excessive drinking and erupt into domestic fights. Who then are the big, who the small men? Again, the middle generation has profited the most from the jobs created with the homelands. More than men from any other cohort, those born in the 1945-1954 and 1955-1964 cohorts managed to work as traditional authorities or for the local government within the homeland administration.[18] Yet they form a very small elite compared to the large group of men with insecure or no employment.

The patronage system that emerged with the homelands was thus dominated by a few powerful *kai aogu*. These men thoroughly changed marriage by increasingly celebrating their distinctiveness on an ever larger scale (see Part II). By giving occupational favors to some of their lovers, the big men (probably unintentionally) also created a space for female autonomy. In contrast to the older generation of women whose lives were framed by the white settler community, the life chances of the women of the middle generation were thus "terribly different in appearance" (Rosaldo 1980: 111). Next I discuss both the changes and the continuities in the life chances of the youngest generation of women.

THE YOUNGER GENERATION: "NOW EVERYBODY CAN HAVE AN OPINION"

During casual discussions in Fransfontein, the one thing that residents highlighted as a central characteristic of the postindependence period was the freedom to express oneself. On weekday mornings in Fransfontein it is very common to find people listening to a phone-in radio program on the national broadcaster in which listeners call in to talk about their opinions, worries or problems. The program is aired in all major Namibian languages, including Khoekhoegowab. One morning, as my friend Silvia and I were listening to the program, a man called in to offer some quite conservative views on the role of women in society. Silvia's reaction took me by surprise: she

18 The majority of both male and female professionals, mainly teachers, also stem from this middle generation.

laughed at him rather than feeling angry or annoyed. With great exuberance she proclaimed: "That's democracy, now everybody can have an opinion," and, grinning, added, "also stupid opinions".

In 1990, SWAPO's "long walk to freedom" – to borrow Nelson Mandela's famous book title – finally came to an end. SWAPO had refused to accept an interim government and only considered the UN Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978 a viable solution. The resolution included a ceasefire, the return of exiled Namibians, the withdrawal of South African troops and a general election to determine the composition of a constituent assembly. In 1988, South Africa finally accepted the peace plan and in November 1989 the first free general election was held, under UN supervision. The election was won by SWAPO and Namibia finally achieved its formal independence on March 21, 1990 (Jauch 1998: 29; Melber 2014).

The situation SWAPO had to master after independence was difficult: "At independence the incoming SWAPO government inherited a society in which racial, ethnic and class differentiation were firmly entrenched, and in which political enmity and social distrust were endemic". (Tapscott 1995: 162) To overcome these divisions, the government initiated a policy of national reconciliation (Tapscott 1993). Although this policy was politically and economically expedient, in order to forestall the flight of skills and capital from the country and given the experiences made in Angola and Zimbabwe, "national reconciliation also reinforce[d] the *status quo* by protecting pre-independence gains of the minority, by reproducing existing relations or production and by legitimizing patterns of social differentiation that had existed in the colonial era" (ibid: 162). Thus, processes of class formation continued in postindependence Namibia, and increasingly transcended ethnic boundaries. On the national level, Namibian postapartheid elite formation developed in the following way: "What has been emerging […] is at best a crypto-capitalist, petty-minded, self-enriching new black elite, which expends its energy on exploiting the public purse" (Melber 2014: 149), a situation similar to what has been described in other newly independent countries. At first sight it appears surprising that these dynamics have continued under SWAPO rule, a party ideologically oriented towards socialism. But, SWAPO is foremost "a nationalist movement, composed of a broad spectrum of social strata" (Tapscott 1995: 162), suggesting that there is also room for fostering the privileges of elites. Thus, "present-day Namibian society is quite different from the one the movement had promised to create". (Melber 2014: 150)

In the former homelands, the laws that had constituted the homeland authorities were replaced and powers were removed (Rohde 1997: 263). The property under Damara authority reverted back to the Namibian state. Today, Namibia is divided into administrative regions. The southern part of former Damaraland is now part of the Erongo region while the northern part is included in the Kunene region. However,

although former chiefs, headmen and councilors of the Damaraland have officially lost their positions, their authority has not markedly diminished: "Headmen and councilors have lost much of their 'official' status, yet in the absence of anything to replace their power, they retain a strong advisory role in conflicts over land allocation and land disputes". (ibid: 264)

Today, state laws regulate traditional leaders and traditional authorities (Kössler 2005: 15). In Fransfontein, the Traditional Authorities Act, No. 17 of 1995, has initiated a number of political changes. As described above, Fransfontein had always been a multiethnic community, though it is possible to say that before the apartheid period the Swartbooi Nama were probably more influential than the Damara. This clearly changed with the apartheid establishment of Damaraland. During that time most of the important and influential positions (and many minor ones) were given to people who considered themselves Damara. In the postindependence period, the Swartbooi Nama have managed to regain their influence.

Unlike the Damara fraction, the Swartbooi Nama applied soon after independence to become the traditional authority of Fransfontein. They were supported by Dr. Libertine Appolus Amathila, a very influential SWAPO politician, member of the National Assembly of Namibia since 1990, Minister of Regional and Local Government and Housing from 1990 to 1996, then Minister of Health and Social Services, and since 2005 Deputy Prime Minister. Dr. Amathila was born in Fransfontein in 1940, into the Swartbooi Nama community. As a result of this action, the Swartbooi Nama were gazetted as official traditional authority in the 1990s. They maintain a state-funded traditional authority office with a full-time secretary in Fransfontein. However, the Damara also continue to maintain an (unofficial) office in Fransfontein. This complicated situation, charged also with "politicized ethnicity" (Kössler 2005: 8), is not only restricted to questions of representation. The conflicts are inseparably tied to very mundane questions, such as control of land, water and grazing (ibid: 16), but also government jobs, and they tackle the economic foundations of collective identities – production and reproduction. Thus, further arenas of contestation are the establishment of so-called conservancies, namely the practices and institutions of community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) (Linke 2017; Schnegg 2016b; Schnegg/Bollig/Linke 2016; Schnegg/Linke 2016), but also the maintenance of the church and the erection of historical monuments. Similar conflicts have erupted in the former Kaokoland where two conflicting groups are each trying to legitimize their power claims through specific readings of history that aim to prove their true "traditionality" (Friedman 2005).

The new administrative units have also produced new bureaucratic spaces and patrons. In terms of gender relations, the new dynamics very much resemble those types of exchange I have described for the homeland authorities of the 1970s and

1980s. The following example demonstrates these exchange dynamics. In 2006, the position of local governor of Fransfontein became vacant when the office holder was promoted to another position. It is the responsibility of the governor to manage several public services, such as the supply of water to the community and the provision of plots for building a house. Given that official communication and correspondence takes place in English, fluency in this language and good bookkeeping skills are necessary for the job. And yet, a young woman in her early twenties with limited English and bookkeeping skills was employed in 2006, despite the fact that there had been several well-qualified candidates. According to rumors, she was the lover of a new, influential *kai aob* in Khorixas.

New types of corruption and patronage also include the highly politicized land issue (Tapscott 1995; Werner 2004; Melber 2014). After independence, land was allocated to black farmers through the Commercial (Agricultural) Land Reform Act of 1995 (Werner 2004). Yet, instead of benefiting disadvantaged and poor citizens, as the act had envisaged, it was wealthy politicians who managed to gain access to the so-called "resettled farmland" (Werner 2004: 302). These wealthy black farmers began to push the government for further redistribution of land: again, their aim was not to make land available to impoverished rural inhabitants, but to enable themselves to enlarge their own holdings (Tapscott 1995: 165). It was at this time too that wealthy farmers – often business men, former officials of the homeland administration or politicians – began to fence off communal pasture for their own private use, a situation that also developed in the Fransfontein communal area (Schnegg/Welle 2007).

From this discussion it becomes clear that class dynamics that developed during the period of the apartheid homelands continue into postapartheid times. The joy of independence is mixed with bitter undertones. This period has also been marked by the dramatic spread of HIV/AIDS that has shaken the foundations of gender and other social relations. During our fieldwork stints in 2003/2004, 2005 and 2006, HIV and AIDS were very present in the community – both as lived experience and as ambiguous discourse. Several Fransfonteiners of different genders and age told us that the first time they had had contact with the disease was through a "woman from Grootfontein". She had come to Fransfontein where her aunt cared for her until her death. This woman, nameless and identified only by the location she came from, left a deep imprint on the collective memory of the community. She was the first person in the experience of the Fransfontein community who was open about suffering from AIDS and about the possibility that she would die.

After having outlined central facets of the history of the community and the shaping of three generations of Fransfonteiners, I now turn towards contemporary livelihoods and ask how these are shaped by continuous and new forms of exclusion and inequality.

Postapartheid livelihoods

FARMING WITH A VISION

> I want to become a farmer with a vision. Then I know that I am on my own now, that I have separated from my mother. That I am farming here. Everybody will see that, even my mother will see it. And she thinks: "For him, now, there is no need to assist him, he is farming for himself".
> *Robert/fieldwork interview August 15th, 2005*

The morning Robert tells me about his life vision has been a busy one for him. He traveled for an hour by donkey cart from his family's farm on Sukkle Pos to Fransfontein. Sukkle Pos is one of the smaller settlements surrounding Fransfontein. On arrival, he went to one of the little Fransfontein shops where he bought a bag of maize flour, the main staple food consumed in the area, four sacs of Knorr spicy soup, and some sugar, black tea, candles and matches. With these goods Robert has purchased the main consumer products that the average Fransfontein resident is able to afford (Schnegg 2006a, 2015, 2016a; Schnegg/Bolten 2007). At the family farm, his grandparents, an unemployed uncle, two of his sisters and half a dozen of Robert's young nieces and nephews are waiting for his return and the goods he has bought. Robert's shopping tour is mainly financed by his grandparents' pension money and the cash that Robert's mother is occasionally able to put aside from the revenue of her Khorixas shop. Normally he stays overnight with one of his aunts; employed at the state-run primary school and hostel, they have all been able to build brick houses with electricity and running water for themselves in Fransfontein. Today, however, he only briefly visits one of his aunts to catch up on news and gossip.

Before returning to the farm, he visits us. While sipping black tea and sugar, Robert dreams of what his life could be like. It is mid-August 2005. In April, Robert turned 34. He has two sons, one 10 and the other 7 years old, who are both growing

up at their mother's farm settlement Sorris Sorris, approximately 2 hours by car from Fransfontein. More than a year ago Robert returned from the industrial port city of Walvis Bay to his parental home in Khorixas and then to the family's farm at Sukkle Pos. For three years he had tried to make a living in Walvis Bay. He took numerous jobs, as security guard, filling station attendant, cleaner and worker in a fish factory. But none of these forms of employment offered a reasonable salary and at least tolerable working conditions. Robert is still waiting for payment from his last job as a security guard. Frustrated, he left Walvis Bay. Back home, his mother assisted him with food and money. At that time, Robert began developing the idea of becoming truly independent. He wants to achieve this through what he calls "farming with a vision". He has some livestock of his own and is also taking care of some of his mother's livestock. For his service, he is paid in kind with offspring from his mother's flock. Robert wants to dedicate himself to farming small livestock, thus sheep and goats. This dedication, he hopes, will finally bring him autonomy and peace. He does not want to be a drain on his mother's meagre income and is fed up with being chased around by employers who treat him without respect.

This brief description of some of Robert's life experiences and dreams tackles central dimensions of livelihoods in contemporary Fransfontein: inequality/scarcity, mobility/flexibility, autonomy/freedom and networks/support. The majority of the population has to be flexible and mobile in order to survive. The "flexible Fransfonteiner" is not a recent phenomenon; flexibility has been a recurrent theme in research on Damara pastoralists (Barnard 1992; Botha n.d.; Fuller 1993; Gordon 1972; Rohde 1997; Rohde/Hoffman/Cousins 2000; Sullivan 2000) and Nama pastoralists (Klocke-Daffa 2001). Flexibility in economic, social and political domains can be described as a central cultural asset: "This mobility and inter-connectedness reveals an essential facet of social and economic relations implicit to Damara pastoral practice: conceptualizations of property, rights to natural resources and flexible notions of kinship are defined as inherently fluid and contested areas of communal life". (Rohde 1997: 290) Yet, pre-colonial patterns of flexibility and mobility of Damara and Nama pastoralists were severely undermined by colonialism (ibid: 261). Land dispossession and restrictions on mobility crucially constrained and limited people's ability to cope with crises like droughts (ibid: 258). Thus experiences of scarcity and inequality, including chronic hunger, are closely linked to colonialism and apartheid and continue in postcolonial times.

Today, many people in Fransfontein still own at least some livestock. Yet most of the time the revenues from animal farming are not sufficient to ensure survival. Thus, individuals, families and households combine a range of economic strategies to make ends meet (Schnegg 2009). Autonomy, defined as the freedom from the control of others (Rao 1998; Schlegel 1977: 8-9), is a very central topic in everyday

Fransfontein discourse. As experiences of scarcity, the central importance of autonomy is closely linked to the pains and injustices people experienced under colonialism and apartheid. Additionally, many Fransfontein people are disappointed by the slow pace at which postcolonial changes are taking place (see Melber 2014). They realize that their life chances have not increased as much as they had envisaged at independence. Many communal Fransfontein farmers still hope for more and better land (Schnegg 2007a). The Fransfontein communal area is overstocked and grazing conditions are bad when compared with the commercial farms. The communal Fransfontein area directly borders on white commercial farms and Fransfontein people can see the injustice in land distribution on a daily basis. Although everybody knows that pastoralism is a challenging business, many Fransfonteiners like Robert dream of becoming a full-time farmers even under postapartheid conditions. In August 2004, Silvia, then 54 years old and recently retired, explained that "all I want to do is to get a farm – not a farm on my own, but a place on a farm where I can go and start farming with goats and cows". Even Fransfonteiners with good salaries and secure employment perceive the pastoral way of life as their ultimate goal and source of autonomy. One reason for the overstocking of the communal Fransfontein area lies in the growing herds of the elite, such as teachers and administrators (Schnegg/Pauli/Greiner 2013). Thus, the legacy of colonialism and apartheid is still very present.

My ethnographic description of contemporary Fransfontein livelihoods begins with some of the main ethnographic characteristics of Fransfontein: ethnicity, religion, politics and migration. This leads into an examination of local class structures and the economic legacy of apartheid. In a final section I discuss the importance of kinship and other networks for surviving in insecure postapartheid times.

LIVING IN FRANSFONTEIN

Multiethnic Fransfontein

In the first chapter of the book on culture and shared traditions in Fransfontein that Michael Schnegg and I published in collaboration with local researchers (see "Fransfontein Fieldwork"), Otto /Uirab reflects on his ethnic belonging and his multiethnic family history that includes Damara, Nama, German and British ancestors. He concludes: "Although I regard myself as a Nama (Swartbooi-clan), I am a multiethnic human being". (/Uirab 2007: 19) Otto thus clearly expresses the importance of both dimensions of belonging: his particular ethnic identity as Nama and his multiethnic being. Ethnic belonging can be a central aspect of identity formation. It can create stability and security for an individual. But ethnic belonging does not necessarily

have automatic priority over other affiliations such as class, gender, language and many other connections (Sen 2006). Indeed, in many situations it is not ethnicity that guides Otto /Uirab's behaviour and perceptions. Often, other social affiliations are more important to him, for instance belonging to a specific generation, his religious denomination, his political affiliation or being part of a specific work crew.

Many cultural practices are de facto shared by the multiethnic people of Fransfontein. Khoekhoegowab is the mother language of 74 per cent of the population; the remaining 26 per cent are fluent in both Khoekhoegowab and what they consider their mother tongue, mainly Otjiherero or Otjivambo. Common marriage rituals, shared healing knowledge and similar food customs also transgress ethnic boundaries (Dawids et al. 2007). Yet despite these cultural similarities, the political discourses in Fransfontein all too often stress differences between ethnic groups.

In postapartheid Namibia, formulating and asking questions on ethnicity is very tricky. Following other countries with multiethnic populations and a colonial past (Kertzer/Arel 2002), the government even went so far as not to include a question on ethnicity in its 2000 census, but only one on the language(s) that citizens speak. And yet, despite this, Michael and I decided to include an open question on ethnicity in our ethnographic census (see "Fransfontein Fieldwork"), for two reasons: ethnic groups and ethnic discourses continue to be central for the understanding of current political and power structures; and, as Otto's quote above shows, ethnic belonging continues to be an important aspect of identity formation in present-day Fransfontein. The ambivalence around ethnicity in postindependence Namibia is captured by Reinhart Kössler (2005: 9) who argues the following: "The issues of tradition and ethnicity in southern Africa, particularly in Namibia and in South Africa, while closely linked with the bitter and difficult heritage of apartheid, exhibit a dynamic that goes well beyond the vestiges of institutionalised racism".

Grouping people by ethnicity was a widespread and violent technique of domination in colonial Africa and was a central aim of the apartheid state in Namibia. Yet, despite various postcolonial attempts of nation building in Namibia, the impact of apartheid's "politicized ethnicity" continues. Contemporary lived ethnicity is complex, contradictory and difficult to pin down to just one category (i.e. racism), as Kössler (2005) reminds us. Further, several ethnic groups formed by colonial administrators have successfully appropriated the colonial concepts, as have the Damara (Fuller 1993; Rohde 1997).

In our ethnographic census (see "Fransfontein Fieldwork"), we asked what ethnic group(s) people feel they belong to. The question is thus an open one with no prefixed categories on offer. People were able to answer whatever they felt most appropriate. Out of the 750 individuals interviewed, 88 per cent (656 persons) answered with just one term, for example Damara or Herero. The remaining 12 per cent gave a

paired answer, mainly Damara/Nama (in 54 cases) or Nama/Damara (in 15 cases). Only one person offered three ethnic affiliations (Damara, Nama and Herero). The majority (63 per cent) of the interviewees considered themselves Damara, followed by Herero (13 per cent) and Nama (9 per cent). A few people classified themselves as San. The Fransfontein area is thus clearly multiethnic. The high number of Herero and Owambo people can be explained by migration waves into the area dating back to the 1930s (Greiner 2008; Miescher 2006; Schnegg 2007a).

What effects, then, does this ethnic distribution have on reproduction, kinship and marriage? Do people have children with partners from the same or from different ethnic groups? Do they marry within or outside their groups? Through our census, we have information on the ethnic affiliation of both mother and father for 398 births (see "Fransfontien Fieldwork"). Remarkably, almost half of all births (44 per cent) were multiethnic where mother and father belonged to different groups. Fifty-six per cent of the births were intraethnic with mother and father belonging to the same ethnic group. A closer look at marriages further underscores the relevance of multiethnic connections. For 209 marriages captured in our census, we know the ethnic identification of both bride and groom. Although this number is not as high as for the births, the results do give a good indication of multiethnic relationships: where 40 per cent of these marriages are multiethnic in nature, 60 per cent were between partners from the same ethnic background. Kinship relations through joint children and marriages thus overcome ethnic boundaries in a significant number of cases.

Multireligious Fransfontein

Christianity preceded colonialism in Namibia (Silvester/Wallace/Hayes 1998: 39-43). The Comaroffs analyze how Western missionaries communicated ideologies of individualism, Western capitalism, importance of work, and domesticity through religious symbols (Comaroff/Comaroff 1991). In 1844 the German Evangelical Lutheran Rhenish Mission commenced its work in Namibia, first in the southern parts of the country but rapidly spreading also into central Namibia. In December 1891, the German Rhenish Mission sent its first missionary named Heinrich Riechmann to Fransfontein. Riechmann built a Protestant church and stayed in Fransfontein until his death in 1904. He described his life and work in Fransfontein in two booklets (Riechmann 1899, 1900). Since then, the Protestant church has been one of the most important social institutions in the Fransfontein area.

The long-term influence of the Protestant church can also be seen in the census data we collected. Information on religious beliefs is available for 738 Fransfonteiners. Seventy-nine per cent stated that they are Protestants and ELCRN members;

15 per cent indicated Roman Catholicism as their religious denomination; and 5 per cent answered that they belonged to a Pentecostal church, mainly the "Moria" (temple mountain) church or the "Eben-Ezer" church (drawing on 1 Sam. 4:1). Only 1 per cent stated that they did not belong to any religious group. When analysed in terms of gender, more men (19 per cent) than women (11 per cent) indicated Roman Catholicism as their religion, while more women (83 per cent) than men (74 per cent) were Protestants. Regarding Pentecostal believers, there was no difference by gender.

Unlike other Namibian regions, as for example the town of Outjo where Sonja Gierse-Arsten examines Pentecostal reactions to the spread of HIV/Aids (Gierse-Arsten 2005), Pentecostalism is not (yet) common in Fransfontein. The resident Pentecostals tried to proselytize fellow Fransfontein community members, but the vast majority of the population remained skeptical. Silvia, an elder in the local Protestant church, actively discouraged fellow Protestants from joining Pentecostal churches. With verve she told her neighbors that the Pentecostal churches had stolen the bible from the Protestants and that it would thus make more sense to go for the "real thing" (Protestantism) rather than the imitation (Pentecostal beliefs).

While our census data attest to how widespread Christianity is in the area, only a closer look at religious practices reveals how central it is in the lives of the Fransfontein population (Pauli 2012). Protestant church services are among the most important social gatherings in Fransfontein. Every Sunday the church fills up with believers, often right to the last seat. People wear their Sunday best: it is very clear that no matter how poor someone may be, he or she will try to do everything possible to attend church in an appropriate outfit. Services can last up to three hours. When we arrived in Fransfontein in June 2003, the Protestant church still had a resident pastor living next to the church, though he was transferred elsewhere a few months later. Because of a very active church council of elders who de facto organized the Sunday services, the loss of the pastor hardly made a difference in terms of religious activity. Only for sacraments like weddings and baptisms would a pastor from Khorixas, a town approximately 20 kilometers from Fransfontein, be called in.

One reason for the importance and success of the local Protestant church has been its ability to attract people across gender, class, ethnic and generational lines. Two institutions in particular fostered this inclusivity: religious choirs and the council of elders. Most of the religious choirs have an inclusive character. Even people who are not members of the congregation are allowed to participate. Religious choirs are extremely popular in Fransfontein. The majority of the local youth is active in one of the choirs. They rehearse during the week and perform on Sundays. The active participation of a number of choirs (several youth choirs, a women's choir, a mixed choir of senior villagers) during Sunday mass significantly lengthened church services.

People are nervous and proud when they stand in front of the congregation to sing. The centrality of choirs and church services within the community is also due to the fact that besides soccer, which is played solely by boys and men, singing in a choir and performing during Sunday mass is the only organized leisure activity in Fransfontein. By and large, thus, the Protestant church is perceived as the church of the whole community. During our field stay in 2006, however, Catholic Fransfonteiners began building their own church.

ELCRN church elders are elected by the congregation and serve for a six-year term. In August 2006, I collected information on the thirteen elders active at that time. All language groups (indicators for "ethnic" categories) are represented on the council. Wealthier Fransfonteiners were more dominant on the council, though it includes several unmarried and less-affluent villagers. Almost half (6) of the elders are women. Although most (8) of the elders are of an advanced age (55 years or older), some are only in their thirties. Two female elders, one the daughter of a Protestant pastor, are especially active, influential and visible, often preaching during Sunday services. While men dominate other local fields of influence and power, especially traditional political authority, the religious field is very much shaped by these two women and their preaching. Both have an above-average level of education, having finished secondary education, and are very eloquent. They used to work as domestic workers in government institutions but are now retired and spend most of their time with church activities. They are rather outspoken regarding moral issues. One of the female elders told me that she is very harsh toward women "stealing" married men and having children with them out of wedlock.

While the overwhelming majority of Damara and Nama people indicated Protestantism as their religious denomination, more than one third of the Herero and Ovambo people answered that they belonged to the Roman Catholic church. Together with several Damara families they were pushing for the building of a Catholic church in Fransfontein. One elderly Catholic told us that she could not attend the Protestant church anymore (as she had done for many years) because party politics had taken over there. The trigger for this assessment was the renovation of the Protestant church around 2000. A plaque displayed at the entrance of the church pronounces that a big sponsor of the renovations had been Dr. Libertine Appolus Amathila. Dr. Amathila is not only an engaged Protestant but also an influential and highly respected SWAPO leader and a supporter of the Swartbooi Traditional Authority. This appropriation of the church by a very prominent affiliate of the Swartbooi Traditional Authority was not accepted quietly by members of the Damara fraction of the community. In 2005, the #Aodaman, a subgroup of the Damara, inaugurated a monument at Fransfontein's public cemetery remembering their "fallen heroes". Like the plaque at church, this monument caused both anger and public debate in Fransfontein. The conflict between

the Nama Swartbooi and the Damara mentioned in the previous chapter continues to the present. Contrary to apartheid times, religious spaces like the Protestant church and the cemetery have become contested terrains.

Multiparty Fransfontein

Unlike religious and ethnic affiliation, we did not ask for political party affiliation in our census. Participant observation indicates that the majority of the population favors the UDF, led by Justus //Garoeb, former head of the Damara Council. Until today, many Damara people perceive this party as defined on ethnic terms and as "their" party. In contrast stands the new political leadership represented by the Swartbooi Traditional Authority. The Swartbooi Traditional Authority is mainly (though not completely) affiliated with SWAPO. Other political parties, like the DTA, are also present but not as important as the UDF and SWAPO.

Several of the Swartbooi traditional leaders stress that political party affiliation does not influence their performance as traditional authorities. Indeed, when we asked a traditional leader at the Swartbooi Traditional Authority's office in Fransfontein in 2003 whether there were any connections between the Swartbooi Traditional Authority and SWAPO, he stood up and, pointing to the door, declared: "Party politics? Oh, no! No party politics here. Party politics, out of that door!" The rhetoric strategy to separate (party) politics from traditional authority is similarly witnessed elsewhere in Namibia. In Kaokoland, a traditional authority representative proclaimed: "But that is another issue, that is politics. We do not want to discuss politics in this office. Politics and the Traditional Authority are two separate issues, two totally different things". (Friedman 2005: 43) Like Friedman (2005: 47), we were astonished by the intensity with which the traditional leader denied what to us was an obvious political nature of the traditional authority. To understand this rhetoric strategy, a brief look at the legitimization of traditional authorities in postapartheid Namibia is instructive.[1]

Simplified, traditional authorities are either viewed critically as a problematic colonial legacy and a central hindrance to democratization (Mamdani 1996) or as a flexible institution complementing modernizing process like democratization (Bollig 2008; Krämer 2011). Whatever stance one takes, in order to justify the existence of

1 There is a range of different terms used in the literature to describe the institution classified here as "traditional authority". Some researchers prefer terms like "chief" (Bollig 2008) or "neo-traditional chief" (Krämer 2011), others use the Afrikaans *hoofman* (headman) or king, or even extensions of these terms such as paramount chief. Despite the various classifications, the positions they name are all connected to colonial rule.

traditional authorities in postcolonial Namibia, one has to separate them from party politics, even if there are multiple overlaps between the different institutions. Such a discourse highlights "custom" and "culture" and differentiates them from "politics" and the "state" (see Friedman 2005 for a detailed analysis of such discursive strategies). Without such a rhetoric, the role and relevance of traditional authorities in postcolonial Namibia would be even more contested.

What was remarkable, however, was how detached these political conflicts were from the everyday lived experiences of most people in Fransfontein. This was one of the incentives for our joint ethnographic project on the culture of everyday sharing and joined traditions (Dawids et al. 2007). Comparable to our ethnographic research and writing project, both Kössler (2005: 12) and Fuller (1998: 212) find that in the everyday life ethnic categories are often blurred. In their everyday lives, people in Fransfontein often ignore ethnic, religious and political differences. So far, multiple collective identities in Fransfontein have been described. The next section provides information on different territorial belongings and movements.

Moving to and staying in Fransfontein

The Fransfontein region consists of three intertwined livelihoods: the community Fransfontein, 25 surrounding settlements in the communal area and four worker's locations on white commercial farms bordering the Fransfontein communal area. All three livelihoods are interconnected through multiple relations, especially kinship ties. In July 2004, the point of reference for our census, we counted 1257 people living in this area, 634 men and 623 women. Half of the population (637 persons or 51 per cent) lived in Fransfontein itself, 43 per cent (538 persons) lived on the settlements, and 6 per cent (82 persons) were employed as workers on one of the commercial farms bordering the communal area. The 1257 residents lived in 329 households, of which 137 were located in Fransfontein itself, 161 in settlements and 29 in the locations of the commercial farms. Households in Fransfontein itself were thus larger (with on average 4,6 household members) than households in the settlements (on average 3,3 members) and households of the commercial farms (on average 2,8 members). There are several reasons for these variations. Herders in the communal area are often not related to their employer's household and stay there without their own families. We have thus counted them as single households. This explains why the number of households was larger in the settlements than in Fransfontein. The small household size on commercial farms is largely due to the fact that workers were generally not allowed to bring relatives such as parents or siblings to live with them on the farms. Further, when a worker retires, he or she has to leave the commercial farm so that households do not grow in size intergenerationally. In contrast, Fransfontein households are relatively large.

Migration is a central feature of Fransfontein livelihoods. It is determined first of all by the avenues of education that people pursue for their children. It is very common for parents, for example, to work in one of Namibia's urban centers, such as Windhoek or Walvis Bay, and to leave their toddlers and young children in the care of family members in the Fransfontein area (Greiner 2008, 2011). Once children reach school-going age, wealthier parents prefer to send them to primary and secondary schools in urban areas such as Windhoek, as state-run schools in rural areas, like in Fransfontein, do not have a good reputation. Nevertheless, the building of schools in the homelands during the 1970s and 1980s has substantially enhanced educational opportunities. While the older generation received little or no education, from the birth cohort 1955-1964 onwards more than 50 per cent of the pupils irrespective of gender completed primary school.

If parents are financially unable to send their children for schooling to Windhoek or another urban center, their children will attend primary school in Fransfontein. There is no secondary school in Fransfontein. Thus, for their secondary education most of these children then move to Khorixas or Braunfels and stay in school hostels. If their families can afford it, they will remain in secondary school for six years and complete their education with the matriculation certificate. The majority of teenagers from Fransfontein, however, never finishes Grade 12 (Pauli 2017b). Similar to other rural areas, most scholars fail Grade 10 and drop out of school. For them this means returning to their parental homes in Fransfontein and searching for a job. This is a development quite common elsewhere in Namibia too, as Richard Rohde (1997: 278) observes for Okombahe: "The majority of school leavers have few options and unemployment levels in Okombahe village were at least as high as fifty percent".

The few Fransfontein pupils who manage to complete their secondary education are almost always children of the elite (Pauli 2009, 2017a, 2018). As the postapartheid education system has undergone few reforms since independence and still retains its roots in apartheid education, it continues to deepen existing class divisions (Pauli 2017b). Without Grade 12 and the matric certificate, entry into university and college is impossible. Well-paid jobs, as those offered by government and NGOs, are very often out of reach for school dropouts. What remains is either unemployment or unskilled, low-paying occupations. Robert's job experiences in Walvis Bay, recounted above, capture the indignity und frustration associated with such occupations.

For adults, the decision to move or to stay in Fransfontein is thus connected to age and employment. As soon as someone receives a permanent income, either through a pension or a regular wage, they are likely to stay. Women and men of the older generation all receive a monthly pension payment. They have lived in the area

for a long time. Most of them also run extended households and take care of grandchildren and the family's livestock (Greiner 2008). For the middle generation, the number of years they have permanently lived in the area decreases. An exception is formed by the women from the middle generation employed at the school and hostel who have also lived in Fransfontein for a long time. The younger generation has lived in the area for only brief periods of time. Its members are constantly searching for new income opportunities and take jobs whenever and wherever they are available. This often implies personal hardship, like leaving behind a baby or a sick relative. During our fieldwork it was common that someone we had chatted to in the evening had left town by the next day. This happened one day with Barbara, a twenty-two-year old who was staying at her mother's one-room house with her boyfriend, their two small children, her mother and her stepfather. One morning one of Barbara's relatives (MZDH), an influential traditional authority, received a call from a friend from Rehoboth in central Namibia. The caller was urgently searching for a nanny for his toddler son. Barbara's mother instructed Barbara to take the job. But Barbara was reluctant; she wanted to stay with her own small children. Yet her bargaining power was minimal: she had no permanent income and was dependent on her mother who worked as a temporary cook on a safari farm. So Barbara packed her few belongings, a blanket, a few clothes and some cosmetics. Within the hour she was gone.

Occupation thus strongly structures the length of time someone lives in Fransfontein. Teachers and nurses, pensioners, hostel workers and traditional authorities have all lived in the area for approximately 20 years: all of these occupations are government-financed and secure. Every Namibian who reaches the age of 60 is entitled to a monthly pension. During our fieldwork in 2003 and 2004, the amount was 250 Namibian dollars (NAD) per month. Compared to the wages of traditional authorities and teachers, this seems little. The majority of the population, however, does not receive any permanent income. Because of widespread poverty, NAD250 can mean a lot for a household. Wages of teachers, nurses or traditional authorities start at roughly NAD700 for hostel workers, and rise to more than NAD4000 for the headmaster of the local primary school. In addition to their salary, government employees receive health insurance, low cost housing and old age pensions. For most of these jobs, initial employment took place in the late 1970s until the mid-1980s. The people occupying these positions have lived in the Fransfontein area since that time. Again, class formation and social stratification that commenced with apartheid is clearly visible in the links between occupation and sedentariness or mobility.

A number of families have been able to stay in the area as communal farmers and pastoralists. Given the harsh climatic and ecological conditions of the region, diversification is crucial: "The single most important climatic feature of this area is its absolutely

low rainfall and the associated unpredictability of the rainfall through time and space". (Sullivan 1996: 25) A complete reliance on pastoralism is thus risky and many communal farmers attempt to diversify their income, in particular through remittances (Greiner 2008; Schnegg 2009). As Schnegg (2009) has shown, most pastoral households in Fransfontein mix different economic strategies; only some pastoralists are unable not do so because they are too poor and do not have sufficient start-up resources.

The migrants I have described so far all have limited bargaining power to decide where they want to live. They leave Fransfontein because they have to. Their migration is triggered by their economic desperation (for similar observations for Malawi, see Englund 2002). At the opposite end is a group of migrants that has comfortably resettled in the urban areas as part of a middle class that emerged with independence when the politico-economic landscape of Namibia became more diverse and fluid. Urban and "black", these successful migrants are largely located in the national capital of Windhoek and in other larger urban agglomerations (Melber 2014; Pauli 2018). Most hold white collar employment in one of Namibia's industries, government institutions or in the service sector, or else they are successful entrepreneurs. For most, they are part of the urban Namibian middle class, characterized by an intermediate position between the upper and the working class. Yet they retain strong links with the rural areas from which they originated, "commuting" between the urban middle class when in town and an elite livelihood when in the rural area for holidays or extended weekends. In Fransfontein, this group of migrants tends to blend into the local elite of pastoralists when visiting the town. The mobility between different localities and varying structures of stratification makes a simple classification of the class status of these successful migrants difficult.

This group of successful migrants impacts village affairs and livelihoods in different ways. They own a disproportionately large share of the livestock grazing on Fransfontein's communal land (Schnegg/Pauli/Greiner 2013). This can lead to conflicts with pastoralists who live in the region and rely on grazing livestock for their livelihoods and see the livestock of the absent "class commuter" migrants as only a "hobby" or investment. The "class commuters", on the other hand, see themselves as part of village life. They celebrate their weddings in Fransfontein and they want to be buried in the village. Some of them build a rural house, to supplement the house they have in the urban area where they work. These practices – owning livestock and a house and celebrating important rituals – are a way in which these migrants stay connected with their "homelands" (Appadurai 1996: 196). They are also ways of securing themselves against possible economic crisis and ensuring a place for retirement (Ferguson 1999).

In Part II, I show that, for both the "class commuters" and the local elite, celebrating splendid weddings in the village is an important way of creating belonging

and cultural identity. Weddings of wealthy middle class migrants returning to the village form a significant proportion of the few weddings that take place in Fransfontein today. Of the eight weddings Michael and I followed in depth between June 2003 and October 2004 (half of all weddings in these two years), three were celebrated by migrants. They came to the village solely for their wedding and left immediately again after its completion. While I discuss these weddings in greater detail in Part II, here this short introduction suffices to examine how these urban migrant elites are embedded in the local rural class structure and relate to the permanent rural elite.

FRANSFONTEIN CLASS STRUCTURES

The permanent local elite in Fransfontein consists of regional politicians, traditional authorities, teachers and administrators. If one takes the national level as a frame of reference, this local elite can be defined as part of the middle class. However, in the local context of Fransfontein, it is not middle class but clearly part of the upper class strata.

To better understand Fransfontein class structures, I take a closer look at occupation and consumption patterns. In Table 5, only households in Fransfontein itself are included. For the economic stratification in the settlements in the communal area, I draw on Schnegg (2009). Contrary to the diversity of occupations one finds in Fransfontein, people living in the communal area all share one livelihood, namely livestock farming. Many of these households attempt to diversify their income strategies, mixing pastoralism with pensions or remittances (ibid.). Only very few farmers are wealthy. The colonial system has also transformed the lives of these communal pastoralists. But class formation is less pronounced in the settlements than in Fransfontein. As indicators for economic stratification, Table 5 presents the occupations of Fransfontein household heads, their gender and the distribution of several selected consumption items. Information is incomplete for eight households, reducing the number of households included in the total to 129.

On the basis of the occupations of the Fransfontein household heads presented in Table 5, it is possible to categorize the 129 Fransfontein households into three groups: wealthy elite households, middle class households and low to no permanent income households.[2] The first three rows of the table, representing teachers and nurses, rep-

2 One might argue that the occupation of only the household head is not enough to classify the households. Other household members might have additional sources of income that could change the picture. However, additional information on other household members –

Table 5: Occupation, gender and consumption

Occupation of the household head	Proportion of households		Proportion headed by women (Per cent)	Consumption items per household (in per cent)			
	N	Per cent		Electricity	TV	Fridge	Car
Teacher/nurse	5	3,9	20	100,0	80,0	100,0	60,0
Trad. authorities	6	4,6	17	83,3	83,3	83,3	67,7
Local govt*/ police	9	7,0	0	88,9	55,6	77,8	22,2
Hostel worker	16	12,4	88	62,5	31,3	25,0	12,5
Penny economy	68	52,7	44	22,1	11,8	13,2	17,7
Pensioner	25	19,4	76	12,0	16,0	16,0	16,0
Total	**129**	**100**	**50**	**35,7**	**24,0**	**26,4**	**20,9**

*Govt = government

resentatives of traditional authorities and employees of local government offices and the police, all have relatively high and permanent incomes, though the salaries of traditional authorities deviate slightly from this pattern. At approximately NAD1000 per month, they are not much higher than the salaries earned by hostel workers. However, most traditional authorities can count on further income sources, especially through their ownership of livestock. That traditional authorities form part of the economic elite is also clearly underscored by their consumption patterns, as shown in Table 5. Like teachers and other government employees, the overwhelming majority of traditional authorities have electricity in their homes and own a TV, a fridge and

especially conjugal partners and adult children – only underscore the results presented here. For instance, most teachers are married to other teachers and their children receive excellent education opportunities qualifying them for equally well-paying occupations, while the economic activities of household members from households with heads living on penny economic activities are comparable to those of the head.

at least one car (many owning more).[3] In sum, only 16 per cent of all households fall into the category of wealthy elite households.

The middle-class category consists of the households of the hostel workers. This is also the category with by far the highest proportion of female heads: 88 per cent of these households (14 of 16) are headed by unmarried women. With approximately NAD700 income per month, ownership of commodity goods among these 12 per cent of the total of 129 Fransfontein households is much more limited than among the wealthy elite households. Yet, as shown in Table 5, ownership of commodity goods is like possessing a fridge or even having a TV is more common for hostel workers than among the majority of all households. Hostel workers rarely, however, own vehicles. The majority of hostel worker households occupy houses with electricity (these houses have often been constructed by the government and not the workers themselves). However, in the overall scheme, this group forms a very small *local* middle class (in contrast to the urban middle class mentioned above).

The last group consists of households with a low or no regular income. Seventy-two per cent of all Fransfontein households fall into this category. As Table 5 shows, this group contains households headed by pensioners and those that have to live on penny economic activities. The overwhelming majority of these households (88 per cent) do not have access to electricity. Almost all of them occupy houses constructed of wooden beams and cow dung plastering rather than made of bricks. Only very few of these households own a fridge or a TV (powered by solar energy). Although the number of car owners is relatively high in this group, most cars are very old and rusty or not in use at all. This stands in stark contrast to the luxurious and expensive Toyotas and Nissans owned by the wealthy elite.

This class structure is also inscribed into the landscape and the housing structures that people occupy, the focus of the next sub-section.

Gender, class and housing

The colonial and later the postcolonial state have both played a crucial role in providing, or not, groups of people with living space and housing. In Fransfontein, gender, occupation and marital status strongly influence where one lives (Pauli 2007a). Depending on the geographic location of a house, access to water, sanitation, transport or electricity infrastructure can vary tremendously. During the 1960s and 1970s, several streets and brick houses were constructed in Fransfontein to provide housing to government employees. Up to today, these houses are highly valued. Only 12 per cent

3 The relatively low percentages of car ownership for police and local government officials stem from the fact that some of these household heads have access to government vehicles.

Figure 4: Government house of a wealthy couple

of the village houses fall into this category. The rent is very low and the houses have running water, electricity and several rooms. Figure 4 shows a photograph of a government-built house of a wealthy married couple.

Both partners of the couple that lived in this house worked as teachers and as such had access to government housing. With three bedrooms, a living room, kitchen and bathroom, their house is at the upper end of government housing. There are also much smaller government houses with four small, equal sized rooms and an outside toilet. This type, also called the "matchbox" house, is very common in apartheid-initiated urban townships. Most Fransfonteiners, however, lived in houses that are locally called "traditional". They are made of cow dung, sand and mopani sticks, called *tsaura-haigu ǂhaui ǂoab* in Khoekhoegowab, sometimes with a corrugated iron sheet roof (see Figure 5)

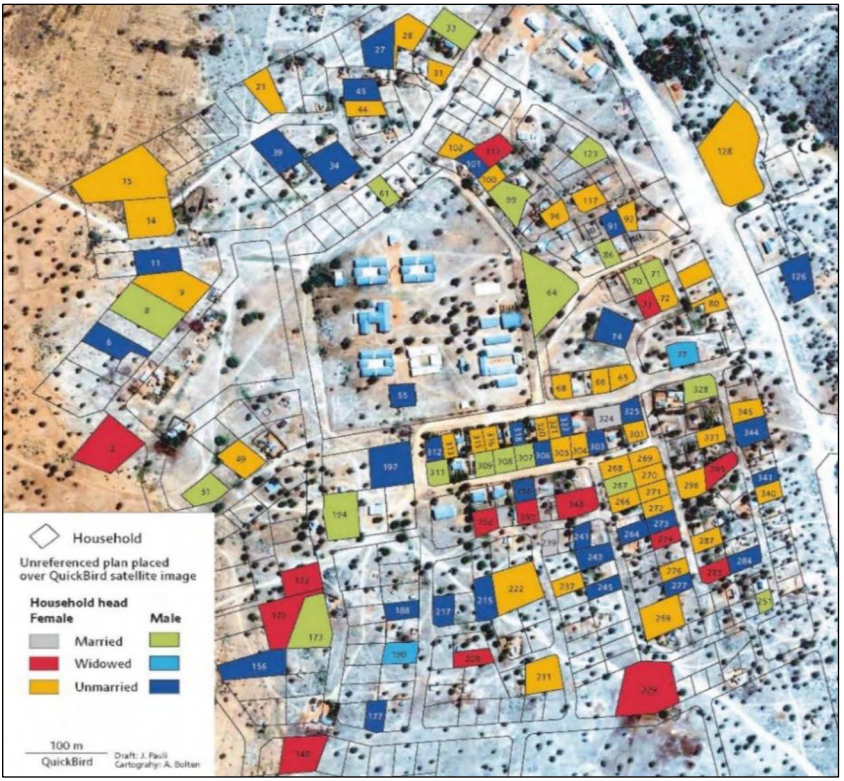
Some, but not all, plots on which government houses were built are equipped with piped water, and some have electricity. The plots are allocated by the local government; everybody may apply for one and will, eventually, get one. Of the 137 Fransfontein households, 49 per cent are female headed. A female-headed household is defined as a residential, economic and social unit where the major decision-maker is female (Iken 1999). Male-headed households significantly differ from female-headed ones with respect to the civil status of the household head. Almost all male household heads live with a female partner, either the wife or a long-term girlfriend. The opposite is true for female-headed households. More than two thirds of all female heads are single. They have no male partner, either because they are widows or because they are not in any kind of long-term relationship. The community is thus split into

Figure 5: House built with local materials

households of male heads with their partners, especially wives, and households of single women. This divide is also manifest in the spatial distribution of households: as Figure 6 shows, households are not randomly distributed in space but form spatial clusters of male- and female-headed households (Pauli 2007a). Figure 6 shows the distribution of different combinations of gender and civil status of household heads. Five groups can be distinguished: households headed by married men (marked in mint green); unmarried men (dark blue); widows (red); single mothers with no permanent income (yellow); and hostel workers (also yellow).

Households headed by married men are mainly located in two areas: one cluster includes numbers 173, 194, 307, 308, 309 and 311 and the other numbers 64, 70, 71, 86 and 99. The house of the married wealthy couple shown in Figure 4 is part of the first cluster. Both clusters are located in the center of the village. In these houses the elite resided. The two clusters differ insofar as the houses in the first cluster are rented from government whereas the houses in the second cluster are privately owned and built, albeit heavily subsidized by government funds. Four of the women for whom I collected life stories belong to this group. Claudia and Mona from the middle generation are both teachers and live in beautiful, well-kept and rather large government houses. Claudia has three children, Mona two. Claudia is married to a fellow teacher; Mona's husband does not have a permanent job. Vanessa (from the younger generation), the third woman interviewed from this group, is Claudia's daughter. She finished matric. When she became pregnant with her son, she returned to Fransfontein. She is unemployed and stays in her parent's house. Lisa, also of the younger generation, is the

Figure 6: Location of male- and female-headed households in Fransfontein



daughter of an influential traditional authority. Like Vanessa, she is unemployed and stays in her parent's large house. Because of her unplanned pregnancy, Lisa did not finish Grade 12.

Households headed by unmarried men, the second group identified above, hardly form clusters and are rather spread all over the map. These heads are a very heterogeneous group, ranging from the unmarried and relatively wealthy extension officers employed by the agricultural company AGRA with ample money and girlfriends, to the long-term couple which is unable to afford a wedding, and the lonesome male pensioner who has no family left in the community. The nature of this group might explain why it does not form a spatial cluster. None of the women from whom I collected a life story belongs to this group.

On average, widowed household heads, the third group identified above, are 71 years old and receive the monthly government pension that all Namibians aged 60 or older are entitled to. In general, widows live together with some of their children and

especially with their grandchildren. Contrary to the large government brick houses of the elite, all widows live in "traditional houses" with only one or two rooms and an outside fire for cooking. The widow Tama from the elder generation, whom I have also interviewed, belongs to this group. Because of their secure, albeit low, monthly pensions, households headed by widows are in general not as vulnerable as households headed, for example, by single mothers with no permanent income. Households headed by widows are geographically dispersed. One part of the explanation for this is linked to the history of the village. When the primary school was built in 1964, some of the residents who had lived in the center of the village had to move to the periphery. This move affected several of the households headed by widows in the mid-2000s.

The area around household numbers 266, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272 and 296 is called *ǂoabatere* (go out). This area is mostly occupied by single mothers. Most of the houses have only one or two bedrooms and lack electricity. Only some have a water tap on the plot. All of the women living in *ǂoabatere* have children with different men but none of them is living together with a man (Pauli 2007b, 2010b), often because of quarrels relating to alcohol abuse, cheating and domestic violence. The women survive by having diverse economic strategies. Some take in washing from wealthier, married women, though the pay earned is very low. Others have older children who support them temporarily. From time to time most women receive assistance from the fathers of their children, in the form of food, a goat, clothes or cash. Often, the women share these sporadic resources with neighbouring female household heads that have similar difficulties in making ends meet. Indeed, the women rely on each other for support on a daily basis forming networks that are locally called *augu* (Schnegg 2015, 2016a; Schnegg/Bolten 2007).[4] Four women with whom I conducted life story interviews were living in *ǂoabatere*. Tanja from the younger generation has five children and survives by taking in washing and sharing food with her neighbours. Molly, also from the younger generation, has four children and sells hand-made handicrafts. Dina from the older generation has eight children and worked as domestic worker and cook on several commercial farms. Finally, Isabel, Dina's daughter and also from the younger generation, has one daughter and takes on temporary jobs on commercial farms.

For the hostel workers, these *augu* sharing networks are far less important. Two main clusters of this group of female-headed households are indicated can be seen on the map in Figure 6. One cluster consists of the household numbers 313, 315, 316,

4 Rita Schäfer stresses the importance of female networks within and beyond the household for the survival of Ovambo-speaking female-headed households in northern Namibia and Zimbabwe (Schäfer 2004).

320, 321, 68, 66, 65, 304 and 305. The second cluster is much smaller and encompasses household numbers 222, 237 and 211. Although several hostel workers live in houses built in what is considered a "traditional way" and mainly made from local materials, these houses have more rooms and are better maintained than is the case for the "traditional" houses inhabited by widows and single mothers with no permanent income. Four middle-aged and three younger women from whom I collected life stories are part of the hostel worker group: Ofelia, Hertha and Jana (all middle generation) are all hostel workers who received their jobs in the 1970s and 1980s. Each of them have four living children. Ofelia is already retired and receives a monthly pension. Silvia (also middle generation, with four children) worked as a receptionist for a health clinic, though the security and income levels of this job are comparable to hostel work. Two of the women of the younger generation are daughters of hostel workers: Petra (one daughter), whose mother worked at the hostel, but passed away in 2005; and Anna (one child), whose mother still works at the Fransfontein hostel and who is the only married woman in this group.[5] The third younger woman is Silvia's daughter Mara who has no children.

The effects of apartheid and the class dynamics that started in the 1970s still permeate Fransfontein everyday life. The continuous negotiations and conflicts about ethnicity, religion and politics can only be understood when taking the long-term effects of colonialism and apartheid into account. Contemporary migration patterns are closely linked to occupation and education, themselves direct outcomes of the homeland system. After independence, educational reforms have been minimal. The current Fransfontein settlement pattern is also a legacy of homeland policies: the distribution of plots and the quality of housing are the result of class structures that emerged with the homeland, leading to class divisions and different forms of exclusion.

I want to conclude this chapter with a discussion of the practices that help overcome the divisions and mechanisms of exclusion. Sharing and caring, especially but not only within kin relations, present a counterbalance to the harshness of Fransfontein class structures.

SHARING AND CARING

Sharing and caring are central concepts in the so-called new kinship studies, a rather broad terminological umbrella for a number of contemporary approaches in the study of kinship (Alber et al. 2010; Alber/Coe/Thelen 2013; Alber/Drotbohm 2015; Böck/Rao 2000; Carsten 2004; Thelen 2015). Sharing and caring create relatedness, to use

5 Not all women with whom I conducted life stories fit into these five categories.

Janet Carsten's term (2004). She defines relatedness broadly as "the ways in which people create similarity or difference between themselves and others" (ibid: 82). Relatedness is not the only term that has been suggested to replace or supplement kinship. Janet Edwards and Marilyn Strathern (2000: 152) use other "connective terms", such as belonging and association. Edward Lowe (2002), arguing from a cognitive anthropological perspective, works with yet another set of concepts. In his analysis of Chuuk social life, attachment is what binds people together. Attachment, like relatedness or belonging, is based on sharing, giving, caring and supporting. As Lowe stresses: "The point here is not that 'real' kin relationships are genealogical whereas 'created' kin relationships are based on interpersonal histories of reciprocal acts of assistance and nurturance. *All social relationships in Chuuk are defined, in part, by the quality of mutual acts of nurturance and support*". (ibid: 128, emphasis in original). What exactly creates the ties that bind varies and depends on the cultural context. It can be the sharing of food and milk in Malaysia (Carsten 1997) and the Andes (Weismantel 1995), the sharing of space in Asian and Latin American house societies (Carsten/Hugh-Jones 1995) or the sharing of time and emotionally charged experiences in California (Weston 1991).

Common forms of sharing in Fransfontein include the sharing of food, shelter and experiences like violence and hunger (Pauli 2013, 2015; Schnegg 2015, 2016a; Schnegg/Pauli 2010). The sharing of a (social or biological) parent not only creates relatedness between the parent and the child but also among children. This is the case for the numerous *groot maak kinders* (Afrikaans for "the children one raises" or children fostered on an informal basis) but also for the high number of children growing up in "patchwork" families (Pauli 2007b, 2015). To understand social relations in Fransfontein, one thus has to ask how much and what forms of sharing lead to what kind of relations.

In 2004, Michael and I collected personal network data by asking 750 men and women about the people they trust most and would ask for emotional and material support. In addition to information on kinship terminologies that I collected through genealogies and situational vignettes elicited through ethnographic observations, these network data provide systematic information on the perceptions and practices of relatedness. Neighbors, friends and relatives are most often mentioned (Schnegg/Pauli 2010). Kin from the mother's side is much more important than paternal kin. Female-headed households are widespread in Fransfontein. This residential pattern has also been described for southern Namibia and South Africa (Iken 1999; Kuper 1987; Preston-Whyte 1978; van der Vliet 1984). Adam Kuper (1987: 147) compares the South African situation with Caribbean matrifocal patterns. Felicia I. Ekejiuba's (2005) concept of the "hearth-hold", developed for the West African context and focusing on the mother-child bond as the most central unit of the household (and also

as a substitute for the concept of the household), grasps the situation of many Fransfontein households quite well. But for a substantial number of these households, sisterly ties are as important as mother-daughter links (Pauli 2013). An extension of the concept of matrifocality is thus needed to better understand these household patterns. I propose the term *femifocality* to highlight the centrality of women within these household networks and to overcome the matrifocal bias of perceiving central women in these households as only mothers or daughters (ibid: 32).

Most Fransfontein children are raised by female relatives from their mother's kin group. Later in life those people one grew up with often remain very central. Here, sibling relations are especially important. It is common that women (and men) have children with four, five or even more consecutive partners. As a result, many people have a large number of half-siblings. Further, male and female parallel cousins (children of the MZ or the FB) are also classified as brothers and sisters. They are addressed in the same way as siblings or half-siblings: younger brothers are called *!gasab*; elder brothers *abutib*; younger sisters *!guisas*; and elder sisters *ausis*. Terminologically, parallel cousins, half-siblings and siblings are all of one kind – brothers and sisters. In everyday practice, the naming might be simplified. The kin term *!gasab* (for a man) or *!gasas* (for a woman) may be applied to indicate a brother/sister relation. On the other hand, cross cousins (children of the MB or the FZ) have their own kin terms: */gamareb* and */aisas*. Here, no age differentiation is used. Unlike the sibling relations, relations with cross cousins are often joking relationships and might have sexual connotations. People still comment that marriage between cross cousins used to be preferential. By the 2000s, this type of marriage has become rare. Contrary to the cross cousin relation and in line with the classification of parallel cousins as siblings, sexual relations with parallel cousins are perceived as incestuous.

The same logic just described for siblings also applies to the ego's parental generation. The MZ is also a mother. Mother's younger sisters are small mothers (*maros*) and mother's elder sisters are big mothers (*makeis*). Father's brothers are small fathers (*darob*) or big fathers (*dakeib*). Mother's and father's cross siblings are again termed differently (FZ is *mikis*, MB *omeb*).[6]

Out of a rather large pool of potential siblings, only a relatively small number of relations are actually perceived to be close. Shared experiences, especially during childhood, are very important for the creation of these relations. Contrary to this, levels of consanguinity (e.g. a B compared to a MZS) are not central in order to

6 For additional information on Khoekhoegowab kinship terminology (including discussions of variations between Damara, Nama and Hai//om), see Barnard (1992) and Widlok (1999).

estimate the closeness of a brother (*!gasab*) or a sister (*!gasas*). John's narration provides some insights into these dynamics of sibling relatedness. Thirty-eight years of age at the time of our research, John was born in one of the communal settlements. He finished high school and after independence worked for a number of years as a teacher. John's mother, Ofelia, was one of the women I interviewed for her life story. She had been a hostel worker and was now retired. Her household is a typical example of a Fransfontein matrifocal household: she owns a brick house where she lives together with several grandchildren, a number of *groot maak kinders* (mainly those of her sister), and her youngest son with his child and his girlfriend. John, her oldest son, and his family inhabit his mother's former house that stands adjacent to her new house. The old house is much smaller and is made of local materials.

John's mother has four children with three different men. John himself has no full siblings. On his mother's side, there are 19 people John considers as his siblings, 12 sisters and 7 brothers. His two half-sisters are not living in the village but in Windhoek and Walvis Bay respectively. John gets along well with them. Both have been supportive during his marriage, sending money and buying different goods. With his half-brother, however, relations are tenser and there have been fights and quarrels. So who are John's close siblings? In terms of trust, reciprocity and sympathy, the person John considers his closest brother is Robert, a MBS. In Damara kinship terminology, Robert is a */gamareb*, a cross cousin (MBS), and not a brother. John nevertheless calls and considers him his elder brother, *abutib*, and not a */gamareb*. What binds the two together are shared (negative and positive) experiences, shared food and shared time. Both spent significant parts of their childhood together at their grandparent's farm. When I interviewed them on their relationship, they explained their brotherhood and closeness with the local concept *kai//are,* growing up together (Pauli 2015). These types of important and long-lasting relationships are formed during childhood. Even smaller children are not supervised by parents or guardians as much as I was used to from Germany. Many Fransfontein children are left by themselves for considerable stretches of time. It was indeed common to observe two or three children of pre-school ages walking around and even leaving the village or the settlement. Food, often only maize flour, is served to children in one bowl and all children eat together. Many children share their beds or sleeping places. Corporal punishment is very common. If children are abused, they do not search for relief from their parents or other caretakers but from other children, the ones they grow up with. This is captured by 41-year-old Mona when she explained why Christina, her MZ who was of the same aged as she, is her most important sister: "We ate together, we slept together, she helped me when I was beaten, I helped her, when she was beaten. She feels the same pains as I do; she washes me when I am sick, she makes food for me when I am sick".

Kai//are, growing up together in Fransfontein means sharing the pains of hunger, beating, coldness and excessive heat; but also the joys of meat eating, rain dancing and nightly plays. Out of a pool of possible brothers and sisters, this experience most strongly shapes whom one feels close to. The opposite applies as well. At various occasions Michael and I observed Petra hardly greeting Henry, her half-brother. When we asked her whether she did not consider Henry her brother, she replied: "No, not really. You see we are not close. We didn't grow up together [*tama kai// are*]". Not growing up together means not sharing. And not sharing means no relatedness.

Clearly, the relations resulting from *kai//are* are long-term, often lifelong relations. Because of the complexity of these long-term bonds, only few such ties are maintained, often not more than three or four relations per person. Remarkably, the two *kai//are* relations discussed above are both not genealogical sibling relations. However, they are presented, perceived and lived as sibling relations. Why do John and Mona not simply use the "correct" kin terms, thus in the case of John and Robert */gamareb* for cross cousin, and in the case of Mona and Christina *maros* for small mother? Such a flexible use of kin terminology has also been observed in the Okombahe settlement: "Flexible notions of kinship are defined as inherently fluid and contested areas of communal life". (Rohde 1997: 290) John and Mona have chosen sibling terms because the meaning of sibling relations best expresses the content of their *kai//are* relations. The use of kin terms is a way to express social bonding and to establish new bonds. This central aspect of lived Khoekhoe kinship is also described for Hai//om social and economic relations: "Hai//om kinship can rightly be called an idiom not simply because it frequently manipulates genealogical links, but above all because it serves as a communicative aid for establishing common ground". (Widlok 1999: 188)

Contrary to these long-term relations, social interactions on the level of neighborhoods are more short-term oriented. *Augu* or demand sharing, based on explicitly asking for goods, is widespread. The items exchanged on a daily basis include sugar, fire wood, maize flour and matches. Mainly women are involved in *augu* networks. Female-headed households living in *ǂoabatere* (*as* described above) are a good example of such a female sharing network. All of the households in *ǂoabatere* have an eye on their neighbors' activities. If someone from a household buys sugar in one of the little stores, for example after having received some financial support from a child's father living in a distant town, children and other members from adjacent households will quickly visit the household and ask for a share. This sharing of goods is complemented by emotional support. Often neighbors are considered as friends. Barbara, one of the women living in *ǂoabatere*, said that a friend is someone with whom she can share food and stories. If relatives live nearby, *augu* networks include them. The underlying structure of *augu*, though, is not kinship but locality.

Augu is also a local form of risk minimization. The female networks buffer the many injustices women, and especially single mothers, have to endure in Fransfontein. In contrast to the hierarchical and gendered patron-client relations maintained by big men since the 1970s, *augu* networks are formed among equals. This characterstic can also have disadvantages. The solidarity expressed in *augu* relations can turn into distance, mistrust and even conflict if one of the parties feels that the other is not being honest about the resources she has available and does not want to share. But sometimes the demands from neighbors and kin are so great that hardly anything is left to the original owner (Klocke-Daffa 2001; Kuper 1995; Rohde 1997: 293). Then one has been "eaten up", as a local expression states.

Sharing not only structures everyday life but is also an essential part of life cycle rituals (Pauli 2018; Pauli/Dawids 2017). Weddings and funerals (and the subsequent */umis* family negotiation to deal with the inheritance of the deceased) are the two most important social occasions for kin groups to share and perform collectively. An especially impressive demonstration of kin collectivity can be observed during the engagement ritual, locally called the "asking ritual" (*!game-#gans*). The following chapter provides a detailed description of the different stages in contemporary Fransfontein marriage rituals. Here we need to know that, during the *!game-#gans*, the bride's and the groom's kin groups debate the pro and cons of the potential marriage over the course of several nights. In extensive, partly standardized monologues, representatives of the two kin groups question each other's sincerity and pertinacity. These collective performances of kin persist despite a widespread increase of individualism that can also be traced in marriage celebrations (Solway 1990, 2016) (examined in Part II). The process of individualization is countered by the collective, kin-based enactment of local ("traditional")[7] marriages. Even wealthy grooms who could easily afford and choose a wedding without kin do not want to marry without their relatives. The great majority of couples opt for local marriages, which include the asking ritual and elaborate ritual slaughtering for which an extended kin group is required. Marriages are thus based on sharing relations.

While historic processes of class formation have resulted in high levels of stratification and inequality, social and economic institutions like *kai//are* relations and *augu* networks counter these developments by expressing equality, trust and sharing.

This chapter has discussed in particular how class dynamics have shaped and reconfigured educational, residential, occupational, ethnic, religious and political patterns of affiliation in Fransfontein. The following two chapters focus on marriage and

7 The term "traditional" marriage is widely used in Fransfontein to differentiate Fransfontein marriages from "modern" ("white") marriages. In fact, however, Fransfontein marriage celebrations are complex hybrids merging an array of cultural practices.

analyze how this institution has been thoroughly transformed by class formation processes and has changed from a universal rite of passage into a celebration of class distinction.

PART II

Contemporary Fransfontein marriages

A few days after her wedding celebration in April 2004, I visited Anna at her mother's house. She was in an excellent mood and joyfully described her emotions: "I am feeling like being a big woman now. They are saying this to a married woman. Also at the job, when guys are coming there, our boss, he is also saying: This one is a married woman".

All women whose marriages Michael and I attended during our stay in Fransfontein were extremely proud after their wedding celebrations. In their personal triumphs, the women were rather expressive. In the days after her wedding, Nala, who married in 2005, only graciously raised her hand with her new wedding ring and smiled triumphantly as she passed her neighbors. People would smile back at her and address her with the formal noun *sadu* (or the Afrikaans *U*) to express their respect for her new status, instead of the informal *sats* or *sas* (or the Afrikaans *jy*). Many women mentioned that to be treated with respect (*!goasib*) is the most important and valued consequence of marriage. Respect is not only shown in the ways married people are addressed but also in how they are treated at public events like weddings and funerals. The importance of marriage as a status marker becomes visible when comparing marital status with other social categories like education and occupation. During all rites of passage, there are certain ritual practices that should only be performed by married Fransfonteiners.[1] For several of these rites of passage (e.g. the first haircut), this norm is not applied too strictly and exceptions are allowed. At weddings, however, the married are clearly separated from the unmarried and no transgressions are accepted. During an interview in September 2004, Mona, a teacher born in 1963 and married since 2000, expressed indignation that despite her high level of education and prestigious occupation she had not been treated with the same respect that married people received when she had still been unmarried:

1 The most important rites of passage in Fransfontein are a newborn's first haircut, baptism, school graduation, 21st birthdays, weddings and funerals (see Pauli 2018).

Every time during a wedding they would say: "Ah, the people who are not married, they cannot sit here. Only the married people can come and sit beside the groom and the bride. And the people who are not married must go outside". So, I am a teacher and I am coming with my friends and they say to me: "Ah, you people must go to that side, only the married people are allowed into this house". How did I feel? It was very bad. They would say: "Oh, the unmarried people cannot eat the wedding cake. Only the married people eat that cake".

Several practices mark the difference between the married and the unmarried during weddings. For instance, during the final handover of the bride to the groom's family on the last day of the wedding, only married people are allowed to sit near the couple (often in the bride's parental home), eat from the wedding cake and receive a special portion of one of the slaughtered cattle. Hardly hiding their envy, unmarried participants observe these ritual practices, often peeking into the house through the windows. Most of them will never marry. Because of tremendous increases in wedding costs, marriage rates have rapidly declined during the last decades. The large crowd of unmarried men and women in front of the windows can hardly imagine being in the place of the bride and groom. They are restricted to watching the happy few celebrating their marriages and their distintions.

Yet marriage is also loaded with ambivalence for the happy few who do manage to marry. Apart from the triumphs of marriage, so pointedly expressed in Nala's raised hand, there are also traumas and tests involved. Many men and women, interviewed on their marriages and observed during their weddings, expressed frustration about these tests and infringements. All weddings are made up of two basic components, the asking ritual that leads to the engagement, and the wedding celebration, generally following many weeks later. Below I will give a more detailed description of this marriage process; for the purposes of the discussion about the traumas and tests of the marriage process here, we need to focus briefly on some aspects of the asking ritual. During the many nights of discussion during the asking ritual, the couple's and each individual partner's faults and vulnerabilities are discussed vigorously and at great length; the groom-to-be is required to sit quietly with his kin group and the bride-to-be has to listen to the debate from inside her family's house. Personal characteristics like bodily appearance and (dis)abilities of the bride and groom are pointed out shamelessly. Many women have commented that they felt humiliated by what they hear about themselves during the asking ritual. One woman said that until today, years after her marriage, it is painful for her to remember the event. Inversely, the interaction between the two kin groups sometimes gets out of control "with unnecessary comments from the woman's family, humiliating the man's family" (Dawids 2007: 63). During these debates, the groom's family is in an inferior position and has to follow the demands of the bride's fami-

ly, even if this leads to postponements of the proceedings (potentially expensive in both time and money to the participants) (Dawids et al. 2007; Pauli/ Dawids 2017).

Marriage is a complex process, involving groups, couples and individuals with varying interests and aims. For everybody involved in a Fransfontein marriage, triumphs, tests and traumas might be rather closely related, unraveling the different aspects of marriage. In this chapter, I analyze the social and ritual practices of marriage (the next chapter, in turn, focuses on the transformation of marriage and links the changes to class formation processes). As a conceptual basis for the analysis of marriage practices, I first define what is perceived as marriage in Fransfontein. I then give a brief review of the data collected on marriage and present some basic information on Fransfontein marriages. An account of the first wedding ceremony that we witnessed in Fransfontein leads to a detailed description of the main ritual elements of engagement and wedding ceremonies. On this basis, I explore, first, the different types of marriage in terms of generational, economic and religious variations, and their distribution and, second, some of the legal aspects of marriage. The chapter concludes with a discussion on how the spread of school holidays, initiated by the apartheid state, has changed the timing of marriage.

DEFINING MARRIAGE IN FRANSFONTEIN

For the local population of Fransfontein, marriages are a clear-cut category. There are Christian marriages (mostly Protestant, but also some Roman Catholic and Pentecostal), civil marriages conducted by a magistrate, or marriages in terms of customary law. Of the 123 marriages for which Michael and I were able to collect information, 91 per cent are Christian marriages, 5 per cent are civil marriages and 4 per cent are marriages by customary law. In Namibia, all church marriages are also registered as civil marriages so that there is no difference between them from a legal perspective. Despite a civil marriage's significantly lower cost, it is generally not considered a favorable alternative to a Christian marriage, an observation also made by other researchers (e.g. Pendelton 1993; Tersbøl 2002). Locally, civil marriages are described as *!nari !game*, stealing a marriage. Marriages by customary law are not practiced in Fransfontein. People who were married by customary law are recent migrants, mainly Himba from the area around Rundu, working in Fransfontein as hired herders for local communal farmers. Yet this does not mean that Fransfontein marriages are "only" Christian and thereby "modern" marriages, nor that the people from Fransfontein have somehow lost "traditional marriages", namely those practiced by customary law. This misconception – a simplistic duality

posing seemingly traditional (i.e. customary law) marriage versus modern (i.e. Christian) marriage – is pointedly demonstrated in Chris de Wet's observations on Xhosa marriages:

> In 1980 I was asking an old woman a naive question, which a number of people had kindly answered in a naive manner for me – well either that, or the categories in my question had some salience to them. I asked her: did you marry in the church, or by Xhosa rites, or both? She gave me a wonderful answer. She said she was married by Xhosa custom, in the church. For her, a good Methodist – who was also a number of other good (and not so good) things – that made perfect sense. There had been a Methodist church in the settlement for a hundred years. Almost everyone in the settlement was a professing Methodist (as well as a practicing ancestor acknowledger). *IsiXhosa* – our custom – does not necessarily mean "tribal" belief and practice. It is another way of saying "our way of doing things". And going to church is part of our way of doing things – and has always been so. It is traditional. So it is isiXhosa. Hence *ndatshatisXhosa; ndatshatecaweni* (I was married by Xhosa custom; I was married in church). (de Wet 2008: 4)

A similar response would probably be given by most Fransfonteiners (see Mupotsa 2014, 2015; for a South African perspective, see also Schmidt 1981/82: 67-68). With the Lutheran church having been built in Fransfontein already in the late 19th century, church marriages are part of the local custom and are perceived as such. Though by far not the only element of a Fransfontein marriage, as I show in detail below, it is a crucial one.

A second critical characteristic of marriage in Fransfontein is that marriage is considered very different from cohabiting unions. Many demographers treat cohabitating unions as equivalent to official marriages, a practice that might make sense if one wants to understand the risk of pregnancy. From a local Fransfontein perspective, however, marriage is seen as a valued and honored institution, while cohabitating unions are scorned as *#nu gomans omi* (black cow marriage or black cow house). The house a cohabiting couple lives in might be called *!hai-omi* (bad house). The difference between couples is thus not based on residence (a criteria that would distinguish couples residing together – no matter whether married or not – from couples not residing together), a criteria demographers take as central, but solely on civil status. Married couples are treated and perceived as different from unmarried couples – irrespective of residence.

A third identifying characteristic of marriage in Fransfontein is that the marriage process does not take years, unlike in other parts of Africa where the advancement of bridewealth payments defines the status of a marriage (Comaroff 1980b; Hunter 2016; Radcliffe-Brown/Forde 1987 [1950]; White 2016). Research in South Africa has shown, for example, that it can take years of bridewealth payments to finalize a

marriage and legitimize the children (Murray 1981b), leading to various forms of marriage difficulties (Hunter 2016; White 2016). Though there are some marriages in Fransfontein where bridewealth is also requested during the opening asking ritual, the status of a couple as married is only determined by the completion of the wedding celebration and the final handover of the bride, not by any bridewealth payments. Before I describe the details of the marriage process ethnographically, I briefly summarize the sources on which I draw.

Marriage data

In "Fransfontein Fieldwork", I described the data Michael and I collected during our fieldwork from 2003 to 2005. Here, I want to outline the different kinds of information I use for my analysis of marriage in greater detail. The ethnographic description of the marriage process draws on five different types of sources (for a detailed discussion of these sources, also see "Fransfontein Fieldwork"):

(1) data on the conjugal histories of 361 men and 364 women (725 in total), collected in an ethnographic census in 2004;[2]
(2) information on 123 marriages between the 1940s and 2005, elicited through a marriage questionnaire in 2004;
(3) church registers on marriages from the 1890s until 2002;
(4) narratives of marriage ceremonies and marriages given in 20 life stories and 2 focus group interviews; and
(5) ethnographic observations and thick descriptions of 8 weddings.

Data from the ethnographic census enables me to describe the distribution of marriage on an individual level and by using a time-cohort analysis. As Table 6 shows, marital status is clearly connected to age.

Of the 364 women interviewed on their conjugal histories, only 32 per cent (115 cases) are or have ever been married, while 68 per cent (249 cases) have never been married. The number of men who are or were married is even lower: of the 361 men, only 25 per cent (89 cases) ever married, 75 per cent (272 cases) have never been married. Thus, less than 30 per cent of the whole population is or has been married. As Table 6 demonstrates, while the overwhelming majority of elderly men and women (up until the 1935-1944 birth cohort) is or has been married, from the 1945-

2 Although a total of 750 interviews (362 men and 388 women) were conducted, yet those with incomplete information are disregarded.

Table 6: Marital status of 361 men and 364 women

Birth cohort	**Married** (at any one point in their lives)		**Never married**		**Total**
	Women	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	
1915-1924	10	11	1	1	23
1925-1934	25	15	1	7	48
1935-1944	24	19	17	11	71
1945-1954	14	16	33	22	85
1955-1964	22	16	37	43	118
1965-1974	15	11	50	56	132
1975-1984	5	1	84	103	193
1985-1994	0	0	26	29	55
Total	**115**	**89**	**249**	**272**	**725**

1954 birth cohort onwards, the majority of the population is unmarried. The dynamics behind this pronounced change are discussed in the chapter "From Decline to Distinction". Divorce and separation are extremely rare in Fransfontein. Of the 89 men who had married in their lives, 87 per cent (77 cases) are currently married (i.e. at the time that the ethnographic survey was conducted in July 2004), 10 per cent are widowers and only 3 per cent are separated (2 cases) or divorced (1 case) from their wives. As in other regions of the world, the number of widows is much higher than the number of widowers: of the 115 women who had married in their lives, 67 per cent are currently married (77 cases), 3 per cent are either separated (2 cases) or divorced (2 cases) from their husbands, and 30 per cent are widows.

For most marriages, we were able to elicit information on the rituals the individuals underwent during their weddings. This was done in a questionnaire that dealt exclusively with marriage and asked questions on support and consumption during the marriage celebrations. Of the 132 interviews conducted, 123 cases are valid and can be analyzed.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to establish the exact number of marriages that were conducted in Fransfontein in the decade or so prior to the field research. There is some indication of the numbers up to 2002 from the church register at the Fransfontein Lutheran church, though there were no commensurate numbers available for

Pentecostal and Roman Catholic weddings for this period. Yet, as the majority of Fransfonteiners is of Protestant faith, the weddings celebrated at the Lutheran church or by the Lutheran pastor from 1995 to 2002 at least allow an approximation of the absolute numbers.

On average, 11 marriages were celebrated per annum in the Fransfontein church or by the Fransfontein pastor. The differentiation is important because some of the marriages recorded in the church book were not celebrated in the church but on settlements in the Fransfontein communal area. From the late 1980s until the late 1990s, the Fransfontein pastor at the time aimed at marrying all elderly couples who had lived together most of their lives but had never married. To reach these couples, the pastor decided to keep the ritual as inexpensive and simple as possible. This contrasted sharply with the complex and costly marriage celebrations that had by then developed in the area. Most of these elderly couples were married in 1997.

For 2003 and 2004, we were able to observe and document seven Fransfontein weddings in detail, thus about half of the marriages that take place in an average year. For three of these and for another wedding in 2005 (Pauli/Dawids 2017), we observed both the complete asking ritual and the wedding celebration.

Three out of the eight marriages we observed were celebrated by wealthy migrants who came to celebrate their weddings in the wife's community. In Fransfontein it is the norm to marry in the wife's community. The few Fransfontein locals who were able to tie the knot during our fieldwork all had permanent employment. An exception was an elderly couple in August 2003 whose two successful children financed them a splendid wedding to express their gratitude towards them. This wedding was the first marriage we attended in Fransfontein and became the baseline for our later inquiries. It is with this wedding that I start my description of contemporary Fransfontein marriages.

Our first Fransfontein wedding

At the end of July 2003, Michael and I received our first wedding invitation: we were invited to attend the wedding reception of Mr. and Mrs. G. at 4 p.m. in the Lutheran church hall.

On our way to the church hall on the day of the wedding, we passed an otherwise abandoned house that was now filled with music and people. A delicious smell of food saturated the air. Women were cooking the meat and bones of a cow, slaughtered the previous day, in huge cast-iron pots. One woman saw us passing by and waved. We approached her and she explained that this was the traditional way of celebrating marriage: sitting in front of the house, singing, listening to music and eating meat. The woman was part of the groom's kin group. Lacking any

family ties in Fransfontein, the groom's family had rented the house for the occasion. After a little while we proceeded to the church hall. Here two teenage boys were controlling the potential guests: only people with a wedding gift and an invitation card were allowed to enter. On one side of the rectangular hall stood a large, decorated table, elevated on a wooden platform. At its center sat the bride and the groom. They were flanked by the bridesmaids and groomsmen, two couples on either side, all dressed in shades of purple. The wedding guests were seated at tables at floor level spread out across the hall. The setting arrangement gave a strong impression of performance and theater: what was staged was the best possible version of a marriage celebration, one expressing wealth, abundance and distinction. We were struck by how this part of the marriage ritual stood in direct opposition to the informal celebrations that we had observed at the groom's parental house a few minutes earlier.

A young woman told us to place our wedding gift in front of the bridal table. There, several other gifts were already on display. Most of the gifts were of impressive sizes. We had bought some cutlery as a gift and, seeing the other large presents lying next to our quite modest box, I was worried that this might not have been appropriate. With relief I later learned that our present was indeed very welcome. Some of the big presents contained only very small items, such as a bag of instant soup, or nothing at all. Because of this, some wedding parties have started to label all presents at receipt with the name of the giver.

At the time of the wedding, we were not yet acquainted with the bride and the groom. The couple lived in a settlement on one of the communal farms. Our friend and research assistant Jorries, a remote relative of the bride, had been kind enough to provide us with a wedding invitation. This was not an easy undertaking as weddings are important family events and some people are very skeptical of why strangers should participate in them. In the months following this weeding, we received further engagement and wedding invitations. One important reason for this was Michael's reputation of being a good photographer. We decided that for every couple that allowed us to participate in their asking ritual and/or wedding celebration, we would prepare a photo album with pictures of the ceremonies as gift. This gave us a chance to reciprocate and a clear, understandable role at the events.[3]

After greeting the other guests at our table, we looked more closely at the wedding couple. With surprise we observed that both the groom and the bride were in their

3 This position was aptly described by Gediminas Lankauskas, who acted as photographer during his fieldwork in Lithuania: "I now had an identifiable role with a responsibility to visually capture some of the most important moments in the lives of the newly-weds and their families". (Lankauskas 2015: 45; see also Pauli 2006)

sixties. I asked the person sitting next to me, a young woman who was working as a secretary in the town of Otjiwarongo, why the couple was marrying so late in life. She smiled at me and said that it had been the wish of the couple's grown-up children to finally marry their parents. In fact, the groom would have preferred an investment into livestock instead, yet the bride was very pleased with the suggestion. Most of their lives, the couple had worked for white commercial farmers and had found it very difficult to accumulate any money to marry. On one occasion a white farmer had agreed to support them but they had to leave the farm before the event took place place.

It was a Saturday, and the couple had married in church at noon. Now, several hours later, it was obvious that everybody was quite hungry. The designated master of ceremonies, a teacher, announced that food would soon be served. He then introduced the waitresses, seven young women who entered the hall from the adjacent kitchen. All of them were part of either the bride's or the groom's kin groups. They first served the bridal table, placing large bowls of meat and so-called Christmas salads on the table from which the bridal couple and their bridesmaids and groomsmen helped themselves. We learnt later that the salads – carrot and pineapple, potato, and noodle salads – were thus called because they are very common at the Christmas dinners that white farmers prepare for their workers.[4] After the bridal table had been served, the waitresses attended to the other guests: each person received a piece of meat and three scoops of salad on a paper plate. After everyone had finished eating, the master of ceremonies moderated a short program including a wedding waltz after which drinks were served. Rather quickly, people began leaving the hall.

On our way back home, we passed the groom's parental home again. There, people were in high spirits. Many were dancing and singing in front of the house. Unlike the rather stiff and theatrical atmosphere in the hall, here the guests seemed much more at ease and enjoying themselves. At home, we tried to make sense of what we had observed, learned and heard. Our dominant impression was one of puzzlement. At the time we saw the two ritual elements at the groom's parental home and at the reception as unconnected and unscripted and they did not make much sense to us. Only over the course of the next months would we gain the understanding of how they fit into a much larger complex. The following section offers a more detailed description of the stages of this complex.

4 Since the 1970s, Fransfonteiners have increasingly appropriated and incorporated this type of food into their wedding receptions.

AN OUTLINE OF CONTEMPORARY FRANSFONTEIN MARRIAGES

After attending this first wedding, we found out that an extended asking ritual, called *!game-#gans* (marriage asking) or just *#gans* (asking), takes place as the first step of every wedding. If everything works well, this ritual leads to the engagement, the *reng-#ûis* (putting on the ring). Then, after several weeks or even months of preparation, the wedding celebration commences with the *!hae-om #ûis* ritual, a weeklong seclusion of the bride in a darkened room in her parents' house. On the Friday of the bride's seclusion and the day before the church ceremony, the *!gameb-#as* ritual is performed where the two kin groups exchange cattle, driving them from one house to the other and slaughtering them. Each kin group will prepare its meat independently in preparation for the celebrations on the Saturday which each kin group will hold separately. The *!gameb* (marriage) on Saturday begins with the dressing of the bride and bridesmaids, and the groom and his groomsmen, at their respective houses. This is followed by the ritual of the bride leaving her parents' house, the church service with several associated ritual activities, and finally the reception of the invited guests in one of the town halls. Thus, a Fransfontein wedding celebration takes place at three locations, each for a different group of people: the bride's parental home for the bride's relatives, the groom's parental home for the groom's relatives, and the hall for the wedding reception for the invited guests. The official wedding ends when all central actors from both kin groups congregate at the bride's parental home for the */hui-eis* ritual (taking off the bride's veil). This ritual includes married couples and respected elders giving the newly married couple advice on married life. The wedding is finalized the next morning when the bride is handed over to the groom's family. Table 7 gives an overview of the timing, content and varying locations of the marriage process.

The structure presented in Table 7 is only a "script" for how marriage should be performed in Fransfontein. Gediminas Lankauskas (2015: 30) reminds us, "although most rituals are scripted, they never follow the script to the letter, leaving room for interpretation, invention, and improvisational 'sketching'". The "script" is similar to what Lilia Abu-Lughod calls an outline when she discusses Egyptian Bedouin marriages: "Over the years, I attended many weddings, all of which followed this outline, yet each of which was distinct". (Abu-Lughod 1991: 156) Thus, it is crucial not just to study the outline of marriages but also the variations instantiated in each individual marriage. This section develops an outline of contemporary Fransfontein marriages, presenting and interpreting the various elements and stages of the Fransfontein marriage ritual, while the next scrutinizes variations and different kinds of weddings.

Table 7: Strucure and content of the asking and marriage rituals

1. *!Game-#gans* and *reng #nuis* (Marriage asking and engagement)				
Time	Wednesday to Saturday (short version) / Monday to Saturday (long version)			
Content	*Abba gomas* (discussion of marriage and bridewealth between the kin groups), beginning after sunset and ending with the *reng #nuis* (engagement) on Saturday night			
Place	Bride's house			
Wedding celebrations can commence on the subsequent Sunday, though this is seldomly practiced. It is more common to wait several months between the *reng #nuis* and the *!gameb.*				
2. *!Gameb* (Marriage)				
Time	Sunday	Friday	Saturday	Second Sunday
	(altogether one week)			
Content	*Kieri-erie-#gas* and *!Hae-om #nuis* (Stage 1) Procession from church to bride's parental home; seclusion of bride; beautification (with *!nau-i*) and preparation of bride	*!Gameb-#as* (Stage 2) Exchange of cattle between kin groups and slaughtering; hanging up of meat	*!Gameb* (Stage 3) Church + photos; (Stage 4) money walk; (Stage 5) *onthals* reception; celebrations at parental homes; (Stage 6) */hui-eis* (taking off the veil)	*#Gan-#ûis* (Stage 7) The asking-out of bride; final handover of bride to groom's family
Place	Bride's parental home	Bride's and groom's parental homes	Church, hall, houses of both kin groups	Bride's parental home

The description of marriage here focuses on Damara and Nama marriages.[5] For background information and historical comparative material, I draw on two sources in particular: Sigrid Schmidt's (1981/82) description and interpretation of Nama and Damara marriage, based on two marriages from the 1970s, and Sabine Klocke-Daffa's (2001) analysis of marriage rituals among the Nama of Berseba, southern Namibia. In addition, I draw on Bennet Fuller's (1993) discussion of cross-cousin marriage in his ethnography on Damara livelihoods in Otjimbingwe and Sesfontein; on Ursula Dentlinger's (1983) discussion of aspects of marriage in her analysis of the social mobility of the Topnaar of the Kuiseb River; Robert Gordon's (1972) reflections on marriage in his work on verbal communication in Okombahe; and Wade Pendelton's (1993) discussion of marriage in his study on the Windhoek township of Katutura.

The description and interpretation of the marriage process follows the chronological order presented in Table 7. While all ritual activities during the asking ritual and the engagement are concentrated in one location – the family compound of the bride-to-be's parents – the seven stages of the wedding celebration are enacted in different locations. Each stage commences with a description of the Fransfontein situation, drawing on both what Michael and I observed during our fieldwork and on Francois Dawids' description of his and other Fransfontein marriages (Dawids 2007; Pauli/Dawids 2017). In a second step, I discuss and compare our findings to other descriptions of Nama and Damara marriages.

The asking ritual (*!game-#gans*)

The decision to marry is not influenced by a couple's parents or wider kin groups. Both Schmidt (1981/82: 56) and Klocke-Daffa (2001: 149) mention that in earlier times arranged marriages probably existed but that they were not being practiced anymore. However, the contemporary decision to marry is not only guided by love and other "modern" concepts of individual passion (Thomas/Cole 2009). Current Fransfontein marriages have a very real material basis: apart from love, the decision to marry is a way to communicate elite status.

5 While it would be of significant value to compare these to marriage outlines available for other regions and ethnic groups – such as Ngamiland Herero (Gibson 1958) and contemporary Ovambo (Tersbøl 2002) – such an in-depth reading and complex comparison is beyond the scope of this chapter. There are some interesting similarities with Fransfontein, for example a variation of the asking ritual in the Herero context, but also substantial differences, such as in the limitation of bridewealth in Fransfontein.

If a couple decides to marry, they inform their parents. In several instances, we observed couples planning much more modest and inexpensive weddings than the ones they eventually celebrated and had to pay for (Pauli/Dawids 2017). Often, family members argue that if they should go through all the trouble of preparing for and celebrating a marriage, then a small wedding did not make any sense – the payoffs in terms of prestige and status would not be worth the effort. Small weddings and especially civil marriages look "as if you do not have a family", two sisters commented ahead of their brother's asking ritual in March 2004. Whenever a marriage takes place, the kin groups pull their resources together. And yet, despite much discussion that marriages are expressions of great solidarity among kin, there are limits to kin support. Repeatedly we observed how kin did not in fact support each other during weddings. At one wedding, for example, relatives stole meat from the wedding slaughtering. Our systematic data on the wedding support networks show that kin finance only a fraction of the actual wedding costs. Relying on kin support only, a couple would thus not be able to finance a marriage. The couple, and especially the groom, has to have sufficient independent income to pay the major share of the costs.

The *!game-#gans* always starts at night. In general, the ritual takes three days, from Wednesday night to Saturday night. Both Dawids (2007) and some elder Fransfontein informants report that the asking ritual often stretched over more days in the past. Shortening it to three days makes it easier for those working in other towns to attend the event, having to take leave for only two days (Thursday and Friday). If the groom and bride have been living together before their wedding, it is necessary for the bride to return to her parents' house the latest by the night before the asking starts. In such a case, the groom's family might bring along some goods (e.g. sugar, tea, maize-meal, candles) wrapped in a white cloth (*!uri-!heib*) as gifts to "appease the woman's family" (Dawids 2007: 62). Also, if the couple already has children together, the bride's family might ask for compensation from the groom's family.

The actual asking ritual will start the night following the bride's return to her parental home. The ritual takes place outside the house of the woman's family. One word captures the essence of the asking ritual rather well: *toxoba* (please). Without doubt, *toxoba* is the most frequently used word in the communication between the two kin groups. Different members of the man's kin will say *toxoba* in varying ways in the course of the three nights. Thus, at times the negotiation in the asking ritual comes to resemble begging rather than asking. The first *toxoba* is articulated right at the beginning of the process when the man's kin group stands in front of the gate of the woman's parental house and asks for permission to enter. Sometimes, it can take hours until the woman's kin group will grant permission. When the man's kin is finally allowed inside, they are often not offered any chairs but have to sit on the ground in the yard, facing the woman's kin group. As Dawids (2007: 63) writes,

Figure 7: Asking for the bride at the !game-#gans

reflecting on his own experience undergoing the asking ritual as a groom, "sitting in front of them, on the ground, is a way of subordination, a sign of humiliation". Once seated on the ground, the woman's kin ask the man's kin to provide a light, usually given in the form of candles, petroleum lamps, firewood or even a generator. If the man's kin is unable to satisfy the demand, the asking ritual is immediately be broken off and postponed to the next evening. Once this demand is fulfilled, the man's kin begins to plead with the woman's kin for their approval of the marriage. The woman's family refuses this demand for a long time, discussing in detail all the risks they perceive this union would pose. Figure 7 gives an impression of this verbal exchange between the two kin groups.

Michael took this photograph in December 2003 during the asking ritual of two migrants who had returned to Fransfontein after having worked in Walvis Bay for a number of years. He was sitting behind the man's family, facing the woman's kin when he took the picture. On the right hand side of the photo is the man's father. He is a well-respected man in the community, as a reason of which he has been offered a chair by the woman's kin. Facing the groom's father are the woman's mother and one of her *makeis* (big mother), obscured by two kneeling men. Moments before, the woman's family accused the groom-to-be of not being able to provide for a wife because of his reputation as someone who drinks too much alcohol. To counteract this accusation, the groom-to-be approached his future mother-in-law and the *makeis* on

his knees and with bowed head, pleading for forgiveness. He is accompanied by one of his brothers.

This is just one example of the many accusations the man's kin group has to master. It is also common that (perceived) errors of other members of the man's kin group are mentioned and discussed, such as a criminal record or even a probable illness. The woman's kin also identify and discuss the flaws and vulnerabilities of the bride-to-be, which she, secluded in her family's house, can hear. Her kin might say that she is not a worthy housewife, is untidy and does not know how to cook, or that she is too young for marriage. In one case, the woman's family argued that because of AIDS it was too dangerous to give away their daughter to strangers. Members of the man's kin group counter these accusations in long monologues, with many rhetoric breaks, though the speakers will never denunciate the woman's family. The man's kin group has to endure the charges and continuously repeat the request for permission for the marriage.

Daisy, who married in 1999 when she was 22, explained that it is mostly the *makeis* who brings forward the accusations and insults during the asking ritual. One reason that she identified for this is the jealousy the *makeis* feel at the fact that their younger sister will soon have a married daughter while their own daughters are still unmarried (Pauli/Dawids 2017). Fuller identifies another reason for the tensions between the two kin groups during the asking ritual, namely the fact that the marriage is not only about creating a bond between two individuals but one between two larger entities. The result is that "future economic bonds, future reciprocal obligations (and possibilities) are discussed openly with an honest brutality not seen in any other sphere of Damara/Nama life" (Fuller 1993: 234).

Bridewealth in Fransfontein?

One part of the asking ritual can also be the request by the woman's family for a cow from the man's family, the so-called *abba gomas*. *Abba* means to carry someone on one's back, such as how mothers or other female caretakers carry babies and small children on their backs. *Gomas*, in turn, is the term for cow. When the woman's family asks the man's family for an *abbas gomas* during the asking ritual, it is in fact asking the latter to compensate the woman's family for all the years the woman had been "carried", thus supported, by her family. The *abba gomas* should be handed over between the engagement and the wedding, but often this does not, in fact, take place. Even years later, this can be considered as an open debt still owed by the husband and his kin.

This opens the question of the relationship between the *abba gomas* and Damara/Nama bridewealth. In how far the *abba gomas* can be understood as bridewealth

is contested in the literature. According to Fuller (1993: 231), "Damara/Nama people do not ascribe to bride-price payments". The groom and his family might pay the wedding feast but nothing additional. He does not, in fact, mention the *abba gomas* at all. Klocke-Daffa (2001: 159), who offers a detailed description of the *abba gomas* practice, argues explicitly that it should not be perceived as a kind of "bride price". Bridewealth, she suggests, rather needs to be understood as compensation for the loss of a daughter or to legitimize children already born to a couple, both not practiced among the Damara/Nama. Schmidt (1981/82: 65) similarly concludes that the *abba gomas* of the Nama and Damara is not a kind of bridewealth because it did not legitimize a marriage or children born within the marriage, the role that bridewealth fulfills among the Herero or other Southern African polities (Gibson 1962: 5).

Yet Klocke-Daffa and Schmidt might define bridewealth too narrowly: as Dominique Meekers describes for the Shona of Zimbabwe, bridewealth may include the *roora* stage where a cow is handed over to the bride's mother in acknowledgement of her efforts in raising her daughter (Meekers 1993). And, in contrast to Fuller, Klocke-Daffa and Schmidt, Pendelton (1993: 88) states explicitly that it is indeed customary for Nama and in more recent times also for Damara to pay bridewealth. Reporting on marriage practices in the Windhoek township of Katutura, the transfer of *bruidie* (possibly derived from the Afrikaans word for bride) requires the parents of the groom to bring a cow called *apagomas*, a transfer that cannot be substituted by money. Similarly, Dentlinger (1983: 153) mentions the institution of "bride-payments" for the Nama Topnaar of the Kuiseb river in the 1970s, again in compensation to the woman's parents for raising the bride (ibid: 154). Gordon (1972: 133) marks the rise of bridewealth transfers (which he calls *braidie*) in Damara marriages in Okombahe in the 1960s that began with the incorporation of Okombahe into a wider cash economy. Connecting these wider socio-economic changes to class formation processes at the local level, Gordon argues that "social performances were increasingly evaluated in monetary terms" (ibid: 134). *Braidie* became part of these dynamics and was perceived as a "payment for bringing up and educating the girl" (ibid). Interestingly, Gordon does not mention the *abba gomas* but only states that there are no definite rules concerning the amount of *braidie* and that it varies from case to case.

Thus, the question whether the Fransfontein *abba gomas* might be perceived as some kind of bridewealth cannot be answered straightforwardly.[6] The ambiguity of the concept is also realized locally. Some people in Fransfontein linked the *abba*

6 The situation is further complicated by the fact that the Damara practiced bride service, where the groom worked for his father-in-law for a specific period of time, rather than bridewealth (Schmidt 1981/82: 58). Yet, as none of the people we interviewed on marriage in Fransfontein mentioned bride service, I do not consider this aspect here.

gomas to the institution of *lobola* as practiced by the Xhosa of South Africa, as expressed in Dawids' (2007: 65) explanation that "people who are familiar with the South African cultures, traditions, and norms, will recognize this practice because in isiXhosa this is referred to as 'lobola'". Others argued that the man's family should also receive an *abba gomas* to compensate them for the raising the groom. This argument runs in parallel to how the marriage slaughtering changed from a ritual performed only by the groom's family in the early 20th century to one performed by each side with an exchange of cattle (Schmidt 1981/82: 63). A similar development for the *abba gomas* would clearly identify it as something different from bridewealth.

In my view, the current institution of the *abba gomas* does include some aspects of the bridewealth concept, though there are signs that it might in future become completely separated from it. I view the *abba gomas* as both a gift for the bride's mother acknowledging her role in raising the woman, and as symbolic compensation for the reproductive potential that the bride represents: it is only through the reproductive capabilities of the bride that the groom's family is able to reproduce itself. Such a link between marriage and reproduction is very much in line with the broader bridewealth concept. The exchange and equation of cattle and women is a recurrent topic throughout the Fransfontein marriage process and a general theme throughout Southern Africa, most pointedly captured by the title of Adam Kuper's famous monograph *Wives for Cattle* (Kuper 1982, 2016; Pauli/van Dijk 2016). It is, in fact, a theme that comes up explicitly in the celebration of the engagement which ends off the asking ritual.

The end of asking: The *reng #nuis*

The relief felt by the man's kin group and the bride and groom when the asking ritual approaches its end cannot be overstated. After (at least) two nights of accusations from the woman's side and begging, asking, discussing, challenging and pleading for forgiveness from the man's side, the asking ritual is finalized with the *reng #nuis* (engagement).

The *reng #nuis* begins with the two kin groups finally agreeing on the marriage. In a plain dress, the bride leaves her parents' house and sits down between the two kin groups. She has to pass one final test. She is asked a number of questions on the different aspects of her potential new status, in order to ascertain that she is indeed willing to take care of her new family (see Dawids 2007: 64) Once she has answered these questions to the satisfaction of both sides, her relatives hand her over to a female relative of the man's kin group, usually an elderly, married woman, while the groom is handed over to the bride's family. At this point respected individuals from both kin groups will issue *//namadi* (advice) to the couple on how to behave as husband and wife.

The next preparatory stage for the engagement involves one of the leitmotifs of Fransfontein marriages. The woman's family presents a new enamel cup to the crowd and gives it to the groom's kin with the remark that the cup is complete and does not have any stains. The cup symbolizes the bride and indicates that, like the cup, the bride is given to the groom's kin without any stains or marks. The theme of completeness plays a similarly crucial role during the marriage slaughtering when all parts of the slaughtered cattle are presented and hung up in public.

The engagement proper with the exchange of rings can then proceed. While the bride changes and returns to the yard in a fashionable outfit, a beautifully decorated table with food and drinks is prepared. The couple is seated at this table. During the subsequent ceremony, two acts have to take place: one is setting the date of the wedding; and the other is for the groom and his family to "mark" the bride. The "marking" is done by giving the bride jewelry. Often, one of the groom's *makeis* will "mark" the bride with a pair of earrings, though a necklace, bracelet or watch can also be used for this. The *reng #nuis* per se, when a ring is placed on the bride's finger, is, however, always done by the groom. In general, the bride also marks the groom with a watch. Each marking is accompanied by comments by the marker. The groom might say that he marks the woman bride as his bride with the ring. The theme of "marking" the bride comes from the close symbolic connection between women and cattle and the fact that marking in cattle indicates ownership. Jorries, whose asking and marriage we observed in 2004, explained the link in the following manner: "Like cattle, the bride is marked so that everybody can see that she is not free anymore". The marking is followed by speeches and songs. This often includes a champagne contest during which the bride and groom have to compete in opening a bottle of champagne and drinking from the other one's glass. The serving of food to all participants marks the end of the formal part of the ritual and the beginning of the celebration.

Detailed descriptions of the asking ritual are only provided by Schmidt and Klocke-Daffa. In southern Namibia, the ritual is called the *mā-//na* (give-away) ritual. It has several similar stages to the ones I have described for Fransfontein, though Klocke-Daffa does not discuss the marking stage at all and gives the engagement little attention (Klocke-Daffe 2001). Similar to our local informants, Schmidt (1981/82: 58) underscores the symbolic equation between women and cattle in the marking ritual, claiming that the marking of the bride has a long tradition and can also be observed among other ethnic groups, as for example the Herero. She concludes: "It is plausible to assume that this is an old custom that through the influence of the country's white population has been gradually changed". (ibid) Though the items used for the marking have been "modernized" (for example, watches), it thus seems very likely that the practice itself has more historic depth. Schmidt makes the critical

point that the asking ritual and the engagement should not be perceived as equivalent to a European engagement. She argues instead that these rituals go further and are already a variation of marriage, "much more comparable to a modern civil marriage" than an engagement (ibid: 59).

The expenses for the asking and the engagement are rather high. Transport and accommodation for all relatives on both sides have to be organized and paid for. The husband has to buy the jewelry for the marking, often spending an amount equivalent to the value of a cow. In addition, a goat has to be slaughtered and drinks have to be bought for the celebration, all of which has to be financed by the groom and his family (the chapter "From Decline to Distinction" discusses the dissemination of asking rituals and engagements as well as the increased wedding costs in greater detail).

The time that elapses between the *reng #nuis* and the marriage ceremony itself can vary quite widely. Theoretically, the wedding could proceed immediately after the conclusion of the engagement on the Saturday, with the separation of the bride commencing on Sunday after the church service. Most commonly, however, several months elapse before the wedding is held, not least to give the groom and his kin a chance of recovering financially and preparing for the expenses of the wedding.

The marriage (*!gameb*)

The wedding celebration can be divided into seven different stages (see Table 7). The wedding commences with the seclusion of the bride for six days, beginning after mass on the Sunday before the wedding (Stage 1).[7] On the subsequent Friday, the marriage slaughtering is conducted (Stage 2). Late in the morning on Saturday, the church ceremony takes place (Stage 3). After church, the couple and their wedding party take official pictures and do the "money walk" (Stage 4). From here, they proceed to the wedding reception (Stage 5). Either immediately after the wedding reception or on the next morning, the bride's veil is removed (Stage 6). On Sunday, the bride is finally be handed over to the groom's family (Stage 7).

Seclusion of the bride (*kieri-erie-#gas* and *!hae-om #nuis*)

On the Sunday before the wedding, the *!hae-om #nuis* (to be put in a darkened room) of the bride commences. As the bride is sitting in church, women of the groom's kin group cover her head with a veil. Singing and ululating, they walk her from the church to her parents' house (see Figure 8). The name of the ritual derives from the "kieri-erie" sound of the ululation and the word *#gas* (to put inside).

7 Some families have shortened this period to three days, secluding the bride only after the Wednesday service.

Figure 8: Secluding the bride

Although the bride is confined to her parents' house during the seclusion, and often to just one room, it is the responsibility of the women of the groom's kin group to take care of her. The groom's sisters and other close female relatives bring food and beauty products for her. This underscores the liminal character of the seclusion phase: the bride no longer belongs to her own kin group anymore but is not yet fully attached to groom's kin group. By feeding her, the groom's sisters grow a new kinship bond and create relatedness between themselves (as representatives of their kin group) and the bride.[8] The aim is for the bride to gain weight during her seclusion. One of the grooms we interviewed explained to us that he wants his bride to look "beautifully fat at her wedding day". Meat, milk and fat should be given to the bride. Again, there is also an equation between cattle and wife: neither thin cattle nor thin women are seen as desirable. Younger brides have begun to contest this beauty ideal. Influenced by Western television and soap operas that portray a very different idea of beauty, they do not want to gain any weight; some even want to lose weight. During her seclusion, the bride applies a red cream called *!nau-i* to all parts of her body, and especially to her face and neckline, to even and lighten the skin. The cream is made from a red stone sourced in the area around Opuwo, finely ground and mixed with animal fat.[9] During the entire seclusion, the bride is not allowed to go outsideand the groom is also not allowed to come inside. However, several of the women I interviewed indicated to me that they tried to sneak out at night to meet their grooms.

8 Feeding to create and maintain relatedness (and kinship) is a central topos in recent kinship research (Weismantel 1995; Carsten 2004, 1997).

9 Fiona Ilonga, who produces and sells this cream in Fransfontein, has written a chapter reflecting on local conceptions of beauty (Ilonga 2007).

Only Schmidt (1981/82: 59) describes this part of the marriage process. Like our Fransfontein informants, the women whom Schmidt interviewed report the use of *!nau-i* and explain the seclusion of the bride in a darkened room with the aim of lightening her skin (1981/82: 60). Schmidt notes that earlier reports do not include any information on a bride's seclusion shortly before the wedding ceremony. She does indicate, however, that Winifred Hoernlé describes a comparable seclusion period as part of girls' initiation ceremonies. There are indeed some striking parallels between the ritual marking a Nama girl's first menstruation, for example, and the Fransfontein seclusion of brides (Hoernlé 1918, 1923: 523-524). According to Hoernlé, first time menstruating girls where secluded in a menstruation hut. During the day, they were not allowed to leave the hut and were taken care of and fed with meat. Hoernlé writes: "For one of the chief things required of a girl in the hut is that she should get fat, with smoothly shining skin". (Hoernlé 1918: 71) While the girl was in the hut, her skin was being treated with something Hoernlé calls *!naop*, "a face paint made by grinding a soft red stone to powder and mixing it with fat" (ibid). Today, neither girls' initiation ceremonies nor menstruation seclusions still take place in Fransfontein. But it seems very likely that some of the ritual elements of these former puberty rites, especially the seclusion, have been transformed into the marriage rituals.

Ritual slaughtering *(!gameb-#as*)

In Fransfontein, the*!gameb-#as* (marriage slaughtering) is always done very early on Friday morning, ideally at dawn. It begins with the groom and his male relatives driving a cow from their house to the bride'sparental home. Once they arrive there, the groom kills the cow while his relatives hold the animal down. This can be done in various ways, as we observed during the rituals we witnessed. Sometimes the grooms stabbed the cow, while at other times the animal's throat was cut. Once the animal has been killed, the groom runs into the bride's parental home and his relatives proceed with cutting up the meat.

Once the meat is cut up, it is hung up (see Figure 9), a practice discussed in detail by both Schmidt and Klocke-Daffa. The hanging up of the meat represents another variation of the central symbolic themes of Fransfontein marriage: the equation of cattle and wives and the completeness of both. The groom's family has to present all parts of the slaughtered animal – including its blood, its skin and the contents of its intestines – to the bride's family. The soft parts of the animal are displayed in large bowls while the large pieces of meat on the bones are hung up on a wooden frame. One of the influential female relatives of the groom's kin identifies all animal parts by naming them, to show the bride's relatives that they are all there. The bride's family pays painstaking attention to the presentation; if any piece were to be found missing, the bride's family could

Figure 9: Hanging up the meat

refuse the animal and force the groom's family to slaughter another cow. The importance of the completeness of the slaughtered animal is a variation of the equation between cattle and women: just as the complete cup presented during the engagement symbolizes the untarnished bride, the entire cow symbolizes the groom who enters marriage complete and without a stain. At this point, other goods will also be given to the bride's family, such as sugar, tea and Knorr soup.

While the bride's family starts to prepare the meat, several other ritual activities take place. Sometimes a married female relative covers the heads of the bride and two of her married female relatives with the fat of the cow's stomach (see Figure 10).[10] It is critical that it is a married woman who performs this, as only a woman like her is able to pass on the luck that is necessary to make a marriage work. Schmidt (1981/82: 64) and Klocke-Daffa (2001: 171) also mention the custom, highlighting the high value fat has for most of Namibia's ethnic groups and how it symbolizes fecundity. Thus, both the fat and the fact that it is a married woman applying it bring luck and fecundity to the marriage.

Another ritual activity done as the meat is being prepared is the *#gui-/hamises* (tearing of the stomach) ritual. During this, two respected, elderly and married women from each of the kin groups tear one of the stomachs or the intestine of the cow to symbolize that, from now on, the two kin groups have to share. Interestingly,

10 According to Michael Bollig (personal communication July 2009), these practices resemble those among the Herero and Himba.

Figure 10: Putting fat from a cow's stomach on the bride's head

this practice is not mentioned in any of the literature on Nama and Damara marriage. After these additional ritual activities are completed at the bride's parental home, the groom's kin group returns to the groom's parental house and awaits the bride's kin group to arrive and to present it with its cow. The ritual practice of slaughtering and presenting the cow at the groom's parental house is very similar to the one at the bride's parental house, yet the slaughtering will be performed by one of the bride's brothers. For the rest of the Friday, both kin groups will stay at their respective houses and prepare for the wedding day.

Schmidt (1981/82: 63) reports that the practice of the reciprocal slaughtering by the bride's family appeared in the first half of the 20th century. Beforehand, only the groom's kin group slaughtered a cow. She also mentions a further custom that continues to be practiced in present-day Fransfontein, namely placing a white flag on the roofs of each of the two parental homes to indicate the marriage (ibid). Schmidt ascribes this practice to white Afrikaans marriage rituals.[11]

The church wedding

In Fransfontein, the church wedding is always celebrated late on Saturday morning. The morning until then is spent by the groom and his groomsmen and the bride and her bridesmaids to prepare themselves for the church ceremony in their respective

11 Already in the 1950s, Laura Longmore (1959: 94) observed white flags as a symbol for upcoming weddings in a township of Johannesburg.

parental houses. Women of the groom's kin take the wedding dress to the bride and help her to get ready.

The bride and the groom have asked siblings and friends to be their bridesmaids and groomsmen. Both Khoekhoegowab terms – *strei-aon* for groomsman and *strei-taras* for bridesmaid – are derived from Afrikaans words: *strei* is a variation of the Afrikaans *strooi* (straw), while *aon* means man and *taras* means woman in Khoekhoegowab. Like the practice of placing white flags on the parental houses of bridal couple, the appropriation of these words indicates the influence of Afrikaans culture on Nama and Damara marriages (cf. Schmidt 1981/82: 65). In Afrikaans the bride's male attendant is called the *strooijonker* (literally, straw boy) and the bridesmaid the *strooimeisie* (literally, straw girl). Bridesmaids and groomsmen always form couples. The number of couples at a wedding varies – while some weddings might only have four couples, others can have as many as eight. Critically here is that the bridesmaids and groomsmen are all dressed the same way.

The church wedding follows common Christian practices. Interestingly, several important family members on both sides do not attend the church wedding. They are busy celebrating and preparing food at the respective parental homes and at the reception hall. Compared to the number of people celebrating at the two parental homes and also later at the reception, the number of people attending the church wedding is rather small. While the church wedding is an important element of a Fransfontein marriage, the low attendance indicates that it is certainly not the only highlight. Other ritual practices, especially the asking ceremony, the wedding slaughtering and the asking-out of the bride ritual at the end, are as important as the church wedding. The couple will sign the marriage register during the church service. The marriage will later be reported to the magistrate in Khorixas. Thus, all Fransfontein church marriages are always also civil marriages (and registered as such). After exchanging the rings, the couple will kiss and then turn to the congregation. This is the first time that they introduce themselves as *!game-aob* (marriage man or husband) and *!game-taras* (marriage woman or wife). After mass, the newlyweds come out of church and the congregation throws rice and confetti. Although this practice is of European origin, Klocke-Daffa (2001: 171) comments that its symbolism has older roots. She links it to the practice of covering the bride's head with the cow's stomach fat, with both practices believed to bring luck and fecundity to the marriage.

In comparison, Schmidt (1981/82: 65) mentions the church wedding only briefly. Her two key informants did not give any details on their church wedding because they assumed that these Christian ritual practices were well known. Klocke-Daffa (2001: 170-172), in turn, is much more explicit than Schmidt, though her description does not vary much from my own description. The only difference is that weddings

Figure 11: A typical wedding picture

in Berseba, where she did her fieldwork, tended to take place on Sundays, rather than Saturdays as in Fransfontein (ibid: 173).

After church: Photos and money

After the church service, wedding photographs are taken. In Fransfontein, newly-wed couples either take their pictures at the Fransfontein Fountain, a natural fountain at the outskirts of the village, or in the lush and beautiful garden of one of the traditional councillors. Figure 11 shows a typical motive used for wedding pictures.

It is likely that these gardens play an important role in marriage photos because of the symbolic value of water in this water-scarce region. Most other places in Fransfontein are dry and dusty, lacking plants and water. Already in the early 20th century, Winifred Hoernlé (1923) marked the centrality of water for Nama speaking groups, among others also the "Zwartboys" of Fransfontein and Windhoek. While considered valuable and essential for life, it is also believed to be able to cause sickness and death if not handled appropriately. These potential dangers have to be controlled through rituals and prohibitions. While Hoernlé does not examine water in relation to marriage rites, the emphasis she places on the symbolic value of water can also be traced to the importance that water, fountains and gardens have for Fransfontein weddings.

After the wedding pictures have been taken, the couple and their bridesmaids and groomsmen walk to the groom's parental house. Their walk has to be encouraged with gifts of money: only when coins are thrown at their feet will the newlywed continue to walk. The coins are collected into small baskets by flower girls and boys. At the groom's parental house, a bedroom has been beautifully decorated with curtains and bed covers brought from Windhoek. Upon their arrival, the couple, their entourage and as many wedding guests as possible cram into this room. The air is very hot and people start sweating. Two respected members of the two kin groups ask the wedding attendants to throw as much money as possible on the bed. Only when they perceive the amount on the bed as sufficient will the bride be allowed to sit down on the bed.

After a short break, during which food and drinks are served at the groom's parental home, the couple and their bridesmaids and groomsmen proceeds to the bride's parental home, again enticed by coins thrown at their feet. At this house, too, all wedding participants and guests congregate in a bedroom where the guests are again asked to throw money on the bed. Later, all the money collected in this way will be handed over to the newlywed couple. Pendelton (1993: 88-89) discusses a similar practice among the Ovambo and and calls it the Owambo "marriage walk". Yet, neither Schmidt nor Klocke-Daffa mention a comparable practice for the Nama/Damara. The Fransfontein money walk reflects a Frazerian magical thinking, such as that encountered by Lankauskas at Lithuanian weddings: "Weddings provided arenas for metaphoric money making – for creating imaginaries of its abundance and ready availability". (Lankauskas 2015:94) Yet, the money given during the two money walks and on the two money beds is little when compared to the large wedding costs that the couple and their kin have to muster. Many people in Fransfontein are needy, living on very little and often having no money at all. There is thus not much money to be given at a wedding. The importance of the wedding money thus lies not so much in its financial contribution to the wedding costs but rather in its symbolic value as representation of a wedding's capacity to express and even generate wealth and abundance. This is all the more astonishing as most people in the village have so little money.

Staging marriage (*onthals*)

For their wedding reception, couples in Fransfontein either rent the church hall, the school hall or the community hall. The church hall is the smallest of the three buildings while the school hall is the largest. The community hall is the cheapest option: built in the 1980s during the apartheid period, it is not in a very good shape. The wedding reception is called *onthals* in Khoekhoegowab, an appropriation of the Afrikaans term *onthaal* (reception).

Globally, weddings have become central sites for the negotiation of what is locally constructed as "traditional" and as "modern".[12] These dynamics are especially evident when looking at food and clothing. Reflecting on clothes and clothing in Africa, Hildi Hendrickson observes: "When we see Africans using *our* products to create *their* identities – and vice versa – we learn that the meaning of body or commodity is not inherent but is in fact symbolically created and contested by both producers and consumers". (Hendrickson 1996: 2) All ingredients for the Christmas salads offered at weddings are expensive and often hard or even impossible to get in Fransfontein. One needs a car to bring large amounts of potatoes, carrots or pineapples to Fransfontein. Such difficulties increase the value of the salads, turning them into food for very special occasions. Meat, the other highly valued and central ingredient at weddings, is also costly but locally available. For a wedding, one needs both types of food. Together they form what people construct as "traditional food" at a Fransfontein wedding. It is not so much the origin of the Christmas salads, their "whiteness" or "modernity", that makes them special and thus appropriate for a wedding. It is rather the difficulty in acquiring their ingredients. Similarly, it is the cost of the meat that makes it special. Both are thus well suited to mark the exclusivity and traditionality of wedding food.

As described above, the couple and their bridesmaids and groomsmen are sitting on an elevated platform in the reception hall, facing the tables with the wedding guests situated below them (see Figure 12). This placement has a certain similarity to the high table that can be found in some prestigious British universities. A master of ceremonies, who has already introduced the waitresses, moderates the reception program. The "champagne competition", already introduced for the *reng #nuis*, is performed again. The programs can be quite varied: most couples have a wedding waltz, some ask a choir to sing, sometimes a group of relatives performs a dance, the guests and the couple may pray together, and respected elders may hold speeches and give further advice to the newlyweds. Dawids writes about the weddings he has attended: "The handing out of the drinks usually signifies the beginning of the end". (Dawids 2007: 75) After the newlyweds and their guests have finished their drinks, everybody starts leaving. Although the reception is one of the most expensive moments in a Fransfontein wedding, it is quite short, often lasting less than two hours.

12 In comparative global perspective, this seems to be a crucial theme for many contemporary weddings (see Mupotsa 2014 for South Africa; van Dijk 2017 for Botswana; Debevec 2007 for Burkina Faso; Lankauskas 2015 for Lithuania; Argyrou 1996 for Cyprus; Bristol-Rhys 2007 for UAE; and Kendall 1996 for Korea).

Figure 12: The wedding reception

Schmidt (1981/82: 65) does not mention the reception at all. I suggest that this as a sign for the changes in marriage practices. The weddings of the 1960s and 1970s that Schmidt's informants reflect upon take place well before the thorough transformations of the late 1970s and the 1980s (see "From Decline to Distinction"). Receptions are not yet an integral part of marriage for Schmidt's informants. At that time, the wedding celebration and the wedding meal take place first at the bride's parental house and then at the groom's parental house. This is similar to the movement between the two parental homes during the marriage slaughtering in present-day weddings. According to Schmidt, the marriage is finalized with the asking-out of the bride at her family's house. By the time Klocke-Daffa (2001: 172) writes twenty years later, reflecting on marriages of the 1990s, wedding receptions are a central part of Nama marriages. First, newlyweds in Berseba celebrate at a hall in very similar fashion as I have described above. Then, they celebrate at the groom's and finally at the bride's parental home. There the asking-out ends the marriage feast.

According to Schmidt (1981/82: 65), it is very likely that, at the beginning of the 20th century, weddings were only celebrated at the bride's parental home. This is confirmed by our wedding interviews with elderly couples and widows. The counter-slaughtering was introduced in the first half of the 20th century, thus extending the wedding celebration to both houses. Then, at the end of the 1970s, weddings began to include a celebration at a rented hall. In contrast to the greater informality and lower cost of the celebrations at the two houses, this reception is expensive and very formal.

Showing the bride (*/hui-eis*)

We observed a certain flexibility regarding the practice of the */hui-eis*, when the bride's veil is removed and the bride is presented. The *//hui-eis* takes place at the groom's parental house. The newly-weds are seated at a table, with married elders congregating around them. These elders proceed to give *//namadi* (advice) to the couple, advice that can sometimes be rather harsh. During one */hui-eis* we attended, a local *kai aob* got so enraged about the freedom women had gained in recent years that he almost had to leave the */hui-eis*. He had started with giving advice on how married women should behave and ended with a condemnation of gender mainstreaming that, according to him, is propagated at local workshops organized by various NGOs. One of the main features of the ritual is the lifting of the veil, yet there seems to be some space for flexibility with how this is done. Sometimes the bride's veil is simply lifted before the *//namadi*, sometimes it happens afterwards. At one wedding we attended, the lifting of the veil turned into a practice similar to the money bed when the master of ceremonies spontaneously announced that the veil would only be lifted if enough money was given to the couple. He encouraged the guests' generosity by emphasizing the necessity of controlling that the bride was still complete and nothing of her was missing. He thus re-introduced the Fransfontein marriage leitmotif of "completeness". After the veil is lifted, the bride changes into an ordinary dress, which underscores that her status has now changed from bride to wife. Sometimes, the lifting of the bride's veil is followed by the opening of the wedding presents. It seems that the lifting of the veil is a new introduction as none of the earlier discussions of Nama and Damara weddings mentions this event.

Asking-out of the bride (*#gan-# ûis*)

A Fransfontein marriage ends with the *#gan-#ûis*, the asking-out of the bride at the bride's parental house. This is the last time that the groom's family has to ask the bride's family, this time for permission that the wife can formally move to her husband's place. Often, some more *//namadi* will be given to the couple. It is also common that the new wife will be asked to prepare and serve some tea to the guests in order to demonstrate her new status. In many families, the wedding cake is eaten at this stage. Only married people are allowed to eat from the wedding cake.

Similarly, the meat of the *#gaus* (hip bone) of the cows slaughtered during the marriage slaughtering will only be distributed among the married wedding guests at the final asking-out of the bride. The hip bone has been cooked seperatley from the rest of the wedding food. Later, the bone is rubbed with the same *!nau-i* cream that the bride used during her seclusion and, after the wedding, is hung up at the bride's parental home. Figure 13 displays a *#gaus* (the bone on the right side).

Figure 13: Marking the end of the wedding

Schmidt (1981/82: 65) and Klocke-Daffa (2001: 173) both view the asking-out ritual as the final stage of Damara and Nama marriages, and interpret it as the last remains of the former practice of bride service. During that practice, the Damara/Nama husband and his family had to gather for a final asking-out ritual after the husband had completed several months or even years of bride service. While neither Klocke-Daffa nor Schmidt found any proof anymore for the practice of bride service in their areas of research (Okombahe and Berseba), they noted that the final asking-out ritual had remained. In Fransfontein in the early 2000s, none of our interlocutors ever mentioned bride service or saw a link between bride service and the asking-out ritual. For them, the asking-out ritual was rather linked to the asking-ritual at the beginning of the marriage process. They saw these two rituals as framing the wedding and the asking-out ritual as that stage that closes the cycle of marriage.

Tracing the marriage ritual through the evidence given by Schmidt and Klocke-Daffa in particular, we can see that the present-day Fransfontein marriage process is a complex performance of hybrid rituals. Different cultural practices – Nama, Damara, Herero and Ovambo, but also Afrikaans, German and British – have merged and produced the unique form of marriage rituals that I have labeled "Fransfontein

marriage". Danai Mupotsa (2014: 186) has noted a similar cultural multiplicity in contemporary South African weddings when she states that they are "both modern and traditional, communal and individualistic, representative of freedom and unfreedom, romantic as well as obligatory". The result of this merging, this hybridization is African (de Wet 2008; Mupotsa 2014, 2015). Any attempt at classifying these marriages into "true" (i.e. "traditional") or "modern" (i.e. "new") marriage types would completely miss the form, content and dynamic of African (and Fransfontein) marriage. Fransfontein marriages are "remotely global", to borrow Charles Piot's (1999) insightful term. They are shaped as much by "indigenous" culture as by colonial and postcolonial forces.

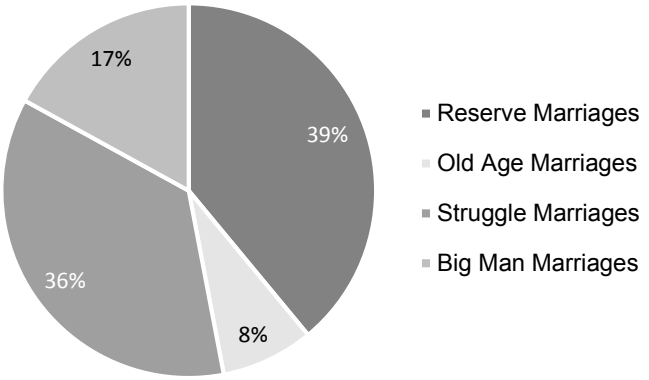
MARRIAGE VARIATIONS

Every single wedding introduces variations to the general outline given above of current Fransfontein marriages. People, events, strategies, desires, vulnerabilities and hopes are never the same (Abu-Lughod 1991: 156). Yet, regardless of these idiosyncrasies of expression and events, some of the variations can be classified systematically. By analyzing these variations in terms of central social categories such as generation, class and religious affiliation, it is indeed possible to identify forms of clustering amongst Fransfontein marriages. I will start with an analysis of Fransfontein marriages in terms of generation.

There are significant variations in type of marriage by generation. The eldest generation interviewed, born between 1915 and 1944, celebrated rather simple and affordable weddings. In August 2005, one woman born in the 1930s described weddings before the mid-1970s in the following way: "You know, everything was just at one house, at the bride's house. There was the asking, and then the celebration. In between, one went to church. The celebration? What celebration? It was just the slaughtering of a goat, sitting together in front of the house, singing". Some of these weddings did not take place in the Fransfontein reserve itself but rather at the couple's place of work on a commercial farm owned by a white farmer. Yet, as the bride and groom and their wedding party nevertheless belonged to the reserve's population, I include them in this generation of marriages. I cluster all of the marriages of couples born up to the 1940s and celebrated before the mid-1970s under the label "reserve marriages", indicating that most of these marriages were celebrated while Fransfontein was still a reserve. These reserve marriages constitute 39 per cent of all marriages (see Figure 14).

Not all of the couples of the eldest generation (born up to the 1940s) and living together as family were able to marry early in life. One factor that played a particular

Figure 14: Types of marriage of 139 couples



role in preventing marriages was conflict with white farmers. At the end of the 1980s and during the 1990s, the local Lutheran pastor decided to marry all such older unmarried couples. These wedding celebrations were very modest and affordable. I label these marriages "old age marriages". Eight per cent of all marriages we recorded belong to this category. Given the similarities between reserve marriages and old age marriages, it is clear that they are both variations of a more general form of marriage: simple and affordable weddings.

From the 1970s onwards, the ritual practices of weddings started to change. Local *kai aogu* emerged. They occupied prestigious jobs at the time of the wedding (politicians, administrators or professionals) and were considered wealthy by local standards (Pauli 2010b). In some cases the wife also had a good-paying occupation at the time of her wedding, in particular if she was a teacher. These marriages first began to appear in the later 1970s. The couples involved were generally born after 1945. These marriages extended and transformed the previously modest form of Fransfontein marriage, leading to the current lavish practices. I group these marriages under the label "big man marriage". Today, only a few big man marriages take place, celebrated by the few new professionals and politicians that have come into office during the last 10 to 15 years or, more frequently, by wealthy migrants returning to the village. I include these elite weddings in the big man marriage category that makes up 17 per cent of all marriages.

Although the changing marriage practices initiated by big man weddings have significantly increased marriage costs, not everybody lacking the financial means for lavish weddings has stopped marrying. People of local middle class status, including drivers at the ministries in Khorixas, police sergeants, domestic workers, or road construction workers, hope to further climb the social ladder and get ahead by celebrating costly weddings. Because of the substantial economic and social effort required by these weddings,

they are locally labeled as "struggle marriages". Dawids and I have analyzed his own wedding as a struggle for recognition and security (Pauli/Dawids 2017). Within the Namibian context, the term *struggle* has a specific, historically situated meaning. It is first and foremost associated with the liberation struggle against apartheid and for independence. Henning Melber (2014: 26-28) observes a "struggle mentality" characterizing Namibian postcolonial society and argues that the heroic narrative of the struggle for freedom is very much present in everyday life. To struggle may then not only capture the pain of working towards a purpose, but also the relief and even pleasure of achieving it. It was thus striking when, during our fieldwork in Fransfontein, we repeatedly heard how the concept of *struggle* was applied to describe wedding preparations for couples with limited financial means. Today it is no longer the struggle for political freedom but the struggle for a dignified and economically secure life that preoccupies most people in Fransfontein. Marriage as a central indicator of adult status (see Pauli 2011) has become a tremendous struggle to achieve. Thirty-six per cent of all marriages fall into this category (see Figure 14). These are weddings of couples who want to marry like the elite even though they are not (yet) part of the elite themselves. For this type of marriage, support from kin is essential (Pauli/Dawids 2017) but is often not sufficient. Because of their lack of a permanent and sufficiently high income, these couples need additional economic incentives to marry. Otto, a construction worker in his thirties, explained his motivation to get married in the following way: "At the time I started to think about marriage I was having some nice contracts. Money was coming in. I think the birth of the son was also influencing the decision; she was also pregnant at that time". Our two closest research assistants, Jorries and Francois, both married while we were living in Fransfontein. At several occasions, both of them expressed that they would not have married without the extra income and support they had received from us. For us it was a welcome opportunity to reciprocate something for their great support of our research. In an interview in August 2005, Francois clearly linked his marriage plans to our research project: "We were thinking about marriage, but not so seriously because we did not have any income. But when you employed us that was when we started thinking seriously about marriage. […] I think that this is the trend; the rich men are getting married. You will not find a poor man like me married".

It is remarkable how much Francois distances himself from his new status as a married man and thus in some ways a man from the "elite". He still feels like a "poor" man. He can only explain his new status in terms of luck, similar to finding money on the street.[13] Remarkably, the expenses and practices of the struggle weddings hardly differ

13 The way we saw our role in the lives of our research assistants stands in stark contrast to how Victor Crapanzano (1980) dealt with Tuhami, his assistant during research he con-

from the lavishness of big man or elite weddings. My analysis of marriage in terms of generation thus demonstrates how marriages have gotten more lavish and expensive over time, and with that a clear marker of elite status within the community.

Another way of analyzing Fransfontein marriages is by religion. Lutheran and Roman Catholic marriages are still the norm in Fransfontein (86 per cent of all marriages) and prior to the 1990s there were no Pentecostal marriages at all in Fransfontein. However, by the end of the 1990s, twelve per cent of all marriages were Pentecostal (calculated from the 1940s onwards, this makes five per cent in total). As there is no Pentecostal church in Fransfontein, Pentecostal wedding services take place in the same halls as those that are rented for the wedding receptions. Compared to Roman Catholic and Lutheran weddings, the church service plays a much more central role for Pentecostal weddings. Virtually every guest involved in a Pentecostal marriage attends the church service, in comparison to the small number we observed in Roman Catholic and Lutheran weddings. It is, however, interesting to note that still most of the ritual activities, including the ritual slaughtering, are performed in a similar fashion, regardless of religious affiliation. This contrasts sharply with what Rijk van Dijk (2012a) observed for weddings in Botswana and what I encountered in urban weddings in Windhoek more recently (2015-2016). While Pentecostal churches within these more urban contexts tend to perceive *traditional* rituals as problematic and might even reject them, this is not the case in the rural context of Fransfontein.

A rural-urban difference similar to the one in Pentecostal weddings also becomes visible when we consider class in relation to religion. In the urban setting of Windhoek, Pentecostal churches also seem attractive to established upper-middle classes and the elite. In contrast, all Pentecostal weddings in the rural context of Fransfontein are struggle marriages, celebrated by couples with limited financial means. For these economically struggling couples, it is a great advantage that their overall wedding costs are reduced due to the prohibition of alcohol by their church. In addition, becoming a member of a Pentecostal church has not (yet perhaps) become an issue for

ducted in Morocco. Just like Francois and Jorries, Tuhami wishes to marry and asks Crapanzano for financial support. Crapanzano, however, refuses to assist, and rather psychoanalyses the "material" (the desires, dreams, and narratives) that Tuhami "produces" or "constructs" for him. In my mind, these passages of Crapanzano's otherwise excellent ethnography greatly lack empathy on part of the anthropologist. It remains unclear why Crapanzano does not support Tuhami – especially given the closeness of their encounter. It is more than understandable (even without psychoanalysis) that the individuals on whom anthropologists rely and get close to try to make the best of the situation – including drawing on the anthropologists in their pursuit of central life projects like marriage.

the political and economic elite of Fransfontein; they rather celebrate their weddings in the Fransfontein Protestant church (cf. Pauli 2012).

To sum up, marriage types vary by generation and are embedded in class differences. Affordable and simple marriages took place before the 1970s and big man marriages and struggle marriages have occurred since the end of the 1970s. Religious variations exist. However, there are no variations based on ethnicity – despite the existence of several different languages and ethnic groups.

MARRIAGE AND THE STATE

When it came to marriage, German colonial legislation was mainly concerned with the issue of "Rassenmischehen" (racially mixed marriages), thus marriages between German men and female colonial subjects (Wildenthal 1997). In 1905, the German colonial administration prohibited all civil marriages of this kind, a year later also all church weddings, and in 1907 the Windhoek high court declared all "mixed" marriages entered into before 1905 as invalid (Engel 1973; Essner 1997; Sippel 1995). The issue stirred up a significant amount of debate in Germany (Acker 1912; Friedrich 1909; Grentrup 1914). One particular aim of the legislation seemed to have been the removal of the rights of children born to "mixed married" couples (Engel 1973: 121), in particular their inheritance rights. Gordon explains: "If *Mischlings* were born in wedlock they gained their father's citizenship, whereas according to German (and later South African Roman-Dutch) law, illegitimate children were legally related only to their mothers". (Gordon 2005: 57) The rights of these children remain a continuous theme in marriage legislation throughout the German administration. In contrast to the intense and well-documented debates on so-called "mixed marriages", however, information on legislation for all other marriages is rare for the German colonial period.

Marriage law in South West Africa under South African rule was determined most critically by the Native Administration Proclamation, 15 of 1928, that came into effect on January 1, 1930 (Becker/Hinz 1995: 29). It was based on the Black Administration Act, 38 of 1927, that had been instituted in South Africa itself. The legislation established two types of marriage property regimes in South West Africa and stayed on the books until the passing of the Married Persons Equality Act in 1996.[14] The Native Administration Proclamation meant that all civil marriages

14 South Africa had already reformed its legislation on marriage in the 1980s, though this was not reproduced in Namibia at the same time (Sippel 1997: 395). The 1996 legislation in Namibia to a large extent followed the South African lead.

(this included all Christian marriages, as these were automatically entered as civil marriages) outside the so-called Police Zone, were marriages out of community of property unless the parties made a recorded declaration to the opposite (which would then result in a marriage in community of property) (Becker/Hinz 1995: 30). All "indigenous marriages" within the Police Zone were not affected by this proclamation; by default, these marriages were marriages in community of property.

Fransfontein marriages that were entered into before the law reforms of the 1990s, the discriminatory Roman-Dutch common law concept of marital power still applies. It places wives in the position of minors, while husbands have the right to administer the property of both spouses (Hubbard 2007: 102; Sippel 1997). Harald Sippel (1997: 385) differentiates three elements of marital power: the husband's power over the person of his wife, the husband's power over the property of his wife, and the husband's power as head of the family. All three elements have been abolished with the new Married Persons Equality Act of 1996. As Diane Hubbard writes: "Couples married 'in community of property' must now consult each other on most major financial transactions with husbands and wives being subject to identical powers and restraints". (Hubbard 2007: 102) The provision that the law will no longer recognize the husband in civil marriages as the "head of household" resulted in much controversy both inside and outside parliament (Hubbard 2007: 102-104). It still had strong echoes in Fransfontein during our fieldwork in 2003 and 2004. Though several radio programs had been aired to inform the general public of the new law and on their new rights, Fransfontein men and women were confused by the terms "in community of property" and "out of community of property" and felt that these were some kind of Western NGO inventions aimed at changing "traditional communities". However, separation and divorce are extremely rare in the Fransfontein area with only about three per cent of all marriages ending in separation and/or divorce. This means that only a tiny proportion of the population will ever go through property conflicts common during separation and divorce. Thus, the material consequences of the type of marriage contract (whether in community or out of community of property) are of only minor importance for most Fransfonteiners.

A low divorce rate does not mean that marriages are happier in this area than elsewhere. Several married women told me about being mistreated by their husbands, through physical abuse, physical and emotional neglect, and the fear of being infected by sexually transmitted diseases, especially HIV, because of the husband's continuous cheating. Yet, despite these difficulties, almost all women remained in their marital relationships and did not leave their spouses. One of the main reasons for this lies in the great difficulties and tremendous costs of getting married in the first place. As a female teacher in one of the focus group interviews

remarked: "After so much trouble, one does not want to lose it all again," referring to the social status, respect and prestige she had acquired through marriage.

Two other aspects covered by the Namibian law reforms since the 1990s, however, have stirred wide public interest in Fransfontein: maintenance and the inheritance rights of children, both for those born "inside" and those born "outside" of marriage.[15] It is important to note that, legally, cohabitation is not treated as marriage, thus that cohabitating partners have no rights on each other. The only exceptions are common children: "Namibian law makes all parents responsible for the maintenance of their children in proportion to their financial resources, and there is no distinction between children born inside marriage and children born outside marriage for this purpose". (Hubbard/Zimba 2004: 17) In contrast, children born inside marriage and children born outside marriage continue to be treatead differently when it comes to inheritance rights: "Children born outside of marriage are still disadvantaged when it comes to inheritance – in terms of civil law, such children may not inherit from their fathers or father's families unless they are named in a will, even if paternity is proven and acknowledged". (ibid). This legislation is reflected in local usage in Fransfontein where married elite men and women distinguish between children born "outside" and "inside" marriage in terms of inheriting from a father's estate (Pauli 2012). I discuss these developments in more detail in Part III.

The last issue that shapes marriage on the ground is the education system. An analysis of this brings this chapter on marriages in present-day Fransfontein to a close.

Marriage and school vacations

When we received our first wedding invitation at the end of July 2003, school vacations had already started. At that time we were still living in one of the empty hostel on the Fransfontein school ground. With the beginning of the holidays, the school ground had become quiet and empty. Outside the school yard, the village was filled with music and movement. From all over the country, people had returned to Fransfontein to celebrate important rites of passage, especially engagements and weddings.

In present-day Namibia, there are three major school vacations, all of several weeks in length: the first one in March after the rainy season, the winter break in July and August, and the summer break from December into early January. Our first experience of a wedding fell into the winter break. Many of our acquaintances were

15 A child born "outside of marriage" in general means that its mother is not married. The father may be married but then not to the child's mother (see Part III for a discussion of how ideas of illegitimacy have entered local discourses).

traveling around the country, attending engagements and weddings, or receiving family and guests in Fransfontein. All three holiday breaks are marked by this type of travel for engagements and weddings. For many families, school holidays mean movement: picking up children from different hostels and bringing them to places where they can spend the vacations. Communal farms fill up with young people staying over with their rural kinfolk. Having to be on the move anyway, people try to combine the needs of their children with other family obligations like attending weddings. As white-collar workers such as teachers often support weddings financially and their active participation is highly valued at marriage events, the state's influence on the timing of wedding celebrations is channeled through the institutions of schools and holidays.

The emergence of state-funded schools and the spread of education was connected to the establishment of homeland governments in the 1970s. Remarkably, the spread of these public institutions had an almost immediate effect on the timing of weddings. For 66 of the 123 weddings in our census, we recorded the month in which the wedding events were held. The concentration of weddings into only a few months started in the 1970s. In the 1990s, December began to emerge as the favorite wedding month. This is remarkable insofar as December had previously been the least preferred month for wedding celebrations because of its heat and humidity. Indeed, none of the couples who married before the 1980s married in December. Because of the spread of state-controlled formal education, more than half of all current weddings are celebrated during school holidays. Unfortunately, we do not have information on the engagement months. Nevertheless it seems plausible that the timing of these would have changed comparably.

Church registers available for the Fransfontein, Khorixas and Outjo ELCRN parishes confirm the results from our census. The preference to celebrate weddings in December clearly emerges in the 1970s. Before then, the winter months and especially July were preferred. Thus, state sponsored institutions have subtly shaped and changed the timing of weddings. Beyond the Fransfontein region, Klocke-Daffa (2001: 173) has observed comparable changes in the timing of weddings. She reports that in Berseba, southern Namibia, the church service after which the bride is secluded has been rescheduled from Monday to Sunday so that working guests would not have to take another day leave. Martine Segalen (1990: 145) describes a similar shift in timing of weddings in France from February and November, the months with the least work for agricultural workers in the 17th and 18th centuries, to the summer months from the 19th century onwards when the newly urbanized and industrialized workers had their holidays.

Contemporary Fransfontein marriages are shaped by a multiplicity of forces: the state and its laws and institutions; the community and its norms, values and sanctions;

and individual actors with their aspirations and anxieties. In this chapter I have focused on a detailed description of the current social, religious and legal practices of weddings and engagements, followed by a discussion of the different variations of a normative wedding. In the next chapter I analyze how marriage has changed from an almost universal institution to an exclusive celebration of class distinctions.

From decline to distinction

Weddings and marriages, 1940s-2000s

THE DECLINE OF MARRIAGE IN FRANSFONTEIN

Conspicous weddings emerged in Fransfontein around the 1970s. During that decade, the apartheid regime established the artificial Damaraland. Concurrently, marriage rates started to decline. According to recent demographic and ethnographic research in Southern Africa, marriage rates have substantially declined throughout the region, age at marriage has strongly increased, premarital fertility has also significantly increased and HIV/AIDS prevalence rates are among the highest in the world. These demographic trends are especially distinctive in four Southern African countries: Botswana, Swaziland, South Africa and Namibia (Bongaarts 2007; Garenne/Tollman/Kahn 2000; Garenne/Zwang 2005; Therborn 2006).

To describe changes in marriage raises several methodological and conceptual challenges. Unlike analyzing fertility trends, which can take for granted that women's fecundity declines with time and eventually ceases (new reproductive technologies left aside), for marriage, literally speaking, it is never too late. Thus, unlike the demographic approach that takes women with so-called completed fertility histories and then analyzes variations in the number of births by, for example, education or economic status of the women, for marriage there is no such thing as a "completed marriage history". Consequently, to conclude that marriage is declining might be erroneous. The number of marriages may not be declining, but the age at which people marry might be rising. Additionally, if marriage is a process rather than an event, the unaware and biased observer may think that conjugal relations are rather fluid and not structured by marriage. This is exemplified in Robert Gordon's (2002) analysis of the perceptions and instances of prostitution during German and South African colonial times in Namibia. This raises the question of what definitions, data and methods are necessary to analyze whether marriage has declined.

First of all, one has to clarify when people are considered as married. In Southern Africa, marriage has often been defined as a process and not as a single event (Helle-Valle 1999; Hunter 2016; Murray 1981b; Radcliff-Brown 1987; White 2016). In such a processual approach to marriage, the marital status of a person depends on the advancement of bridewealth payments. This dynamic conceptualization of marriage makes calculations of "proportions married" or "median age at first marriage" problematic. Census figures might have to be viewed with caution, as recent research from South Africa shows (Hosegood 2013; Mhongo/Budlender 2013). In Fransfontein, however, marriage is happening during a brief period of time and as an event. Someone is considered married after completing either a civil marriage at the magistrate's office or a Christian marriage in the church (or both). It is, thus, possible to distinguish married and unmarried people in Fransfontein.

To analyze whether marriage rates are declining, one can compare the number of married people within a population at two (or more) points in time. This is done, for example, in historical demography and demography. However, if one does not have comparative data for two points in time, one might instead (or also additionally) use cohort analysis and compare in how far the median age at marriage and the percentage of those married has changed for different birth cohorts. For Fransfontein, we have census data for only one point in time, rendering a comparative approach unviable. However, on a national level there is a decline in the percentage married as a comparison of the Namibian Demographic and Health Survey for 1992 and 2000 shows. While in 1992, 27 per cent of all Namibian women between the ages 15-49 were formally married, by 2000 it had declined to 23 per cent (MOHSS 2003: 80).

Thus, considering this lack of comparative data for Fransfontein, I take a closer look at the median ages of marriage and the percentage of married women per cohorts as basis from which to understand marriage dynamics. The information is taken from the ethnographic census we conducted with 750 men and women (see "Fransfontein Fieldwork"). Table 8 presents a comparison of the percentages of married couples for eight ten-year birth cohorts.

The percentage of people marrying has steadily declined since the 1970s. As can be seen in the last row of the table, only 32 per cent of the 364 interviewed women 15 years and older are or have been married. The number of men who married is even lower, at only 25 per cent. Thus, less than 30 per cent of the population 15 years and older is or has been married. As the table shows, while the majority of older men and women (until birth cohort 1935-1944) is or has been married, from birth cohort 1945-1954 onwards, the majority of the population is unmarried. For all cohorts, divorce and separation are extremely rare. Of the 89 men who married at one point in their lives, 87 per cent are currently married, 10 per cent are widowers, and only 3 per cent are separated or divorced. Among the 115 women who were married at one point in

Table 8: Percentage married and median age at marriage

Birth cohorts	Women			Men		
	N	Percentage ever married	Median age at marriage	N	Percentage ever married	Median age at marriage
1915-1924	11	91	36,5	12	92	34
1925-1934	26	96	26	22	68	38,5
1935-1944	41	58	33	30	63	34
1945-1954	47	30	35	38	42	35
1955-1964	59	37	32	59	27	37
1965-1974	65	23	28	67	16	30
1975-1984	89	6		104	1	
1985-1994	26	0		29	0	
Total	**364**	**32**	**30**	**361**	**25**	**35**

their lives, 67 per cent are still married, 3 per cent are separated or divorced, and 30 per cent are widowed. Consequently, the number of married Fransfonteiners has consistently declined, but the few who have married have almost always remained married. Comparable low rates of marriage have been reported for South Africa where Dorrit Posel and Stephanie Rudwick (2013) showed that in 2010 only 41 per cent of what they classify as "African" women had ever been married, in contrast to 81 per cent of "white" women. Victoria Hosegood (2013) mentioned even lower figures for KwaZulu-Natal. Only 10 per cent of the women in the age category 20-45 years were married in 2009. Further, the majority of women in their late 40s had never been married (see also Hunter 2010: 93-94).

As elsewhere in Southern Africa, the declining percentage marrying might also be the result of a substantial increase in the age at marriage (Bongaarts 2007; Garenne/ Zwang 2005). In 2003, the Namibian Ministry of Health and Social Services published a report with the main findings of the 2000 Namibian Demographic and Health Survey (MOHSS 2003). Regarding developments in the age at marriage, it states:

Marriage occurs remarkably late in Namibia. Only 12 per cent of women age 25-49 marry before age 18 and only 43 per cent have married by age 25 […]. The median age at first marriage is 26,2 among women age 30-49. Comparison with data from the 1992 NDHS shows an increase in age at marriage. For example, the median age at first marriage for women 30-34 was 25 in 1992, compared to 27 in 2000. (MOHSS 2003: 82)

In Fransfontein, the median age at first marriage is also late. However, as the above table demonstrates, the median age at marriage has not increased for the different birth cohorts, and it suggests no clear trend toward an increase or decrease of the median age at marriage. For a long time, marriage has occurred late in Fransfontein as people have rather lived in cohabitating unions. The decline in marriage rates cannot be attributed to a change to a later age at marriage and longer periods of cohabitation. Independent of cohort and generation, if people marry, they prefer to do this at the end of their twenties and during their thirties. Despite this late age at marriage, most women have born children before they marry. There is very little stigmatization of children born out of wedlock (Pauli 2012). It is generally accepted for men and women to have different partners independent of marriage and also to have children with them. A group discussion I had in 2004 with four women between 35 and 50 years of age illustrates this norm:

Julia: What would be a good age to marry?
Hazel: Maybe, thirty.
Mona and Claudia: Yes.
Julia: Not younger?
All for women: Not younger.
Mona: You must experience something; have friends, good friends and experience things in life before you decided to get married. Also men have to do that.

Thus, the decline of marriage in Fransfontein represents a *de facto* decline of marriage rates and not an increase in the age at which people marry.[1] The question that requires an answer is thus not why people marry increasingly late in life in Fransfontein; this has, after all, been the case for a long time. The question that has to be understood is rather why so many people do not marry at all.

1 See Hosegood/McGrath/Moultire (2009) for comparable results from KwaZulu Natal, South Africa.

EXPLANATIONS FOR THE DECLINE OF MARRIAGE

Although the history of marriage decline in Fransfontein is a specific one, there are nevertheless important parallels to developments in other Southern African regions (Claassens/Smythe 2013; Hunter 2015; Pauli/van Dijk 2016). Already in the 1930s, Isaac Schapera (1933, 1939) observed changes in marriage practices among the Kgatla of Bechuanaland, today's Botswana. His findings on increasing numbers of unmarried women and children born out of wedlock were first signs of the substantial transformations underway in social organization in Southern Africa. Since then, several reasons have been put forward for this decline of marriage.

One way of explaining the decline of marriage is to argue that marriage as a system of alliance and social organization has increasingly lost its meaning due to the substantial economic and social transformations that took place during the colonial period. In this context, kin-based alliances through marriage were becoming less important and were being substituted by other kinds of relationships, such as friendship or political affiliations. Jaqueline Solway tellingly named her 1990 article on relationships "Affines and Spouses, Friends and Lovers". Class formation in Botswana resulted in new social relationships, making the reliance on and alliance with kin only one option among others. Solway concluded:

> As class and kinship have come to coexist as principles of association, the political and economic links once solely expressed in the idiom of kinship and frequently solidified through affinal ties are now often formed on the basis of friendship. (Solway 1990: 61)

Clyde Mitchell (1961) and Philip Mayer (1961) also commented on the changing nature of kinship and marriage in urbanizing societies of Southern Africa since about the 1940s. Very similarly, Adam Kuper (1987, 2016) placed the formation of new economic elites center stage in his explanation of marriage transformations. In addition, forced and voluntary labor migration in many parts of Southern Africa resulted in locally "absent" migrants. Research on Lesotho migrants showed that a substantial number of these migrants preferred to invest in their father's family and not in bridewealth and affinal ties. Kuper concluded: "With the disappearance of its political rationale, preferential marriage on kinship lines is rapidly becoming a thing of the past". (Kuper 1987: 138) Ørnulf Gulbrandsen's (1986) research on male Tswana migrants came to similar conclusions. Contrary to the argument by John Comaroff and Simon Roberts (1977) that affinal ties continued to be an important resource and with the passing of polygyny were created through "serial monogamy", Gulbrandsen thoroughly doubted the ongoing relevance of affinity: "I have argued, on the contrary, that affines are rarely of particular importance to young men, and that prospective

affinal relationships are challenged rather than cultivated". (Gulbrandsen 1986: 24) Instead, he turned the Comaroff and Roberts argument upside down by suggesting that it is not the men that need affines but the affines that need the young men due to the latter's access to a cash income earned through labor migration: "It is the young men, rather than the affines, who represent a scarce resource". (ibid) Gulbrandsen's findings show how social class formation permeates various social relations, including kin and marital, but also generational relations.

Another line of understanding the transformations in marriage focuses on changing gender roles and relations. In his analysis of the 1992 Namibia Demographic and Health Survey, Orieji Chimere-Dan (1997) underscored the high incidence of non-marital teenage pregnancies in Namibia (and other Southern African countries) and linked these developments to the long-term effects of colonialism and forced labor migration which pressured many Namibian families to split and live in separate locations. He argued that this increased the number of female-headed households in both rural and urban areas. The necessity for formal marital unions declined while motherhood remained valuable. He noted that "many unmarried but socially successful mothers became important role models especially to young women who found this a reason to believe that childbearing outside a conventional marital union is no longer stigmatised and makes social and economic sense" (ibid: 9). Similarly, Eleanor Preston-Whyte linked the extensive South African apartheid labor migration system (including the demand for female labor, especially in the form of domestic services) to the rising numbers of female-headed households of unmarried mothers in the Durban area in the 1960s (see also Hosegood/McGrath/Moultire 2009; Hunter 2010; Preston-Whyte 1978). Also accepting that labor migration to South African mines is a central trigger for change in the marriage system, Gulbrandsen argued that young Tswana male migrants enjoyed an increased independence from their fathers' control because of their cash income and were able to delay marriage in order to enjoy prolonged periods of sexual freedom and consumerism. In a different context, Jane Guyer (1986: 196) termed a comparable reconfiguration of prestige and esteem as a preference for "wealth in things over wealth in people". Gulbrandsen further observed that, while Tswana men only delayed marriage, increasing numbers of Tswana women stayed single.

Women started to question marriage and some women even decided against marriage. In her research on Xhosa women in a township of Grahamstown, South Africa, in the 1970s, Virginia van der Vliet described their choice against marriage: "the women who were opting to remain single were by no means necessarily rejected – all were wage earners, often educated and keen to have children and with eligible suitors lined up: their unmarried state was a real and deliberate choice". (Van der Vliet 1984: 4) The women pondered reasons for and against marriage and came to

the conclusion that they did not want "a man who will tell her what to do, wanting to know where she stands financially" (1984: 4). Preston-Whyte came to very similar conclusions in regard to Zulu women who migrated to a Durban township in the 1960s: "Some of them would prefer to be married, but others regard marriage with mixed feelings, predominant amongst which is a fear of losing the independence and freedom they experience as wage earners in town". (Preston-Whyte 1978: 58) In their recent review of the literature, Christine Mhongo and Debbie Budlender summarized: "Both more recent and older literature suggest that over time women increasingly found themselves able to decide whether or not to marry, as they no longer needed to depend on a man's resources". (Mhongo and Budlender 2013: 189)

Both lines of thinking, the affinal and the gender explanation, connect the decline of marriage to a loss in the meaning and importance of marriage for everyday life and social organization. For the new political and economic elites, kin and affinal ties have lost in significance. Women may favor independence and do not want to rely on marriage ties. Finally, many men only invest half-heartedly into marriage or may even be unable to do so because of their meager economic standing. But why then are contemporary weddings in Fransfontein, and elsewhere in Southern Africa, celebrated in such a fancy fashion? Throughout the sub-continent, ethnographic research has observed substantial changes in wedding rituals and a dramatic increase in wedding costs (Mupotsa 2014; Pauli 2011; Solway 2016; van Dijk 2012, 2017).

A third line of argument thus focuses on a very different cause for the decline in marriage rates, namely accelerating costs for performing a marriage. There are many voices throughout Africa that see an increase in bridewealth payments as cause for why so few people are able to marry. Adeline Masquelier has observed that there exists

> a widespread sense in Niger that a growing thirst for the prestige earned through the staging of extravagant wedding celebrations has contributed to the spiralling bridewealth inflation and, by implication, the postponement of marriage for many. (Masquelier 2005: 62-63)

Equally, Isiugo-Abanihe (1994) cited a strong increase in bridewealth costs as the main reason for declining marriage rates in Nigeria, and Johnson-Hanks (2007b: 264) remarked that marriage went from a general prerequisite for adult status into a "sign of pecuniary honor" in southern Cameroon. Finally, Parkin and Nyamwaya have observed: "On the one hand, the absence of marriage payments in urban areas has often resulted in matricentric family units. On the other hand, among the urban elites, huge marriage prestations are commonly documented". (Parkin and Nyamwaya 1987a: 16) In a series of articles, Posel and Rudwick have shown how South Africa's very low marriage rates are connected to changes in *lobolo* (bridewealth) (Posel/Rudwick

2013, 2014; Posel/Rudwick/Casale 2011; Rudwick/Posel 2015). They concluded: "Delayed marriage and low marriage rates among Africans, therefore, may reflect a tension between men's inability to pay bridewealth and their respect for the custom as an integral part of the marriage process". (Posel/Rudwick 2013: 178)

The increase in brideweath is sometimes linked to the change from a payment with cattle to one of money. In her overview on marriage and family in Southern Africa up to the 1960s, Lucy Mair (1969: 37) remarked that the payment of bridewealth in cash "has undoubtedly introduced a commercial element into marriage". The effects the labor migration system has had on marriage and local economies is vividly expressed in the title to Basil Sansom's (1981) article "Cash Down for Brides" (see also Murray 1981b; Sansom 1981). And yet, although the increase and commercialization of bridewealth are important elements to explain the decline of marriage, Rijk van Dijk (2017: 32) has recently pointed out that it is suprising that, "in the public debates about the high costs of getting married that people currently face, little mention is made of the enormous resources that the couples have to muster in order to provide for all the glamour that is expected". Van Dijk (ibid: 33) shows for marriages in Molepolole, Botswana, that, compared to the tremendous costs of celebrating a wedding, "the costs for *lobola*/*bogadi* are becoming an almost insignificant element thereof". Unlike bridewealth, which the older generation of parents (at least partially) pays for, the vast share of all other wedding costs is shouldered by the marrying couple. This leads to new forms of conjugality that van Dijk (ibid: 36) aptly calls "monetary intimacy". Indeed, many couples have to go into debt to finance their wedding (see also James 2015: 53 for South Africa).

With or without bridewealth, getting married is nowadays very expensive in Namibia. High wedding costs and a decline in marriage have been observed in different parts of the country. In her study on Kwanyama people in rural Ohangwena region and urban Walvis Bay, Britt Tersbøl (2002) showed that costly church weddings are today perceived as the most ideal and prestigious of all marriage types. Yet, few people are able to afford these weddings, especially given the high unemployment rates. In his study on Damara people from Otjimbingwe and Sesfontein in the 1980s, Ben Fuller came to very similar conclusions: "Also, I noticed how few couples in Otjimbingwe were married, a fact that I can only attribute to the inability of people to pay for weddings. During my stay in Otjimbingwe only one resident couple who were not employed as teachers got married, and they held a painfully small wedding celebration". (Fuller 1993: 23) Fuller's conclusions are further supported by Gordon when he clearly describes marriage among the Damara people of Okombahe in the 1960s as an expression of elite status: "Teacher's daughters marry teachers or wealthy men, not only because of common philosophical interests, but also to increase the potential of resource combination […] Marriage alliances now tend to be

made with people who have above average, or potentially good resources, in an effort to achieve maximal utilization. Kinship alliances become an important criterion for demarcating superior lifestyles because of this family-centeredness".[2] (Gordon 1972: 79) This goes hand in hand with Fuller's (1993: 234) observation that the ideal is to marry someone whose family is at least of equal economic and social status.

This chapter engages with this question by taking a close look at how ritual and consumption practices during weddings have changed over the last sixty years. I do so by comparing six weddings that took place over the course of this period. I discuss the results against the background of all 123 marriages on which detailed information about wedding practices is available. In my analysis, I link the changes in wedding practices to the emergence of a local elite. I argue that weddings have changed from a universal rite of passage into a celebration of the class distinction of a new elite. Pierre Bourdieu (1984 [1979]) has shown how people try to achieve class mobility through the appropriation of tastes of higher classes than the ones they belong to (also see Bourdieu 1993: 273). The chapter concludes with a discussion of a set of questions: Why is this mechanism not used in Fransfontein? Why has the majority of the Fransfontein population not reappropriated marriage? Why are there not more affordable types of wedding in the village?

SIXTY YEARS OF WEDDING PRACTICES: 1940-2004

In his "French ethnography" on class distinctions, Bourdieu described the continuous demand for new markers of distinction by the elite/upper class. Having a distinctive taste that differs from the tastes of lower classes legitimizes class positions (Bourdieu 1984 [1979]; see also Erlank 2014; Kaplan 2013). Taking a closer look at the transformations in marriage rituals in Namibia, similar practices become visible. At the heart of Namibian class formation processes is a desire for distinction and exclusivity. Marriage celebrations have become central arenas to express and perform such distinctions. Constantly, new indicators of a distinct taste are added to the marriage rituals, such as new and expensive types of decoration, food or clothing. The earliest weddings we have recorded were celebrated in the 1940s. I then formed marriage cohorts on the basis of 10 year periods, starting with marriages that were celebrated between 1940 and 1949. The last marriage cohort includes fewer years than the other cohorts. As Table 9 shows, one marriage can be presented in detail for every decade except for the 1960s.

2 Laura Longmore (1959: 33) made the following observation in a Johannesburg township the 1950s: "Many educated women, especially teachers, prefer, however, to marry teachers".

Table 9: Six Fransfontein marriages

Marriage year	Names of couple	Age at marriage Husband/ Wife	Occupation at marriage		Asking/ Engagement
			Husband	Wife	
1945	Titus & Tama	41y / 25y	Farm worker	Helping mother	A: Yes E.: No
1958	Petrus & Jocoline	36y / 30y	Farm worker	Unemployed	A.: No E.: No
1975	Isaac & Emma	32y / 31y	House construction	Congregational work	A.: Yes E.: Yes
1985	Moses & Teresa	36y / 34y	Damara Council Authority	Hostel matron	A.: Yes E.: Yes
1993	Adam & Carol	32y / 33y	Teacher	Teacher	A.: Yes E.: Yes
2004	Josef & Anna	36y / 25y	Filling station attendant	Shop assistant	A.: Yes E.: Yes

Table 9 again shows that the age at marriage is not increasing. All couples throughout the cohorts married at a rather late age, while in their thirties. The two oldest couples spent most of their productive lives as workers on commercial white farms. The four younger couples were employed in various blue and white collar occupations at the time of their marriages. Almost all couples performed the *!game-#gans* asking ritual before their wedding. During the asking ritual, marriage was negotiated between the two kin groups. Only the four younger couples had an engagement. This is a first indicator for the directions in which weddings have changed. I now describe and discuss each of these six weddings, in chronological order.

Titus and Tama's marriage in 1945

One of the earliest weddings we recorded is Titus and Abertine's marriage in 1945. This marriage is typical for the marriages at that time. When Titus met Tama, he was working for the German farmer Kurt Claasen who owned a farm not far away from the Fransfontein reserve. Tama was living with her mother in Fransfontein. Through his brother, Titus asked Tama if she would agree to marry him. When she gave her consent,

a date for the formal *!game-#gans* was set. Titus gathered his family from both his mother's and his father's side and all went to Tama's parental house to ask for Tama. At the end of the ritual, both families agreed upon the payment of a cow as *abba gomas* compensation to the bride's mother. They also fixed a marriage date for one month later. Titus and Tama did not, however, celebrate a *reng #nuis* (engagement).

On the Saturday before their marriage, a cow provided by the husband's brother was slaughtered. The couple married the following Sunday during the regular church service. After the service, the couple and its guests proceeded to the bride's mother's house to eat and sing together. The husband's family gave the *abba gomas* to the wife's mother one week later. The overall expenses of the wedding were relatively moderate: Titus himself paid the church fee and bought inexpensive wedding rings and a new black jacket, grey trousers and black tie for himself; his sister (HZ) bought a white dress for Tama and one of his brothers (HB) paid for the cow for the wedding feast. Tama herself bought her shoes for the wedding. As the discussion below shows, when one compares this modest wedding with the expensive and elaborated practices of contemporary Fransfontein weddings, the difference is very marked.

Petrus and Jocoline's marriage in 1958

When Jocoline and Petrus married in 1958, both of them were working for the same white farmer in the nearby Kamanjab area. They celebrated their wedding on his farm and not in Fransfontein. Maybe because of these circumstances they did not have an asking ritual, nor an engagement, which were not yet common in the 1950s. There was also no *abba gomas*.

Petrus and Jocoline's wedding was even more modest than Titus and Tama's celebration. No cattle were slaughtered. The wedding food consisted mainly of two goats, sponsored by an aunt (HFZ) and the wife's mother. The husband paid for some vegetables. There were no soft drinks and no alcohol. The bridal couple's wedding clothes and shoes, the flowers for the bride, the church fee and the rings were all paid by the husband. In total, the amount the husband had to pay was very modest. Jocoline described her wedding celebration as very simple and typical for her time. She stressed that her many brothers and sisters married the same way. Jocoline also expressed her dissatisfaction with how marriage has changed: for eight out of her ten children, it is financially impossible to marry.

Isaac and Emma's marriage in 1975

In the 1970s, weddings gradually started to change, illustrated by Isaac and Emma's wedding. As is visible in the wedding pictures they took, Emma did not cover her head

with a so-called "traditional" Damara/Nama headscarf that had commonly been worn by brides like Tama and Jocoline. Instead, Emma wore a westernized white veil. At the time of their marriage, both Emma and Isaac were permanently employed. Emma was working for the Lutheran church while Isaac was employed in road construction. Soon after their marriage, Isaac entered the police force. The couple was rather affluent at the time of their wedding. This was expressed in the high costs of their wedding. The couple held both an asking ritual and an engagement. The bride's mother received the *abba gomas* six months after the wedding. Nevertheless, Emma and Isaac's engagement was still rather modest. Only 20 people attend the engagement celebration and were served sheep meat, but no additional drinks were bought. There was only an engagement ring, which was later taken as the wedding ring, and no additional engagement jewelry.

The wedding itself, however, was celebrated on a much bigger scale than the weddings of the two earlier cohorts as described above. Both the husband's and the wife's kin slaughtered and exchanged cows. The animals were sponsored by an uncle of the husband (HMB) and the father of the wife respectively. The wife and her sisters paid for the salads and the cool drinks. The wife and husband bought their wedding garments for themselves, the bride wearing a plain white dress that she later wore at other special occasions. There were no uniform dresses for the wedding escort of bridesmaids, groomsmen and accompanying children. Further, no hall was rented for the celebration. After the church service, the couple celebrated at the two parental homes. This wedding illustrates the changes in wedding practices that were starting to take place and the direction these changes hint at. They were the beginning of even larger transformations.

Moses and Teresa's marriage in 1985

The wedding of Moses and Teresa in 1985 was one of the big events of the 1970s and 1980s. It was an expression of the power and possibilities of the new political elites. At the time of the marriage, the groom was part of the then ruling Damara Council and the bride was in charge of one of the school hostels in Khorixas. For their wedding, workers sewed a huge tent to be erected on a large field on the outskirts of Fransfontein to accommodate the hundreds of invited guests who could not fit into any of the halls available in Fransfontein. The couple celebrated an asking ritual and an engagement, and paid *abba gomas* two weeks after the wedding. The engagement was financed by the husband and was relatively small (when compared to the extensive wedding): only several dozen guests were invited and enjoyed the meat of a slaughtered cow, cool drinks and beer; the bride was marked with earrings, a necklace and a watch.

Before the wedding, the couple's kin exchanged and slaughtered cattle. A number of goats and sheep were slaughtered, dozens of salads were prepared and soft drinks

and alcohol was served in abundance. All food and drinks were paid by the husband, except for some salads that had been prepared by the wife's female kin. The husband also bought all wedding garments, with a fancy wedding dress made just for the occasion. After the wedding, the bride kept this in her closet as a memento of the wedding. This wedding was the first wedding in Fransfontein to have uniform dresses and suits sewn for the bridesmaids and the groomsmen, again paid for by the husband. The husband also hired a professional band to entertain the guests. Clearly, this wedding differs from the weddings of the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s.

This wedding also marked a notable shift in form and meaning of the alliances that are formed through marriage. It is at this point that the importance of kin as basis for alliances and reciprocal support begins to dwindle (Solway 1990). As shown in this wedding, the help of kin was no longer necessarily required to stage a ceremony: the husband paid the wedding largely himself. In contrast, a wedding became an important arena for a novel type of alliance: Moses and Teresa's ceremony illustrated how the new political and professional elite of the homeland used weddings to meet, socialize and form alliances. Describing their wedding to me some twenty years later, the couple proudly underscored that everybody important in Damaraland had attended their wedding.

Adam and Carol's wedding in 1993

By the 1990s, not only politicians had the financial means to celebrate increasingly more conspicuous weddings, but teachers also celebrated comparably luxurious weddings. This is illustrated by the 1993 marriage of Adam and Carol, both employed as teachers since the 1980s. Both their asking and engagement rituals were held on a larger scale than the engagements of the previous decades: approximately 50 people attended and significant quantities of meat, soft drinks and alcohol were served. The food was financed by the wife's kin whereas the engagement rings, necklace, watch and earrings for the wife were all bought by the husband. The engagement did not include the payment of an *abba gomas*, however.

For the wedding, the husband purchased another ring, a wedding ring. Buying two separate rings was a novelty at the time, increasing the costs. Cattle for slaughtering were given by the relatives, the wife's cow by her brother, and the husband's cow by his father. The wife's mother provided for a number of additional small stock as well as the salads. The wife's sisters bought soft drinks and alcohol. The husband paid the wedding garments for himself and his wife, with a special dress to be used only for the wedding. Like Teresa, Carol has kept her wedding dress in a closet and has never worn it again. The wife and her brothers and sisters paid for the clothes of the wedding escort, while the husband paid the rental for the hall.

It is interesting to note that all practices and items that marked Moses and Teresa's wedding were also present at Adam and Carol's wedding. But the two weddings differed significantly in the way they were financed. While Moses and Teresa's was basically a "one-man-show" with Moses featuring as the big spender, matching and expressing his status as one of the central political figures in Damaraland, the expenses of Adam and Carol's wedding were shared between the couple on a much more egalitarian basis, also incorporating a number of relatives.

Josef and Anna's wedding in 2004

Josef and Anna's marriage shows that the new style of wedding that has been increasingly performed since the 1970s and 1980s has become the contemporary way of celebrating a Fransfontein wedding. During our fieldwork, we did not observe any tendency of reducing a wedding's costs. In Josef and Anna's case, the couple had an asking ritual and an engagement, but no *abba gomas* was given. Both their engagement and their wedding were attended by approximately 100 people. At the engagement, some sheep were slaughtered and soft drinks and alcohol were served. The costs were shared by the husband and the wife's mother who had permanent employment as a hostel worker. The husband paid for the engagement ring, necklace and earrings for the wife, and a watch for both the wife and himself.

The families exchanged and slaughtered cattle, with the wife's cow sponsored by the wife's father and the husband himself paying for his cow. The wife's brother paid for additional small stock. The wife's family also paid for the salads, the soft drinks and the beer. The husband bought the wedding dress for his wife, while the wife bought the husband's wedding clothes. The husband bought the wedding rings. Though the couple had a uniform dress style for the bridesmaids and groomsmen, the latter paid for their clothes by themselves. The husband and wife shared the rental for the hall. Thus, as in Adam and Carol's wedding, the wife shared some of the costs of the wedding and both kin were substantially included; similarly too, however, the husband shouldered the largest share of the costs.

Analyzing changing weddings

The chronological reading of these six weddings provides a first impression of the kind of changes wedding practices have gone through. The marriage ritual has transformed from a common, albeit special event into an exclusive celebration of class distinction. While couples willing to tie the knot in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s were mainly faced with the problem of buying their wedding clothes and slaughtering a cow, couples from the 1970s onwards had to shoulder a multiplicity of costs. Even

Table 10: The wedding's ritual core – wedding garments through time

		Percentage per cohort having specific marriage items						
		Bride				Groom		
Marriage cohort	**N**	**Dress**	**Shoes**	**Ring**	**Flowers**	**Suit**	**Shoes**	**Ring**
1940-1949	6	100	100	83,3	33,3	100	100	83,3
1950-1959	16	87,5	87,5	87,5	37,5	93,8	87,5	87,5
1960-1969	12	91,7	83,3	91,6	33,3	90,9	81,8	75
1970-1979	21	90,5	90,5	90,5	71,4	90,5	85,7	80,9
1980-1989	18	83,3	83,3	88,9	72,2	77,8	77,8	88,9
1990-1999	25	84	80	96	64	80	84	92
2000-2004	25	92	92	92	76	88	88	92
Total	**123**	**89**	**87**	**91**	**61**	**87**	**85**	**87**

with supporting kin groups in the background, increasingly only permanently employed grooms and, to a lesser extent, brides found themselves capable to do so. The new elite, especially the political *kai aogu* (big men) of Damaraland, and their desire for distinction gradually changed wedding practices.

There is a core of goods for ritual consumption that all six weddings have in common. All six couples bought their wedding garments and in all six cases the husband paid for the rings. In fact, Table 10 shows that new wedding garments and wedding rings are essential not only to the six exemplary marriages but to most of the 123 marriages in our sample.

Throughout all seven marriage cohorts, covering more than sixty years of Fransfontein wedding practices, more than 80 per cent of all couples invested in a wedding dress for the bride, new shoes for bride and groom, new trousers for the groom and wedding rings. Flowers for the bride are not as common throughout all cohorts. Only about a third of all couples until the 1970s spent money on bridal flowers. Since the 1970s, more than two thirds of all weddings include flowers. In an arid environment like Fransfontein, flowers are a luxury good. Wedding foods and beverages are not as standardized as wedding garments and the rings. Table 11 provides an overview of the food and beverages preferences for the different marriage cohorts.

Table 11: Optional wedding items – food and beverages through time

		Percentage per cohort having specific marriage items					
Marriage cohort	**N**	**Cow wife**	**Cow husband**	**Small stock**	**Salad/ veg.**	**Cool drinks**	**Alco-hol**
1940-1949	6	33,3	66,7	83,3	66,7	83,3	50
1950-1959	16	50	75	37,5	75	18,75	43,75
1960-1969	12	33,3	66,7	58,3	75	33,3	16,7
1970-1979	21	52,4	61,90	52,4	80,9	66,7	76,1
1980-1989	18	44,4	61,1	83,3	88,9	88,9	88,9
1990-1999	25	44	56	76	100	80	80
2000-2004	25	66,7	84	44	88	92	80
Total	**123**	**49**	**68**	**60**	**85**	**69**	**68**

Some of the wedding consumption goods become more popular over time. Salads and vegetables were already common in the 1940s with more than two thirds of all weddings including them up to the 1960s. However, since the 1970s they are even more widespread. Similarly, cool drinks and alcohol, mainly beer, were served at some weddings already in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. But it is only since the 1970s that the vast majority of weddings include these goods into their celebrations. Throughout all marriage cohorts, the majority of weddings consumed a slaughtered cow from the groom and his family. The numbers that had a cow slaughtered by the bride's family were much smaller. Small stock was also slaughtered throughout all marriage cohorts, with no clear tendency for an increase or decrease of the practice. Small stock is used as a flexible substitution or supplement if there are no cattle available or if additional meat is needed to cater for all guests. Thus, throughout all marriage cohorts, meat has been served at weddings, with a certain level of flexibility regarding the kind of meat served. Only in the last decades have food and beverages become more standardized and expensive. Today couples are confronted with the expectation that a wedding has to include soft drinks and salads for all guests.

The discussion so far has focused on a wedding's core elements (garments and rings) and on some of the optional wedding goods, such as food and beverages. I now

Figure 15: Number of engagement guests for 52 weddings

turn to those practices and goods that hardly existed before the 1970s or not at all. The most obvious extension of the wedding's ritual core is the engagement ritual. To judge from the six exemplary marriages, only weddings from the 1970s onwards celebrated engagement parties. Equally, of the 123 marriages, only 42 per cent (52 marriages) had an engagement. Engagements were rare until the 1960s: only about 10 to 20 per cent of all marriages celebrated an engagement prior to the 1960s. Since then, however, the number of engagements has steadily increased. In the youngest marriage cohort, with marriages celebrated between 2000 and 2004, more than 70 per cent included an engagement celebration. As Figure 15 shows, this ritual extension is not only one in kind but also one in scale.

From the 1970s onwards, engagements became more common and their scale and cost increased. Figure 15 plots the year of marriage against the number of people invited at the engagement ritual. The visual impression of a strong increase in the number of guests invited to engagements since the 1970s is supported by a highly significant Pearson correlation of 0,408**. At some of the engagements around the turn of the millennium, more than 200 guests were welcomed. This has led to a dramatic increase of costs for the couples and their kin, not only because of the increased number of guests, but also because of the addition of the engagement ritual itself. The exemplary marriages above show that is has become common since the 1970s to

"mark" the bride with excessive jewelry at the end of the engagement. While necklace, earrings and watches for the couple were nonexistent until then, they have since become an integral part of the engagement ritual (see the chapter "Contemporary Fransfontein Marriages" for a detailed description of these ritual practices).

Engagements are not the only costly change of the wedding outline to have taken place. During the 1970s, affluent couples began to have matching garments for their bridesmaids and groomsmen. The first weddings to start with this practice were the weddings of the new professional, administrative and political elites of Damaraland. Both Moses and Teresa's and Adam and Carol's weddings exemplify this style setting (Plotnicov 1970: 293). Today, the practice has become ubiquitous at weddings. In addition, the number of bridesmaids and groomsmen has increased since the 1970s: it is now common for wedding couples to be accompanied by up to six couples. The exact garments provided for the escorts vary in style and cost: some of the weddings we observed used what was called traditional Nama and Damara materials for these outfits, with the bride and her friends sewing them themselves, whereas other couples preferred to buy expensive satin robes imported from South Africa.

Before the 1970s, not a single Fransfontein marriage included a wedding reception at a hall. Up to the end of the 1960s, weddings were celebrated at the houses of the bride's and groom's kin groups. In the 1970s, five per cent of the weddings incorporated a wedding reception: these were all elite weddings, celebrated by wealthy politicians, administrators, and teachers. By the 1980s, 28 per cent had a wedding reception, by the 1990s almost half, and from 2000 to 2004, 60 per cent staged a reception at a hall. To entertain and impress the guests, the hall is decorated with flowers and sometimes a band is hired. Unlike the informality at the two parental homes, the reception at a wedding hall is a formal ceremony and, although one of the most luxurious moments of the wedding, often lasts less than two hours. Usually, hundreds of guests are invited to the wedding reception and huge amounts of food and drinks are served. This novel practice has substantially increased the wedding costs. It includes the rental of the hall, providing decoration, hiring a professional band and renting an adjacent kitchen for the preparation of the food. It also encompasses organizing and paying for the transport of the wedding guests.

To summarize the changes in wedding practices, one can differentiated three different sets of wedding practices and goods. There is the core that consists of the clothes and rings of the bridal couple: 80 per cent of all wedding celebrations included these goods. Then there are optional goods and practices such as soft drinks and alcohol: these goods existed before the 1970s but only became commonplace from the 1970s onwards. Overall, between 50 and 70 per cent of all marriage celebrations included these goods. Third, there are the items and practices that have emerged since

the 1970s, such as the wedding reception at a rental hall and matched garments for the wedding escort: only 20 to 30 per cent of all 123 marriage celebrations included these goods and practices.

Clearly, from the 1970s onwards, Fransfontein weddings have changed from a modest ritual for everyone into a conspicuous celebration by the elite. The emerging Fransfontein bourgeoisie (Wallace 2011: 267) of the 1970s and 1980s increasingly expressed its status through their weddings, and this process has continued. Much in line with Thorstein Veblen's (1994 [1899]) reflections on conspicuous consumption and class, contemporary Fransfontein weddings stimulate envy and emulation. At the weddings we attended, wealthier Fransfonteiners, for example, were impressed by the use of new media such as digital cameras, and talked about using such devices for their or their children's weddings. The changes in wedding practices are thus closely linked to the emergence of new political, administrative and professional elites since the 1970s.

PERFORMING DISTINCTIONS

The new elites of the 1970s emerged with the establishment of Damaraland. Before this, economic stratification was mainly based on the number of livestock a household owned. The racist German and South African policy of land dispossessions throughout the 20th century made it very difficult for indigenous Namibians to accumulate livestock. As a result, wealth variations were not very pronounced among the Fransfontein population until the 1970s. Most people lived meager lives and were forced to work for white commercial farmers. During the 1970s, however, a new political and administrative elite emerged. Some of the most powerful members of this elite worked for the Damara Council, while others were employed in the educational or health sectors. Indeed, there is a certain degree of flexibility between these occupational spheres: many influential politicians started their careers as teachers, one of the very few academic options available for indigenous Namibians at that time (Fumanti 2016).

This mainly male elite established a gendered patronage system. This does not mean that women had no agency (Pauli 2010b) nor that all men gained in power. Rather, the power and patronage system that emerged in the 1970s favored a few influential men while marginalizing the majority of both men and women. There are two aspects of the male elites' behavior that are of special interest for my argument: on the one hand, their love relations with several women and their maintenance of a number of out-of-wedlock children and, on the other hand, their celebration of increasingly conspicuous marriages.

The establishment of Damaraland did not only create occupations for emerging male elites. It also saw the creation of many unskilled and long-term jobs in the domestic sector. This included occupations as domestic cleaners, hostel workers, matrons and cooks in the newly built health posts, administrative buildings, schools, hostels and the clinic (in Khorixas). Many of these jobs were given to the young female lovers of the new political and administrative elite. Some of these female domestic workers, hostel matrons and cooks in time also became wives, as was the case in the marriage of Moses and Teresa described above. I cannot yet explain why some women became wives and other remained unmarried. There does not seem to be, for example, a marriage strategy comparable to the one Bourdieu (1976) describes for rural France. Thus, in terms of education, wealth, honor (e.g. indicated by virginity) and number of children, the wives of the political and administrative elite had the same background as the women who did not marry. Ethnicity is also not an explanation: some of the wives had the same ethnic background as their powerful husbands (mainly Damara), while others did not. Teresa, for example, had been born in Namibia's northern region ("Ovamboland") and spoke Oshiwambo as mother tongue, while her powerful husband was a Khoekhoegowab (Damara) speaker. Teachers, though, seem to be an exception: there is a tendency for them to marry fellow teachers (Longmore 1959: 33), as exemplified in Adam and Carol's marriage. All *kai aogu* of this new elite married and, like in the case of Moses and Teresa, their weddings were central social events in Damaraland's political landscape of the 1970s and 1980s, performances of power and distinction.

Next, I turn to these performances of power and ask in how far a man's occupation at the time of his marriage is linked to the wedding practices and items that have become indicators of distinction since the 1970s. Given my above results of the transformations in wedding practices and goods, I focus on the following indicators of distinction: performing an engagement ritual; having matching garments for the wedding escorts; and holding a wedding reception additional to the celebrations in the paternal family houses. I classified male occupations at the time of the wedding into six categories. The first category, "white collar government", represents all professionals employed by the state, such as teachers, civil servants and politicians. The second category, "blue collar government", includes unskilled government occupations, mainly jobs as driver for the different government institutions. The third, "other employment", holds occupations such as mechanic, builder or employee of a road construction operator. All of these occupations can be found in the Fransfontein and Khorixas area, differentiating these three categories from the fourth, the "migrant" category, that includes occupations outside this area, mainly industrial work for mining or fishing companies. The fifth category, "farmers", refers to farmers who work in the communal Fransfontein area and are the owners of their livestock, whereas the

Table 12: Male occupation at time of marriage, wedding items and age

Percentage of weddings with specific wedding items							
			Dresses and garments				
Occupation	**N**	**Engage-ment**	**Brides-maids**	**Grooms-men**	**Chil-dren**	**Recep-tion**	**Median age 2004**
White collar government	11	73	55	55	64	55	50
Blue collar government	11	64	36	36	36	46	58
Other employment	7	100	57	57	43	43	56
Farmer	11	9	27	27	18	9	61
Farm worker	10	30	10	10	10	20	58,5
Migrant	3	67	100	67	67	67	44
Total	**53**	**53**	**40**	**38**	**36**	**36**	**56**

last, “farm workers”, refers to people employed by either a communal or a commercial farmer. They do not own the livestock they are herding.

Table 12 shows that there are three occupational groups that tend to celebrate their weddings with the new indicators of distinction. These are white collar government employees, other employees and migrants. For all wedding goods and practices, these groups have above-average percentages, while the three other occupational categories, thus blue collar government employees, farmers and farm workers, have below-average percentages. However, it is critical to consider age in this context of class distinction, so that I have also included the median age in 2004 for all occupational categories in the table (see last column). Those occupations with the lowest scores on the wedding goods are also the ones with the highest median ages in 2004.

Many of them celebrated their weddings before the wedding changes of the 1970s. White collar government employees, other employees and migrants are younger. Their weddings are more likely structured by the new wedding outline that

emerged from the 1970s. This includes engagements, matched garments for the wedding escort and the renting of a hall for the wedding reception. In sum, wedding practices have changed substantially in Fransfontein since the 1970s. The new political, administrative and professional elite has been the central force behind these changes. Clearly, it was not the intention of this elite to make weddings, and thus marriage, almost impossible for the rest of the population; yet this unintended consequence has very real effects on the lives of the rest of the Fransfontein population.

To understand these transformations, it is thus necessary not only to analyse the "married class" and its display of conspicuous consumption (Veblen 1994 [1899]), but also to examine the audience of the conspicuous celebrators and the boundaries created between these two groups (Campbell 1995). In his work on the bachelors of Béarn, a rural community in the French Pyreneans, Bourdieu (2008) showed how urbanization and individualization in French society increased the difficulties of rural men who wished to marry. A key scene in his analysis is a Christmas ball at which a rather large crowd of bachelors stands on the fringe to watch the guests dancing, flirting and joyously celebrating. Bourdieu's description exhibits some remarkable similarities with a scene we observed during a wedding ceremony in Fransfontein in the summer of 2005 (Pauli 2011). A crowd of people had gathered in front of the barred windows of the bride's parental home, eagerly trying to catch a glimpse of what was going on inside. Seeing the crowd, I wondered whether something might have happened, perhaps a conflict between the two kin groups involved in the marriage? But then a women at the back of the crowd explained that they just wanted to watch the married people inside the house celebrating the final asking-out of the bride. Only married people were allowed to attend this part of the ceremony and they received wedding cake and meat, served by the bride. As in France, the unmarried Fransfontein crowd watching the wedding of an elite couple visibly demonstrated their own exclusion: "they are and they know they are 'unmarriageable'" (Bourdieu 2008: 82). In both Béarn and Fransfontein, elite celebrations exhibit the boundaries between the different classes.

Given what is at stake, it is remarkable how little these marriage- and class-based boundaries are contested. Many unmarried people have accepted that they are living in a state of "waithood" (Honwana 2012), waiting to marry and waiting for a better, middle-class life. People unable to marry will not marry at all, rather than change the wedding ritual (see also Hunter 2016; Posel/Rudwick 2013; White 2016). They do not mock "bourgeois weddings", as do the French peasant communities (Reed-Danahay 1996), nor do they vary the wedding outline to match their economic possibilities (Argyrou 1996; Kendall 1996).[3] Such acts of copying, appropriating and

3 For Southern Africa, Mair mentiones variations of wedding outlines based on economic means (Mair 1969: 39-41; see also Levin 1947).

resisting are almost completely absent in Fransfontein. Only occasionally will a "struggle" wedding take place in Fransfontein (Pauli/Dawids 2017) at which the marrying couple does not clearly belong to the local elite or the urban, "commuting" middle class and has only recently acquired some income. Some Fransfonteiners question the financial basis of such struggle weddings and challenge the wedding couples for the sense of entitlement their ceremonies portray (Pauli/Dawids 2017). Yet the question should rather be why there are not more such attempts at redefining and reappropriating marriage?

WHY NOT A CHEAPER COPY?

That the explosion of wedding costs and with it the exclusion of large parts of the population from a previously common social institution is ongoing and not resisted represents a cultural conundrum. I suggest that agency and structure theories can provide crucial insights to solve this conundrum. Sherry B. Ortner's concept of "serious games" describes the interplay between agencies and structures. A "serious game" is an "intense play of multiply positioned subjects pursuing cultural goals within a matrix of local inequalities and power differentials" (Ortner 2006: 144). Such a matrix, or structure as William Sewell (1992, 2005) terms it, has a dual character: it is composed of both resources and of schemas. There are two types of resources, namely human resources (e.g. physical strength, knowledge etc.) and nonhuman resources (i.e. objects, animate or inanimate, naturally occurring or manufactured) that can be used to enhance or maintain power (Sewell 2005: 133). Yet resources do not simply exist by themselves: "What they amount to as resources is largely a consequence of the schemas that inform their use". (ibid: 135) Schemas, defined as cognitive and cultural procedures of meaning making that are both "generalizable" and "transposable" (ibid: 131), thus enable and form the use of resources. Consequently, how schemas and resources lead to structures is a dialectic process that Sewell describes as follows:

> Schemas not empowered or regenerated by resources would eventually be abandoned and forgotten, just as resources without cultural schemas to direct their use would eventually dissipate and decay. Sets of schemas and resources may properly be said to constitute *structures* only when they mutually imply and sustain each other over time. (Sewell 2005: 137)

Where can the acting subject be placed within this conception of structure? How much influence can actors and groups of actors actually exercise on structures? The answer to this question will strongly influence the empirical analysis. This becomes

especially evident in Jean and John Comaroffs' introduction to *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (1992), where they formulate a deep skepticism of and critique against the overemphasis of the concept of agency. They argue that this emphasis continues Eurocentric perceptions of the person and may lead to oversimplification of historical processes. The Comaroffs stress that a focus on the motivations of actors can be misleading as these are often "only" reflections of past actions. They also argue that an emphasis of agency does not take the unintended consequences of any historical process sufficiently into account. In their own work, the Comaroffs thus do not focus on individual actors and their agencies but instead on the "the pulse of collective forces" (Comaroff/Comaroff 1992: 36). If one were to place the dialectic between agency and structure on a continuum, the Comaroffs' work would clearly be aligned on the side of structure.

In a critical engagement with the Comaroffs, Ortner argues for a more central consideration of agency within an understanding of social process that are shaped by structure and the "the pulse of collective forces". Agency, according to Ortner, is part of the process and has to be understood carefully: "'Agency' is never a thing in itself but is always part of a process of what Giddens calls structuration, the making and remaking of larger social and cultural formations". (Ortner 2006: 134) What then is agency? Sewell (1992: 20) defines agency as "the strivings and motivated transactions that constitute the experienced surface of social life". Thus, agency is the human capacity for desiring, forming intentions and acting creatively (Sewell 2005: 20). Some theorists argue, in clear opposition to the Comaroffs, that all anthropological analysis should start with individuals and their agencies. One example of this is Martin Sökefeld who concludes his article on self, identity and culture, in which he has presented a detailed individual history, with the following plea for a new methodological reorientation, yet to be created: "It requires giving real importance to the actual individuals we work with while studying 'culture'". (Sökefeld 1999: 431)

Here I want to follow Ortner's and Sewell's approach on agency and structure. This requires that I discuss one final point of this dialectic, namely the question of how agency and power are interwoven. Again, Ortner's reflections are helpful:

> In probably the most common usage "agency" can be virtually synonymous with the forms of power people have at their disposal, their ability to act on their own behalf, influence other people and events, and maintain some kind of control in their own lives. Agency in this sense is relevant for both domination and resistance. People in positions of power "have" – legitimately or not – what might be thought of as "a lot of agency", but the dominated too always have certain capacities, and sometimes very significant capacities, to exercise some sort of influence over the ways in which events unfold. (Ortner 2006: 143-144)

Like Ortner (2006: 165), I am not going to discuss the concept of power in its theoretical complexity but instead use it mainly as a structure-dependent means that actors use to (1) "act on their own behalf" to pursue culturally defined goals and projects, (2) "influence other people and events" for these projects, and (3) "maintain some kind of control of their own lives" and not be dominated by the projects of others. Thus, Sewell's structures (2005: 145) empower actors differently, which again has effects on an actor's agency to transform or reproduce structures.

This finally brings me back to the reflection of the conundrum of why no cheaper versions of weddings have arisen in Fransfontein. I want to start with some brief remarks on structural forces, "the pulse of collective forces", before I take a closer look at the different agencies of actors within Fransfontein.

One line of thinking about the decline of marriage concentrates on structural forces. Simply argued, colonialism and apartheid reconfigured the political and social landscapes and reduced the centrality of kin relations. In their place, other types of power relations emerged, most prominently patronage structures dominated by male elites. Their power was strongly connected to the apartheid state and depended on their capacity to redistribute central resources. As Abner Cohen (1981) and Bourdieu (1984 [1979]) have shown, elites are in constant need to legitimize their privileges. Weddings have become a central arena to do so, leading to an explosion in costs of wedding ceremonies. Yet the explanation that an explosion of costs has made it impossible for most people to marry describes, metaphorically speaking, the symptoms but not the causes of the problem. On a broader scale and taking inspiration from Sewell, I suggest that the schema for a wedding is being changed. Weddings are transformed into highly valuable resources accessible only to those actors with much agency. Thus, it is the enhanced agency of some male actors, itself clearly embedded in wider political, economic and social forces, that sets the local structural changes of the marriage system in motion. Their agency transforms the object, marriage, so deeply that those with lesser agency are also increasingly less able to participate. Such a dynamic of distincton works through exclusion. But why do most Fransfontein people, those with lesser agency, accept that they are unable to marry? Why do they accept that marriage has turned into such a rare resource? After all, Ortner (2006: 144) reminds us that "the dominated too always have certain capacities, and sometimes very significant capacities, to exercise some sort of influence over the ways in which events unfold". To understand why this is not the case in Fransfontein, it is necessary to understand who "the dominated" are and what their "projects" or their goals are.

"The dominated" are of course not a homogeneous group. In order to illustrate this, I differentiated four different social groups with different perspectives on the marriage transformations: (1) men and their kin groups, (2) women and their kin

groups, (3) the couple of husband and wife, and (4) institutions beyond the local level, mainly the church and the state. Obviously, these four social groups are not clear-cut categories but do overlap. However, I hope that this analytic separation can shed some light on the conundrum of why no cheaper version of the wedding has arisen in Fransfontein (see also Gulbrandsen 1986).

I want to start with the first group, men and their kin. Here it is essential to differentiate between the powerful and the not-so-powerful men. The perspective of the male in power, his agency and his ways of legitimating his power has been already discussed above. Regarding these men, it will be interesting to see how they try to hand down their privileges to the next generation. Michael and I were, in fact, able to observe the wedding of a legitimate son of a very influential Damara politician in 2004. It was absolutely obvious that virtually the whole event was sponsored by the father and that the bride and the groom were only actors in a play directed by the powerful man. Yet, the parental habitus also influenced the performance of the son: the more the wedding progressed, the more self-confident he became.

In informal interviews with non-affluent men who most likely will never marry, some stressed that it is more important to father children than to be married. Similarly, men may create alternative masculine identities that are not based on marriage but on having (many) lovers and children (Schaumburg 2013). Yet, although several of the men expressed resignation about their inability to marry, none suggested as solution to stage a cheaper wedding in order to marry at all. Clearly, such a proposition would require the bride and her kin group to agree.

As the interviews with women showed, however, they and their kin (the second group) were often opposed to the proposition of a cheaper wedding. To them a cheaper marriage implied being a "cheaper wife", namely one who lacked strong kin ties or whose kin could negotiate sufficiently strongly on her behalf during the marriage negotiations. This is a very negative view of women and their kin and thus not a position women would strive for. I will demonstrate this through the example of the wedding of Francois and Namaku in 2005 (Pauli/Dawids 2017). Namaku's family is not very wealthy and we had imagined that the family would be very happy about her marriage to a reliable, hard-working, employed man. We certainly did not expect them to make things too difficult for him and his family. The opposite was the case. The bride's kin group chose the unmarried sister of the bride's mother (MZ) as its representative. Her first act was to force the male's kin group to stage an asking and engagement ritual on a farm far away from Fransfontein. This imposed a heavy strain on the man's wedding budget. At this location, the bride's kin did not offer the man's kin any place to sleep and they finally ended up resting in a small goat pen. The asking ritual thus became a very tough process. In another step, the bride's kin demanded that the groom build extra rooms on the bride's mother's compound for the

wedding event. When I later asked the married couple what this had meant for them, the wife indicated that it proved to the wife's kin group that the man and his kin would continue to take care of all of them after the wedding. To achieve this commitment, the wife's kin had to make punishing demands on the man and not give in easily. I opposed this with the reflection that it was exactly these multiple demands that made it difficult for men and women to marry, exemplified not least by the bride's MZ and her daughters who were all still unmarried. Despite this, it was exactly the bride's MZ who was especially hard on the groom and his family, and possibly giving her own daughters' current boyfriends nightmares.

What does this vignette show regarding the conundrum of cheaper versions of weddings and the dialectic of structure and agency? Above, I started my reflections with Ortner (2006: 144) theorizing about the "multiply positioned subjects pursuing cultural goals". The multiple positions in which actors are embedded can force them to act within conflicting normative structures. In the situation above, the bride's MZ has a lot of agency and uses it for her specific, culturally informed goals, yet in the long run her actions severely limit her own and her daughters' agency regarding marriage. Comparable to Gulbrandsen's (1986) observation, it seems that it is not only the groom who needs affines but also the affines who need the groom and his embodiment of the hope for long-term support.

The third group I want to look at is the couple. For three marriages we were able to observe how, as one groom has described it, "things got out of hand". All three couples started small, thinking of a modest civil marriage at the magistrate's office, with a meal afterwards. Romantic ideals of the unity of a man and a woman and their love as the most important essence of marriage were mentioned – and not spending huge amounts of money on a conspicuous wedding. Yet, none of these couples was able to pursue their "romantic" wedding goal. During the whole time of our fieldwork, there was only one couple that celebrated a simple wedding. This was a bi-national couple, the wife having been born in Fransfontein and the husband having migrated to Namibia from Sweden. Soon after the wedding the couple left Fransfontein.

What then happened to the goals and agencies of the three Fransfontein couples that did not manage to keep their weddings simple? As soon as their kin groups heard of the marriage plans, they deeply involved themselves into the process. Some offered financial support, others mainly "advice", yet both often made things even more complicated for the couple (Pauli/Dawids 2017). During one of the weddings, an aunt of the wife (MMZD) declared that it was inappropriate to slaughter and exchange a black cow at a marriage. Her opinion caused a cascade of problems, with the couple being forced to buy another cow for the slaughtering. Asked why they do not allow the couple to marry on a lower budget, a couple of the groom's (unmarried) sisters replied with indignation: "That looks as if you do not have a family!" The answer

illustrates how the needs and wishes of marrying couples and those of their kin are embedded in multiple and conflicting structures. While it made sense for the groom's unmarried sisters to ensure that their brother would celebrate a luxurious and big wedding, these actions simultaneously reduced their own chances of marrying.

One has to differentiate between couples. None of the Fransfontein couples took the decision to marry without a solid financial base. To a large extent, this base stemmed from of the groom's permanent income for, unlike in South Africa (James 2015), people in Fransfontein did not go into debt to finance their wedding. In Fransfontein, it is very difficult to borrow even small amounts of money, let alone the huge amounts necessary to pay for a wedding. But not all couples marrying are wealthy and some struggle hard to marry. Locally, these weddings are labeled "struggle marriages" (Pauli/Dawids 2017). In contrast to elite weddings, couples that struggle into marriage receive a lot of support from their kin. The way these couples celebrate their weddings is thus only partially based on their own decisions and agency; they are much more strongly embedded in the cultural goals of other actors, goals that might strongly alter their personal intentions and plans (such as those for a modest wedding). In addition, their agency is often structured and further limited by ideas about kinship. This is expressed in an interview I conducted with Robert, a 34 year old unmarried man:

Julia: Can you imagine marrying in the magistrate only?
Robert: No, I would never just marry in the magistrate. When my girlfriend and I love each other, then people must know that this person loves this other person. If we only went to the magistrate, no one would know that we have married. But with our traditional marriage, even someone in Otjikondo knows.
Julia: Everyone knows.
Robert: Even someone in Windhoek will know that I have married, or someone in Tsumeb. Then there are many witnesses.

Later in the interview, Robert also stressed that "marrying in the magistrate" is cheap, like "stealing marriage". His reasoning demonstrates how strongly the new way to celebrate weddings has already being internalized and normalized. Indeed, it is likely that he would not recognize his own grandparents' modest wedding as what he imagines a "traditional marriage" to be. The critical feature here is that lavish weddings are public weddings, a characteristic of great significance to people in Fransfontein: it can only be the public eye that can certify the new kin relations (see also Schareika 2010; Smith 2001).

Finally, I want to reflect on the role of institutions beyond the local level, thus the churches and the state (the fourth group). Although there is a general public awareness that marriage is on a decline in the country, neither the state nor the churches

have initiated or sponsored any "marriage program" to promote marriage. To my knowledge there are also no such attempts in any of the other Southern African countries that have similar declining marriage rates,[4] unlike countries like the USA that has introduced a program aimed specifically at the African-American population (Lane 2004). The Lutheran church in Fransfontein is very aware of the situation and some, albeit localized, action is being taken, such as encouraging "old age marriages" that I described in "Contemporary Fransfontein Marriages". This occurred under the auspices of the local pastor who felt that old couples who had lived together for a long time and had children together should be married. He started his own personal campaign and married many of these couples in a rather modest fashion. Apart from this, no other actions are observable in Fransfontein.

Yet, the growth of Pentecostal churches might change this. We observed how a woman pressured her boyfriend into marriage by joining a Pentecostal church and moving out of the joint household, returning to her mother's house with their two children. The woman argued that living together without marriage was now a sin for her. The man tried to convince her that without him having permanent employment, it did not make any sense to spend money on a wedding, but his argument did not convince her since she knew that he owned almost a dozen cows. While he wanted to use the cattle to build up his stock, she saw it as a great opportunity to invest in a wedding. After months of doubts and loneliness, the man finally decided to sell most of his livestock to pay for the wedding. The Pentecostal community also helped to facilitate the wedding by sponsoring food.

Thus, solving the condundrum of why there is no cheaper version to a wedding in Fransfontein is rather complex, involving many actors, cultural goals and power relations. I realize that the interpretations I offer here are only fragments and aspects and do not give one central cause. However, I think that this is part and parcel of a theoretical perspective that allows for multiple agencies and structures, considering both the "pulse of collective forces" (Comaroff/Comaroff 1992: 36) and the "actual individual" (Sökefeld 1999: 431).

4 However, Hosegood, McGrath and Moultire (2009) have recently stressed that the post-apartheid South African government now accepts different forms of marriage (also customary marriages) as official marriages. This "marriage-friendly" policy, nevertheless, does not halt the decline in marriage rates observable in many South African regions, among others KwaZulu-Natal (see also Hosegood 2013).

PART III

Forming families

The second part described contemporary marriage practices and analyzed the decline of marriage rates during the last decades. This third part of the book tackles the consequences these changes have for other social relations. This chapter takes a closer look at kinship and reproduction. The next chapter scrutinizes how the decline of marriage has reconfigured relationships outside marriage.

ENTANGLEMENTS OF MARRIAGE AND REPRODUCTION

Julia: Can children be more important than the boyfriend, husband or partner?
All four girls with strong impetus: Yes.
Julia: Why?
Ella: Because it's your child.
Petra: Your blood.
Isabel: Everyone is someone else.
Vanessa: He can even, when he comes in your life, he must accept you and your child – otherwise …
Isabel: … he goes away …
Vanessa: … when he says "I will not accept your child".
Petra: If I come into his house and he says he is not accepting my child, so I will leave with my child.
Isabel: You are just the same; you and your kid are the same person.
Vanessa: Even if I love him, I will go with my child, so my child is more important than him.
Isabel: Yes, is more important. Because that child will stay with me until I am old and die.
(Group discussion, Fransfontein, August 2004)

In Khoekhoegowab, a pregnant woman is called a */gam /khaa khoes*, literally 'two in one female body'. This description is telling as it indicates the perceived closeness of

a mother and her child. This ideal unity of mother and child is understood to continue after birth. Isabel, one of the four young women between 20 and 30 years whom I interviewed in several group discussions in Fransfontein as cited above, expressed this entanglement of mother and child as sameness: "You are just the same; you and your kid are the same person". Similarly she stated: "Everyone is someone else," thus reflecting the conception of an endless chain created through continuous mother-child relations. Throughout our group discussions, "men", whether integrated into a woman's life as father, lover, boyfriend or husband, were not conceptualized as part of this unity. Men could perhaps be supportive, responsible, caring for the mother/ child/mother-and-child; or could be the very opposite – violent, unfaithful and careless. However, men were perceived as being outside of this close bond and, if in a situation where they had to chose, the young women declared that they would decide for the child and against the man. Of course, these expressions are part of a normative discourse that idealizes the mother-child bond. Indeed, we witnesses a number of instances during our stay in Fransfontein where women decided to stay with a new partner and leave their child with a female relative, often the child's maternal grandmother.

Childbearing and childrearing are crucial for the reproduction of society. When to get a child and with whom, how to raise it, what to demand from it – these are central and often contested social issues. Powerful institutions, like the state and its laws, frame what at first sight appear to be intimate actions and private decisions: "Reproduction is simply too important to be left to the whims and fancies of individuals". (Robertson 1991: 16) Such a perspective on human reproduction is a rather recent development. Although reproduction has always been discussed in anthropology, an in-depth treatment of the social and cultural dimensions of human reproduction is only a few decades old (Greenhalgh 1995; Johnson-Hanks 2007a; Kertzer/ Fricke 1997; Lang 1997; Pauli 2010a; Tremayne 2001). Soraya Tremayne (2001) shows that until the 1960s reproduction had been perceived as a rather simple biological phenomenon. With the onset of feminist, technological and demographic discussions in the 1970s, the perspective on reproduction gradually changed. Today, researchers agree that an understanding of reproduction has to be culturally embedded: "The attempt to understand reproduction in isolation from its broader context is a barren exercise". (Tremayne 2001: 22; also Lang 1997) Although the four young women cited above might perceive their reproductive decision-making as rather autonomous, they are nevertheless formed, enabled and restricted by a complex web of cultural, social, legal, political and economic structures. Following Faye Ginsburg and Rayna Rapp, I define reproduction as "the events throughout the human and especially the female life-cycle related to ideas and practices surrounding fertility, birth and child care, including the ways in which

these figure into understandings of social and cultural renewal" (Ginsburg/Rapp 1991: 311).[1]

What then frames reproduction in Southern Africa? How are families formed, how is kinship reproduced? Listening to the four young women above, marriage and long-term partnership do not seem to be especially important for reproduction. Such a disentanglement of marriage from reproduction stands in stark contrast to the prominence marriage has for a long time had in demographic discourse: "Demographers have long recognized marriage as one of the principle determinants of fertility". (Bongaarts 1978: 108) Marriage is taken as an indicator of exposure to sexual intercourse and the "risk" of pregnancy (Pauli 2010a). By measuring the proportion of married people in a population and the age at which they first marry (assumed to show when they become sexually active), demographers estimate the children likely to be born in the future.[2]

Such a conceptualization of marriage matches well with the metanarrative of the stable and universal Southern African marriage systems already discussed in the introduction (Gulbrandsen 1986; Krige/Comaroff 1981; Kuper 1982; Oheneba-Sakyi/Takyi 2006). Both marriage and reproduction are virtually universal in these descriptions. Fatherhood is here defined socially and not necessarily biologically. Both fatherhood and marriage may depend upon the status of bridewealth payments. Many children and high fertility are especially valued (Arnfred 2004: 73; Preston-Whyte 1999; Upton 2001).

But as I discussed in the previous chapters, in many parts of Southern Africa this system not longer exists. Marriage rates have significantly declined. The increase in the never-married population is paralleled by an increase in the number of children born premaritally[3]:

Premarital fertility is prevalent in other parts of Africa, especially among adolescent women, in countries as diverse as Liberia, Kenya and Madagascar. However, high levels such as those noted in Namibia, Botswana and South Africa, as well as late average age at marriage and

1 Fertility might be more narrowly defined as the birth histories of women (and men). Another related term not discussed here is fecundity. Fecundity means the biological capacity to reproduce (Pauli 2000: 1).

2 Often demographers and demographic surveys define marriage rather broadly, such as in Namibia's Demographic and Health Surveys. I discuss this in more detail below.

3 The term "premarital" is rather common in the demographic literature to describe out-of-wedlock births. It is misleading insofar as the "pre" implies that eventually a marriage will occur. Given the demographic and marital situation in many parts of Southern Africa, for many women all children they will give birth to will be "premarital".

premarital fertility at older ages, seem to be a feature of modern South Africa, and especially in the former apartheid areas. This intriguing phenomenon calls for further research on marriage markets and the determinants of late age at marriage. (Garenne/Zwang 2005: 166)

Thus, the two main characteristics of a transformed Southern Africa system of marriage and reproduction are that marriage is not universal anymore; and, if it happens at all, that it happens rather late in life.

Critical, however, fertility does not seem to have developed along similar lines, as Michel Garenne and Julien Zwang's comment on premarital fertility above indicates. Unlike marriage, childbearing is still universal and widespread. Despite the deep and encompassing transformations of the marriage system I described in the previous chapters, this thus does not seem to have affected fertility (Gulbrandsen 1986). In most regions of Southern Africa today, births and children are welcomed and desired independently of their parents' marital status at their birth (Gordon 1972: 132; Naidoo 2007; Pauli/Schnegg 2007; Upton 2001). In a study from north-central Namibia, Mari Tarkkonen (2017) has shown how adulthood is interwined with parenthood, a theme mirrored by Rebecca Upton who highlighted the connection between fertility and identity:

If we are to be successful in understanding the cultural significance of fertility in southern Africa, a central concern should be an understanding of how concepts such as fertility and childbearing, versus infertility and lack of children, relate to the negotiation of identity. (Upton 2001: 362)

In a study on KwaZulu-Natal, Eleanor Preston-Whyte (1999: 143) describes the stigmatization women face when they are not able to fall pregnant: "the fear of being branded 'barren'". Similar to Upton's (2001: 352) findings on infertility in Botswana, Preston-Whyte shows that fertility is a central feature of identity – for both men and women. It is infertility that is stigmatized, not out-of-wedlock births or being unmarried. Regardless of whether married or unmarried, men and women are expected to desire to have children: "Fertility is thus not only approved: it is expected". (Preston-Whyte 1999: 149) Further, the Christian perception of marriage followed by childbearing may be turned upside down: "one may need to have a child *in order to get married*". (Upton 2001: 354, emphasis in original)

Preston-Whyte (1999: 147) views the positive attitudes towards childbearing and the absence of long-term sanctions against out-of-wedlock births as reasons why contraceptives are relatively unimportant for teenagers. This is mirrored in a study on reproductive decision-making in a Namibian town by Martina Gockel-

Frank (2007, 2008) who reports that use of contraceptives is not only of little importance to teenagers, but to many women of different ages. Having a child as a teenager is also not considered as preventing a young woman's schooling as there is in general no problem to find someone to care for the baby, most often the teenager's mother. Thus, while there are almost no sanctions on teenage pregnancies, in later phases of her life a woman is firmly expected to bear children. This situation is reflected in the 1992 Namibia Demographic and Health Survey that found that the total fertility rate of unmarried women is only one child lower than that of all women, and that many women give birth before marriage (Raitis 1994: 116). These perceptions and practices may lead to weak or even non-existing links between marriage and childbearing, an observation Upton has made for Botswana: "Marriage and childbearing have become increasingly separate domains of life". (Upton 2001: 354) In line with this, the opinions of the four young women featured at the beginning of this chapter reflect a comparable disentanglement of marriage and reproduction.

It seems as if marriage has thoroughly changed in Southern Africa while reproduction seems to be characterized by continuity despite these changes. However, for several decades now, Southern Africa has been experiencing what demographers call a "demographic transition": a decline in mortality rates and a decline in fertility rates. Recent research locates the beginning of the fertility decline in the 1970s (Garenne/Zwang 2005; Moultrie/Timaeus 2003). Namibia's demographic situation has been characterized as follows: "Compared with other African countries, Namibia in 1992 appeared as rather advanced in the demographic transition, with average levels of fertility (TFR=5,4)". (Garenne/Zwang 2005: 151) The main reason for the decline in fertility is seen in the spread and use of so-called Western contraceptives (Garenne/Zwang 2005; Kirk/Pillet 1998: 4; Raitis 1994). In how far are these changes then connected to the transformations of the marriage system?

Working in a comparable demographic context of a society with both declining marriage and fertility rates, Jane I. Guyer (1994) offers some important analytic concepts to understand the entanglements and disentanglements of marriage and reproduction in Southern Africa. In long-term ethnographic research on marriage and parenthood in western Nigeria, Guyer (1994: 236) differentiates the "logics of fertility and marriage" into a "lineal" and a "lateral logic". Drawing on the work of Jack Caldwell (1976) and Cain (1984), Guyer describes the lineal logic of fertility as the intergenerational wealth flow between the younger and the older generation. Children are obliged to support their parents, especially in old age. According to Guyer, marriage consolidates the rights to parenthood and thus long-term support. In Southern Africa, this seems to be more important to men than to women because women's claims on parenthood are less debatable.

The second logic is classified by Guyer as "lateral". Here, Guyer builds on the work of Esther Goody (1978). Kinship is not only about lineage reproduction, the lineal logic, but also involves lateral network building. Goody finds that social, economic and political opportunities increase in proportion with a person's network. Child fostering is a very important mode of this type of network building in West Africa (see also Alber 2018). Through the exchange of children, both new ties are created and old ones are maintained. Here, the children are the cement that binds. The procreative link between a woman and a man – visible in the child – is extended and transformed into social links and social parenthood with other women and men.

Guyer describes another form of lateral network building. As her study of the Yoruba in Western Nigeria shows, many mothers cultivate co-parental ties with more than one father of their children, resulting in an arrangement that Guyer terms "polyandrous motherhood" (Guyer 1994: 231). Again, children are the cement that binds – but the units they connect differ: a mother and the men she is having children with. To understand this type of female network building, Guyer distinguishes the advantages of having joint children from other types of male/female relations, namely sexual relations and marriage relations. Through a child, the depth and time horizon of a sexual relation is expanded: "with a child, a woman may be able to make considerable claims even on a fairly casual relationship […] the child as a key to stabilizing an otherwise fleeting relationship". (ibid: 237) The tie created through marriage, in contrast, is long-term and stable, but it also limits the woman: she can only be in one union at a time. Children with different men thus combine the positive aspects of a sexual relation with those of a marriage while reducing the negative ones: "Through a child there is a basis for claims over a fairly long time period along with some flexibility in the numbers of unions one can envisage". (ibid) Thus, through children women might gain both flexibility and stability.

Guyer's lateral and lineal logics serve as analytic devices for my analysis of reproduction, kinship and marriage in the Fransfontein area, helping me to understand some of the variations observed there. I use it in particular to analyze the high number of different reproductive partners that women tend to have there, or what Guyer calls "polyandrous motherhood". Guyer argues that there is a direct connection between reproduction and marriage, on the one hand, and changing economic conditions, on the other, and argues that "what needs research attention is potentially new practices of *parenthood* under new economic conditions" (ibid: 248, emphasis in original).

Following Guyer's approach, this chapter analyzes the consequences of changing economic and political conditions on practices and perceptions of parenthood, fertility and marriage in Fransfontein. Despite Guyer's (1994: 250) observation that "marriage has always been conceptually and organizationally distinct from parenthood in

Africa", I would rather distinguish different constellations of gradual entanglement (and disentanglement) of marriage and reproduction. In the Fransfontein region, families have been formed both within and outside of marriages. My approach is inspired by Jennifer Johnson-Hanks' suggestion not to take marriage as one among many other independent variables to explain fertility differences but rather to gain an understanding of the different social contexts that marriage creates and does not create for reproduction:

> When we calculate birth rates separately for the married and the unmarried, rather than including a marital status variable in a regression model, we are explicitly claiming that marriage constitutes a key factor of the social context relevant for childbearing. (Johnson-Hanks 2007a: 13)

My main analytic question in this chapter is, thus, when marriage does and when it does not provide a frame for reproduction.[4]

FERTILITY DECLINE IN NAMIBIA: MACRO AND MICRO PERSPECTIVES

Demographic research locates the beginning of the Namibian fertility decline around the 1970s (Garenne/Zwang 2005; Moultrie/Timaeus 2003). Kirk and Pillet (1998) classified Namibia as part of the group of African countries with a steady fertility decline. The total fertility rate (TFR) in Namibia declined from 6,1 children per woman in 1991 to 4,1 children per woman in 2001 (Namibia 2003: 63).[5] Analyzing Namibia's first national census (of 1991) and the first Demographic and Health Survey (of 1992), Rikka Raitis (1994: 113) discovered several variations in fertility levels. Of special importance here, she found that marriage affects fertility: although never-married women have a high total fertility rate of 4,4, this rate is nevertheless one child less than the TFR of all women.

4 I am only analyzing the fertility of women. In this, I follow demographic and also anthropological practices that perceive the data gathered on female reproduction as more reliable than data gathered on male reproduction. However, in our surveys we did also collect male reproductive histories.

5 The total fertility rate is a commonly used rate to describe and compare fertility levels between populations and population subgroups. The total fertility rate is the sum of all age-specific fertility rates multiplied by the size of the age groups (Pauli 2000: 220-222). The rate gives the number of children a woman will have born by the end of her reproductive life if fertility rates remain the same.

Table 13: Total fertility rates of 364 Fransfontein women

Birth Cohorts	N	Percentage of sample	TFR
1915-1924	11	3,0	3,5
1925-1934	26	7,1	7,0
1935-1944	41	11,3	6,6
1945-1954	47	12,9	5,7
1955-1964	59	16,2	4,8
1965-1974	65	17,9	4,6
1975-1984	89	24,5	2,7
1985-1994	26	7,1	0,6
Total	**364**	**100**	**5,2**

The micro-demographic data we collected for the Fransfontein region follow the national trend of declining fertility rates. During in-depth interviews with elder woman and their daughters and granddaughters, the decline in fertility was often commented upon. The women clearly perceived the decline and in general linked it to the availability of contraceptives. Younger women expressed relief about not having to go through the burden of as many births as their grandmothers. Table 13 gives an overview of the development of achieved parity for eight birth cohorts recorded in our ethnographic census data.

The first cohort (1915-24) is much smaller than the other cohorts. The low total fertility rate for this cohort thus needs some critical adjustment, as it is likely to be subject to other influences (e.g. patterns of survival not available in the data). The last cohort is also problematic. When we conducted our census interviews in 2004, we only interviewed women 15 years and older. This means that the last cohort actually ends with the year 1990 and only covers five rather than ten years. If we thus exclude these cohorts from the analysis, a clear trend becomes visible, as indicated in Table 13. The population is indeed experiencing a fertility decline, at least amongst the women who have finished their reproductive phase[6]: for these women, total fertility rates have

6 Women who have finished their reproductive phase are defined as those 40 years and older. Only few births occur after the age of 40.

dropped from a high of 7.0 for women born around 1930 to a moderate level of 4.8 for those born in the 1960s and 1970s.

To better understand these declines and their possible interconnections, I now discuss those factors that centrally frame fertility, thus age at first birth (the onset of a woman's reproductive life), birth intervals (the time between a woman's births) and age at last birth (the end of a woman's reproductive life) (Bongaarts 1978). The report of the 2000 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) by the Namibian Ministry of Health and Social Services (MOHSS) states that the median age at first birth has not changed from 1992 to 2000 (MOHSS 2003: 53). Further, the report finds that the median age at first birth is twenty-one years. The MOHSS report (ibid: 51) also finds an increase in the length of birth intervals from a median birth interval of thirty-four months in 1992 to one of forty months in 2000. An increase in the median length of birth intervals can be observed independent of a woman's age and parity (Moultrie/Sayi/Timaeus 2012). Unfortunately, I have no information at the national level for the age at last birth. The DHS only interviewed women of childbearing age. However, I include a discussion of the age at last birth in my analysis of the Fransfontein data below.

Demographers agree that the spread of Western-type contraceptives was the most important factor for the decline in fertility in Namibia (Garenne/Zwang 2005; Moultrie/Sayi/Timaeus 2012; Raitis 1994). However, the spread and use of this type of birth control since the 1970s was often not voluntary; rather, family planning was part of a racist population policy by the colonial South African state (Lindsay 1989). Jenny Lindsay has stressed that the euphemistic term "family planning programme" is actually not very well suited to understanding the scope of the South African programme: "population control policies" is more fitting, underscoring the central goal of controlling the African population by the "white" community and state.

The establishment of South Africa's population control programme in Namibia during the 1970s was shaped by multiple factors. During the 1960s and 1970s, the international perception of a "Third World population explosion" or "population bomb", threatening the wealth and livelihoods of the so-called developed world, led to the establishment of numerous population programmes throughout the so-called developing world (Szreter 1996: 21-44). As Lindsay (1989: 3) shows, South African population policies varied this general theme insofar as the arguments for control over the "black" African population were highly racist, focusing on limiting the *swart gevaar* (black threat) that might result in the loss of white minority power.

The population programme of the 1970s was mainly based in state-run hospitals and clinics. Until today, it provides contraception to women at no cost. The most common contraceptive for "black" women has been Depo-Provera, a hormonal injection with often strong side-effects (Lindsay 1989: 26-43). Sterilization has also

been practised as birth-control method, sometimes hormonal pills are available, but the intrauterine device, or the "loop", has been very uncommon. During apartheid, "black" Namibian women had very little effective choice on whether to use a birth-control method and which one to choose (ibid: 26). With the dramatic spread of HIV/AIDS since the 1980s, condoms (previously used primarily by "whites") have become common throughout Namibia. The DHS survey showed that in 2000 the most commonly used methods were the hormonal injection (39 per cent), the male condom (28 per cent) and the pill (24 per cent) (MOHSS 2003: 59). The same survey established that 61 per cent of all Namibian women age 15 to 49 had used a "modern" contraceptive method at some time in their lives (ibid: 59-63). This percentage increases slightly to 63 per cent when one includes other, "traditional" methods (ibid: 59).

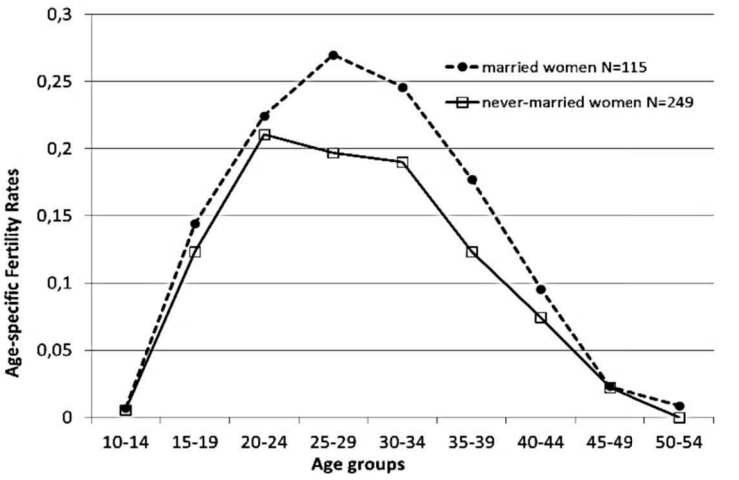
Like in the national results, there is a remarkable stability in the average age at first birth across time in Fransfontein. First births for Fransfontein women of all generations occur between 19 and 20 years of age (average 19.5). Time between births has increased. While women from the older cohorts on average gave birth every two years, the time between births for women from the younger cohorts is on average three years. The average age at last birth has dropped from 38 years for women born between 1925 and 1934 to 36 years for women born between 1955 and 1964. The changes in the length of birth intervals and the average age at last birth have been gradual, every cohort slightly extending the birth interval while progressively reducing the age at which reproduction ceases.

REPRODUCTIVE DYNAMICS OF MARRIED AND UNMARRIED WOMEN

After having described the general development of fertility during the last few decades for both the macro-context and the micro-context, I now compare married and unmarried women. As I have described in previous chapters, marriage has changed substantially in Fransfontein. While marriage was the common frame for women's reproduction until the 1970s, with the emergence of new elites and the parallel decline in marriage rates, most reproduction is now taking place outside of marriage. To be married has turned into a marker of class distinction, and today it is mostly people from local elite families who marry. This leads to the question of how far and since when the fertility of the unmarried majority began to differ from the fertility of the married elite minority?

Of the 364 women for whom I have information on marital status, 32 per cent (115 women) are or have been married, and 68 per cent have never been married

Figure 16: Age specific fertility rates for married and never-married women



(249 women). Similarly to the national statistics discussed above, unmarried women in the Fransfontein area have approximately one child less than women who have been married at one point in their lives. The total fertility rate for married women is 5.9 compared to 4.7 for never-married women. Major differences in age-specific fertility rates between married and unmarried Fransfontein women can be found between the ages of 25 and 40.

Figure 16 shows that marital status affects fertility only *after* the beginning of childbearing. Unsurprisingly, then, there is no difference in the average age at first birth between married and never-married women. After the onset of reproduction, fertility is higher for married than for never-married women. From the 1970s onwards, never-married mothers have spread their births across the reproductive span more than their married counterparts. These longer birth intervals also lead to a lower overall fertility level of never-married women. Further, never-married women increasingly had children with three or more reproductive partners, the pattern that Guyer (1994) has described as "polyandrous motherhood". This reproductive practice further increased the average time between births for never-married women because it took them time to meet new partners. From the 1970s onwards, the average age at last birth also started to differ between married and never-married women. Married women born between 1945 and 1964 on average gave birth for the last time between the ages of 37 and 38, while their never-married counterparts did so at age 35. The fertility decline of the 1970s and 1980s described above has thus mainly resulted from changes in the reproductive practices of never-married women.

Having established these demographic dynamics as basis on which to understand how families in Fransfontein have been formed throughout the 20th century, I now turn to life stories of 20 Fransfontein women. Ginsburg (1987) showed how life stories can be used to study the intersection between lived experiences and historical change. Life stories are especially insightful at critical transitional points in the life course, like giving birth:

> In situations of rapid change when the normative rules for an assumed life trajectory are in question, these life-cycle shifts are experienced as crises, revealing contention over cultural definitions. In other words, when the interpretation of a particular life event – abortion or more generally the transition to motherhood, for example – becomes the object of political struggle, it indicates a larger disruption occurring in the social order as well. (Ginsburg 1987: 625)

Through the life narratives of the women I want to unravel how they construct their own lives vis-à-vis larger political changes.

My approach is also inspired by Thomas Schweizer's (1999) work on qualitative and quantitative data. Schweizer shows that both qualitative data on the experiences and perceptions of situations and events, such as life stories, and quantitative data, such as demographic data, are needed for a holistic ethnographic account. The combination of qualitative and quantitative information is certainly a main characteristic of anthropological demography (Axinn/Pearce 2006; Kertzer/Fricke 1997; Kreager/Bochow 2017; Pauli 2010a, 2017a). However, only few anthropological demographic studies have combined life stories and demographic events (e.g. Johnson-Hanks 2002, 2006).

In the previous chapters, I divided the life trajectories of women into three generations, each of which gave birth to their children under very different economic and political circumstances. The first generation, that of the elderly women born between 1915 and 1944, bore most of their children by the end of the 1960s and before the establishment of the Odendaal plan. Almost all of these women are married. This generation is probably the most homogeneous of all three. The lives of the second generation of women, born between 1945 and 1964, are much more heterogeneous. These women started their childbearing years during the establishment of the South African homeland politics. The majority of their children were born during the 1970s and 1980s, times of political turmoil and the implementation of apartheid. By 2004 when I conducted the census interviews, almost all of these women had completed their reproductive years. Finally, women of the third generation, born from the late 1960s onwards, started their reproductive lives during the era of Namibian independence and were still in their childbearing years by the time of the interviews.

It is remarkable that, despite significant economic and political changes between these three generations, the age at first birth has hardly varied over the last 60 years.

Although this indicates much demographic continuity at the beginning of the women's reproductive lives, the life stories below reveal that the circumstances under which women have come of age vary strongly by generation.

BECOMING A WOMAN AND A MOTHER

First menstruation

The spread of formal education and school hostels since approximately the 1960s has significantly influenced the experiences of puberty, the first menarche, the first sexual intercourse and the first birth. The majority of women of the oldest generation, who had finished their childbearing years at the beginning of the 1970s, never attended school. Most of them were educated at home by their families, especially by female relatives. Only a few women of this generation attended a local church school for a few years. One such church school existed in Fransfontein until the 1960s, run by the ELCRN. The women of the oldest generation thus never had to leave home in order to attend school: either they did not attend school at all, or they attended the local church school.

When these women reached puberty, seclusion at the first menarche was commonly practiced. Menstruation in general and first menstruation more specifically are sometimes called *khârus* in Fransfontein and menstrual blood is referred to as *kharub.* Some elder women also told me that *khâru-oms* had been the term used to describe a menstruation hut (or the partition inside a family's house or hut for the girl's seclusion). Winifred Hoernlé (1918) described this *khâru-oms* and the seclusion of Nama girls at the beginning of the 20th century. Today, the expression *//khaa /aesen* (sick body) has become more common for menstruation, especially among younger women.[7]

Albertina, born in 1920, remembers that when she got her menstruation for the first time in the early 1930s, she was secluded in her parents' house for two weeks. She was not allowed to leave the house or talk to any men. Her mother brought her food and gave her instructions on how to behave as a woman. To make her beautiful, *!nau-i*, a red cream, was rubbed on her face.[8] Before Albertina was allowed to leave the house after her seclusion, her female relatives cleaned her with cow dung. Then

7 There is significant regional variation in the terms used. A woman who described herself as a Damara and had been born and raised in the Windhoek area told me that *//khaa /aesen* is the expression used in Fransfontein. She said that *khârus* was more common in the area where she grew up.

8 *!Nau-i* is a mixture of ground ochre and fat. Hoernlé (1918: 71) mentions a similar face paint that she calls *!nnaop*.

a goat was slaughtered to celebrate Albertina's womanhood. Her *makeis*, her mother's eldest sister, was the one who killed the goat and who was responsible for Albertina from now on.

Sigrid Schmidt (1981/82) discusses in how far the puberty seclusion might be an antecedent of the seclusion women undergo during the week leading up to their marriage (see "Contemporary Fransfontein Marriages" above). Puberty rites used to be very central rites of transition for women (Barnard 1992; Hoernlé 1918; Lebzelter 1934; Vedder 1923).[9] Schmidt (1981/82: 59) summarized earlier forms of the puberty rite as follows:

> In earlier times, this was a very important event in the life of a Nama or Dama woman. As soon as the first menstruation commenced, the girl received a place within the parental hut, separated with furs or bags, where she had to stay for several days or weeks until she could come out for the celebration and her entrance into the adulthood.[10]

Schmidt pointed out a number of similarities between the puberty seclusion and the marriage seclusion, as for example the use of *!nau-i* as a skin lightener and normative advice given to the initiate. However, she rejected the hypothesis that puberty and marriage celebration might have been the same in earlier times. She argued, rather, that the seclusion period has only been added to the marriage ceremony more recently. The puberty seclusion, not practiced anymore, dates back further. Schmidt thus concluded that for some time both customs were practiced in parallel, after which the puberty rite ceased and only the marriage seclusion rites continued.

This interpretation has been supported by the life stories I collected. As discussed in "From Decline to Distinction", marriage seclusion is only a few decades old in the Fransfontein area. Indeed, most of the older women I interviewed underwent puberty seclusion. The main reason for the decline in the puberty rite is the increased amount of time young women have to spend at schools and in hostels, often far away from their families. Thus, Silvia, born in 1950, was attending school in Walvis Bay when she experienced her menstruation for the first time:

> I was scared and I even didn't go to school that day. I told my stepmother. She said: "No, you must not go to school. You are now a big woman and you must stay at home". But it was only for some time, the other day I went again to school. And I was also outside. In the afternoon,

9 Male initiation rites (but not circumcision) were also practiced in earlier times. These rites differed from the female puberty rites in that they were collective events (Barnard 1992: 210; Lebzelter 1934; Vedder 1923).

10 My translation.

I went out and I told my father's other daughter who was also working for the church. So I was going there and she also told me.

Silvia's experience was thus quite unlike Albertina's as she had to continue to attend school and did not undergo seclusion. Several other women who also experienced their first menstruation while attending school were similarly allowed to take a day off but had to return to school the next day. When Silvia had her first menstruation, she already knew through her friends and peers what was happening with her body. She did not receive this kind of advice and information through seclusion and the intensive instruction by older female relatives. Her experience is typical for all interviewees born *after* the mid-20th century. Claudia, born in Okahandja in 1964, was twelve years old when she menstruated for the first time. She was living in a hostel run by nuns in the town of Omaruru. She told me: "It was very difficult – there were no parents. When I saw the blood, I went to my bed. I was hiding it, I didn't want to tell anyone". Almost all women who experienced their first menstruation while staying in a hostel expressed feelings of loneliness, shame and fear at what was happening to them. They had to rely on female friends or fellow learners for help during this difficult time. Unlike older generations, they did not have any caring relatives who accompanied them on their transition to womanhood and celebrated this as achievement.

Yet attending school and living in a hostel framed not only the first menstruation. Most women born from the 1950s onwards had their first sexual intercourse with a school mate. Often, these first sexual encounters resulted in pregnancy.

First sex, first pregnancy, first birth

The experience that first sexual intercourse resulted in a pregnancy was something narrated by women of all ages. Many of the elder women interviewed, born before the 1940s, had a premarital child with a man who was not to be their husband. Thus Jocoline, born in 1928 on a white commercial farm in the Kamanjab area, had two daughters, Ramona (born 1942) and Jocelyn (born 1946) from different men before she met Petrus. She and Petrus had three boys (born 1952, 1954 and 1956) before they married in 1958, after which they had five more children. When I asked Jocoline and other women of the older generation whether they had realized as young women that their sexual encounters with their first boyfriends could result in pregnancy, they just shrugged their shoulders. Such an early pregnancy was not considered as a problem. Iken made a similar observation in her study on Nama woman-headed households in Southern Namibia: "A first child born out of wedlock is generally considered by the community to be the result of 'ignorance' and not an obstacle to finding a marriage partner". (Iken 1999: 183)

To have sexual intercourse is called *//goe/khaos* in Fransfontein, first sexual intercourse *ǂguro //goe/khaos*. Younger women, however, more often use the expression "to sleep (with someone)", *//oe*, to describe sexual intercourse. In the ethnographic census, we asked women how old they were when they had their first sexual intercourse (answered by 351 of 364 women): on average, the women were 18 years old (median age 18 years, average age 18.5 with a standard deviation of 3.5). Younger women reported a slightly lower age. These results are similar to John Bongaart's findings: "The median ages at first sexual intercourse for women in 33 countries of Sub-Saharan Africa fall within the relatively narrow range of 16,3-20,8 years". (Bongaart 2007: 75) Also my life stories show that a first sexual intercourse around the age of 18 is common.

How then does schooling affect first sex and also first pregnancy? On average, the women in our sample attended school for 6 years. Their life stories reveal, however, that school attendance was very flexible. Several women who started schooling in the 1970s narrated that they stayed at home until the age of 9 or 10 to help their mothers and were only then allowed to start primary school. Primary school in Namibia includes seven grades, with secondary (or high) school spanning five grades, after which learners sit for the matriculation examination. However, drop-out rates are high. Several of the women I interviewed dropped out of school in order to enter again a few years later. A number of others had to repeat a grade. Thus, for all the interviewees who were born in the second half of the twentieth century, their first sexual experiences were in some way or another structured by their school attendance.

I want to differentiate two groups of women here, those where their first sexual encounter led to pregnancy, and those where it did not. For both the first encounter took place while they attended school. In the first group, many of the women downplayed their own agency in the ways they told their narratives. Claudia, born in 1964, for example, simply described the situation as follows: "It happened that I got pregnant when I was in school". In these situations, the pregnancy (*/gam /khaa khoes*) was perceived as something that just occurred in the lives of these women without much reported action on their parts.

Most women of the first group did not use contraception when they had sex for the first time. For the older women of this group, contraception was not yet available when they got pregnant the first time. Silvia, born in 1950, narrated that contraception became available for her only after the birth of her second child, in the mid-1970s. She became pregnant the first time in 1971 while attending Grade 10. She finished this grade, but did not return to school after giving birth to her daughter. Instead, she got a job in Windhoek while her family took care of her baby. A year later she started training as a primary school teacher. In 1973, Silvia became pregnant with her second

child and was forced to leave the teachers' training course: "That time it was not allowed. When you were pregnant, you could not go back to school". Luckily, after the birth of her second daughter, she found employment at a health clinic.

Claudia also fell pregnant while attending school. She was 19 years old and in Grade 12 when she fell pregnant for the first time. Unlike Silvia in the early 1970s, Claudia was able to return to school after the birth of her child in the mid-1980s: "It was the last year of the high school. So I went back to our house and I stayed there. And when I had finished delivering, I went again to school". Some women even experienced the break from school due to their pregnancy as a relief. Molly, born in 1967, was very unhappy in school. She had started school late and was in Grade 5 when she realized that she was pregnant. Eighteen years old at the time, she decided not to return to school:

Molly: I have not finished school, I found my first-born. Then I left school.
Julia: Oh, you got pregnant?
Molly: Hm.
Julia: And you were not allowed to return to school?
Molly: No, I wanted that, I did not want to go back to school.

Most of the women who fell pregnant while attending school did not use any contraception.Two young women said, however, that they did indeed use a condom, but for both the condom had burst. Lisa, born in 1985, became pregnant in Grade 12 in 2004. It was the first time she had sex:

We were using contraception but the condom burst when we were busy. So he didn't know that the condom burst and after, he just left afterwards. So I was angry about that. After a month, I skip my period the first month, and I wonder. What? It didn't come to my mind. It's nothing. Then, the second month and then I went to the hospital for the pregnancy test. They told me that I am pregnant.

Lisa did not finish school. She moved back to her parents in Fransfontein and gave birth. Before, she had lived in school hostels in Outjo and Okhandja. During the interview, she was very sad and depressed, crying at her situation. She said that she wanted to leave Fransfontein and her son and search for a job and more independence. When I asked her if she ever thought of marrying the father of her son, she looked astonished: "Not now! I'm too young for marriage. Because I'm having a child doesn't mean that I have to marry!" Other women have expressed a similar disentanglement of marriage from the first pregnancy and birth. Lisa also narrated that her father had demanded compensation from the boy's family for making his daughter

pregnant. Other women also recounted that their parents went to see the boy's family after they learned of the pregnancy, yet their accounts indicated that compensation was seldom an issue. The fact that Lisa's father insisted on compensation might relate to the fact that he was one of the traditional authorities in the region.

In conclusion, the agency of a woman surprised by pregnancy after her first sexual intercourse varies. While Claudia and Silvia felt rather overwhelmed by being pregnant and still in school, Molly welcomed the pregnancy. And Lisa, who actively used a contraceptive to avoid falling pregnant, had circumstances stack up against her; she describes her pregnancy while attending school as an accident.

Let me now turn to the second group of women who had sex for the first time *without* getting pregnant. Women in this group are generally younger than women in the first category. These four women, all born between 1975 and 1981, described their first sexual intercourse as a desired and planned action. All four women are mothers today. However, unlike the women in the first category, none of them got pregnant with their first boyfriend. Anna, born in 1979, had her first boyfriend at age 15 when she was attending grade 9. Before she slept with him, she went to the local health clinic and demanded contraception. Anna decided to leave her boyfriend two months later because he was beating her. She met her current husband in 1999. She became pregnant in late 1999 and she gave birth to a son in 2000, at age 21. Both Anna and her husband have salaried occupations and in 2004 were able to marry. Lotta, born in 1975, also met her first boyfriend at school. The couple separated when he finished school and left the region. After the end of this relationship, Lotta had several other partners. Then, at age 26 and in her last year of tertiary education, she decided that she wanted a baby:

I wanted a baby, because, Julia, I was already 27; no, I was turning 27. And I decided: 27 without a kid! And these days even a nineteen- or a sixteen-year-old lady or girl is having a kid. So let me have a kid, because now at least I am studying, this is my last year and then I will be able to support my baby.

Like Lotta and Anna, Isabel, born in 1979, had her first boyfriend at high school. She was 18 years old and staying in the school hostel in Opuwo. Before they had sex, they decided to use condoms. The relationship only lasted a couple of months. A few years later and while working in Windhoek, Isabel met the father of her daughter. During pregnancy the child's father cheated on her with another women and Isabel left him. Vanessa too, born in 1981, met her first boyfriend while both were attending their last year of high school. Because he was attending school in Windhoek and she in Okahandja, they only met during weekends and holidays. She was 17 years old when they slept together for the first time:

He was nice, he was really nice, and I felt, I really felt I was prepared now, you know, ya, I didn't have any problem as long as I really I felt I'm prepared. And then I see, really, he has condoms and so on. I already knew about condoms, you know, I already knew. I learnt at school.

Vanessa and her first boyfriend only stayed together a short period of time. After school, Vanessa started software training in Windhoek. She became pregnant in 2000 at the age of 19.

What are the differences between the women of the first and the second group? Where the women of the first group became pregnant after their first sexual experiences while still at school, the women of the second group had finished their schooling when they fell pregnant. By the time women of the second group did fall pregnant, they had had several sexual experiences and the pregnancies and births happened in a work context. Lotta was working in the health sector, Isabel as a waitress and nanny in Windhoek and Anna was selling groceries in a small shop. Only Vanessa was still being educated, but at tertiary level. None of these women was living in a hostel anymore when they fell pregnant – in contrast to the women in the first group. Thus for women of the second group, attending school certainly framed their first sexual encounters but not their first pregnancies and births.

Yet none of the women of either group was married when they got pregnant and none of them saw the necessity of being married before the child was born. As Upton (2001) has shown for Botswana, fertility is a very important expression of identity in the region: being infertile is often considered a personal catastrophe. I would argue that the disentanglement of marriage and reproduction is especially visible for the first birth, as Lisa's exclamation underscores: "Because I'm having a child doesn't mean that I have to marry!" Only four per cent of the 115 married Fransfontein women did *not* had a child before they married! Or, inversely, 96 per cent of the married women had at least one child *before* marriage. When one takes all 364 women as a reference, only one per cent had their first child only after marriage. Thus the disentanglement of marriage and reproduction at first birth is not only discourse but lived expierence.

The first birth is thus an important moment of identity formation *independent* of marriage. This applies to women of all ages and generations, demonstrated by the extremely low percentage of women who do not have a child before marriage. Despite the many variations in livelihoods that different generations of women have experienced, especially related to formal education, their coming of age as mothers around the age of twenty is an important milestone in the formation of female identities across generations.

Figure 17: The key to fertility

This specific dynamic of becoming a woman is increasingly being questioned in Namibia. Urban middle- and upper-class families have begun to celebrate the twenty-first birthday of a daughter with an especially splendid birthday party. During these occasions, the birthday child receives one or more keys, symbolizing the child's bright future (Pauli 2017a, 2018). The giving of a "key" does not only represent future possibilities but also past accomplishments, especially in moral and reproductive terms (see Figure 17).

I first heard of the "key" in May 2004 when I was visiting our neighbours. As we were talking about pregnancy and giving birth, I asked what the women considered a good age for a first pregnancy. Without any hesitation, all women present said: "twenty-one". I was surprised. The youngest woman, Isabel, smiled and confirmed: "Yes, twenty-one, because then you get the key". She went into the house and came back with a large silver key mounted on a wooden stand with a plate on which her name had been engraved. "You see, Julia, I got the key at twenty-one and my daughter was born at twenty-two", she explained. She stressed that if she had become pregnant earlier, she would not have received "the key" at her twenty-first birthday.

Isabel received the key from her mother's younger sister, her *maros*. Isabel's mother explained, however, that the key can be given to a girl by anyone in the family; it does not have to be the *maros*. Isabel's *maros* also organized a celebration for

her. Isabel's mother explained that the key means that a woman is now open, that she can have children. However, she continued, most Fransfontein women do not receive a key nor do they celebrate a twenty-first birthday party as they do not have enough money to celebrate. Furthermore, at the age of twenty-one, most Fransfontein women are already mothers.

The key connects the first birth to age and not to marriage. What is being rewarded is not Christian "purity", a notion that is strictly linked to marriage, but a later age at pregnancy and birth. Actually, in my interviews on "the key", marriage was never mentioned. Although an average age at first birth around nineteen years has been the norm for most of the 20th century in Fransfontein, this pattern is subtly being questioned by "the key". While the social becoming of most Fransfontein women is marked by their first pregnancy and their first birth (see also Upton 2001), younger women from wealthy Fransfontein families now define their entrance into adulthood not through pregnancy, but through non-pregnancy, symbolized by "the key". At the age of 21, only the daughters of the elite are still studying, often in the country's urban centres, and delaying their first pregnancies. Like the four young women introduced above, they earn their own money and enjoy being the one who decides how to spend it. At a certain point in their lives, they feel that it may be time to give birth to a child. This decision is vastly different from the first pregnancy of their mothers and grandmothers, as well as their less educated peers. The above cited Lotta, for example, waited another five years after receiving her twenty-first-birthday keys before she got pregnant for the first time.

Parallel to this recent development of class distinction through (non)fertility, the reproduction of the vast majority of women is becoming a public issue of concern and even an object of stigmatization (Schneider/Schneider 1996). For example, growing awareness of "teenage pregnancies" as a social problem is being debated both in public and academic forums. On July 25, 2012, the most important national newspaper, *The Namibian*, featured a cover story entitled "Gov't Revamps Policy on Pregnant Schoolgirls". Deputy Minister of Education David Namwandi stated: "We should let these girls continue with their education. We cannot afford to terminate their future at an early stage". Similarly, demographers have been worrying for some time about Namibian teenage pregnancies (Chimere-Dan 1997; Gage 1998). I certainly do not want to play down the difficulties that teenage pregnancies can cause for young women. Moreover, educating teenagers about HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases is of great importance in Namibia. However, what is conceptualized as "the new problem of teenage pregnancies" is not a new development. As stated above, an early age at first birth has been common in Namibia and beyond for a long time. Thus, it is not so much the reproductive behaviour of the majority of Namibian women that has changed, but its moral evaluation. Young women today

who, like their mothers and grandmothers, have their first child before the age of 20, are being turned into demographic "others" (Kreager 1986), a category of concern for the new political, economic and intellectual elites. These transformations are embedded in class formation processes and generational dynamics.

Contrary to the first birth, marital status does make a difference when looking at subsequent births and later dynamics of family formation. I turn to this in the next section.

FAMILIES WITH AND WITHOUT MARRIAGE

According to Johnson-Hanks (2006: 25), in order to interpret family formation and reproductive decision-making, we have to understand the structures of possibilities, the specific conjunctures and also the "kind of futures [that] are imagined, hoped for, or feared". The decline of marriage from the 1970s onwards has resulted in new ways of forming families and imagining the future. Increasingly, married and unmarried women's reproductive trajectories diverged. Gender categories were being reconfigured. The establishment of apartheid and the creation of "homelands" resulted in a strong increase in power and possibilities for a few influential men. Many of the wives of these *kai aogu* (big men) increasingly stayed at home, following the new gender ideal of the housewife (Pauli 2017a, 2018).

In many respects, Lina's life is a typical example of the elite married Fransfontein housewife. Lina was born in 1959. She finished primary school but did not complete high school. In the mid-1970s, she met her later husband Edward in Khorixas, the administrative centre of the homeland, approximately 20 kilometres away from Fransfontein. He was five years older than her and an influential and wealthy politician and provided Lina with a job as a hostel worker in Khorixas. At the age of nineteen, she became pregnant for the first time. Her next child was born three years later, in 1981. Edward and Lina married in 1982 in what was one of the biggest wedding celebrations of the time. At this point, Lina stopped working in the hostel and became a housewife. She gave birth to four more children, born in 1985, 1990, 1991 and 1993. On average, Lina's birth intervals are 2.5 years. The time from her first to her last birth spans fifteen years. In the 1990s, the family built a beautiful and (compared to local standards) luxurious house and moved to Fransfontein. Almost throughout the marriage, her husband cheated on Lina and fathered several out-of-wedlock children. When I met her in 2003, she had somehow accepted the situation. She did tell me, however, that she had tried to commit suicide a few years earlier out of a feeling of hopeleness. She never used any contraceptives between births. For her, she said, every child was a gift from God and nothing should prevent that. With her decision

to become a married woman, she also decided on having her husband's children. However, when her doctor suggested sterilization after the birth of her last child, when she was 34 years old, Lina agreed.

Except for her sterilization, Lina's fertility history to a large extent resembles that of her mother's generation. Women like Lina's mother, born up to the mid-1940s, also married, had a high fertility, short birth intervals and never used contraceptive methods. Jocoline, for example, born in 1928, gave birth to 10 children. The time from Jocoline's first to her last birth spans 27 years, an average birth interval of 2.8 years. The last eight children are from her husband, two daughters born premaritally have different fathers. They married in 1958, after their third joint child had been born. Although Lina's reproductive behaviour thus resembles an older fertility pattern, the underlying motives are nevertheless new, only emerging from the 1970s onwards: despite the fact that there was now the option of using contraception, a housewife was considered to have no real need to control her fertility. This also hints at the moral dimension of this category of woman. For the married housewife, fidelity is the central value. Alexa, a 50-year-old married housewife, stated that unlike all those unmarried women "running after men", housewives are "faithful to their partner" (for comparable moral dynamics in northern Namibia, see Becker 2004). Lina, Alexa and other married housewives construct a moral discourse distinguishing the faithful married woman from the uncontrolled unmarried woman. One central difference between the two groups is their fertility. While married women like Lina and Alexa have many children with one man, unmarried women have fewer children with several men, among these the unfaithful husbands of the married women.

In many instances, women told me that they were dreaming of a "one-woman-man", a man who would be completely devoted to them and not also to other women. However, real life often differed rather markedly from this ideal. In all of the life story interviews, women narrated how their partners had cheated on them. Very often, they referred to witchcraft as an explanation for this behaviour. Remarkably, the logic of a "one-woman-man" was not extended to the women themselves: none of them was, indeed, a "one-man-woman". Almost all of them had sexual experiences with several men and very often also children with more than one partner. These unmarried women are "polyandrous mothers", following a "lateral logic of fertility" (Guyer 1994).

The average number of reproductive partners differs significantly between married and unmarried women. While married women on average have children with two fathers, unmarried women expierence joint parenthood with on average three men. How then may the average number of reproductive partners influence fertility? Hertha's narrative provides some insights. I already discussed some aspects of Hertha's life story in the chapter "History through Biography".

Hertha, born in 1956, was one of the very few women I interviewed who said that she did not want to marry. She stressed that she had had enough of men. Almost completely on her own, she raised five children by five different men. At the age of seventeen, while still in school in Fransfontein, she became pregnant with her first child and quit school. A few years later, she met the father of her second child, an influential politician. In 1978, she gave birth to his child. With his help, she received permanent employment in the Fransfontein school hostel. Up to this point, her life story is similar to that of Lina, as narrated above. However, while Lina married the influential big man with whom she had had a child and later quit working in a hostel, the relationship between Hertha and her *kai aob* did not last much longer than the birth of their child. Nevertheless, she continued to receive maintenance for their child and the *kai aob*'s child is, in fact, the only one of Hertha's children who has ever received maintenance from its father. The fathers of her four other children never paid any maintenance. Hertha's last son was born when she was 34. Before his birth, she had used both hormonal injections and pills to space her children. Since then she has not taken any contraceptives, however. Until the time of our interview in 2005, she had no new partner and was also not looking for one. The relationships with the fathers of Hertha's last three children, born in 1979, 1982 and 1990, were all short-lived. Like Lina, Hertha's reproductive life spans fifteen years. But Hertha's average birth interval at 3.2 years in average is longer than Lina's 2.8 years. Hertha stressed that, except for the *kai aob*, all of her other partners were poor and tried to live off her money.

In Fransfontein, women will only sue men that have permanent employment for maintenance. Consequently, only few women pursue this option, a finding similar to Botswana (Garey/Townsend 1996). If a man is unemployed, the women will apply other strategies to receive support from him and his family. She may send the child to stay with the man's kin for a while or may ask him for a goat from his kraal to pay for school fees. The maintenance complaints from the magistrate's office in Khorixas underscore this pattern. Between 1996 and 2005, the office recorded a total of 418 maintenance complaints. Until 2003, the old Maintenance Act of 1960 was applied, in 2005 a new Maintenance Act was passed. There is no fixed amount of money a father has to pay. All cases are treated individually. For the 418 cases, the findings stipulated that fathers had to pay an average of 150 Namibian Dollars (approximately 18 Euros in 2004) per month. This figure hides a wide range of rulings, however: a high official of the state-owned Electricity Company Nampower was instructed to pay NAD3000 (approximately 375 Euros in 2004) for two children, while another father working for the Ministry of Works in Khorixas had to pay only NAD20 per month.

Hertha told me that with every new man and every pregnancy, she hoped the relationship would last. There was a lot of fighting. Hertha's narratives are characterized by uncertainty, hope and imagination for a better future, disappointment and

revision. Tom Moultrie, Takudzwa Sayi and Ian Timaeus (2012) have observed that the timing between births is patterned distinctively in sub-Saharan Africa, especially in Namibia and South Africa. In Namibia, rather long birth intervals seem to be independent of age and parity of women. Women do not space their children but rather postpone the birth of the next child, waiting for better times to come. As an explanation Moultrie and his colleagues suggest that family-building strategies in these countries are confronted with high levels of unpredictability and a lack of regularity (ibid: 249). The nature of this unpredictability remains unclear. Yet, in their study Moultrie and his colleagues do not consider Guyer's (1994) polyandrous motherhood and they also do not differentiate between married and unmarried women. I want to suggest that, at least for unmarried women, the long birth intervals can be explained with their "lateral fertility strategy". As Hertha's exemplary reproductive story indicates, a high number of reproductive partners leads to more time between births. Unlike married women, unmarried women with many different reproductive partners have to spend a significant amount of time searching for a new partner between births. This creates high levels of irregularity and unpredictability that are absent for married women.

For Fransfontein, the beginning of a lateral logic of parenthood expressed through polyandrous motherhood can consequently be historically situated. Unmarried women having multiple reproductive partners emerged with the fundamental social, economic and political changes of the 1970s. However, the lineal logic of marriage and reproduction did not vanish. From the 1970s to the 2000s, monogamous marriages have continued to exist and, because of increased exclusivity, have actually flourished. These married couples and their families (their "lineages") form the new elite. But both groups of women, the married and the unmarried, are also intertwined as some of the multiple reproductive partners of the unmarried women are the married husbands of the new housewives.

SEVENTY YEARS OF FORMING FAMILIES IN FRANSFONTEIN

The earliest birth we recorded in our census was from 1935 and the last from 2004. In the almost seventy years that lie in between, forming families in Fransfontein has thoroughly changed. Not only do women have fewer children today, the circumstances under which they receive and raise their children are very different from the situations previous generations had to cope with. The aim of this chapter has been to understand these transformations in relation to marriage. Because of my focus on the interplay between marriage and reproduction, I have had to ignore any discussion of

other aspects of forming families. Forming families is, of course, not only done through reproduction and marriage. Two central ways to form families proposed by the "new kinship studies", namely relatedness and belonging, can be rather disconnected from both marriage and reproduction (Carsten 2004).

The differentiation into three "generations" of women – an "older" generation (born between 1915 and the mid-1940s), "middle" generation (born from the mid-1940s to the mid-1960s) and "youngest" generation of women (born from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s) – proposed in the chapter "History through Biography" has proven to be empirically sound. Women born until the 1940s and having their main childbearing years before the 1970s significantly differed in both their conjugal and reproductive behavior from the "middle" and the "younger" generations. The lives of this older generation of women were very much framed by their employment as workers on white commercial farms. Only very few of these women attended school. Their coming of age in terms of first menstruation, first sex and first pregnancy occurred within the structure provided by their families and female relatives. Almost none of them used Western contraceptives. Most of the women married, often with the help of their families and the commercial farmer they worked for (for details on these marriages see the chapter "From Decline to Distinction"). However, several of these women did not marry or married only late in life (aged 60 years and older). But no matter whether the women were married or not, their reproductive behavior was very similar. Women in childbearing years before the 1970s generally had a very high level of fertility, with an early age at first birth, short birth intervals and a later age at last birth. Some of the women had more than one reproductive partner. Yet, most women of this generation stuck with their husbands or long-term partners and had almost all of their children with one man.

The reproductive and conjugal patterns changed with the generation of women I classified as the "middle generation". These women were born between the mid-1940s and the mid-1960s. The political and economic changes of the 1970s, especially the establishment of the "Damaraland" homeland, ran parallel to their main childbearing years. Marriage and reproduction became entangled and also disentangled in a historically very specific way. As I described in "From Decline to Distinction", marriage transformations gradually lead to fewer and wealthier married women. These married women represented both continuity and change. As the emergent elite, they stood for deep-going social, economic and political change. Yet as mothers, they continued the lives of their mothers: their reproductive histories resembled the reproductive histories of the older generation. Like them, married women of the middle generation had a high level of fertility, an early age at first birth, a late age at last birth and short birth intervals. If they used contraceptive methods at all, then only to stop their fertility through sterilization.

This entanglement of marriage and reproduction is contrasted by the behavior of an increasing number of unmarried women since the 1970s. This subgroup of the "middle" generation exhibits significant differences in terms of reproduction. Unmarried women of the "middle" generation had much longer birth intervals and an earlier age at last birth. Different reproductive strategies explain these variations. In the 1970s, unmarried women started to use Western contraceptive methods to space their children. Additionally, the number of men they had children with significantly increased. A pattern of multiple reproductive partners emerged, a reproductive "logic" Guyer (1994) has classified as "polyandrous motherhood". The higher number of reproductive partners did not only lead to economically, socially and geographically diverse reproductive networks. Regarding fertility, the higher number of reproductive partners also resulted in longer birth intervals and an overall lower level of fertility. Only the age at first birth remained the same for the different generations and subgroups within the generations.

The "youngest" generation, women born between the mid-1960s until the mid-1980s, continued to bear their first child at the same age as their mothers and grandmothers. It seems empirically plausible to understand the age at first birth as still mostly disentangled from marriage. Becoming a mother continues to be one of the most central ways in which adult identity is formed in many regions of Southern Africa. This disentanglement of marriage and reproduction at the beginning of reproduction is also reflected in the quote from the group discussion that opened this chapter. The continuity of a widespread early age at first birth in Namibia confirms this marker, as this pathway to adulthood remains the most common route taken by Namibian women. However, as I have tried to show, this common reproductive practice is being subtly contested both ideologically and demographically: for the youngest generation of Fransfontein women, waiting before first pregnancy is beginning to emerge as a value. The giving of symbolic keys at the twenty-first birthday of these young elite women publicly rewards their break from previous forms of social becoming through reproduction. Fertility continues to decline. Young married women from the elite will very likely reduce their number of children further and concentrate on the development of few, highly educated children. In contrast, the large number of unmarried, economically marginalized women is even more likely to develop reproductive networks through multiple parenthood.

What do the roughly seventy years of entanglement and disentanglement of marriage and reproduction analyzed here mean in a long-term perspective? As I discussed in previous chapters, there is only scarce historical information on marriage and reproduction for the Fransfontein area (and "Damaraland" in general). However, Guyer's caution not to perceive every change in marriage and reproduction as something novel also seems to be true for Fransfontein. She summarizes her findings on the

shifts from a more lineal logic of reproduction towards a more lateral logic as follows: "If one pieces together the historical development of all these elements, much of the present configuration can best be seen in terms of continuities with shifting emphasis, rather than sharp change or transformation". (Guyer 1994: 249) Guyer shows that the more homogenous model of marriage is very much the result of the colonial situation. The recent change she finds in marriage may thus just be a "return" to previous patterns. Similarly, the reproductive and marital behavior of the women I have described as the "older" generation is by no means a representation of a "traditional" way of life. Like Guyer's observation of Yoruba society, the earliest reproductive and marital patterns I was able to describe are thoroughly formed and structured by the colonial state, especially the "white" settlers community and the Protestant missionaries. In how far (in parallel to Guyer's results) the increase in the number of reproductive partners and the resulting family patterns in the 1970s might be a re-emergence of an earlier marriage and reproductive order cannot be said with our data. Indeed, further research on entanglements and disentanglements of marriage and reproduction thus is not only needed for the youngest generation and in comparative perspective (Garenne/Zwang 2005) but also for earlier time periods, in particular the 19th century.

Intimacy outside marriage

The decline of marriage has also reconfigured intimate relations. To marry is still what many people desire. Nevertheless, because of its contemporary exclusivity, marriage does not frame how most people intimately relate to each other. Instead, other ways of forming and consolidating intimate relations are sought out. Living together or having a child together are some alternatives to deepen heterosexual relations beyond marriage (Hunter 2016; White 2016). Furthermore, some women and men decide not to marry at all and stay single (James 2017; Niehaus 2017). In this chapter, I will trace these reconfigurations of intimate relationships outside marriage.

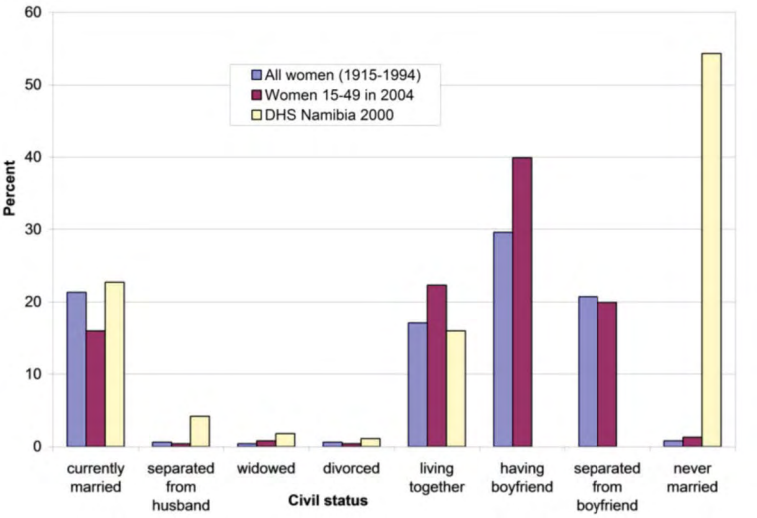
In his review of James Ferguson's (1999) seminal monography *Expectations of Modernity*, Owen Sichone notes: "An ethnography of decline must, of necessity, be a study of resilience, of survival and even of victory; because if one only sees reversals (de-industrialisation or de-modernisation or re-traditionalisation) one merely ends up with a reverse teleology". (Sichone 2001: 378) This chapter acknowledges the great varity of intimate relations outside and beyond marriage. The chapter is also an attempt to be critical of what Doreen Setume (2017) has called "nuptialism", a bias that sees all intimate relations only within the framework of marriage. I will start with a discussion of cohabitation. Demographers often treat living together as an alternative or even equivalent to marriage. This will lead to a description of the making and unmaking of love and sexual relations outside marriage. In the last part of the chapter I try to understand those women, and to some extent also the men, who have chosen to stay single. I conclude with an analysis of the increasing stigmatization of children born out-of-wedlock.

BLACK COW MARRIAGES: COHABITATION WITHOUT MARRIAGE

Many demographers argue that cohabitation can be treated like marriage (Bongaarts 1978). Cohabitation and marriage are seen as social institutions framing the birth of children. In Fransfontein, however, intimacy, sexuality and birth very often occur outside marriage and cohabitation. Many women are polyandrous mothers (Guyer 1994), like Silvia, born in 1950, who has given birth to four children from three different men. Silvia is unmarried and has never lived together with any of her intimate partners. Demographers would classify Silvia's children as "premarital fertility" (e.g. Garenne/Zwang 2005). This implies that marriage occurs at some point in time. The opposite is true for Fransfontein as well as other parts of Southern Africa (Pauli 2010a, 2016; Pauli/van Dijk 2016). Marriage is declining. "Premarital fertility" is better viewed as *fertility without marriage*.

Demographers often classify women like Silvia as "unmarried" and distinguish them from formally married and cohabiting women. I suggest classifying them together with cohabiting women and distinguishing them from formally married women. Figure 18 summarizes the spread of cohabitating, marital and non-residential intimate relations. The figure compares the Fransfontein data with data collected by the Namibian Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) of 2000 (MOHSS 2003: 79). To make the comparison with the DHS data more valid, I differentiate the Fransfontein data into two groups: first, all 362 women that were interviewed, born between 1915 and 1994 (blue) and, second, a subgroup of 238 women who were aged between 15 and 49 in 2004 (purple). The DHS only collects data for women between the ages of 15 and 49 (yellow). The percentages of women formally and currently (i.e. 2004 for Fransfontein and 2000 for Namibia) married are around 20 per cent for all three groups. The categories of divorced, separated and widowed women have very low percentages for all three groups (below five per cent). The category "living together" category also exhibits similar values for the three groups. The national percentage is slightly lower (16 per cent) the percentage for all Fransfontein women (17 per cent) and for Fransfontein women aged 15-49 (22 per cent). If a woman did not live together with a boyfriend at the time of the DHS and had never cohabited with a partner, the survey did not ask her whether she had a boyfriend. This explains the large size of the "never married" category for the DHS data in the figure. Over 54 per cent of all women in the DHS fall into this category. In our census, we differentiated this category and asked whether a woman currently had a boyfriend or whether she had separated from him. For all Fransfontein women, 30 per cent had a boyfriend in 2004 and 21 per cent had separated from their partner. If one only looks at Fransfontein women between 15 and 49 years, the percentages change slightly: 40 per cent had a boyfriend in 2004 while

Figure 18: Types of intimate relations – local vs. national level



20 per cent had separated from one. These distributions help to explain the 54 per cent of women that the DHS subsumes under "never married". At least in Fransfontein, women falling into this category are sexually active, sometimes have long-term intimate partners without living with them, and have children with these partners. To subsume them under "premarital" or "never married" does not cover the diversity of the intimate and reproductive trajectories of these women.

If a woman did not live together with a boyfriend at the time of the DHS and had never cohabited with a partner, the survey did not ask her whether she had a boyfriend. This explains the large size of the "never married" category for the DHS data in the figure. Over 54 per cent of all women in the DHS fall into this category. In our census, we differentiated this category and asked whether a woman currently had a boyfriend or whether she had separated from him. For all Fransfontein women, 30 per cent had a boyfriend in 2004 and 21 per cent had separated from their partner. If one only looks at Fransfontein women between 15 and 49 years, the percentages change slightly: 40 per cent had a boyfriend in 2004 while 20 per cent had separated from one. These distributions help to explain the 54 per cent of women that the DHS subsumes under "never married". At least in Fransfontein, women falling into this category are sexually active, sometimes have long-term intimate partners without living with them, and have children with these partners. To subsume them under "premarital" or "never married" does not cover the diversity of the intimate and reproductive trajectories of these women.

Table 14: Cohabiting, marital and non-residential intimate relations

	N	Average age in 200*	Average length of current relationship	Average age first sex*
Currently married	76	52,6 (16,0)	18,88 (16,3)	19,1 (3,7)
Living together	62	36,2 (11,2)	8,9 (8,1)	18,7 (5,9)
Boyfriend, not living together	105	31,0 (12,8)	6,2 (6,9)	17,7 (2,8)

* Standard deviation in brackets

What then is the status of living together? Table 14 indicates that currently married women are much older then women living together with a partner and women having a boyfriend but not living together. Contrary to the married women, the women living with a boyfriend and the women having a boyfriend but not living together are much closer in age.

The average length of the relationship is comparable between women living with their boyfriend and women having a boyfriend but not living together; it is different, however, from that of married women. The age at first intercourse does not vary significantly between the three groups. These averages indicate that women in the "living together" category are more similar to unmarried women then to formally married women. In Fransfontein, the co-residential union is rather fluid. This fluidity, for example living together with one man, separating and then living together with someone else, has no negative effects on a woman's reputation. The same flexibility that applies to other aspects of Fransfontein livelihoods like kinship and migration also holds true for residence. Many people are constantly on the move, searching for employment, income opportunities and also new intimate relations. Women (and men) move in and out of households. This high level of residential and intimate mobility is an expression of the pervasive economic insecurities most people have to cope with (Pinho et al. 2016; Setel 1999: 238).

"Living together" thus has a very different meaning from being formally married. It is by no means perceived as a substitute for formal marriage. Marriage reduces the necessity to adapt and be flexible. "Living together", however, can be a rather temporal state. During our stay we observed many movements of unmarried men and women in and out of a partner's life and house.

Further evidence for not classifying couples living together as married comes from local discourse. There are different terms used locally for "living together",

none with a positive connotation: *!hai-omi*, meaning "bad house"; or *ǂnu gomas omi* (or *ǂnu gomas !gameb*), meaning "black cow marriage" or "black cow house marriage". Both in public events and in everyday affairs, a couple that lives together is treated similarly to a couple that does not live together. Only a formally married couple is treated differently. This becomes especially evident during marriage celebrations during which only formally married couples are allowed to participate in certain rituals. Many women told me that living together is just a waste of time: the woman has to bear the problems that may result from co-residence, such as alcohol abuse, domestic violence or a man "living off a woman's money", without being treated with the respect or enjoying the security a married woman receives.

Zitha Mokomane's (2005, 2006) research on nuptiality patterns tackles very similar issues for Botswana. She shows that the number of cohabiting couples has strongly increased in Botswana during the last decades. Mokomane (2005: 20) asks in how far cohabitation has to be understood as an alternative or as a prelude to marriage, and differentiates three possibilities: first, cohabitation reflects a rejection of marriage and a "true alternative", thus that people prefer cohabitation over marriage; second, cohabitation is a prelude to marriage, hence that marriage is only delayed, for example because of life circumstances; and third, cohabitation is an alternative to being single but with the same sexual "freedoms". The first and third possibilities are rather similar. After analyzing both quantitative and qualitative data, Mokomane concludes that in Botswana cohabitation is not equivalent to marriage. Her informants did not perceive cohabitation as a substitute for marriage, ruling out the first and third possibilities. Like women in Fransfontein, Mokomane's interview partners stressed the many difficulties and risks cohabitating women had to experience, such as a lack of legal security in terms of maintenance and inheritance when compared with their married counterparts. As in Fransfontein, cohabitating women in Botswana are more similar to unmarried, not cohabitating but sexually and reproductive active women than to married women.

Mokomane's informants perceived cohabitation as a temporary phase before marriage, a prelude: "The results clearly show that in Botswana marriage is the 'ultimate goal' for virtually all cohabitants while cohabitation is a compromise living arrangement for those who are not yet ready for marriage, and may not be for a considerable period of time, mainly due to economic reasons". (Mokomane 2005: 33) But is cohabitation really always a prelude to marriage?

Like Mokomane (2005), we posed the question in our census whether people wanted to marry. Only about two thirds of the cohabitating and the non-residing women with a permanent boyfriend perceived marriage as the "ultimate goal". Several of the women who cohabitated but did not want to marry said that their boyfriends just came and left as they wished, leaving them alone with all the problems. They did not want to marry

the boyfriends because of their lack of steadiness and responsibility. Thus, cohabitating women in Fransfontein did not always perceive cohabitation as a prelude to marriage. In addition, many women and men who expressed a wish to marry were very skeptical that they would ever be able to do so. Mokomane also describes a marked increase in wedding costs and the resulting difficulty for economically marginalized couples to marry (ibid: 26). She further states that the proportion of never married people in Botswana has significantly increased (ibid: 19). Nevertheless, she assumes that cohabitation is simply a prelude to marriage. But, if the situation of Fransfontein is taken as guide, then this will not be the case: even if cohabitating couples dream of marriage, the chance that their economic situation were to improve is indeed very slight. Cohabitation thus stands in between the "married" and "never married" categories. In some cases it might be a prelude to marriage, as Mokomane has shown for Botswana. But often, it is a variation of the "never married" category. This category includes approximately 70 per cent of all Fransfontein women who are having intimate relations outside marriage. Their intimate relations are formed on other premises than the stability that marriage might offer.

INTIMACY AND LOVE IN TIMES OF AIDS

> He would spend half of the night with me and in the morning hours he would hike to work. That type of relationship. I knew that he belongs to someone else, the one we were cheating. Okay, that type of relationship. But one has to decide. I did not want to be in the shadow any longer. I wanted to be seen with him, to be seen by people. That is why I decided I cannot stay in the shadow. I heard that the lady whenever she finds out that he is dating someone else will fight. But I will not just be the one to be with at night and during the day he is with the other one. I want him to be next to me, to walk next to me during the day so that the others can see. That is how it became public.
> *Life narrative of a woman in her late twenties, February 2004*

During the first half of our stay in 2003/2004, the community of Fransfontein was intensively debating a court case that was running at the time. Just after our arrival, a young woman had attacked and severely injured another young woman with a broken bottle while spending the evening in one of Fransfontein *shebeens* (pubs). Because of

complicated head injuries that threatened her life, the attacked women had to be hospitalized for several weeks. The woman who attacked her was arrested and imprisoned in Khorixas. In the court case, she received a mild penalty. Several months after the act, she was able to start working again, in a state-financed occupation. The bone of contention for the argument between them had between a 25-year-old man, father of the child of the attacked woman. They had been a couple for several years. A few months before the attack, the man had found a well-paying job in Khorixas and shortly thereafter started dating the other woman. Unlike the mother of his child who had left school with grade 7, the new woman had finished high school and had worked in several well-paying jobs. At the beginning, the new woman was satisfied with the secret relationship. But with time, she wanted to leave this "shadow". One evening, the three of them met in the local *shebeen*. The new woman started touching the man, expressing her affection so that everybody could see. This public demonstration of affection led to a rather immediate response by the betrayed woman. The two women started fighting, first verbally and then physically. In the course of fight, the new woman grabed a bottle of beer, battered it and slammed its cut-off neck into the other woman's head.

Of course, intimate relations in Fransfontein were very seldom as violent as in this narrative. Nevertheless, in a context of HIV/AIDS, economic insecurity and high rates of mobility, many Fransfontein intimate relations are contested, sometimes with violent undertones. With marriage out of reach for most people in Fransfontein, marriage has been replaced by other forms of intimacy, foremost intimacies based on the concept of love. This is especially true for the youngest generation, with women born between 1965 and 1984. Only 11 per cent of these women were married by 2004. One has to distinguish different types of conjugal relations outside marriage (Pinho et al. 2016). Roughly, one might differentiate between short-term relations and longer- and long-term ones. While many longer-/long-term relations start as one-night stands, not all brief sexual encounters eventually result in longer-lasting relations. Many women I talked with stressed that they only agreed to have sex with their partners because they had believed their promises of love and devotion. The possibility of a longer-lasting relation is often a central motiv for women to agree to sex (Wojcicki 2002). But "all those nice words", as 25-year-old Isabel summarized the communication she had with her former lover at the beginning of their relation, evaporated into thin air. She soon realized that her lover was cheaeting on her with her best friend. When I asked Isabel whether they had planned to marry, she replied that at the moment */nammi* (love) was more important to her than marriage. */Nammi* meant that someone cared for her and supported her, also financially. Marriage was only a distant dream, but love was real.

Isabel described how an intimate relation typically starts and develops in Fransfontein. A man or a woman spots someone he or she likes in the village streets or in one of

the *shebeens*. This is called *sen* in Khoekhoegowab. Either the man or the woman can propose a *tē-am* (relation): for this, they ask the desired person to become their *soreb/sores* (boyfriend/girlfriend).[1] It is not very common, however, for a woman to propose to a man. In some cases, the person will not ask the desired partner himself or herself but will ask a friend to approach him or her. If the proposed person agrees, the two will start an intimate relation. Life stories with women and men show generally that the time between *sen*, *tē-am* and having sex for the first time is brief, often only one or two weeks. If the relation continues, the two become *sores* and *soreb* in the eyes of the general public, a process called *//a-gu*. During this phase of the relationship, the exchange of presents in the form of gifts, cash and livestock is very important (on economic aspects of love, see Cole/Thomas 2009; Hunter 2009a). While the woman will only give small and relatively inexpensive signs of affection, the man is expected to give on a larger scale. By supporting the woman and her family, the new boyfriend expresses his love. A next step of intimacy is reached when the couple starts *#nu gomans omi* (living together), literally a black cow marriage or a black cow house. Sometimes the Afrikaans term *saam lewe* can also be used to describe this stage. The last stage of an idealized conjugal relation is *!gameb* (marriage). The wish to marry (*!game #gao*), is followed by the many ritual activities that I have described in the previous chapters. This is the stage that the vast majority of people in Fransfontein will never reach.

While most Fransfonteiners never marry, many engage in short-term casual relations and longer-term love relations. There exists an extensive anthropological literature on the question of how far the concept of romantic love is universal or a result of colonialization and "modernization" (Hirsch/Wardlow 2006; Jankowiak/Fischer 1992; Padilla et al. 2007; Smith 2001). In his research on love, fertility and marriage among Igbo men and women in Nigeria, Daniel Smith (2001) shows that romantic love as a criterion to start an initimate relation, eventually leading to marriage, and an increased importance of conjugality, such as joint decision-making between the partners, are rather recent phenomena. However, feelings of love have been known for a long time (ibid: 130). For my discussion here it is important to note that love is very much a premarital event among the Igbo and stands in contrast to marriage relations. Love will eventually lead to marriage and then get transformed into something else. Such practices and perceptions of love only apply if virtually everybody marries. In Fransfontein, in contrast, most people are never going to marry. Consequently, love as a frame to structure conjugal relations has a more central and lasting meaning here than in cultural

1 In Khoekhoegowab, "b" indicates a male ending while "s" stands for a female ending. Sometimes, the terms */hob* (boyfriend) or */hos* (girlfriend) are also used, terms that are more sex neutral than *soreb/sores*. While the words */hob* and */hos* can also apply to a same-sex friend, *soreb/sores* can only be used for a relationship between lovers.

contexts where marriage is still the norm and general practice. In some ways, love substitutes marriage in Fransfontein (and elsewhere in Namibia, see Mufune 2005; Tersbøl 2002). Mufune's research on myths of condoms and HIV/AIDS among Oshiwambo-speaking residents in rural northern Namibia describes this development:

> With declining marriage rates and increasing divorce rates, sex for women is justified on the ground of love. Sex is used by men to pressurize girlfriends to show that they are in love (and are therefore a trusted partner) and not just after material goods. Conversely, women who want a serious relationship will quickly stop using condoms as a demonstration of their love, steadiness, and trust. (Mufune 2005: 680)

To understand intimate relations beyond, before or besides marriage in Fransfontein, it is thus necessary not only to analyze different types of relations (short, longer, long term) and to realize that love has substituted marriage, but one also has to reflect upon the meaning of trust and risks in times of AIDS (Hunter 2010). In Fransfontein, involvement in brief sexual encounters is often characterized by low levels of trust, high awareness of risk of a possible HIV infection, and a high likelihood of condom use. Contrary to this, longer-term unions (and also those imagined as such) have to cope with the ambiguities of trust. Trusting one's partner is both a critical but at the same time also potentially dangerous essence of long-term relations. Trust has become even more necessary, but also problematic and ambiguous in the midst of a crisis like the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Negotiating trust and risk is a general characteristic of intimate relations in times of AIDS and certainly not restricted to sub-Saharan Africa (Hirsch et al. 2009). Gausset (2001) has convincingly argued against the "Africanization" of HIV/AIDS (see also Setel 1999). Worldwide, the use of condoms is the safest way to protect oneself against AIDS. But in many regions of Africa (and also other parts of the world) they are perceived as inappropriate for long-term intimate relations as they are seen to signal promiscuity and immorality (Dilger 2003; Smith 2003). Smith's research on young rural-to-urban migrants in two Nigerian cities explicitly connects morality, sexuality and risk of infection:

> Essentially, young people believed that if they chose partners of good moral character and if their relationships were founded on love, then they would face little risk of contracting HIV. Both young men and women said that they were much more likely to use condoms consistently in relationships that were considered short-term, unstable, or based on something other than love. (Smith 2003: 356)

Hansjörg Dilger has researched how Luo living in rural and urban regions of Tanzania survive the AIDS crisis:

The interviewees distinguished between the types of relationships they had. They agreed that it is easier for both sexes to insist upon the use of condoms if a relationship is based on "money"; this is because if it is based on "love" (*mapenzi*), then the use of condoms is inappropriate. (Dilger 2003: 39)

Finally, Eleanor Preston-Whyte describes similar ideas of love, trust and intimacy in her research on situational barriers to HIV protection in South Africa. Again, condom use is acceptable in casual but not in "love" relations:

While this form of protection is reportedly gaining acceptance in casual relationships, very little headways has been reported in introducing condom use in heterosexual, conjugal and longer-term "love" relationships. As elsewhere in the world, the issue of trust is paramount. (Preston-Whyte 1999: 142)

The use of condoms contradicts what long-term love relations are all about. Within love/trust relations, the risk of infection is often perceived as low. Different types of knowledge of one's partner, as for example his or her moral and physical appearance, and not condom use are perceived as protective measures against infection. This practice was, for example, described by John during our fieldwork. When we asked him how people protect themselves against infection with HIV, he told us that "they do blood tests with the eyes" (Pauli/Schnegg 2007). One could add that blood tests are also being done with the ears, meaning that an evaluation of a partner is based on "observations" of physical appearance and "investigations" of past intimate and sexual behaviour. These "investigations" focus on the question in how far a person is known to *//om-mara* ("sleep around") or *go-mara* ("look around"/"look at the other side"). Both are expressions that describe people that have many different sexual partners. The "testing" of a partner, however, is not a phenomenon linked only to AIDS. Practices of "testing" a partner have been common even before the dramatic spread of the pandemic (e.g. Bledsoe/Pison 1994; Gulbrandsen 1986). These practices continue until today and are adjusted to the new situation.

"Testing" also goes beyond issues of health, sexual behaviour and AIDS. Sincerity and commitment of a partner are also crucial. How engaged a partner is in an intimate relation is tested by his or her supportiveness, for example by providing money in times of need. Love is often constructed as the result of successful testing (Johnson-Hanks 2007b; Lewinson 2006; Pauli/Schnegg 2007). Bledsoe and Pison (1994: 5) underscore that the prolonged phases of "testing" a partner are also an expression of the procedural character of "African" marriage. Yet, while "testing" continues to be an important element of intimate relations in Fransfontein, marriage after "successful testing" is no longer a certain outcome for most Fransfonteiners.

Most intimate relations in Fransfontein now happen outside marriage. The previous chapter has discussed how reproduction and the birth of children largely take place outside marriage. Despite the spread of Western contraceptives and massive family planning campaigns, the average age at first sex and first birth has not changed for decades in Fransfontein (Pauli 2017a). Independent of marriage, becoming a mother or a father remains crucial for gender identities: "the importance of seeing women not only in the moment of sexual negotiation, but as mothers and would-be mothers: that is, in the context of their highly valued reproductive capacity". (Preston-Whyte 1999: 140) Throughout the region, children are highly valued (Bochow 2012; Upton 2001). Use of contraception and especially condoms is often a contested topic within intimate relations. Some contraceptives are easier to hide then others. This explains the popularity of hormonal injections in Southern Africa (Preston-White 1999). Unlike hormonal pills or the loop, injections offer long-term protection and are rather easily kept secret. Preston-Whyte concludes: "We have yet to develop the equivalent secret protection against HIV". (Preston-Whyte 1999: 149) Condoms, and also so-called femidoms (Mufune 2005: 676), are not secret protections. Quite the opposite, condoms are the most visible contraceptive method. They are a visible sign of mistrust and only acceptable in casual but not in longer-term love relations. Trust and having children together are important aspects of such long-term relations and condoms disrupt this central element of intimate life. Condoms, thus, prevent both HIV – and pregnancy. Situations which may be subsumed under the label "casual sex" lack such pregnancy aspirations – neither trust nor children are central, and condom use is very likely (Gausset 2001: 516).

Economic insecurities, the necessity to be mobile, a high value placed on children and specific forms of trust and risk, especially those associated with AIDS, frame the intimate relations of the younger and middle-aged Fransfontein men and women (born after 1964). To extend my analysis of intimate relations beyond, before and besides marriage, I next turn to the making and unmaking of intimate relationships.

THE MAKING AND UNMAKING OF INTIMATE RELATIONS

In Fransfontein, the making of a new conjugal relation very often implies the breaking of an already existing one. This common constellation makes it difficult to see women only as victims of male betrayals. Nevertheless, public discourse focuses more on male than on female cheating. In all life stories I elicitated, a cheating male partner is part of the narrative. In Khoekhoegowab, cheating or betraying is called */hōagao*. All women narrated how they discovered that their partners betrayed them. Most highlighted their role as victim of betrayal and not as actor in the betrayal of other women or of their existing male partners. A common beginning of an intimate

relation is the story of how Frieda and Tom[2] fell in love. We observed the ups and downs of their relationship from 2003 to 2004.

In late 2003, Tom *sen* (spotted) Frieda in a Fransfontein *shebeen*. Only a couple of days later he proposed a relationship to her, *tē-am*. He was having a lucky streak at the time: after a long period without a steady income, he had recently found a well-paid occupation 20 kilometres away in Khorixas. However, Tom was not single when he proposed to Frieda; he was in a long-term relationship with Rita. Both were living together with Tom's mother, a pensioner who raised several grandchildren and so-called *groot-maak* (foster) children in her large stone house. Tom and Rita were parents of a four-year-old son. Frieda, in turn, was a single mother who lived in her mother's household with her three-year-old daughter. Tom, Rita and Frieda were all in their twenties.

In the first couple of weeks of their relationship, Tom and Frieda only met secretly. Then, Tom publicly split up with Rita. Tom's and Frieda's mothers did not consent to the new relationship. Frieda's mother commented that she thought Tom was unreliable and selfish. Tom's mother perceived Frieda as snobbish. Tom moved out of his mother's house and started staying in his office in Khorixas. Most nights he spent with Frieda in her room at her mother's house. Rita, meanwhile, continued to live with Tom's mother. While Tom and Frieda tried to consolidate their relationship, gossip was running high. Rita's and Tom's mothers spread rumours about Frieda's HIV status. One evening, a sad and frustrated Rita drank heavily at a local *shebeen*. Tom's mother was deeply disappointed about this behavior and kicked Rita out of her house the very next day. Together with her son, Rita left Fransfontein and went to live with relatives in a faraway town.

Some months later Frieda had to leave Fransfontein for a week. Tom took this as an opportunity to visit his ex-girlfriend Rita and their son. When they met again, Tom and Rita still felt attracted to each other. They revived their initimate relation and returned to Fransfontein together. Frieda was furious. This lead to fights between Frieda and Tom. Eventually, Rita was tired of all this love turmoil. This time, she left Tom. In the end, all three were left without an intimate partner. Frieda continued her life as a single mother in Fransfontein. Both Tom and Rita left the village and moved to different towns in Namibia.

The betrayal of Rita is rather typical for the beginning of a new intimate relation. Often, the betrayed woman is in a more vulnerable position than the new female partner. The betrayed woman might be economically dependent or pregnant. When Isabel, for example, discovered that her boyfriend was cheating on her, she was five months pregnant. She found out about the relationship when she returned from a visit

2 Because of the sensitivity of the topic, I have changed not only all names but also other information relating to persons and places.

to her sister in southern Namibia. The father of her child had promised to pick her up at the train station in Windhoek where they were living at the time. When he did not appear, Isabel took a taxi to meet up with him at his home. There, she encountered her boyfriend in bed with another woman. He had mixed up the dates of Isabel's return to Windhoek. Isabel said:

> When I saw him with the lady, I was thinking: "What are you doing?" He says he is not feeling okay. But the lady is also angry. I tell her: "Don't be angry with me. I will go back to my house. I am pregnant, I cannot fight. I cannot do anything". He tells the lady: "You must go back, my girlfriend, she is coming back now". But I say: "I go back". And I take my bags.

Isabel and the father of her child continued to stay in touch. When their daughter was born, he sent clothes and food. During a phone call, he wanted to revive their relation. Isabel narrated: "He was asking for forgiveness. But I told him: 'No problem, I am not having any problem. Now I am okay. I've got your daughter. You can visit her. And after the visit, you can go back to your girlfriend!'" There are a number of similarities between Rita's and Isabel's reaction to betrayal. Both stayed in touch with their child's father. In Isabel's case, her child's father paid her material support for their child, whereas Rita received support from her ex-boyfriend's mother and for a while even continued to live in her house. Rita and Isabel were both economically vulnerable and dependent on financial support. While both felt personally and emotionally hurt, they nevertheless had to keep going on.

When asked whether they had ever cheated whilst being in a fixed relationship, relatively few Fransfonteiners said yes. By far the highest percentages of self-reported cheating can be found among young men: almost half of the 58 men between 15-24 years in our survey said that they had cheated, yet only about one fifth of the 77 women of the same age category admitted the same. At this point it is necessary to ask what people mean when they speak about cheating. Clearly, there might be some underreporting. Some women posited that if a partner was physically absent, sex with another partner was not considered an infidelity (see also LeBeau et al. 2001: 58). It is also unusual for women to engage in more than one intimate relationship at a time, leading to lower levels of overall female cheating. Men, and especially young men, are much more likely to have multiple intimate partners concurrently and to talk about their multiple relations, as such behaviour is often perceived as a sign of masculinity.

Economic aspects can influence the making and unmaking of intimate relations (see also van Dijk 2017). A new, well-paying job often coincides with the beginning of an affair which might later develop into a longer-lasting relationship. If a man moves up the economic ladder, it is also likely that his new girlfriend will be of a

higher economic status then his previous girlfriend. When I asked Frieda, for example, whether she saw any difference between herself and Rita, she said yes. Frieda explained that, unlike Rita, she was economically independent. Frieda stressed that scrutinizing a potential partner's educational and professional achievements was part of testing a new partner. Another highly educated women reflected at length on the role of the economic standing of both partners in a relationship. Commenting on her partner's previous girlfriend, she noted how "material" this girlfriend had been, only thinking of "cash, car and cellular", a local expression to describe a money-grabbing woman. With disdain in her voice, she noted the less educated status of this woman: "She even quit school after grade seven! Primary school! I mean, both hands should bring something into the relation".

Tom's behavior after finding a new job illustrates this. Gossip spread in Fransfontein when Tom and his new girlfriend Frieda left the *shebeen* arm in arm. Tom's brother commented that Tom's behaviour is typical for men in the area. During Tom's long unemployment, Rita had also supported him financially. Now that he had found a new job and his own money, he turned down his former girlfriend and looked for someone "better", with more education and working experience. This points to an implicit norm that intimate partners should be more or less of an equal economic status. If a change in economic status occurs, it is likely that an "intimate adjustment" will follow.

Although both men and women left their partners, in the local perception it is the man who leaves the woman. In our ethnographic survey, we asked our interviewees to list the reasons they thought were acceptable for leaving a woman. There were only slight differences between the answers given by men and by women. Only about a third of Fransfontein men and women thought it proper to leave a woman who demands too much money. Different forms of support, including material and financial support, were not considered to be in opposition to love but were rather perceived as expressions of love and intimacy. Thus, to demand money and other resources from a male partner was not considered wrong. An issue on which men and women differed was the evaluation of a woman perceived to be drinking too much. Many more women than men thought that this is an adequate reason for a man to leave. One possible explanation might be that women perceived drinking too much alcohol are considered to be "risky": there were numerous stories going around about drunken women having unprotected sex. Why most men did not perceive this as a reason to leave is unclear, however.

Once a new intimate relationship has been started, the bond needs to be consolidated. Often, this was difficult and challenging for newly formed couples. Frieda's mother, for example, disliked Tom and did not approve of her daughter's relationship with him. Indeed, she threatened to kick Frieda out of her house, leaving Frieda sad and frustrated. She described how she had been single for two years, feeling lonely and abandoned. Now that she had finally found someone to love, everybody seemed

to be opposed to the relationship. Frieda's love for Tom was not bound to marriage or children: for her what was central was the feeling of love, though she added after a while that she would not be against marriage. It was the feeling of love that made the relationship special and true for her. Frieda's perceptions are very similar to Isabel's comments about love and marriage. Both said that their love for their partners had made them stop using condoms. Frieda continued to use hormonal injections, however, to prevent a pregnancy. When asked about the risk of being infected with HIV, she replied that she now knew Tom as she had done the "blood tests with the eyes". Tom did not have any dubious spots or sores which could have suggested an infection with *haga* (AIDS).[3] Frieda not only knew her partner's "surface", however. Their love was also a form of trust: she knew that he would not harm her.

Feelings of trust but also of fear and danger depend on the stage of an intimate relationship (Preston-Whyte 1999). Feelings of insecurity, risk and danger are prominent at the beginning of intimacy. With time, perceptions of risk and danger are substituted by feelings of love, trust and security. This also helps to explain why, despite widespread risk awareness, HIV infection rates are still high in Namibia (Pinho et al. 2016).

To understand the unmaking of intimate relations, two major themes, mobility and (sometimes violent) conflict, are important. Employment opportunities are extremely rare in Fransfontein so that people have to be flexible and mobile to make a living. Young people in particular are very mobile. In such a situation it is rather difficult to keep in contact with people left behind. Given the lack of public transport in large parts of Namibia, visits are difficult to organize and costly. To make telephone calls is also beyond the economic possibilities of most people.[4]

Intimate relations very often not only include love and pleasure but also conflict, sometimes even domestic violence. A few women reported being subjected to severe physical and psychological violence. However, it is important to note that many men in Fransfontein are very caring and not violent at all. More research should focus on these men (Pauli 2007b).

Further, in Fransfontein, violence within gender categories is also common. The narrative with which I opened this section describes an extreme act of violence between two women. Much social science research and studies of HIV/AIDS overlook conflict that arises within gender categories, especially between women (Pauli 2007b). A high-ranking police officer indicated in 2005 that there had been a strong increase of severe

3 *Haga* literally means "four" in Khoekhowgowab, the way in which people referred to the four-lettered word "AIDS".

4 This might have changed since my fieldwork from 2003 to 2006 when access to mobile phones and the internet was still very rare in Fransfontein.

violence among young women in Fransfontein. These developments are related to a multiplicity of factors, among them substantial economic insecurities and the fear of AIDS. As the making and unmaking of Frieda and Tom's intimate relationship shows, couples have to cope with many insecurities and ambiguities. In this situation, there are people in Fransfontein, especially women, who have decided that they have had enough of these ambiguities and that chose to remain single. It is to them that I now turn.

WOMEN STAYING SINGLE

Research indicates that the category of unmarried women is not a new category (Gulbrandsen 1986; Hunter 2002; Mayer 1961; van der Vliet 1991: 235). According to Philip Mayer (1961: 85), so called *amankazana* (free women), thus unmarried women living at their father's homestead and bearing their children there, provided a model for independent unmarried mothers in the townships and some rural areas in South Africa. Isaac Schapera and Simon Roberts (1975: 267) describe a similar category of unmarried women living in their father's ward in Rampedi, then Bechuanaland, in the 1970s. The women Virginia van der Vliet interviewed in the 1970s who deliberately chose to stay single were not confined to their fathers' compounds. Rather, they often lived on their own and raised their children by themselves: "Like so many women, from the elite to the humblest hawker or domestic worker, this option [of staying single] had become possible with the chance the towns offered for financial independence". (van der Vliet 1991: 236-237)

Although these women chose to stay single, they were not socially isolated. They formed the core of female family networks and households (Hellman 1974; Preston-Whyte 1978). The family households of these wage-earning women represented new forms of female cooperation, with households including wage-earning and non-wage-earning women that were connected through uterine kin ties. Preston-Whyte (1978: 59) calls these families "female linked" (cf. Jackson 2014). Men only temporarily participated in these households as sons, brothers, lovers and providers of children. Preston-Whyte (1978: 55-58) and Adam Kuper (1987: 147) underscore the similarities these units had with Caribbean matrifocal family systems but also how they deviated strongly from rural Zulu social organization:

> The cooperation between women, that is, between mothers and daughters, between sisters and even between grandmothers and their grandchildren, which I have described in this essay, presents a marked contrast to the structurally important linkages between agnatically related males upon which Zulu homestead composition and local organization were based. (Preston-Whyte 1978: 82)

The female perception that it can be an advantage not to marry, along with declining marriage rates, is reflected in accounts throughout Namibia. In their study of eight congregations in the Omusati and Oshikoto administrative regions, north-central Namibia, Riikka Shemeikka, Veijo Notkola and Harri Siiskonen (2005: 103) find that many young women try to protect their independence by remaining unmarried. Iken (1999: 179-183) cites a number of reasons why Nama women in southern Namibia prefer to remain unmarried. A critical one among the women who have regular incomes and well-paid jobs is the fear of loosing decision-making power, especially in economic matters. These women had definite views about marriage and the requirements for a marriage partner, with the result that they did not perceive all men to be equally suitable. Iken (ibid: 181) stresses that such arguments "point to the potential for conflicting gender roles and new directions in gender relations". Situating these developments in a historical perspective, Iken writes: "Single motherhood reportedly became a more common feature among the Nama and other communities in Namibia and southern Africa after 1918, and went hand in hand with a declining marriage rate". (Iken 1999: 172) However, until the 1960s, marriage remained a rather normative event in the life course of most women she interviewed (ibid: 180). It was only in the last decades of the 20th century that the percentage of never-married women and men became increasingly visible. Thus, there is substantial evidence that some Southern African women have gained agency from the structural changes in marriage systems. But how did the situation change for men?

Only in recent years have in-depth interpretations of Southern African male gender roles and masculinities emerged (e.g. Hunter 2004, 2005; Morrell 2000; Ouzgane/ Morrell 2005; Richter/Morrell 2006). Similar to earlier feminist research (Di Leonardo 1991), this line of investigation highlights the multiple dimensions – political, economic, cultural and social aspects – that form male identities. Material power and economic disempowerment play an especially prominent role in current constructions of masculinity in Southern Africa.

One of the first to analyze the effects of the labour migration system on male identities and marriage was Ørnulf Gulbrandsen (1986) in his research on Tswana migrant communities in the 1970s in Botswana. According to him, young male Tswana migrants gained significant agency and prestige in the 1960s and 1970s through their participation in the labour migration system to South African mines into which their home communities were linked. The young men continued to marry, yet later in life and no longer on their fathers' terms: now it was the groom himself and not the lineage or the groom's family that was responsible for the bridewealth. The migrants' cash incomes led to strong increase in bridewealth amounts. This led to a rapid and thorough transformation of the definition of male identity, one tightly linked to economic success and spending power. The essence of manliness turned into an economic asset, gradually

excluding those men without the necessary financial resources. In his long-term South African ethnography, Mark Hunter (2009b, 2010) describes comparable transformations of notions of masculinity for Mandeni, KwaZulu-Natal, from the 19th century until today. He traces how the image of "man as provider" emerged only with the strong increase in labour migration in the first half of the 20th century (Hunter 2004, 2009a). Yet this notion in a way also "trapped" men into the migration system: "Once men were married, their dependency on migrancy meant that gifts became rerouted to support the homestead and became signifiers of men's continued love for their wives and families". (Hunter 2009a: 143) Some decades later and with steeply rising unemployment rates, masculine identities based on the material expressions of love and marriage became increasingly less viable. Hunter (2007) convincingly argues that the economic crisis of the last decades has deprived most men of the means to fulfil the role of the homestead provider, among other factors contributing to the strong decline in marriage rates. Obviously, the entanglement of class and gender has produced new masculinities. Elite and middle class men are still able to fulfil the image of the male provider, declaring it as "traditional". This discourse makes the constraints of poorer men to express their mascunilities even more evident and humilitating. However, masculinities of economically marginalized men have also been reconfigured.

Several authors have argued that the economic marginalization of increasing numbers of African men has created a kind of "cultural limbo" (Cole 2004; Cornwall 2002; Johnson-Hanks 2007b; Masquelier 2005; Parkin and Nyamwaya 1987a; Tersbøl 2002). For instance, Adeline Masquelier (2005: 60) has observed for men in Niger that "young men without the means to marry find themselves condemned to a kind of limbo life", and Britt Pinkowsky Tersbøl (2002: 367) comments on the situation of poor men in Namibia's northern regions in the following way: "Without resources, without a job, and without a house, a man cannot marry. This situation leaves men in a social and cultural limbo. The basic building stones of male identity and masculinity are unavailable to men". How then is this "cultural limbo" filled? Margrethe Silberschmidt (2001) was among the first to analyze the effects unemployment and economic deprivation have had on masculine identities in East Africa. Multiple partners and violence against women figure prominently in these new male identities. Hunter (2004: 145) comes to very similar conclusions: "Men celebrating multiple sexual partners, widely seen as an 'innate' feature of African sexuality, are in their present form, a product of an economic crisis that has ripped the core out of previous expressions of manhood – working, marrying, and building an independent household".

Gender identities have comparably been reconfigured in Fransfontein. Some Fransfontein women have deliberately chosen to stay single. This expression of female agency is not a simple resistance story with an economic independent woman/mother as the heroine fighting patriarchy. Although some women have expressed

awareness of male domination and female resistance, these women are as much formed by gender structures as they form them. In the chapter "Forming Families", I turned to agency-structure theories to understand why the poor do not reappropriate marriage. Here, I want to build on Ortner's (2006) discussion of agency, power and gender. Although stressing that questions of agency are not only gendered issues (but go beyond gender), Ortner (ibid: 139) writes that gender relations nevertheless often provide "the most vivid examples". I want to scrutinize the "intense play of multiply positioned subjects pursuing cultural goals within a matrix of local inequalities and power differentials" (Ortner 2006: 144) by distinguishing three types of women: women as wives; women who have chosen to stay single; and unmarried women who would like to marry. The women who want to stay single have to be subdivided into two generations: the generation of "single" mothers who raised their children in 1970s and 1980s; and the women born in the late 1960s or later who came of age with Namibia's independence (I am not discussing the oldest generation of women here whose marriage choices predate the changes of the 1970s). Further, the perspective of men is only presented through the narratives of women. This is a bias which stems from the fact that, despite some interviews I conducted with men, my more detailed and in-depth understanding of intimacy, marriage, reproduction and sexuality comes from discussions and interviews with women.

With the changes of the 1970s, the new role of the woman as wife and housewife emerged. Fransfontein women largely perceived being a housewife with ambivalence. On the one hand they saw it as implying that the husband is wealthy enough to marry and finance such a living. Women that classify themselves as housewives generally take pride in this status. On the other hand, many women considered being a married housewife meant a loss of agency, especially in terms of decision-making. Even married women who continued to work after their marriage, especially teachers, stressed the many quarrels they had with their husbands about decision-making and issues of trust. With the spread of AIDS, these quarrels became fiercer, with many married women in fear about the risks their husbands' potential infidelity would carry for them. Even before AIDS, married women could suffer from the infidelities of their husbands. One such woman, Lina, was so depressed by her husband's continuous cheating that she tried to burn herself to death. The risks thus involved in marriage was expressed most clearly when I asked married women whether they would wish for their daughters to marry. Most were sceptical or even opposed it, as illustrated in Mona's response: "By my side, I don't know. My daughter should learn for herself and be independent. During marriage, you sometimes have to stay in the house, have to be silent, silent until your heart becomes sick. I do not want that for my child".

Being a married woman is thus perceived to be a mixed blessing. This partially explains why women began to remain single from the 1970s onwards. Especially

women with secure, even if low-paying, employment as domestic servants in government institutions opted against marriage. Most of these women received their employment in the 1970s and 1980s because they were the intimate partners of influential *kai aogu*. With time, these relationships came to an end and the women dated other men, often also having children with them. Most of these later men had no secure employment and were poor in comparision with the *kai aogu*. Women with employment started to perceive these men as a burden and strain on their resources and freedom. Hertha and other middle aged women employed in the domestic sector of government institutions in Fransfontein explained their unmarried status as a deliberate choice against staying with and marrying these economically marginalized men. These women had gained agency through a male patronage system that emerged with the apartheid homelands of the 1970s. At the same time, their very agency was instrumental in the limitation of the agency of economically deprived men who were unable to afford expensive weddings and lifestyles or to act as providers of the household. The unmarried lives of these women can only be understood in relation to the tremendous political and economic changes of the 1970s and 1980s and the restructuring of gendered agency. These economically independent women became role models for younger women (Chimere-Dan 1997). Thus Gulbrandsen notes for Botswana: "Legitimization of the status of the unmarried mother may stem from the fact that high-status women are often in this category". (Gulbrandsen 1986: 21) Likewise, Parkin and Nyamwaya see educated, urban women as role models and primary agents of change in marriage and the family:

> In acting as a reference group for other women and requiring men to adapt to their choices, it will not be strange if it is such women who will bring about the greatest transformations in ideas and practices relating to marriage in Africa. (Parkin and Nyamwaya 1987a: 16)

Among the youngest Fransfontein generation were several well-educated women working in better-paid occupations such as in the health sector. Like the generation of their mothers, they expressed scepticism towards marriage (Pauli 2017a). This is shown in a group discussion I had with four women in their twenties in 2004:

> Julia: Is it a question of money that so many young people are not married?
> Vanessa: Everything has changed, you know, things have gotten expensive. The parents themselves are not married. They are still with a boyfriend or a girlfriend, you know, and they still want to get married. And then the child wants to get married, you know, those money problems.
> Julia: So if all of you had a lot of money, all of you would be married?
> All four women: No!

The four women then elaborated that they were looking for Mr. Right, a trustful, faithful, good looking, educated, wealthy man. All four wanted to keep their economic independence after marriage and wanted to continue working. In certain ways, the attitudes of these younger women were similar to those of their mother's generation. Just as for the domestic workers of the 1970s and 1980s, marriage was not a necessity in life for the young, educated women of the early 2000s. It was only an option and then only with the right candidate. But there were also differences between these two generations: many more of the young women were educated and they depended to a much lesser degree on the benevolence of male patrons.

Finally, I want to reflect on the situation of those women who wanted to marry but were unable to do so. As I described in the chapter "Postapartheid Livelihoods", many of these women lived in the part of Fransfontein called *ǂoabatere*, meaning "go out". They survived amidst great economic insecurities. Marriage to them was a dream, a way in which they could forget their daily struggles for a moment. At the same time they knew that their chances of marrying were extremely small. One afternoon in 2006, single mother Tanja described to me how she walked to the local shop every evening. Through the shop window, she could watch her favourite Mexican telenovela "When You are Mine". Like in this series, Tanja dreamed that one day someone would marry her out of her misery. Then she laughed. Her daughter commented that this was just a Cinderella fairy tale, not real life. All of these dreams, regardless whether imagined by middle-aged domestic servants, young educated professionals or marginalized poor women, are about *wealthy* men. Wealth and money are what transforms a man into a husband. Thus, women have increasingly decided not only against marriage, but against specific men (see also Boehm 2006: 178). That many men are economically and socially marginalized is tightly connected to decades of exploitation by colonial powers and the apartheid regime.

Even if women want or have to stay single, they will most likely become mothers. Until recently, children born out of wedlock were not stigmatized. Yet, with the emergence of a new discourse of "illegitimacy" and "illegitimate children", this is gradually changing. I turn to this in the last section of this chapter.

BETWEEN SEX AND SIN: CREATING THE "ILLEGIMATE CHILD"

Attending the Sunday service in the Lutheran church one Sunday in the summer of 2005, Michael and I witnessed Norbert, Eulalie and Maria publicly asking for forgiveness (Pauli 2012). There had been a good deal of gossip and popular outrage in the community about the relationships between these three ahead of this. Norbert, a

wealthy administrator in his late thirties, and Maria, slightly older than her husband, had married almost ten years earlier and had four children together, the last one born one year earlier. The parents now planned to baptize the child. However, parallel to Maria's pregnancy, Norbert's girlfriend, Eulalie, in her early thirties, had also become pregnant. Wife and lover gave birth in the same week. Many people pitied Norbert's wife and criticized Norbert and especially Eulalie for the out-of-wedlock pregnancy. One of the female church elders described herself as a realist, knowing though not approving of the extramarital affairs of almost all of the wealthy married male church members. She remarked, however, that it was one thing to have sex with a married man, but quite another to get pregnant by him. She and many others were outraged by Eulalie's and Norbert's behaviour. And rather than using the common term *!gameb !auka /gôas* (outside marriage child) to describe Eulalie's child, she used the term */ai-/gôas* (sin child) when talking to me.

After the children's births, it took Norbert's wife almost one year to publicly forgive Eulalie and allow the baptism of Eulalie's child. During this time, the church only permitted Maria to remain an active member of the congregation and take Holy Communion; Norbert and Eulalie were excluded from all church meetings and Holy Communion. Only with Maria's consent did the congregation and church elders agree to baptize Eulalie's */ai-/gôas*. During this Sunday service we attended, all three of them, crying and clearly emotionally shaken, had to stand in front of the pastor, heads bowed. Then, in an almost inaudible voice, Eulalie asked first Maria and then God for forgiveness, followed by Norbert. This practice, the *!gaes tsî ores tsîra xa* (abbreviated as *ores*) is held for a repenting person to receive redemption and become free of sin. After the *ores*, both children were baptized and Norbert and Eulalie were again admitted to Holy Communion. However, Maria's consent came at a cost to Norbert and Eulalie. With no close kin in the community, Maria had frequently mentioned that she was unhappy in Fransfontein and wanted to move away. Norbert, however, did not want to leave the town in which many of his relatives and also Eulalie were living. Nevertheless, acknowledging Maria's forgiveness of his and Eulalie's behaviour, Norbert started looking for another job in a different community. A few months after the *ores* ceremony and the baptism, he was successful and Norbert, Maria and their children left the community.

Stigmatization of children born out-of-wedlock is still rare in Fransfontein. Children born within and outside of marriage are in general differentiated by descriptive and not pejorative terms (cf. Schapera 1933). Children born to a married couple are called *!game /gôan* (marriage children or inside-marriage children), whilst children born out of wedlock are called *!gameb !auka /gôan* (outside-marriage children). However, the story of Norbert, Eulalie and Maria shows that these perceptions are changing. During the redemption and baptism mass, the term */ai-/gôan* (sin child) was

Table 15: Percentage of out-of-wedlock births by marital status

	Number of births	**Percentage of births**
Births to women who never married	739	54%
Births to women who married later in life (out-of-wedlock births)	422	31%
Total births out-of-wedlock	1161	85%
Births to married women	218	15%
Total births	1379	100%
Total births to married women (including those born before marriage)	640	46%

sometimes used. There is thus some indication that slowly, yet steadily, a discourse on illegitimacy and illegitimate children is being created.

Given the strong decline in marriage rates and, consequently, the decreasing number of married women, it is not surprising that most children in Fransfontein are born out of wedlock. We collected information on the birth and conjugal histories of 369 women of 15 years of age or older living in the Fransfontein region. These women had a collective of 1379 births, with 12 per cent not having given birth yet. 115 women, or 31 per cent, were married or widowed. There are various ways in which out-of-wedlock births can be defined. I first take a birth to be out-of-wedlock if the mother was unmarried at the time of the child's birth. Following this definition, 85 per cent of all births in the Fransfontein region throughout the last sixty years have been out-of-wedlock births (row "Total births out-of-wedlock") (see Table 15).

Another way of conceptualizing out-of-wedlock births is to differentiate between women who married at some point in their lives and those that never married. By this definition, a later marriage of the mother legitimizes earlier out-of-wedlock births. When this definition is applied to our survey data, 54 per cent of all births are still defined as out-of-wedlock births. However, Schapera (1933) already criticised this approach in the 1930s when he remarked that the rights of children born out-of-wedlock differ from those held by their legitimate siblings, even if the mother should later marry. Yet, another figure is of interest here: only 15 per cent of all births occur *after*

Table 16: Cohort analysis of out-of-wedlock births

Birth cohorts	Number of women	% of out-of-wedlock births	% of women who married
1916-1934	35	55	80
1935-1944	44	81	59
1945-1954	47	90	29
1955-1964	57	91	38
1965-1974*	68	93	(22)
1975-1984*	90	97	(5)

* Still in childbearing age

marriage. These are the only cases where legitimacy, defined in terms of the marital status of the mother at the time of birth, is beyond doubt.

A chronological perspective adds further complexity to these findings. Table 16 provides information on the development of marriage rates and out-of-wedlock births. It includes only women who have given birth, thus reducing the sample to 341 women. Especially women in the youngest cohort have not yet given birth.

Table 16 shows that the number of out-of-wedlock births has steadily increased. For the last four decades it has remained at very high levels with around 90 per cent of all births occurring out-of-wedlock while the percentage of women who married at any one point in their lives has continuously declined. Finally, only six of the sample of 341 Fransfontein women, or two per cent, gave birth to their first child within marriage.

Giving birth outside of marriage is thus the norm in Fransfontein. This normality was demonstrated in the way one mother who gave birth to her child out-of-wedlock presented herselfself during Sunday mass. As an unmarried mother, twenty-two-year-old Barbara was required to ask for forgiveness before she could ask for the baptism of her newborn. This was the second child Barbara had had with her boyfriend, Michael, who was eight years older than her. Neither had finished high school, and they relied on support from their kin groups and temporary petty economic activities like washing clothes and collecting firewood. Barbara and Michael were unmarried, living in a so-called *#nu gomans omi* (black cow marriage) in Barbara's mother's house. Barbara hoped that one day they would be wealthy enough to afford

a wedding. When Barbara stepped forward in church for the *ores*, she was rather self-confident: she barely bowed her head and there was no emotional outburst as in the case of Eulalie, Maria and Norbert. Instead, Barbara looked at me and smiled. Neither before nor after the service was there any gossip or talk about her behaviour or of her and Michael's relationship.

Although Barbara's and Eulalie's children were both born out-of-wedlock, the moral evaluation of the two births differs strongly (Pauli 2012). The "illegitimate" birth of Barbara's child is of little moral concern in the community and her child is treated like just another *!gameb !auka /gôas* (outside marriage child) so common in Fransfontein. Eulalie's sin child (*/ai-/gôas*), in contrast, stirs moral outrage and emotions. Thus, while in some situations intimacy, sex and children born out-of-wedlock are possible and tolerated, in other constellations moral distinctions and boundaries between good and bad women and/or children are being drawn. Variations in moral treatment of unmarried mothers and their out-of-wedlock births have been noted across history. They range from severe punishment of single mothers for their "misbehaviour", as in Victorian England, to a perception of normality of non-marital births in an urban US neighbourhood in the 1960s (Stack 1970), a situation very similar to Fransfontein. In one of the first anthropological treatises on marriage and legitimacy, Bronislaw Malinowski (1927) concluded that parenthood, and not sexuality, was universally tied to marriage. He assumed that societies risked disintegration if they had more than a minimal number of out-of-wedlock births. Peter Laslett and others later showed that "social survival was apparently scarcely ever in question", even in societies like some provinces of Austria in the mid-nineteenth century with nonmarital birth rates far beyond 50 per cent for over a generation (Laslett 1980: 62).

Schapera (1933) applied Malinowski's ideas and especially his "principle of legitimacy" to prevailing changes in attitudes towards premarital pregnancy among a group of Sotho-Tswana. He finds that punishment against premarital pregnancy has decreased. However, a child born out-of-wedlock is not entitled to the same privileges as his legitimate siblings: "In the case of children, again, they labour under a social disadvantage which clings to them until their mother is married, and even then they do not always attain to equal rights with legitimate children in regards to succession and inheritance". (ibid: 85) Overviews of illegitimacy unquestionably demonstrate the many prejudices and disadvantages children born out-of-wedlock have to face (Abrahamson 1998; Reekie 1998; Teichmann 1982): significantly higher infant mortality rates, higher rates of infanticide, little or no maintenance and support from the father, and limited or no succession and inheritance rights are among the most severe (see also Teichmann 1982: 103-121).

Legitimacy of birth and inheritance are very often linked. Abrahamson (1998: 14) observes that one puzzling question regarding illegitimacy is the use of pejorative

terms. He notes that, historically, pejorative terms such as bastard tend to be applied to the children of unmarried parents rather than to the parents themselves. He argues that the reason for this has to do with inheritance rules, thus the legitimacy of a child's potential claim upon inheritable possessions. The rules that govern which children are entitled to inherit and succeed matter especially to wealthy families and "procedures for transmitting wealth are most explicit among the wealthiest, rather than poorest segments within any society" (Abrahamson 1998: 15). These procedures are of less importance at the other end of the wealth spectrum. Robert Gordon connects the widespread poverty of many Namibians to the insignificance of inheritance rules and the acceptance of children born out-of-wedlock: "Given the general poverty of material wealth in Namibia one could argue that the inheritance of property was not significant and thus female autonomy and bastardy was tolerated. Children born outside of marriage were simply incorporated into the mother's family". (Gordon 2002: 60)

Similar dynamics can be observed for marriage. For elites, marriage and inheritance are closely connected. Some societies have defined marriage as an exclusive right of the wealthy, such as the marriage restrictions that applied during the Roman empire (Herlihy 1985) or marriage prohibitions for large parts of the German population during the 19th century (Mackenroth 1953). Marriage and inheritance can be kept exclusive through laws. Where no laws prohibit marriage, de facto exclusion from marriage through exorbitant marriage costs, as in Fransfontein, has similar effects. Framed like this, low rates of marriage, high rates of "illegitimacy", and inheritance rules that tightly link inheritance rights to marriage all support the interests of the wealthy. The unmarried and the illegitimate are excluded.

In August 2006, we collected information on inheritance practices of 23 Fransfontein households that had suffered from death within in the last five years. Inheritance practices are rather flexible in Fransfontein (Schnegg/Pauli 2006). Most people have painstakingly little to give: many people only own some clothes, a few pieces of simple furniture, a plate, a cup and a spoon, and some smallstock. Only comparably wealthy people own more than one cow (the majority of the population only owning smallstock) and only wealthy families can afford the high wedding costs necessary to marry. Unlike for most people, it thus plays a role for these wealthy individuals that they identify their legitimate heirs. Consequently, one of the most valuable assets, cattle, is almost exclusively transferred to legitimate children. This is particularly crucial in a situation where wealthy married men like Norbert have children born out-of-wedlock, either from relationships before marriage (premarital) or from relationships parallel to an existing marriage (extramarital).

Mara, a woman in her thirties, described how challenging it can be for children born out-of wedlock to claim inheritance from a deceased father who was married to another woman. When her father died, she had hoped to inherit a cow from him. Her

father, a wealthy school principle, had married a fellow teacher. He had fathered 20 children, of which only four were with his official wife. Mara's mother, one of her father's lovers, gave birth to Mara a few years before his official marriage. She had four children with three different men and never married. Mara attended her father's funeral. At the */umis* (the kin gathering to discuss the inheritance) that followed, there was a prolonged discussion whether the *!gameb !auka /gôan* (outside children) should be allowed to participate. Finally, they were allowed in. Each of them was promised a cow as their inheritance. Yet four years later, when we spoke with Mara she had still not received anything. When she had enquired about the cow from her father's official wife and her father's mother two years after the funeral, they just laughed. Mara felt very humiliated. During our talk she was bitter, lamenting how difficult it was for out-of-wedlock children to claim their rights.

Wives of wealthy men are often especially harsh towards their husbands' out-of-wedlock children. Lina, born in the early 1960s and housewife, mother of six and married for twenty years, suffered deeply due to her husband's extramarital affairs. He had fathered more than fifteen children outside of their marriage. These relationships so affected her that at one point Lina had tried to commit suicide. Lina was a very active churchgoer. I often met her in church and talked with her, but we never talked about her suicide attempt. Yet on several occasions during and after church services and also at informal gatherings, I observed how she condemned */ai-/gôan* (sin children) born to married men like her husband.

Lina was thus one of the women who strongly criticized Norbert and, even more so, Eulalie's behaviour and pregnancy, described at the beginning of this section. During an informal interview in her kitchen in September 2004, shortly after both Eulalie and Maria had given birth to their babies, Lina told me that Eulalie had been *//om-mara* (sleeping around) with a married man. For her, Eulalie was the one to blame for the situation. To help me better understand her views, Lina used the vulgar term */ai* for sleeping around, suggesting that Eulalie had prostituted herself and that she was an */ai-aos* (a sinful woman or prostitute). Lina explained that this term, */ai*, is contained in the description of sin children, */ai-/gôan*, thus children stemming from the extramarital affairs of married men. Like other married housewives, Lina perceived herself and also the betrayed Maria, Norbert's wife, as morally superior to unmarried women like Eulalie who have relationships with married men (see van Wolputte 2016 for moralising marriage and sexuality in North Kunene). To Lina, such women were almost like prostitutes and she was very much in favour of publicly shaming such women. It is as a result of this understanding that Eulalie was excluded from all church affairs and activities, including Holy Communion, after the birth of her child; and if Maria had not forgiven her, Eulalie would not have ever been able to have her child baptized. This would have been considered as very shameful for the mother.

During our conversation, Lina's eldest daughter and her out-of-wedlock child, a one-year-old baby boy, entered the kitchen. When I asked Lina whether this boy would not also be a */ai-/gôab*, she forcefully rejected this. While the boy's parents were not married, she explained, the son was a child born *outside* of marriage, thus a *!gameb !auka /gôab*, but not one born as the result of an extra-marital affair, thus a sin child (*/ai-/gôab*). Sin children were only those children born to married men and their unmarried lovers. Both Lina and her daughter underscored that there would be no disadvantages for the baby boy for not having been born within a marriage. When I continued to wonder how the situation of this boy was different from that of an */ai-/gôab*, the women were unsure how to answer. On the one hand, they stressed that no one should blame a child for its mother's immoralities and that baptism *//aa//naas* (washed away all sin). On the other hand, they denied sin children any claims on the property of their fathers.

In this respect, Lina and her daughter are very much in line with the recent codification of "customary law" to cut down any inheritance rights of children born out of wedlock. In the early 2000s, the Swartbooi traditional authority gazetted a new "Swartbooi law of inheritance '*/umis*'" (Swartbooi 2005) that tightly linked inheritance to a Christian marriage. When an unmarried person dies, the elders must administer the estate; there is no role given to an unmarried conjugal partner. Further, it explicitly excludes out-of-wedlock children from inheritance: "In the case where both the father and the mother died, the property is shared among all the surviving children. However, children born out of wedlock do not have any rights to the property". (Swartbooi 2005, 63) If a husband dies, the widow (thus the officially married wife) inherits everything. Barbara Harrell-Bond (1975) has shown that the acknowledgment of property rights of children born "outside" marriage is especially threatening to wives and their "legal" children. She describes in detail how elite Sierra Leone wives in the 1960s rallied against law reforms that would have equalized the inheritance rights of all children independent of the civil status of their parents. In Fransfontein these debates have both legal and moral dimensions. While unmarried women stress the flexibility of intimate relations and separate reproduction from marriage, married women are eager to cement the boundaries between the married and the unmarried.

The moral evaluation and labelling of births is an ongoing process in Fransfontein. Gail Reekie (1998) has shown that during the 19th century European political, scientific and social interest groups created and sustained a moral discourse about illegitimate births, turning a biological event, a birth, into a social and moral problem. Creating illegitimacy and illegitimate children in Fransfontein is also connected to wider political economic structures and the aims and agencies of different actors embedded within them. The tension between the still rather flexible and processual character of intimate relations and the low levels of stigmatization against children born

out-of-wedlock, on the one hand, and the boundary-drawing attempts to distinguish "good" from "bad" births, on the other, is linked to an accelerated process of class and elite formation underway in Fransfontein since approximately the 1970s. Although economic inequalities existed before the creation of Damaraland and the implementation of apartheid policies, their extent was much more limited. Since the 1970s, however, an elite group of professionals, administrators and politicians has emerged with a level of wealth that is far out of reach for the great majority of the population. Additionally, specific patronage structures have emerged. As described in previous chapters, since the 1970s male patrons (*kai aogu*) not only shaped the economic sphere but were also decisive in reconfiguring gender relations. The *kai aogu* celebrated conspicuous and expensive weddings while also having extra-marital love affairs and fathering out-of-wedlock children (Pauli 2010b). This allowed the build-up of significant property, with many potential heirs. Like marriage, inheritance thus turned into an issue of debate and distinction. The process continues to the present day, as Mara's story indicates. What is being negotiated is, first, the legitimacy of any child's potential claim on inheritable possessions, especially his or her father's property and, second, the moral status of the birth of a child born out-of-wedlock to a married wealthy man. Consequently, for the new elites, marriage, reproduction and inheritance are closely intertwined. With the creation of "illegitimacy" and "illegitimate children", local power asymmetries that have emerged since the 1970s are further consolidated. The dynamics of distinction, so vividly expressed in contemporary conspicuous weddings, lead to exclusion and the loss of rights for most people.

Conclusion

This book has told the entwined stories of marriage transformation and class formation in Fransfontein, a rural community in northwest Namibia. It is part of a small but developing field of research that sets out to revive the study of marriage in anthropology and African studies. Until the 1980s, marriage was a main concern for anthropological research: it was viewed as a central way through which many small-scale societies studied by anthropologists ordered their social and political life. David Schneider's (1984) critique of such structural-functionalist approaches to kinship in the 1970s and 1980s led to a decline of research on kinship and marriage within anthropology. In the late 1990s, an interest in kinship re-emerged. New concepts like "relatedness" (Carsten 2000) helped to rethink the meaning and practice of kinship in everyday interactions. Kinship was not studied as an abstract system of rules and regulations anymore but as an open-ended process of negotiations and activities. One would assume that marriage would be an especially apt subject for this new research agenda as it is all about processes and practices of becoming kin. Nevertheless, until recently, little attention has been paid to marriage in contemporary kinship studies (e.g. Alber et al. 2010; Carsten 2004; Franklin/McKinnon 2001).[1] This is all the more remarkable as marriage not only offers intriguing insights into how individuals actually "do" kinship but can also tell us something about broader societal transformations, such as changing political regimes, class dynamics and demographic patterns. Marriage is formed by these wider dynamics and at the same time initiates changes in these (Pauli/van Dijk 2016).

In parallel to the general paucity of anthropological studies on marriage, little anthropological research has been undertaken on marriage in Southern Africa since the 1980s. The Introduction summarized how different anthropological traditions

1 An explanation of this research hiatus is still outstanding. Much kinship research of the late 1990s and 2000s has focused on filial relations, often created through new reproductive technologies or adoption.

have perceived and researched African marriage. As a heuristic device, I identified four metanarratives of African marriage: stability, destruction, change, and plurality. The order of these narratives does not imply any sort of development. Indeed, the metanarratives should not be drawn together to form a meta-metanarrative, a story that might run like this: *In pre-colonial times, African marriage was stable and universal. With colonialism, kinship and marriage structures were destroyed. This led to change and eventually plurality of marriage.* Historical research has cautioned us against such simplistic assumptions as "traditionality" being substituted by some sort of "modernity" (Ferguson 1999; Guyer 1994; Hobsbawm/Ranger 2003 [1983]). Not everything that is perceived as change is indeed novel. Jane Guyer (1994: 249) thus suggests that it might be more insightful to search for "continuities with shifting emphasis". This implies interrogating how universal and stable African marriage had indeed been in pre-colonial times. Catherine Allerton (2007: 3) has observed that while anthropologists have extensively debated how to define marriage, they have "rarely asked the question of whether marriage is universal within particular societies". Universality of marriage within a given society is often simply assumed. These insights are also crucial for understanding an emerging, fifth metanarrative on African marriage: the exclusivity of marriage.

Research shows that throughout Southern Africa marriage rates are declining, in some cases quite sharply (Claassens/Smythe 2013; Pauli/van Dijk 2016; Posel/Rudwick/Casale 2011). Despite this, the *value* of weddings and marriages has not declined. To marry has become an indicator of elite status, one that less affluent people also aspire to but, lacking the financial means, often without success. While this emerging metanarrative does not address the universality of marriage in pre-colonial times, it illuminates what the end of universal marriage and the spread of exclusive marriage mean in contemporary Southern Africa. It is this metanarrative that has informed this work.

The fifth metanarrative asks why marriage is declining and what the meaning of marriage is when only few marry. Not colonialism but class is viewed as the main reason for the decline and the reconfiguration of marriage. Like the study of marriage, the study of class has experienced a remarkable revival in anthropology (Lentz 2016). Until the 1980s, class was thoroughly analyzed in anthropology, most often researched through the lenses of the African elites and working classes. In the late 1980s and during the 1990s, this interest receded. A focus on class returned to the anthropological agenda in the 2000s, though now it is mainly the emergence of local and global middle classes that stirs anthropological interest (Heiman et al. 2012a; Kroeker et al. 2018; López/Weinstein 2012; Melber 2016; Southall 2016). The new middle classes are often approached on the basis of their consumption habits and lifestyles. However, only few studies so far have tried to understand African class in combination with marriage

transformations.[2] This is remarkable as weddings are especially well suited for the study of lifestyles and class distinctions (Argyrou 1996; Kendall 1996; Lankauskas 2015; Pauli 2018). With this book on the entanglements of marriage transformations and class formations in Namibia, I wish to add to this literature.

African class formation is part of more general political processes, especially colonialism and postcolonialism. One thus has to ask how varying colonial and postcolonial histories have shaped class formation processes. This helps to understand what is specific about the Namibian situation. Countries such as Ghana (Behrends/Lentz 2012; Budniok/Noll 2018; Lentz 1994) or Kenya (Spronk 2012, 2014) similarly experienced class formation and the emergence of elites, and later of the middle classes. But these countries gained independence from colonial rule much earlier than Namibia. Namibia's independence in 1990 was very late. Thus, the dynamics I am describing in this book are arguably a lot more in the making than for countries with longer histories of independence. Additionally, Namibia is characterized by a unique history of white settlement and apartheid. The emergence of new local elites in the 1970s and 1980s is a direct outcome of racist apartheid and homeland policies. After independence, class formation processes have continued. Namibia's class formation thus took place in a comparably short period of time. Unlike countries such as France that have very pronounced and long-term class differences (Bourdieu 1984 [1979]), the markers of Namibian class distinction are still rather incipient and not yet well established. They are, nevertheless, very effective, as my analysis of marriage shows.

The book started with a vignette: Anna's and Josef's joy and triumph on their wedding day, leaving church, and the envy and frustration experienced by some of the unmarried spectators watching them. This single moment captures the story of this book: class formation through marriage, leading to *exclusivity of* marriage for the elite and *exclusion from* marriage for everybody else. In Fransfontein, marriage rates have substantially declined over the course of the last 60 years. While the majority of older people (over 60 years of age) is married, younger Fransfonteiners are mostly unmarried. Overall, in 2004, only 30 per cent of all Fransfonteiners had ever been married.

For analytic reasons, I structured my interpretation of the decline of marriage into three parts. The first part tackled Namibian class formation and the wider ethnographic and historical background of my case. The second part of the book looked in detail at how wedding rituals have changed over time and examined of the demographics of marriage over the last 60 years. I explored how the decline of marriage

2 This lack motivated Rijk van Dijk and me to bring these two research traditions together and publish a special issue on marriage and class in Southern Africa in *Anthropology Southern Africa* (Pauli/van Dijk 2016/2017).

might be explained. The third and last part of the book focused on the consequences of the decline of marriage. Before discussing these consequences here, I briefly summarize my findings on why marriage has declined in Fransfontein.

While I criticized the assumptions underlying the stability and destruction metanarratives of African marriage, in rather general terms these metanarratives do apply to the Fransfontein case. Colonialism had tremendous effects on the lives of Fransfontein people. It was impossible for most to survive in the so-called reserves and later homelands. Many were forced to migrate and work under racist conditions on white settler farms. Marriage and family life were clearly reconfigured by colonialism. Unfortunately, not much is known about Fransfontein kinship and marriage in the precolonial period. The weddings and marriages I have described for the oldest generation of Fransfontein women and men, which took place between the 1940s and the 1970s, were "colonial" weddings. These weddings have been my empirical starting point. As my analysis of three generations of Fransfonteiners has shown, most people continued to marry during the colonial period, despite the terrible living conditions they had to endure. Thus, while colonialism without doubt changed marriage and kinship, there is no direct link between this period of colonialism and the decline of marriage in Fransfontein.

The decline of marriage commenced in the late 1970s and with the establishment of homelands. It was the apartheid state that fostered the emergence of a local elite of politicians, administrators and professionals in Fransfontein, then part of the newly established "Damaraland". I have shown at length how this rural elite reconfigured weddings and marriages. Conspicuous and expensive weddings became their central field of class distinction. At their weddings, they staged their new lifestyles, their power and also their creativity. These performances of elitist distinctions allowed this local elite to legitimize its privileged position (Cohen 1981). One can interpret these dynamics as an example of the unanticipated consequences of purposive social action (Merton 1936). The elite's intentional changing of how weddings were celebrated in Fransfontein made it increasingly impossible for people to marry. Most Fransfonteiners just could not afford it anymore. These historically situated class formation processes are a major explanation for the decline of marriage in Fransfontein.

But there are other reasons too. The class formation processes of the 1970s and 1980s also reconfigured gender relations in Fransfontein. Gender relations of the oldest Fransfontein generation, couples who married before the 1970s, were relatively egalitarian. This changed with the new elites of the 1970s. Now, a few individual men advanced into powerful positions. Their economic power enabled them to marry women who then became housewives, a new gender role at the time. These male leaders often practiced a variation of polygyny. Although polygyny was (and still is) prohibited in Namibia, it was common for wealthy and powerful men to engage in

several concurrent intimate relations, very often fathering children with several women. During the 1970s and 1980s, the government built infrastructure, such as a school and a hostel, in Fransfontein, which made low-skilled but permanent jobs as domestic workers available. Male elite leaders allocated these jobs to their female lovers. Most of these women deliberately decided against marriage. They argued that it is better to remain single (and involved with married men) than have to cope with unemployed husbands living off their income. Hence, most Fransfontein men lacking a stable income became "unmarriageable" (Bourdieu 2008: 82). Another reason for the decline of marriage in Fransfontein is thus the enhanced agency of some women who purposefully decided against marriage, and the loss of agency of most men. Therefore, if non-elite men today decide to marry, it is going to be a substantial struggle (Pauli/Dawids 2017). This leads me to the consequences of the decline of marriage in Fransfontein.

I focused on questions of conjugality, reproduction and parenthood to understand how people have coped with the decline of marriage in Fransfontein. The concept of generation has proven useful to compare how marriage and the fertility of women (and to a lesser extent men) have varied across time. I distinguished three generations: women who married and had children before apartheid (the older generation, born before the mid-1940s); women who had children and conjugal partners during apartheid (the middle generation, born from the mid-1940s to the mid-1960s); and women who started their conjugal and reproductive lives after apartheid (the younger generation, born from the mid-1960s to the mid-1990s).

Women of the older generation had many children from one partner to whom they were in most cases married. This pattern substantially changed with the middle generation, changes that are linked to the transformations in the political economy that started with the 1970s. Class formation through apartheid fostered the emergence of two very different groups of women. Women who from the 1970s onwards became the wives of the new male elite continued to have many children with only one partner. Jane Guyer (1994) has classified the "logic" of this type of reproductive behavior as "linear". Women secured their own and their children's livelihoods through marriage into one kin group, one lineage. In contrast, the increasing number of Fransfontein women who, from the 1970s onwards, did not marry and thus could not rely on the "linear" support from one husband and kin group secured themselves and their children through "lateral" network building. They had children with several fathers, none of whom they married. All fathers and their kin were supposed to support the unmarried woman and her children. Guyer calls this "polyandrous motherhood". Although the younger generation is still in childbearing age, it appears that the split into these two groups of women – wealthy married women having many children versus more destitute polyandrous mothers – endures.

Compared to marriage and the linear logic of fertility, polyandrous motherhood is more flexible but also more insecure. Unmarried mothers appreciated their intimate and economic freedoms. They stressed that for them it is much easier to separate from a partner than for a married woman to separate from her husband. But polyandrous mothers also complained how difficult it was to receive support from their children's fathers and the fathers' kin groups. In terms of inheritance, they felt that they and their children were often not receiving their fair share. In most instances, children born out-of-wedlock and their mothers did not inherit from fathers who had legitimate wives and children. Wives and children born in-wedlock argued that polyandrous mothers and their out-of-wedlock children lacked the legitimacy to make a claim. Legitimacy is hence the key concept to unravel how the decline of marriage has produced new forms of exclusion and inequality.

Legitimacy creates morally charged categories with clear boundaries. In Fransfontein, several new forms of legitimacy and illegitimacy have emerged in the course of class formation and the decline of marriage. Couples living together without being married are negatively described as living in "black cow marriages" (*ǂnu gomas !gameb*). These couples are treated with less respect than married couples. They are excluded from rituals that only married people are allowed to perform. Further, stigmatization of children born out-of-wedlock now occurs in Fransfontein, most obvious in the increased use of the prerogative term "sin child" (*/ai-/gôan*) to refer to them. Finally, the sexual and reproductive behavior of young, unmarried women is increasingly being scrutinized in moral terms. Motherhood is highly valued and marks the entrance into adulthood. An early age at first birth of 19 years is the norm. However, this norm is progressively being questioned. Younger women from elite Fransfontein families now define their entrance into adulthood not through pregnancy, but through non-pregnancy. Their chastity and non-motherhood is being rewarded through a new ritual called "the key" and the celebration of a splendid party at their twenty-first birthday. The new ritual and celebration undermine the credibility and legitimacy of all young women who have given birth before the age of 21. All three instances – black cow marriages, sin children and early pregnancies – have in common that they happen outside marriage. Legitimacy of sex, relations and children is thus being achieved only through marriage. The boundaries of legitimacy separate the married elite from everybody else.

Boundary-making is an essential feature of class formation processes. Michèle Lamont and Virág Molnár (2002) differentiate symbolic and social boundaries. Where symbolic boundaries are necessary to categorize and distinguish entities, social boundaries are "objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities" (ibid: 168). Black cow marriages, sin children and early pregnancies

are all expressions of symbolic boundaries that have developed into social boundaries. They manifest how unmarried Fransfonteiners are excluded from material and nonmaterial resources and opportunities. By belonging to "illegitimate" categories, the immediate consequences of the decline of marriage are felt by unmarried Fransfonteiners.

After having described the immediate consequences of the decline of marriage in Fransfontein, I now want to reflect on some of the long-term consequences. In Fransfontein, weddings continue to be the central field for the performance of class distinctions. Yet other fields are gaining in importance. Class distinctions can now also be observed during funerals, in house construction and in the ownership of livestock.

My analysis of marriage transformation exhibits some similarities to research on elite formation and funerals (Cohen/Odhiambo 1992; Fumanti 2007; Lentz 1994). Mattia Fumanti's (2007: 482) detailed description of the burial of E.S., a high ranking official in the town of Rundu on the Namibian-Angolan border, unravels practices of class distinction comparable to the ones I have shown for weddings: "In fact, 'the logistics', as the elite put it, demanded remarkable efforts. The funeral service, the food for the feast, the programme, the invitations, the mourning tents, the transport vehicles and the formal and informal announcements, all presented pressing requirements for co-ordinated activity on an exceptional scale to represent and embody the height of distinction". In Fransfontein, practices and costs of funerals have also changed. In September 2003, an Afrikaans-speaking South African businessman started selling coffins in Fransfontein. Business went so well that, in 2005, he moved to the nearby town of Khorixas and opened a bigger shop. Already in 2003 a Fransfontein teacher told me that the wealthy were ordering expensive coffins for their own funerals. The cost for the cheapest coffin was NAD1800 while expensive coffins lined with lace started at NAD3000. Conspicuous consumption thus also happened at funerals. Nevertheless, I want to argue that there are significant differences between the transformation of marriage and that of funerals.

While only a fraction of the Fransfontein population marries today, everybody will die and need to be buried. In fact, because of the dramatic spread of HIV/AIDS, death and funerals were very prevalent during our fieldwork. For those people who died as pensioners (60 years and older), as Fransfonteiners told us in 2003, a family received a state grant of NAD400 to pay for the funeral. All other burials had to be financed by family and friends. Many Fransfontein families were forced to go from door to door to ask for financial support for the burial of a relative. Funerals thus also express economic stratification and inequality. Nevertheless, the financial and personal investments that the elite put into weddings are on a substantially larger scale than what is being done for funerals. Conspicuous weddings have ongoing

and long-term returns in the form of symbolic and economic capital for the couple and their kin (Bourdieu 1984 [1979]). The celebrating couple is often in the prime of their lives. Conspicuous funerals have a different return structure. The one "celebrated" or honored at a funeral is dead. The symbolic capital acquired through a conspicuous funeral thus goes to his or her kin group. Wealthy kin groups have indeed started to appropriate funerals of their deceased members to express the kin group's distinctiveness. Thus, where until recently gravestones were modest in cost and décor, some of the elite's gravestones are becoming more expensive and expressive.

Two other fields that are being reconfigured by class formation are house construction and the ownership of livestock. Both phenomena are linked to migration. Successful urban migrants continue to invest into belonging to Fransfontein. Although they live urban middle-class lives in Windhoek or in towns on the coast, they continue to celebrate their weddings in Fransfontein, keep large herds of livestock in the area, want to be buried in the village, and build conspicuous houses there at which they wish to spend weekends, holidays and their retirement. The migrants' houses represent new architectural styles, informed by global middle-class aesthetics (Mercer 2014). These houses contrast sharply from the common Fransfontein houses that lack water, electricity, multiple rooms or color. Similarly, many migrants enjoy being "weekend farmers" (Schnegg/Pauli/Greiner 2013). The livestock of these part-time pastoralists consume a large share of the communal pasture, leading to conflicts with pastoralists who live in the region full-time and rely on grazing livestock for their livelihoods.

For the long-term reproduction of class in Fransfontein, the transmission of property, such as houses and livestock, but also of education will be crucial. Material assets are increasingly being inherited by legitimate children (*!game /gôan*). In addition to the privileges obtained through inheritance, legitimate children also profit from the class position of their married parents by receiving a much better education than their non-elite peers. Elite class positions are thus passed on to the next generation. A further way to reproduce class is through marriage choices. It remains to be seen whether the privileged younger generation will develop some sort of class consciousness in their marriage choices. Apart from teachers, who have tended to intermarry since the 1970s, the spousal choices of the middle generation of the Fransfontein elite were not based on similar considerations of class status. Yet interviews I conducted with elite and middle-class members of the younger generation in Windhoek in 2015/2016 suggest that class background may indeed be becoming more important in the choice of a marriage partner (Pauli 2017b).

How will marriage and class develop in Namibia? Many scenarios are imaginable. One possibility might even be a disentanglement of marriage and class, a reappropriation of weddings by the non-elite and a rise in marriage rates. Time will tell.

For now, the vantage point of marriage has enabled me to understand how, over the last 60 years, class formation has been entangled with a decline in marriage in Namibia.

Reference list

Abrahams, Kenneth (1982): "The 'Waserauta' Phenomenon: Additional Notes on the Namibian Elite". In: Namibian Review 25, pp. 21-31.

Abrahamson, Mark (1998): Out-of-Wedlock Births. The United States in Comparative Perspective, Westport: Praeger.

Abu-Lughod, Lila (1991): "Writing against Culture". In: Richard G. Fox (ed), Recapturing Anthropology. Working in the Present, Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, pp. 137-162.

ACACIA (Arid Climate, Adaptation and Cultural Innovation in Africa). (2011). [Home page]. (http://uni-koeln.de/sfb389/).

Acker, P. Alfred (1912): "Zur Frage der Rassenmischehe". In: Koloniale Rundschau 4, pp. 462-468.

Alber, Erdmute (2018): Transfers of Belonging. Child Fostering in West Africa in the 20th Century, Leiden: Brill.

Alber, Erdmute/Beer, Bettina/Pauli, Julia/Schnegg, Michael (eds) (2010): Verwandtschaft heute. Positionen, Ergebnisse und Forschungsperspektiven, Berlin: Reimer.

Alber, Erdmute/Coe, Cati/Thelen, Tatjana, (eds) (2013): The Anthropology of Sibling Relations, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Alber, Erdmute/Drotbohm, Heike (eds) (2015): Anthropological Perspectives on Care. Work, Kinship and the Life Course, New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Alber, Erdmute/van der Geest, Sjaak/Reynolds Whyte, Susan (eds) (2008): Generations in Africa. Connections and Conflicts, Münster: Lit.

Allerton, Catherine (2007): "What Does It Mean to be Alone?" In: Rita Astuti/Jonathan Parry/Charles Stafford (eds), Questions of Anthropology, Oxford: Berg, pp. 1-28.

Anderson, Connie M. (2000): "The Persistence of Polygyny as an Adaptive Response to Poverty and Oppression in Apartheid South Africa". In: Cross-Cultural Research 34/2, pp. 99-112.

Antoine, Philippe (2006): "The Complexities of Nuptiality: From Early Female Union to Male Polygamy in Africa". In: Graziella Caselli/Jacques Vallin/Guillaume

Wunsch (eds), Demography. Analysis and Synthesis, Amsterdam: Elsevier Academic Press, pp. 355-371.

Appadurai, Arjun (1996): Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalization, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Argyrou, Vassos (1996): Tradition and Modernity in the Mediterranean. The Wedding as Symbolic Struggle, Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Arnfred, Signe (2004): "'African Sexuality'/Sexuality in Africa: Tales and Silences". In: Signe Arnfeld (ed), Re-thinking Sexualities in Africa, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp. 59-76.

Axinn, William G./Pearce, Lisa D. (2006): Mixed Method Data Collection Strategies, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barnard, Alan (1992): Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barnard, Alan/Spencer, Jonathan (1996): Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology, London: Routledge.

Barnes, John A. (1952): Marriage in a Changing Society. A Study in Structural Change among the Fort Jameson Ngoni, Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Becker, Heike (2004): "Efundula: Women's Initiation, Gender and Sexual Identities in Colonial and Post-colonial Northern Namibia". In: Signe Arnfred (ed), Rethinking Sexualities in Africa, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp. 35-58.

Becker, Heike/Hinz, Manfred O. (1995): Marriage and Customary Law in Namibia, Windhoek: Centre for Applied Social Sciences.

Behrends, Andrea/Lentz, Carola (2012): "Education, Careers, and Home Ties: The Ethnography of an Emerging Middle Class from Northern Ghana". In: Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 137, pp. 139-164.

Behrends, Andrea/Pauli, Julia (2012): "Zwischen Charisma und Korruption. Kontinuitäten und Brüche in der Auseinandersetzung mit Eliten in Afrika". In: Thomas Bierschenk/Eva Spiess (eds), Kontinuitäten und Brüche. Fünfzig Jahre Unabhängigkeit in Afrika, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe, pp. 301-320.

Blanc, Ann K./Gage, Anastasia J. (2000): "Men, Polygyny, and Fertility over the Life-course in Sub-Saharan Africa". In: Caroline Bledsoe/Susana Lerner/Jane I. Guyer (eds), Fertility and The Male Life Cycle in The Era of Fertility Decline, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 163-187.

Bledsoe, Caroline (1980): Women and Marriage in Kpelle Society, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bledsoe, Caroline/Pison, Gilles (1994): "Introduction". In: Caroline Bledsoe/Gilles Pison (eds), Nuptiality in Sub-Saharan Africa. Contemporary Anthropological and Demographic Perspectives, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 1-22.

Bochow, Astrid (2012): "Quest for Conception in Times of HIV/AIDS – (In)fertility Care in Botswana". In: Facts, Views and Vision in Obgyn, pp. 81-86.

Böck, Monika/Rao, Aparna (eds) (2000): Culture, Creation and Procreation. Concepts of Kinship in South Asian Practice, New York: Berghahn.

Boehm, Christian (2006): "Industrial Labour, Marital Strategy and Changing Livelihood Trajectories among Young Women in Lesotho". In: Catrine Christiansen/Mats Utas/Henrik Vigh (eds), Navigating Youth, Generating Adulthood. Social Becoming in an African Context, Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute, pp. 153-182.

Bollig, Michael (2008): "Chieftaincies and Chiefs in Northern Namibia: Intermediaries of Power between Traditionalism, Modernization and Democratization". In: Jost Dülffer/Marc Frey (eds), Elites and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century, Cologne: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-16.

Bongaarts, John (1978): "A Framework for Analyzing the Proximate Determinants of Fertility". In: Population and Development Review 4, pp. 105-113.

Bongaarts, John (2007): "Late Marriage and the HIV Epidemic in Sub-Saharan Africa". In: Population Studies 61/1, pp. 73-83.

Borneman, John (1996): "Until Death Do Us Part: Marriage/Death in Anthropological Discourse". In: Amercan Ethnologist 23/2, pp. 215-235.

Botha, Christo (n.d.): "'Development', Survival and Adaptation in the Former Damara 'Homeland' of Namibia". Unpublished manuscript.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1976): "Marriage Strategies as Strategies of Social Reproduction". In: Robert Forster/Orest Ranum (eds), Family and Society. Selections from the Annales, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 117-144.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1977): Outline of a Theory of Practice, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1984 [1979]): Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1990): The Logic of Practice, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1993): "Concluding Remarks: For a Sociogenetic Understanding of Intellectual Works". In: Craig J. Calhoun/Edward LiPuma/Moishe Postone (eds), Bourdieu. Critical Perspectives, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 263-275.

Bourdieu, Pierre (2008): The Bachelors' Ball, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre/Wacquant, Loïc (1992): An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bristol-Rhys, Jane (2007): "Weddings, Marriage and Money in the United Arab Emirates". In: Anthropology of the Middle East 2/1, pp. 20-36.

Brosius, Christiane (2010): India's Middle Class. New Forms of Urban Leisure, Consumption and Prosperity, London: Routledge.

Budniok, Jan/Noll, Andrea (2018): "The Ghanaian Middle Class, Social Stratification and Long-Term Dynamics of Upward and Downward Mobility of Lawyers and Teachers". In: Lena Kroeker/David O'Kane/Tabea Scharrer (eds), Middle Classes in Africa. Changing Lives and Conceptual Challenges, New York: Palgrave, pp. 109-134.

Burnham, Philip (1987): "Changing Themes in the Analysis of African Marriage". In: David Parkin/David Nyamwaya (eds), Tranformations of African Marriage, Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 37-54.

Cain, Mead (1984): "Women's Status and Fertility in Developing Countries: Son Preference and Economic Security". Staff working paper 682, Washington: The World Bank. [Online]. http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/631661468739797822/Womens-status-and-fertility-in-developing-countries-son-preference-and-economic-security).

Caldwell, John C. (1976): "Towards a Restatement of Demographic Transition Theory". In: Population and Development Review 17/2, pp. 321-366.

Calhoun, Craig (1993) "Habitus, Field, and Capital: The Question of Historical Specificity". In: Craig Calhoun/Edward LiPuma/Moishe Postone (eds), Bourdieu. Critical Perspectives, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 61-88.

Calhoun, Craig/LiPuma, Edward/Postone, Moishe (eds) (1993): Bourdieu. Critical Perspectives, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Campbell, Colin (1995): "Conspicuous Confusion? A Critique of Veblen's Theory of Conspicuous Consumption". In: Sociological Theory 13/1, pp. 31-47.

Carsten, Janet (1997): The Heat of the Hearth. The Process of Kinship in a Malay Fishing Community, Oxford: Claredon Press.

Carsten, Janet (2000): "Introduction: Cultures of Relatedness". In: Janet Carsten (ed), Cultures of Relatedness. New Approaches to the Study of Kinship, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-36.

Carsten, Janet (2004): After Kinship, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Carsten, Janet/Hugh-Jones, Stephen (eds) (1995): About the House. Lévi-Strauss and Beyond, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cassell, Joan (ed) (1987): Children in the Field. Anthropological Experiences, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Chimere-Dan, Orieji (1997): "Non-marital Teenage Childbearing in Southern Africa: The Case of Namibia". In: African Population Studies 12/2, pp. 1-20.

Claassens, Aninka/Smythe, Dee (eds) (2013): Marriage, Land and Custom. Essays on Law and Social Change in South Africa, Claremont: Juta.

Cohen, Abner (1981): The Politics of Elite Culture. Explorations in the Dramaturgy of Power in a Modern African Society, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cohen, David William/Odhiambo, E.S. Atieno (1992): Burying SM. The Politics of Knowledge and the Sociology of Power, Oxford: James Curry.

Cole, Jennifer (2004): "Fresh Contact in Tamatave, Madagascar: Sex, Money, and Intergenerational Transformation". In: American Ethnologist 31/4, pp. 573-588.

Cole, Jennifer/Thomas, Lynn M. (eds) (2009): Love in Africa, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Collier, Jane F. (1997): From Duty to Desire. Remaking Families in a Spanish Village, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Colson, Elizabeth (1983): "The Reordering of Experience: Anthropological Involvement with Time". In: Journal of Anthropological Research 40/1, pp. 1-13.

Comaroff, Jean/Comaroff, John L. (1991): Of Revelation and Revolution. Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa, Volume 1, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Comaroff, John L. (1980a): "Introduction". In: John L. Comaroff (ed), The Meaning of Marriage Payments, London: Academic Press, pp. 1-47.

Comaroff, John L. (ed) (1980b): The Meaning of Marriage Payments, London: Academic Press.

Comaroff, John L. (1981): "Preface". In: Eileen J. Krige/John L. Comaroff (eds), Essays on African Marriage in Southern Africa, Cape Town: Juta, pp. xii-xvii.

Comaroff, John L./Comaroff, Jean (1992): Ethnography and the Historical Imagination, Boulder: Westview Press.

Comaroff, John L./Roberts, Simon (1977): "Marriage and Extra-marital Sexuality: The Dialectics of Legal Change among the Kgatla". In: Journal of Anthropological Linguistics 21/1, pp. 97-123.

Cornwall, Andrea (2002): "Spending Power: Love, Money, and the Reconfiguration of Gender Relations in Ado-Odo, Southwestern Nigeria". In: American Ethnologist 29/4, pp. 963-980.

Cornwall, Andrea (2005): "Introduction: Perspectives on Gender in Africa". In: Andrea Cornwall (ed), Readings in Gender in Africa, Oxford: James Currey, pp. 1-19.

Crapanzano, Vincent (1980): Tuhami, Portrait of a Moroccan, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Daloz, Jean-Pascal (2003): "'Big Men' in Sub-Saharan Africa: How Elites Accumulate Positions and Resources". In: Comparative Sociology 2/1, pp. 271-285.

Dawids, Francois (2007): "Fransfontein Marriages". In: Francois Dawids/Fiona Ilonga/Titus Kaumunika/Julia Pauli/Michael Schnegg/Jorries Seibeb/Charles O.

/Uirab (eds), Living Together. Culture and Shared Traditions in Fransfontein, Namibia, Cologne, pp. 59-77.

Dawids, Francois/Ilonga, Fiona/Kaumunika, Titus/Pauli, Julia/Schnegg, Michael/Seibeb, Jorries//Uirab, Charles O. (eds) (2007): Living Together. Culture and Shared Traditions in Fransfontein, Namibia, Cologne. [Online]. (http://www.fransfontein.org/index.html).

Debevec, Liza (2007): "The Meaning of African and 'White Man's Food at Muslim and Civil Wedding Celebrations in Urban Burkina Faso". In: Anthropology of Food S3. [Online]. (http://aof.revues.org/2572).

Dentlinger, Ursula (1983): "Social and Spatial Mobility along the Kuiseb River in the Namib Desert, Namibia". BA Honors thesis, University of Cape Town.

de Wet, Chris J. (2008): "State Interventions and Local Responses: Changing Local Evaluations of Land in a South African Rural Settlement". Paper presented at the 2008 Conference of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Di Leonardo, Micaela (1991): "Introduction: Gender, Culture, and Political Economy: Feminist Anthropology in Historical Perspective". In: Micaela di Leonardo (ed), Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge. Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 1-48.

Dilger, Hansjörg (2003): "Sexuality, AIDS, and the Lures of Modernity: Reflexivity and Morality among Young People in Rural Tanzania". In: Medical Anthropology 22, pp. 23-52.

Dobler, Gregor (2012): "Entrepreneurship, Colonial Monetary Economy and the Limits of Creativity: Appropriating Trading Stores in Northern Namibia, 1925-1980". In: Jan-Bart Gewald/André Leliveld/Iva Pesa (eds), Transforming Innovations in Africa. Explorative Studies on Appropriation in African Societies, Leiden: Brill, pp. 39-57.

Dobler, Gregor (2014): Traders and Trade in Colonial Ovamboland, 1925-1990. Elite Formation and the Politics of Consumption under Indirect Rule and Apartheid, Basel: Basel Africa Bibliographies.

Durkheim, Emile (1930): Suicide, Paris: Alcan Press.

Dyson-Hudson, Rada/Meekers, Dominique (1996): "The Universality of African Marriage Reconsidered: Evidence from Turkana Males". In: Ethnology 35/4, pp. 301-320.

Edwards, Janet/Strathern, Marilyn (2000): "Including Our Own". In: Janet Carsten (ed), Cultures of Relatedness, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 149-166.

Ekejiuba, Felicia I. (2005): "Down to Fundamentals: Women-Centered Hearth-holds in Rural West Afrika". In: Andrea Cornwall (ed), Readings in Gender in Africa, London: The International African Institute, pp. 41-46.

Ekong, Julia Meryl (1989): Bridewealth, Women, and Reproduction in Sub-Saharan Africa. A Theoretical Overview, Freiburg: Holos Verlag.

Engel, Lothar (1973): "Rasse und Mission in Namibia". In: Evangelische Missionszeitschrift 30/3, pp. 121-133.

Englund, Harri (2002): "The Village in the City, the City in the Village: Migrants in Lilongwe". In: Journal of Southern African Studies 28/1, pp. 137-154.

Erlank, Natasha (2014): "The White Wedding: Affect and Economy in South Africa in the Early Twentieth Century". In: African Studies Review 57/2, pp. 29-50.

Essner, Cornelia (1997): "Zwischen Vernunft und Gefühl: Die Reichstagsdebatten von 1912 um koloniale 'Rassenmischehe' und 'Sexualität'". In: Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft 45, pp. 503-519.

Evans-Pritchard, Edward E. (1940): The Nuer. A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People, Oxford: Oxford Universtiy Press.

Evans-Pritchard, Edward E. (1951): Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Everhart, Robert B. (2001 [1977]): "Between Stranger and Friend: Some Consequences of 'Long Term' Fieldwork in Schools". In: Alan Bryman (ed), Ethnography, London: Sage, pp. 172-188.

Fabian, Johannes (1983): Time and the Other. How Anthropology Makes its Object, New York: Columbia University Press.

Ferguson, James (1999): Expectations of Modernity. Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Flinn, Juliana/Marshall, Leslie/Armstrong, Jocelyn (eds) (1998): Fieldwork and Families. Constructing New Models for Ethnographic Research, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Fortes, Meyer (1949): The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi. The Second Part of an Analysis of the Social Structure of a Trans-Volta Tribe, London: Oxford University Press.

Fortes, Meyer (1971 [1958]): "Introduction". In: Jack Goody (ed), The Developmental Cycle of Domestic Groups, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-13.

Franklin, Sarah/McKinnon, Susan (eds) (2001): Relative Values: Reconfiguring Kinship Studies, Durham: Duke University Press.

Friedman, John T. (2005): "Making Politics, Making History: Chiefship and the Post-apartheid State in Namibia". In: Journal of Southern African Studies 31/1, pp. 23-51.

Friedrich, Julius (1909): "Die rechtliche Beurteilung der Mischehen nach deutschem Kolonialrecht". In: Koloniale Rundschau 1, pp. 360-368.

Fuller, Alexandra (2003): Don't Let's Go to the Dogs Tonight. An African Childhood, London: Random House.

Fuller, Bennet B. (1993): "Institutional Appropriation and Social Change among Agropastoralists in Central Namibia, 1916-1988". PhD diss., University of Michigan.

Fuller, Bennet B. (1998): "'We Live in a Manga': Constraint, Resistance and Transformation on a Native Reserve". In: Patricia Hayes/Jeremy Silvester/Marion Wallace/Wolfram Hartmann (eds), Namibia under South African Rule. Mobility and Containment 1915-46, Oxford: James Currey, pp. 194-216.

Fumanti, Mattia (2004): "The Making of the Fieldworker: Debating Agency in Elites Research". In: Anthropology Matters 6/2, pp. 1-9.

Fumanti, Mattia (2007): "Burying E.S.: Educated Elites, Subjectivity and Distinction in Rundu, Namibia". In: Journal of Southern African Studies 33/3, pp. 469-483.

Fumanti, Mattia (2016): The Politics of Distinction. African Elites from Colonialism to Liberation in a Namibian Frontier Town, Canon Pyon: Sean Kingston.

Gage, Anastasia J. (1998): "Sexual Activity and Contraceptive Use: The Components of the Decision-Making Process". In: Studies in Family Planning 29/2, pp. 154-166.

Garenne, Michel/Tollman, Stephen/Kahn, Kathleen (2000): "Premarital Fertility in Rural South Africa: A Challenge to Existing Population Policy". In: Studies in Family Planing 31/1, pp. 47-54.

Garenne, Michel/Zwang, Julien (2005): "Premarital Fertility in Namibia: Trends, Factors and Consequences". In: Journal of Biosocial Science 38, pp. 145-167.

Garey, Anita Ilta/Townsend, Nicholas (1996): "Kinship, Courtship, and Child Maintenance Law in Botswana". In: Journal of Family and Economic Issues 17/2, pp. 189-203.

Gausset, Quentin (2001): "AIDS and Cultural Practices in Africa: The Case of the Tonga (Zambia)". In: Social Science and Medicine 52, pp. 509-518.

Gibson, Gordon D. (1958): "Herero Marriage: Human Problems in British Central Africa". In: Rhodes Livingstone Institute 24, pp. 1-37.

Gibson, Gordon D. (1962): "Bridewealth and Other Forms of Exchange among the Herero". In: Paul Bohannan/George Dalton (eds), Markets in Africa, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, pp. 617-639.

Giddens, Anthony (1984): The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gierse-Arsten, Sonja (2005): "'Christ Crushes HIV-Crisis': Umgang namibischer Pfingstkirchen mit der HIV/AIDS Epidemie". MA thesis, University of Cologne.

Ginsburg, Faye (1987): "Procreation Stories: Reproduction, Nurturance, and Procreation in Life Narratives of Abortion Activists". In: American Ethnologist 14/4, pp. 623-636.

Ginsburg, Faye/Rapp, Rayna (1991): "The Politics of Reproduction". In: Annual Review of Anthropology 20, pp. 311-43.

Glenn, Norval D. (1977): Cohort Analysis, Beverly Hills: Sage.

Gockel-Frank, Martina (1998): "Ethnographien der Damara Zentralnamibias zwischen 1850 und 1950: Quellenkritische Rekonstruktion von Wirtschaft und sozialer Organisation einer khoisan-sprachigen Gesellschaft". MA thesis, University of Cologne.

Gockel-Frank, Martina (2007): "The Gift of God: Reproductive Decisions of Women in Modern Namibia: Case study of Khorixas, Kunene South". In: Suzanne LaFont/ Diane Hubbard (eds), Unravelling Taboos. Gender and Sexuality in Namibia, Windhoek: Legal Assistance Center, pp. 182-196.

Gockel-Frank, Martina (2008): 'A Child is a Gift' – Reproduktive Entscheidungen Namibischer Frauen im Zeitalter von HIV/AIDS: Eine Fallstudie aus der Kleinstadt Khorixas, Cologne.

Gockel-Frank, Martina (2009): "History is still Present – Contraceptive Use among Women in Namibia: A Case Study of Khorixas, Kunene South". In: Journal of Namibian Studies: History, Politics, Culture 6, pp. 27-55.

Golde, Peggy (ed) (1986): Women in the Field. Anthropological Experiences, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Goody, Esther (1978): "Some Theoretical and Empirical Aspects of Parenthood in West Africa". In: Christine Oppong, Gemma Adaba and Manga Bekombo-Priso, Marriage, Fertility, and Parenthood in West Africa, Canberra: Department of Demography, Australian National University, pp. 227-272.

Gordon, Robert James (1971): "Towards an Ethnography of Bergdama Gossip". In: Namib und Meer 2, pp. 45-57.

Gordon, Robert James (1972): "Some Sociological Aspects of Verbal Communication in Okombahe, S.W.A.: A Community Study". MA thesis, University of Stellenbosch.

Gordon, Robert James (2002): "Prostitution in Namibia in Colonial Times". In: Legal Assistance Centre (ed), "Whose Body is it?" Commercial Sex Work and the Law in Namibia, Windhoek: Legal Assistance Centre, pp. 55-71.

Gottlieb, Alma/Graham, Philip/Gottlieb-Graham, Nathaniel (1998): "Infants, Ancestors, and the Afterlife: Fieldwork's Family Values in Rural West Africa". In: Anthropology and Humanism 23/2, pp. 121-126.

Greenhalgh, Susan (1995): Situating Fertility. Anthropology and Demographic Inquiry, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Greiner, Clemens (2008): Zwischen Ziegenkraal und Township. Migrationsprozesse in Nordwest-Namibia, Berlin: Reimer.

Greiner, Clemens (2011): "Migration, Translocal Networks and Socio-Economic Stratification in Namibia". In: Africa 81/4, pp. 606-627.

Grentrup, Theodor (1914): Die Rassenmischehen in den deutschen Kolonien, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schoeningh.

Gronemeyer, Reimer (2002): So stirbt man in Afrika an AIDS. Warum westliche Gesundheitskonzepte im Südlichen Afrika versagen. Eine Streitschrift, Frankfurt: Apels.

Gulbrandsen, Ørnulf (1986): "To Marry – or Not to Marry: Marital Strategies and Sexual Relations in Tswana Society". In: Ethnos 51, pp. 7-28.

Guyer, Jane I. (1986): "Beti Widow Inheritance and Marriage Law: A Social History". In: Betty Potash (ed), Widows in African Societies, Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 193-219.

Guyer, Jane I. (1994): "Lineal Identities and Lateral Networks: The Logic of Polyandrous Motherhood". In: Caroline Bledsoe/Gilles Pison (eds), Nuptiality in Sub-Saharan Africa, Oxford: Clarendon, pp. 231-252.

Guyer, Jane I. (2000): "Traditions of Studying Paternity in Social Anthropology". In: Caroline Bledsoe/Susana Lerner/Jane I. Guyer (eds), Fertility and the Male Life Cycle in the Era of Fertility Decline?, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 61-90.

Haacke, Wilfrid H.G. (2007): "Mittler zwischen zwei Welten – zum Gedenken an Pastor Eliphas Eiseb". In: Afrikanischer Heimatkalender, pp. 51-60.

Haacke, Wilfrid H.G./Eiseb, Eliphas (2002): A Khoekhoegowab Dictionary with an English-Khoekhoegowab Index, Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan.

Hammel, E.A./Laslett, Peter (1974): "Comparing Household Structure over Time and between Cultures". In: Comparative Studies in Society and History 16/1, pp. 73-109.

Harrell-Bond, Barbara E. (1975): Modern Marriages in Sierra Leone, The Hague: Mouton.

Hayes, Patricia/Silvester, Jeremy/Wallace, Marion/Hartmann, Wolfram (eds) (1998): Namibia under South African Rule. Mobility and Containment 1915-46, Oxford: James Currey.

Heiman, Rachel/Freeman, Carla/Liechty, Mark (eds) (2012a): The Global Middle Classes. Theorizing Through Ethnography, Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press.

Heiman, Rachel/Liechty, Mark/Freeman, Carla (2012b): "Introduction: Charting and Anthropology of the Middle Classes". In: Rachel Heiman/Carla Freeman/Mark Liechty (eds), The Global Middle Class, Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, pp. 3-30.

Helle-Valle, Jo (1999): "Sexual Mores, Promiscuity and 'Prostitution' in Botswana". In: Ethnos 64/3, pp. 372-396.

Hellman, Ellen (1974): "African Townswomen in the Process of Change". In: South Africa International 5, pp. 14-22.

Hendrickson, Hildi (1996): “Introduction”. In: Hildi Hendrickson (ed), Clothing and Difference. Embodied Identities in Colonial and Post-colonial Africa, Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 1-16.

Herlihy, David (1985): Medieval Households, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Hirsch, Jennifer S./Wardlow, Holly (eds) (2006): Modern Loves: The Anthropology of Romantic Love and Companionate Marriage, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Hirsch, Jennifer S./Wardlow, Holly/Smith, Daniel Jordan/Phinney, Daniel Jordan/Parikh, Shanti/Nathanson, Constance A. (eds) (2009): The Secret. Love, Marriage and HIV, Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Hobsbawm, Eric/Ranger, Terence (2003 [1983]): The Invention of Tradition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hoernlé, A. Winifred (1918): “Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of !Nau among the Hottentots”. In: Oric Bates (ed), Varia Africana II, Cambridge: African Department of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, pp. 65-82.

Hoernlé, A. Winifred (1923): “The Expression of the Social Value of Water among the Naman of South-West Africa”. In: South African Journal of Science 20/1, pp. 514-526.

Honwana, Alcinda (2012): The Time of Youth. Work, Social Change, and Politics in Africa, Sterling: Kumarian Press.

Hosegood, Victoria (2013): “Women, Marriage and Domestic Arrangements in Rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa”. In: Aninka Claassens/Dee Smythe (eds), Marriage, Land and Custom. Essays on Law and Social Change in South Africa, Claremont: Juta, pp. 143-168.

Hosegood, Victoria/McGrath, Nuala/Moultire, Tom A. (2009): “Dispensing with Marriage: Marital and Partnership Trends in Rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa 2000-2006”. In: Demographic Research 20 (Article 13), pp. 279-312.

Hubbard, Dianne (2007): “Gender and Sexuality: The Law Reform Landscape”. In: Suzanne LaFont/Dianne Hubbard (eds), Unravelling Taboos. Gender and Sexuality in Namibia, Windhoek: Legal Assistance Center, pp. 99-129.

Hubbard, Dianne/Zimba, Evelyn (2004): “Marital Property and Inheritance in Namibian Law”. In: Debie LeBeau/Eunice M. Iipinge/Michael Conteh (eds), Women’s Property and Inheritance Rights in Namibia, Windhoek: Pollination, pp. 17-27.

Hunter, Mark (2002): “The Materiality of Everyday Sex: Thinking Beyond ‘Prostitution’”. In: African Studies 61/1, pp. 99-120.

Hunter, Mark (2004): “Masculinities, Multiple-Sexual-Partners, and AIDS: The Making and Unmaking of Isoka in KwaZulu-Natal”. In: Transformations 54, pp. 123-153.

Hunter, Mark (2005): "Cultural Politics and Masculinities: Multiple-Partners in Historical Perspective in KwaZulu-Natal". In: Culture, Health and Sexuality 7/4, pp. 389-403.

Hunter, Mark (2007): "The Changing Political Economy of Sex in South Africa: The Significance of Unemployment and Inequalities to the Scale of the AIDS Pandemic". In: Social Science and Medicine 64, pp. 689-700.

Hunter, Mark (2009a): "Providing Love: Sex and Exchange in Twentieth-Century South Africa". In: Jennifer Cole/Lynn M. Thomas (eds), Love in Africa, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 135-156.

Hunter, Mark (2009b): "IsiZulu-speaking Men and Changing Households. From Providers within Marriage to Providers outside Marriage". In: John Laband/Benedict Carton/Jabulani Sithole (eds), Zulu Identities. Being Zulu, Past and Present, New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 566-572.

Hunter, Mark (2010): Love in the Times of AIDS. Inequality, Gender, and Rights in South Africa, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hunter, Mark (2015): "Introduction: New Insights on Marriage and Africa". In: Africa Today 62/3, pp. vii-xv.

Hunter, Mark (2016): "Is it Enough to Talk of Marriage as a Process? Legitimate Cohabitation in Umlazi, South Africa". In: Anthropology Southern Africa 39/4, pp. 281-296.

Iken, Adelheid (1999): Woman-Headed Households in Southern Namibia. Causes, Patterns and Consequences, Frankfurt: IKO and Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan.

Ilonga, Fiona (2007): "Beauty in Fransfontein". In: Francois Dawids/Fiona Ilonga/Titus Kaumunika/Julia Pauli/Michael Schnegg/Jorries Seibeb/Charles O. /Uirab (eds), Living Together. Culture and Shared Traditions in Fransfontein, Namibia, Cologne.

Isiugo-Abanihe, Uche C. (1994): "Consequences of Bridewealth Changes on Nuptiality Patterns among the Ibo of Nigeria". In: Caroline Bledsoe/Gilles Pison (eds), Nuptiality in Sub-Saharan Africa, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 74-91.

Jackson, Cecile (2014): "Modernity and Matrifocality: The Feminization of Kinship?" In: Development and Change 46/1, pp. 1-24.

James, Deborah (2015): Money from Nothing. Indebtedness and Aspiration in South Africa, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

James, Deborah (2017): "Not Marrying in South Africa: Consumption, Aspiration and the New Middle Class". In: Anthropology Southern Africa 40/1, pp. 1-14.

Jankowiak, William R./Fischer, Edward F. (1992): "A Cross-Cultural Perspective on Romantic Love". In: Ethnology 31/2, pp. 149-155.

Jauch, Herbert M. (1998): Affirmative Action in Namibia. Redressing the Imbalances of the Past?, Windhoek: New Namibian.

Johnson-Hanks, Jennifer (2002): "On the Limits of the Life Cycle in Ethnography: Toward a Theory of Vital Conjunctures". American Anthropologists 104, pp. 865-880.

Johnson-Hanks, Jennifer (2006): Uncertain Honor. Modern Motherhood in an African Crisis, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Johnson-Hanks, Jennifer (2007a): "What Kind of Theory for Anthropological Demography?" In: Demographic Research 16, pp. 1-26.

Johnson-Hanks, Jennifer (2007b): "Women on the Market: Marriage, Consumption, and the Internet in Urban Cameroon". In: American Ethnologist 34/4, pp. 642-658.

Junod, Henri A. (1962): The Life of a South African Tribe, New York: University Books.

Kambatuku, Jack R. (1996): "Historical Profiles of Farms in Former Damaraland: Notes from the Archival Files". Desert Research Foundation of Namibia-Occasional Paper 4.

Kaplan, Dana (2013): "Food and Class Distinction at Israeli Weddings". In: Food, Culture and Society 16/2, pp. 245-264.

Karanja, Wambui Wa (1987): "'Outside Wives' and 'Inside Wives' in Nigeria: A Study of Changing Perceptions of Marriage". In: David Parkin/David Nyamwaya (eds), Transformations of African Marriage, Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 247-262.

Karanja, Wambui Wa (1994): "The Phenomenon of 'Outside Wives': Some Reflections on its Possible Influence on Fertility". In: Caroline Bledsoe/Gilles Pison (eds), Nuptiality in Sub-Saharan Africa, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 194-214.

Kendall, Laurel (1996): Getting Married in Korea. Of Gender, Morality, and Modernity, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kertzer, David I. (1983): "Generation as a Sociological Problem". In: Annual Review of Sociology 9, pp. 125-149.

Kertzer, David I./Arel, Dominique (2002): Census and Identity. The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Language in National Censuses, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kertzer, David/Fricke, Thomas (eds) (1997): Anthropological Demography. Toward a New Synthesis, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kirk, Dudley/Pillet, Bernard (1998): "Fertility Levels, Trends, and Differentials in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1980s and 1990s". In: Studies in Family Planning 29/1, pp. 1-22.

Klocke-Daffa, Sabine (2001): "Wenn du hast, mußt du geben". Soziale Sicherheit im Ritus und im Alltag bei den Nama von Berseba/Namibia, Münster: Lit.

Knauft, Bruce M. (1996): Genealogies for the Present in Cultural Anthropology, New York: Routledge.

Kolawole, Mary (2004): "Re-Conceptualizing African Gender Theory". In: Signe Arnfred (ed), Re-Thinking African Sexualities, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp. 251-268.

Kössler, Reinhart (2005): In Search of Survival and Dignity. Two Traditional Communities in Southern Namibia under South African Rule, Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan.

Krämer, Mario (2011): "Demokratisierung, Neotraditionale Herrschaft und die Lokale Ordnung in Südafrika und Namibia". In: John E. Akude/Anna Daun/David Egner/Daniel Lambach (eds), Politische Herrschaft jenseits des Staates. Zur Transformation von Legitimität in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Wiesbaden: Springer, pp. 137-156.

Kreager, Philip. (1986): "Demographic Regimes as Cultural Systems". In: David Coleman/Roger Schofield (eds), The State of Population Theory. Forward from Malthus, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp. 131-156.

Kreager, Philip/Bochow, Astrid (2017): Fertility, Conjuncture, Difference. Anthropological Approaches to the Heterogeneity of Modern Fertility Declines, Oxford: Berghahn.

Krige, Eileen Jensen (1936): "Changing Conditions in Marital Relations and Parental Duties among Urbanized Natives". In: Africa 1, pp. 1-23.

Krige, Eileen Jensen/Comaroff, John L. (eds) (1981): Essays on African Marriage in Southern Africa, Cape Town: Juta.

Kroeker, Lena/O'Kane, David/Scharrer, Tabea (eds) (2017): Middle Classes in Africa. Changing Lives and Conceptual Challenges, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kuper, Adam (1982): Wives for Cattle. Bridewealth and Marriage in Southern Africa, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Kuper, Adam (1987): South Africa and the Anthropologist, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Kuper, Adam (2008): "Changing the Subject – about Cousin Marriage, among other Things". In: Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 14, pp. 717-735.

Kuper, Adam (2016): "Traditions of Kinship, Marriage and Bridewealth in Southern Africa". In: Anthropology Southern Africa 39/4, pp. 267-280.

Kuper, Anke (1995): Auskommen ohne Einkommen. Überleben in der aufgelassenen Bergbausiedlung Uis in Namibia, Bonn: IKO.

Lamont, Michèle (1992): Money, Morals and Manners. The Culture of the French and the American Upper-Middle Class, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lamont, Michèle/Molnár, Virág (2002): "The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences". In: Annual Review of Sociology 28, pp. 167-195.

Lane, Sandra D. (2004): "Marriage Promotion and Missing Men: African American Women in a Demographic Double Bind". In: Medical Anthropology Quarterly 18/4, pp. 405-428.

Lang, Hartmut (1997): "Ethnodemographie und die Bedeutung von ethnodemographischen Zensuserhebungen". In: Walter Schulze/Hans Fischer/Hartmut Lang (eds), Geburt und Tod. Ethnodemographische Probleme. Methoden und Ergebnisse, Berlin: Reimer, pp. 4-36.

Lang, Hartmut/Pauli, Julia (2002): "Der ethnographische Zensus: Eine praxisorientierte Einführung". In: Hartmut Lang/Michael Schnegg (eds), Methoden der Ethnographie. [Online]. http://www.methoden-der-ethnographie.de)

Lankauskas, Gediminas (2015): The Land of Weddings and Rain. Nation and Modernity in Post-socialist Lithuania, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Lash, Scott (1993): "Pierre Bourdieu: Cultural Economy and Social Change". In: Craig Calhoun/Edward LiPuma/Moishe Postone (eds), Bourdieu. Critical Perspectives, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 193-211.

Laslett, Peter (1980): "Introduction". In: Peter Laslett/Karla Oosterveen/Richard M. Smith (eds), Bastardy and its Comparative History. Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica, and Japan, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 1-68.

Lau, Brigitte (1986): "Conflict and Power in Nineteenth Century Namibia". In: Journal of African History 27, pp. 29-39.

Lau, Brigitte (1987): Southern and Central Namibia in Jonker Afrikaner's Time, Windhoek: Archeia.

Lau, Brigitte/Reiner, Peter (1993): 100 Years of Agricultural Development in Colonial Namibia, Windhoek: National Archives.

LeBeau, Debie/Fox, Tom/Becker, Heike/Mufune, Pempelani (2001): "Agencies and Structures Facilitating the Transmission of HIV/AIDS in Northern Namibia". In: Society in Transition 32/1, pp. 56-68.

Lebzelter, Viktor (1934): Eingeborenenkulturen in Südwest- und Südafrika. Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse einer Forschungsreise nach Süd- und Südwestafrika in den Jahren 1926-1928, Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann.

Lentz, Carola (1994): "Home, Death and Leadership: Discourses on Educated Elite from North-Western Ghana". In: Social Anthropology 2/2, pp. 149-169.

Lentz, Carola (2016): "African Middle Classes: Lessons from Transnational Studies and a Research Agenda". In: Henning Melber (ed), The Rise of Africa's Middle Class. Myths, Realities and Critical Engagements, London: Zed Books, pp. 17-53.

Levin, Ruth (1947): "Marriage in Langa Native Location". MA thesis, University of Cape Town.

Lewinson, Anne (2006): "Love in the City: Navigating Multiple Relationships in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania". In: City and Society 18/1, pp. 90-115.
Lindsay, Jenny (1989): Population Control Policies in Namibia, Leeds: University of Leeds.
LINGS. (n.d.) [Home page]. (http://lings-net.de/)
Linke, Theresa (2017): Kooperation unter Unsicherheit. Institutionelle Reformen und kommunale Wassernutzung im Nordwesten Namibias, Bielefeld: transcript.
LiPuma, Edward (1993): Culture and the Concept of Culture in a Theory of Practice. In: Craig Calhoun/Edward LiPuma/Moishe Postone (eds), Bourdieu. Critical Perspectives, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 14-34.
Longmore, Laura (1959): The Dispossessed, London: Jonathan Cape.
López, A. Ricardo/Weinstein, Barbara (eds) (2012): The Making of the Middle Class. Toward a Transnational History, Durham: Duke University Press.
Lowe, Edward D. (2002): "A Widow, a Child, and Two Lineages: Exploring Kinship and Attachment in Chuuk". In: American Anthropologist 104/1, pp. 123-137.
Mackenroth, Gerhard (1953): Bevölkerungslehre. Theorie, Soziologie und Statistik der Bevölkerung, Berlin: Springer.
Mair, Lucy (1969): African Marriage and Social Change, London: Frank Cass.
Malinowski, Bronislaw (1927): Sex and Repression in Savage Society, New York: Harcourt, Brace.
Malinowski, Bronislaw (1929): The Sexual Life of Savages, London: George Routledge.
Mamdani, Mahmood (1996): Citizen and Subject. Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Mann, Kristin (1985): Marrying Well: Marriage, Status and Social Change among the Educated Elite in Colonial Lagos, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Mannheim, Karl (1952): "The Problem of Generation". In: Paul Kecskemeti (translator and editor), Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 276-322.
Marcus, George E. (1983): "Elite Communication and Institutional Orders". In: G.E. Marcus (ed), Elites. Ethnographic Issues, Albuquerque: School of American Research, pp. 41-58.
Maré, Gerhard (1993): Ethnicity and Politics in South Africa, London: Zed Books.
Masquelier, Adeline (2005): "The Scorpion's Sting: Youth, Marriage and the Struggle for Social Maturity in Niger". In: Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 11, pp. 59-83.
Mayer, Philip (1961): Townsmen or Tribesmen, Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
Meekers, Dominique (1993): "The Noble Custom of Roora: The Marriage Practices of the Shona of Zimbabwe". In: Ethnology 32/1, pp. 35-54.

Melber, Henning (2007): "Poverty, Politics, Power and Privilege: Namibia's Black Economic Elite Formation". In: Henning Melber (ed), Transitions in Namibia. Which Changes for Whom?, Upsalaa: Nordic Africa Institute, pp. 110-129.

Melber, Henning (2011): "Namibia: A Trust Betrayed – Again?" In: Review of African Political Economy 38/127, pp. 103-111.

Melber, Henning (2014): Understanding Namibia, London: Hurst.

Melber, Henning (2016): The Rise of Africa's Middle Class, London: Zed Books.

Mercer, Claire (2014): "Middle Class Construction: Domestic Architecture, Aesthetics and Anxieties in Tanzania". In: Journal of Modern African Studies 52/02, pp. 227-250.

Merton, Robert K. (1936): "The Unanticipated Consequences of Purposive Social Action". In: American Sociological Review 1/6, pp. 894-904.

Mhongo, Christine/Budlender, Debbie (2013): "Declining Rates of Marriage in South Africa: What do the Numbers and Analysts Say?" In: Aninka Claassens/Dee Smythe (eds), Marriage, Land and Custom. Essays on Law and Social Change in South Africa, Claremont: Juta, pp. 181-196.

Miescher, Giorgio (2006): "The Ovambo Reserve Otjeru (1911-1938): The Story of an African Community in Central Namibia". Basler Afrika Bibliographien Working Papers 1.

Mitchell, J. Clyde (1961): "Social Change and the Stability of African Marriage in Northern Rhodesia". In: Aidan Southall (ed), Social Change in Modern Africa, London: Oxford University Press, pp. 316-329.

MOHSS (Ministry of Health and Social Services) (1992): Namibia Demographic and Health Survey 1992, Windhoek: Ministry of Health and Social Services.

MOHSS (Ministry of Health and Social Services) (2003): Namibia Demographic and Health Survey 2000, Windhoek: Ministry of Health and Social Services.

Mokomane, Zitha (2005): "Cohabitation in Botswana: An Alternative or a Prelude to Marriage?" In: African Population Studies 20/1, pp. 19-37.

Mokomane, Zitha (2006): "Cohabitating Unions in Sub-Saharan Africa: Explaining Botswana's Exceptionality". In: Journal of Comparative Family Studies 37, pp. 25-42.

Moore, Henrietta L./Vaughan, Mary K. (1994): Cutting down Trees. Gender, Nutrition, and Agricultural Change in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1890-1990, Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Moorsom, Richard (1982): Transforming a Wasted Land, London: Catholic Institute for International Relations.

Morrell, Robert (ed) (2000): Changing Men in South Africa, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Moultrie, Tom A./Sayi, Takudzwa S./Timaeus, Ian M. (2012): "Birth Intervals, Postponement, and Fertility Decline in Africa: A New Type of Transition?" In: Population Studies 66/3, pp. 241-258.

Moultrie, Tom A./Timaeus, Ian M. (2003): "The South African Fertility Decline: Evidences from Two Censuses and a Demographic and Health Survey". In: Population Studies 57/3, pp. 265-283.

Mufune, Pempelani (2005): "Myths about Condoms and HIV/AIDS in Rural Northern Namibia". In: International Social Science Journal 186/4, pp. 675-686.

Mupotsa, Danai (2014): "White Wedding". PhD diss., University of Witwatersrand.

Mupotsa, Danai (2015): "The Promise of Happiness: Desire, Attachment and Freedom in Post/Apartheid South Africa". In: Critical Arts: South-North Cultural and Media Studies 29/2, pp. 183-198.

Murray, Colin (1976): "Marital Strategy in Lesotho: The Redistribution of Migrant Earnings". In: African Studies 35/2, pp. 99-121.

Murray, Colin (1981a): Families Divided. The Impact of Migrant Labour in Lesotho, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Murray, Colin (1981b): "The Symbolism and Politics of Bohali: Household Recruitment and Marriage by Instalment in Lesotho". In: Eileen J. Krige/John L. Comaroff (eds), Essays on African Marriage in Southern Africa, Cape Town: Juta, pp. 112-130.

Naidoo, Kammila (2007): "Researching Reproduction: Reflections on Qualitative Methodology in a Transforming Society". In: Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung 9/1, Art. 12.

Namibia, Republic of (2003): "2001 Population and Housing Census: National Report". Windhoek: National Planning Commission, Central Statistics Office.

Newman, Katherine S. (1986): "Symbolic Dialects and Generations of Women: Variation in the Meaning of Post-divorce Downward Mobility". In: American Ethnologist 13/2, pp. 230-252.

Ngubane, Harriet (1987): "The Consequences for Women of Marriage Payments in a Society with Patrilineal Descent". In: David Parkin/David Nyamwaya (eds), Tranformations of African Marriage, Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 173-182.

Niehaus, Isaak (1994): "Disharmonious Spouses and Harmonious Siblings: Conceptualizing Household Formation among Urban Residents of Qwaqwa". In: African Studies 53/1, pp. 115-136.

Niehaus, Isak (2017): "Marriage, Kinship and Childcare in the Aftermath of AIDS: Rethinking Orphanhood in the South African Lowveld". In: Anthropology Southern Africa 40/1, pp. 42-55.

Notkola, Veijo/Siiskonen, Harri (2000): Fertility, Mortality and Migration in Subsaharan Africa. The Case of Ovamboland in North Namibia, 1925-90, London: Macmillan Press.

Nyamnjoh, Francis (2008): Married but Available, Yaounde: Langaa Research & Publishing Common Initiative Group.

Oheneba-Sakyi, Yaw/Takyi, Baffour K. (2006): "Introduction to the Study of African Families: A Framework for Analysis". In: Yaw Oheneba-Sakyi/Baffour K. Takyi (eds), African Families at the Turn of the 21st Century, Westport: Praeger, pp. 1-23.

Ortega y Gasset, José (1933): The Modern Theme, New York: W.W. Norton.

Ortner, Sherry (1984): "Theory in Anthropology since the Sixties". In: Comparative Studies in Society and History 26, pp. 126-166.

Ortner, Sherry (2006): Anthropology and Social Theory. Culture, Power, and the Acting Subject, Durham: Duke University Press.

Ouzgane, Lahoucine/Morrell, Robert (eds) (2005): African Masculinities. Men in Africa from the late Nineteenth Century to the Present, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Padilla, Mark B./Hirsch, Jennifer S./Sember, Robert/Munoz-Laboy, Miguel/Parker, Richard (eds) (2007): Love and Globalization. Transformations of Intimacy in the Contemporary World, Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Pankhurst, Donna (1996): "Similar but Different? Assessing the Reserve Economy Legacy of Namibia". In: Journal of Southern African Studies 22/3, pp. 405-420.

Parkin, David/Nyamwaya, David (1987a): "Introduction: Transformations of African Marriages: Change and Choice". In: David Parkin/David Nyamwaya (eds), Transformations of African Marriage, Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 1-34.

Parkin, David/Nyamwaya, David (eds) (1987b): Transformations of African Marriage, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Pauli, Julia (2000): Das geplante Kind. Demographischer, wirtschaftlicher und sozialer Wandel in einer mexikanischen Gemeinde, Hamburg: Lit.

Pauli, Julia (2006): "'Und was wirst Du geben?': Situationen und Formen von Reziprozität in der Feldforschung". In: Ethnoscripts 8/2, pp. 29-48.

Pauli, Julia (2007a): "Gendered Space: Female Headed Households in Fransfontein, Northwest Namibia". In: Olaf Bubenzer/Andreas Bolten/Frank Darius (eds), Atlas of Cultural and Environmental Change in Arid Africa, Cologne: Heinrich-Barth-Institute, pp. 186-189.

Pauli, Julia (2007b): "'We all Have our own Father!' Reproduction, Marriage and Gender in Rural Northwest Namibia". In: Suzanne LaFont/Dianne Hubbard (eds), Unravelling Taboos. Gender and Sexuality in Namibia, Windhoek: Legal Assistance Centre, pp. 197-214.

Pauli, Julia (2008a): “Ethnografischer Zensus”. In: Bettina Beer (ed), Methoden ethnologischer Feldforschung, Berlin: Reimer, pp. 59-81.

Pauli, Julia (2008b): “A House of One’s Own: Gender, Migration and Residence in Rural Mexico”. In: American Ethnologist 35/1, pp. 171-187.

Pauli, Julia (2009): “(Re)producing an Elite: Fertility, Marriage and Economic Change in Northwest Namibia”. In: Clemens Greiner/Waltraud Kokot (eds), Networks, Resources and Economic Action, Berlin: Reimer, pp. 303-325.

Pauli, Julia (2010a): “Demographic and Anthropological Perspectives on Marriage and Reproduction in Namibia”. In: Wilhelm J.G. Möhlig/Olaf Bubenzer/Gunter Menz (eds), Towards Interdisciplinarity. Experiences of the Long-Term ACACIA Project, Cologne: Heinrich-Barth-Institute, pp. 205-234.

Pauli, Julia (2010b): “The Female Side of Male Patronage: Gendered Perspectives on Elite Formation Processes in Northwest Namibia”. In: Journal of Namibian Studies 8, pp. 28-47.

Pauli, Julia (2011): “Celebrating Distinctions: Common and Conspicuous Weddings in Rural Namibia”. In: Ethnology 50/2, pp. 153-167.

Pauli, Julia (2012): “Creating Illegitimacy: Negotiating Relations and Reproduction within Christian Contexts in Northwest Namibia”. In: Journal of Religion in Africa 4, pp. 408-432.

Pauli, Julia (2013): “‘Sharing Made Us Sisters’: Sisterhood, Migration and Household Dynamics in Mexico and Namibia”. In: Erdmute Alber/Cati Coe/Tatjana Thelen (eds), The Anthropology of Sibling Relations, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 29-50.

Pauli, Julia (2015): “Kind unter Kindern: Geschwisterbeziehungen in Fransfontein, Namibia”. In: Michaela Fink/Reimer Gronemeyer (eds), Afrikanische Kindheiten. Soziale Elternschaft und Waisenhilfe in der Subsahara, Bielefeld: transcript, pp. 81-96.

Pauli, Julia (2016): “African Marriages in Transformation: Anthropological Insights”. In: James Etim (ed), Introduction to Gender Studies in Eastern and Southern Africa. A Reader, Rotterdam: Sense, pp. 95-114.

Pauli, Julia (2017a): “The Key to Fertility: Generation, Reproduction and Elite Formation in a Namibian Community”. In: Philip Kreager/Astrid Bochow (eds), Fertility, Conjuncture, Difference. Anthropological Approaches to the Heterogeneity of Modern Fertility Declines, Oxford: Berghahn, pp. 43-71.

Pauli, Julia (2017b): “‘Of Course I can Speak English more than my Mother Tongue!’: Sprache und Identität aufstrebender Mittelklassen im postkolonialen Namibia”. In: Arne Krause/Gesa Lehrmann/Winfried Thielmann/Caroline Trautmann (eds), Form und Funktion, Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag, pp. 409-421.

Pauli, Julia (2018): “Pathways into the Middle: Rites of Passage and Emerging Middle Classes in Namibia”. In: Lena Kroeker/David O’Kane/Tabea Scharrer (eds), Middle Classes in Africa. Changing Lives and Conceptual Challenges, New York: Palgrave, pp. 249-272.

Pauli, Julia/Dawids, Francois (2017): “The Struggle for Marriage: Elite and Non-elite Weddings in Rural Namibian Community”. In: Anthropology Southern Africa 40/1, pp. 15-28.

Pauli, Julia/Schnegg, Michael (2007): “Blood Tests with the Eyes: Social Responses to the HIV/AIDS Pandemic in Rural Namibia”. In: Michael Bollig/Olaf Bubenzer/Ralf Vogelsang/Hans P. Wotzka (eds), Aridity, Change and Conflict in Africa, Cologne: Heinrich-Barth-Institute, pp. 411-439.

Pauli, Julia/van Dijk, Rijk (2016): “Marriage as an End or the End of Marriage? Change and Continuity in Southern African Marriages”. In: Anthropology Southern Africa 39/4, pp. 257-266.

Pauw, Berthold Adolf (1963): Second Generation. A Study of the Family among Urbanized Bantu in East London, Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Pendelton, Wade C. (1993): Katutura. A Place Where We Stay, Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan.

Pinho, Adriana de Araujo/Sampaio, Camila Alves Machado/Monteiro, Simone Souza/Murray, Laura Rebecca/Bastos, Francisco Innacio (2016): “Sex, Love and Money along the Namibian-Angolan Border”. In: Culture, Health and Sexuality 18/8, pp. 905-920.

Piot, Charles (1999): Remotely Global. Village Modernity in West Africa, Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Plotnicov, Leonard (1970): “Rural-Urban Communications in Contemporary Nigeria: The Persistence of Traditional Social Institutions”. In: Journal of Asian and African Studies 5/1&2, pp. 66-82.

Posel, Dorrit/Rudwick, Stephanie (2013): “Changing Patterns of Marriage and Cohabitation in South Africa”. In: Aninka Claassens/Dee Smythe (eds), Marriage, Land and Custom. Essays on Law and Social Change in South Africa, Claremont: Juta, pp. 169-180.

Posel, Dorrit/Rudwick, Stephanie (2014): “Ukukipita (Cohabiting): Socio-Cultural Constraints in Urban Zulu Society”. In: Journal of Asian and African Studies 49/3, pp. 282-297.

Posel, Dorrit/Rudwick, Stephanie/Casale, Daniela (2011): “Is Marriage a Dying Institution in South Africa? Exploring Changes in Marriage in the Context of Ilobolo Payments”. In: Agenda 25/1, pp. 102-111.

Postone, Moishe/LiPuma, Edward/Calhoun, Craig (1993): “Introduction: Bourdieu and Social Theory”. In: Craig Calhoun/Edward LiPuma/Moishe Postone (eds),

Bourdieu. Critical Perspectives, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 1-13.

Preston-Whyte, Eleanor (1978): "Families Without Marriage: A Zulu Case Study". In: William J. Argyle/Eleanor Preston-Whyte (eds), Social System and Tradition in Southern Africa. Essays in Honour of Eileen Krige, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, pp. 55-85.

Preston-Whyte, Eleanor (1999): "Reproductive Health and the Condom Dilemma: Identifying Situational Barriers to HIV Protection in South Africa". In: John C. Caldwell/Pat Caldwell/John Anarfi/Kofi Awusabo-Asare/James Ntozi/I.O. Orubuloye/Jeff Marck/Wendy Cosford/Rachel Colombo/Elaine Hollings (eds), Resistances to Behavioral Change to Reduce HIV/AIDS Infection in Predominantly Heterosexual Epidemics in Third World Countries, Canberra: Health Transition Center, pp. 139-155.

Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred R. (1987 [1950]): "Introduction". In: Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown/Daryll Forde (eds), African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, London: KPI, pp. 1-85.

Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred R./Forde, Daryll (eds), (1987 [1950]): African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, London: KPI.

Raitis, Rikka (1994): "Fertility in the Northwest Region of Namibia". In: Yearbook of Population Research in Finland 32, pp. 106-117.

Rao, Aparna (1998): Autonomy. Life Cycle, Gender, and Status among Himalayan Pastoralists, Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Reed-Danahay, Deborah (1996): "Champagne and Chocolate: 'Taste' and Inversion in a French Wedding Ritual". In: American Anthropologist 98/4, pp. 750-761.

Reekie, Gail (1998): Measuring Immorality. Social Inquiry and the Problem of Illegitimacy, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Richter, Linda/Morrell, Robert (eds) (2006): Baba. Men and Fatherhood in South Africa, Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Riechmann, Heinrich (1899): Unter den Zwartboois auf Franzfontein. Ein Beitrag zur Missions- und Kolonialgeschichte Süd-Afrikas, Barmen: Verlag des Missionshauses.

Riechmann, Heinrich (1900): Allerlei Bilder aus meinem Missionarsleben. Eine Ergänzung zu "Unter den Zwartboois", Barmen: Verlag des Missionshauses.

Robertson, A.F. (1991): Beyond the Family. The Social Organisation of Human Reproduction, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Rohde, Richard (1994): Tinkering with Chaos. Towards a Communal Land Tenure Policy in Former Damaraland, Windhoek: Social Sciences Division, Multi-Disciplinary Research Centre, University of Namibia.

Rohde, Richard (1997): "Nature, Cattle Thieves and various Other Midnight Robbers: Images of People, Place and Landscape in Damaraland, Namibia". PhD diss., University of Edinburgh.

Rohde, Richard/Hoffman, M. Timm/Cousins, Ben (2000): "Experimenting with the Commons: A Comparative History of the Effects of Land Policy on Pastoralism in Two Former Homelands/Reserves, Southern Africa". In: Nancy McCarthy/Brent Swallow/Michael Kirk/Peter Hazell (eds), Property Rights, Risk and Livestock Development in Africa, Washingto: International Food Policy Research Institute, pp. 326-349.

Rosaldo, Renato (1980): Ilongot Headhunting 1883-1974. A Study in Society and History, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Rössler, Martin (2005): Wirtschaftsethnologie. Eine Einführung, Berlin: Reimer.

RSA (Republic of South Africa) (1964): "Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West African Affairs 1962-1963". Pretoria: Goverment Printer. (Odendaal Report).

Rudwick, Stephanie/Posel, Dorrit (2015): "Zulu Bridewealth (Ilobolo) and Womanhood in South Africa". In: Social Dynamics 41/2, pp. 1-18.

Ryder, Norman B. (1965): "The Cohort as a Concept in the Study of Social Change". In: American Sociological Review 30, pp. 843-861.

Sahlins, Marshall (2013): What kinship is – and Is Not, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sansom, Basil (1981): "Cash Down for Brides". In: John L. Comaroff/Eileen J. Krige (eds), Essays on African Marriages in Southern Africa, Cape Town: Juta, pp. 97-111.

Schäfer, Rita (2004): "Haushaltsdynamiken in Zimbabwe and Namibia". Stichproben: Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien 7, pp. 5-24.

Schapera, Isaac (1933): "Premarital Pregnancy and Native Opinion: A Note on Social Change". In: Africa 6, pp. 59-89.

Schapera, Isaac (1939): Married Life in an African Tribe, London: Faber and Faber.

Schapera, Isaac/Roberts, Simon (1975): "Rampedi Revisted: Another Look at a Kgatla Ward". Africa 45/3, pp. 258-279.

Schareika, Nikolaus (2010): "Rituell gezeugt: Verwandtschaft als symbolische Interaktion bei den Wodaabe Südostnigers". In: Erdmute Alber/Bettina Beer/Julia Pauli/Michael Schnegg (eds), Verwandtschaft heute. Positionen, Ergebnisse und Forschungsperspektiven, Berlin: Reimer, pp. 93-118.

Scharrer, Tabea/O'Kane, David/Kroeker, Lena (2017): "Introduction: Africa's Middle Classes in Critical Perspective". In: Lena Kroeker/David O'Kane/Tabea Scharrer (eds), Middle Classes in Africa: Changing Lives and Conceptual Challenges, London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-32.

Schaumburg, Katrin (2013): Bonyatsi. Heirat, Status und Beziehungsstrategien in einem südafrikanischen Township, Münster: Lit.

Schlegel, Alice (1977): "Toward a Theory of Sexual Stratification". In: Alice Schlegel (ed), Sexual Stratification. A Cross-Cultural View, New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 1-40.

Schmidt, Sigrid (1981/82): "Hochzeitsbräuche im Nama- und im Damaraland". Journal der SWA wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft 36/37, pp. 45-69.

Schnegg, Michael (2005): Das Fiesta Netzwerk. Soziale Organisation einer mexikanischen Gemeinde 1679-2001, Hamburg: Lit.

Schnegg, Michael (2006a): "'Give Me Some Sugar!' Rhythm and Structure of Sharing in a Namibian Community". Sozialwissenschaftlicher Fachinformationsdienst soFid, Methoden und Instrumente der Sozialwissenschaften 2, pp. 11-12. [Online]. (http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-205209).

Schnegg, Michael (2006b): "Reciprocity and the Emergence of Power Laws in Social Networks". In: International Journal of Modern Physics C 17, pp. 1067-1076.

Schnegg, Michael (2007a): "Battling Borderlands: Causes and Consequences of an Early German Colonial War in Namibia". In: Michael Bollig/Olaf Bubenzer/Ralf Vogelsang/Hans P. Wotzka (eds), Aridity, Change and Conflict in Africa, Cologne: Heinrich-Barth-Institute, pp. 247-264.

Schnegg, Michael (2007b): "Blurred Edges, Open Boundaries: The Long Term Development of the Closed Corporate Peasant Community in Rural Mexico". In: Journal of Anthropological Research 63, pp. 5-32.

Schnegg, Michael (2009): "It's the Combination that Counts: Diversification of Pastoral Livelihoods in Northwest Namibia". In: Clemens Greiner/Waltraud Kokot (eds), Networks, Resources and Economic Action, Berlin: Reimer, pp. 229-249.

Schnegg, Michael (2015): "Reciprocity on Demand: Sharing and Exchanging Food in Northwestern Namibia". In: Human Nature 26/3, pp. 1-18.

Schnegg, Michael (2016a): "Collective Foods: Situating Food on the Continuum of Private-Common Property Regimes". In: Current Anthropology 57/5, pp. 683-689.

Schnegg, Michael (2016b): "Lost in Translation: State Policies and Micro-politics of Water Governance in Namibia". In: Human Ecology 44, pp. 245-255.

Schnegg, Michael (2018): "Institutional Multiplexity: Social Networks and Community-based Natural Resource Management". In: Sustainability Science, pp. 1-14.

Schnegg, Michael/Bollig, Michael/Linke, Theresa (2016): "Moral Equality and Success of Common-Pool Water Governance in Namibia". In: Ambio 45/5, pp. 581-590.

Schnegg, Michael/Bolten, Andreas (2007): "Sharing Space and Food". In: Olaf Bubenzer/Andreas Bolten/Frank Darius (eds), Atlas of Cultural and Environmental Change in Arid Africa, Cologne: Heinrich Barth-Stiftung, pp. 194-197.

Schnegg, Michael/Linke, Theresa (2016): "Travelling Models of Participation: Global Ideas and Local Translations of Water Management in Namibia". In: International Journal of the Commons 10/2, pp. 800-820.

Schnegg, Michael/Pauli, Julia (2006): "Codifying Flexibility: Inheritance and Illegitimacy in a Namibian Community". Paper presented at the annual conference of the American Anthropological Association, San Jose, California, November 14-19.

Schnegg, Michael/Pauli, Julia (2010): "Namibische Wahlverwandtschaften: Zur Dualität von Struktur und Handlungsfreiheit in der Verwandtschaftsethnologie". In: Erdmute Alber/Bettina Beer/Julia Pauli/Michael Schnegg (eds), Verwandtschaft heute. Positionen, Ergebnisse und Forschungsperspektiven, Berlin: Reimer, pp. 305-328.

Schnegg, Michael/Pauli, Julia/Greiner, Clemens (2013): "Pastoral Belonging: Causes and Consequences of Part-Time Pastoralism in Northwestern Namibia". In: Michael Bollig/Michael Schnegg/Hans P. Wotzka (eds), Pastoralism in Africa. Past, Present, and Future, Oxford: Berghahn, pp. 341-362.

Schnegg, Michael/Welle, Thorsten (2007): "Inequalities Inscribed in Landscape". In: Olaf Bubenzer/Andreas Bolten/Frank Darius (eds), Atlas of Cultural and Environmental Change in Arid Africa, Cologne: Heinrich Barth-Stiftung, pp. 100-103.

Schneider, David (1984): A Critique of the Study of Kinship, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Schneider, Jane C./Schneider, Peter T. (1996): Festival of the Poor. Fertility Decline and the Ideology of Class in Sicily 1860-1980, Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Schweizer, Thomas (1999): "Wie versteht und erklärt man eine fremde Kultur? Zum Methodenproblem der Ethnographie". In: Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie 51/1, pp. 1-33.

Segalen, Martine (1990): Die Familie. Geschichte, Soziologie, Anthropologie, Frankfurt: Campus-Verlag.

Sen, Amartya (2006): Identity and Violence. The Illusion of Destiny, New York: W. W. Norton.

Setel, Philip W. (1999): A Plague of Paradoxes: AIDS, Culture, and Demography in Northern Tanzania, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Setume, Senzokuhle Doreen (2017): "Cohabitation in Botswana: Challenging Methodological Nuptialism in Anthropology". PhD diss., University of Leiden.

Sewell, William H. (1992): "A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency and Transformation". In: American Journal of Sociology 98/1, pp. 1-29.

Sewell, William H. (2005): Logics of History. Social Theory and Social Transformation, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Seymour-Smith, Carol (1986): Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology, London: Macmillan Press.

Shapiro, Warren (2008): "What Human Kinship is Primarily About: Toward a Critique of the New Kinship Studies". In: Social Anthropology 16/2, pp. 137-153.

Shemeikka, Riikka/Notkola, Veijo/Siiskonen, Harri (2005): "Fertility Decline in North-Central Namibia: An Assessment of Fertility in the Period 1960-2000 Based on Parish Registers". In: Demographic Research 13/4, pp. 83-116.

Shore, Chris/Nugent, Stephen (eds) (2002): Elite Cultures. Anthropological Perspectives, London: Routledge.

Sichone, Owen (2001): "Pure Anthropology in a Highly Indebted Poor Country". Journal of Southern African Studies 27/2, pp. 369-379.

Siiskonen, Harri/Taskinen, Anssi/Notkola, Veijo (2005): "Parish Registers: A Challenge for African Historical Demography". In: History in Africa 32, pp. 385-402.

Silberschmidt, Margrethe (2001): "Disempowerment of Men in Rural and Urban East Africa: Implications for Male Identity and Sexual Behavior". In: World Development 29/4, pp. 657-671.

Silvester, Jeremy/Wallace, Marion/Hayes, Patricia (1998): "'Trees Never Meet': Mobility and Containment; An Overview 1915-1946". In: Patricia Hayes/Jeremy Silvester/Marion Wallace/Wolfram Hartmann (eds), Namibia under South African Rule. Mobility and Containment 1915-46, Oxford: James Currey, pp. 3-48.

Simon, David/Moorsom, Richard (1987): "Namibia's Political Economy: A Contemporary Perspective". In: Gerhard Tötemeyer/Vezera Kandetu/Wolfgang Werner (eds), Namibia in Perspective, Windhoek: The Council of Churches in Namibia, pp. 82-101.

Sippel, Harald (1995): "'Im Interesse des Deutschtums und der weissen Rasse': Behandlung und Rechtswirkungen von 'Rassenmischehen' in den Kolonien Deutsch-Ostafrika und Deutsch Suedwest". In: Jahrbuch fuer afrikanisches Recht 9, pp. 123-159.

Sippel, Harald (1997): "Die Gleichberechtigung von Mann und Frau in der Ehe nach dem Married Persons Equality Act (1996) von Namibia". In: Verfassung und Recht in Übersee 30/3, pp. 380-398.

Smit, Jaco (2017): "Rights, Violence and the Marriage of Confusion: Re-emerging Bride Abduction in South Africa". Anthropology Southern Africa 40/1, pp. 56-68.

Smith, Daniel Jordan (2001): "Romance, Parenthood, and Gender in a Modern African Society". In: Ethnology 40/2, pp. 129-151.

Smith, Daniel Jordan (2003): "Imagining HIV/AIDS: Morality and Perceptions of Personal Risk in Nigeria". In: Medical Anthropology 22, pp. 343-372.

Sökefeld, Martin (1999): "Debating Self, Identity, and Culture in Anthropology". In: Current Anthropology 40/4, pp. 417-447.

Solway, Jacqueline (1990): "Affines and Spouses, Friends and Lovers: The Passing of Polygny in Botswana". In: Journal of Anthropological Research 46, pp. 41-66.

Solway, Jacqueline (2016): "'Slow Marriage', 'Fast Bogadi': Change and Continuity in Marriage in Botswana". In: Anthropology Southern Africa 39/4, pp. 309-322.

Southall, Roger (2016): The New Black Middle Class in South Africa, Johannesburg: Jacana.

Spiegel, Andrew D. (1975): "Christianity, Marriage and Migrant Labor in Lesotho". In: Trevor D. Verryn (ed), Church and Marriage in Modern Africa, Groenkloof: Ecumenical Research Unit, pp. 435-492.

Spiegel, Andrew D. (1991): "Polygyny as Myth. Towards Understanding Extramarital Relations in Lesotho". In: Andrew D. Spiegel/Patrick A. McAllister (eds), Tradition and Transition in Southern Africa. Festschrift for Philip and Iona Mayer, Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, pp. 145-166.

Spittler, Gerd (1980): "Abstraktes Wissen als Herrschaftsbasis: Zur Entstehungsgeschichte bürokratischer Herrschaft im Bauerstaat Preussen". In: Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie 32/3, pp. 574-604.

Spronk, Rachel (2012): Ambiguous Pleasures. Sexuality and Middle Class Self-Perceptions in Nairobi, New York: Berghahn.

Spronk, Rachel (2014): "Exploring the Middle Classes in Nairobi: From Modes of Production to Modes of Sophistication". In: African Studies Review 57/1, pp. 93-114.

Stack, Carol (1970): All our Kin, New York: Basic Books.

Sullivan, Sian (1996): "The 'Communalization' of Former Commercial Farmland: Perspectives from Damaraland and Implications for Land Reform". SSD Research Report 25.

Sullivan, Sian (2000): "People, Plants and Practice in Drylands: Social-political and Ecological Dimensions of Resource-Use by Damara Farmers in North-West Namibia". PhD diss., University College London.

Sullivan, Sian (2003): "Protest, Conflict and Litigation: Dissent or Libel in Resistance to a Conservancy in North-West Namibia". In: David G. Anderson/Eeva Berglund (eds), Ethnographies of Conversation. Environmentalism and the Distribution of Privilege, Oxford: Berghahn, pp. 69-86.

Swartbooi (2005): "Swartbooi Law of Inheritance '/Umis'". In: Sandie Fitchat (comp.), Inheritance Issues. Information and Feedback from Community Consultations on Inheritance Law Reforms, Windhoek: Legal Assistance Centre, pp. 61-63.

Szreter, Simon (1996): Fertility, Class and Gender in Britain, 1860-1940, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tapscott, Chris (1993): "National Reconciliation, Social Equity and Class Formation in Independent Namibia". In: Journal of Southern African Studies 19/1, pp. 29-39.

Tapscott, Chris (1995): "War, Peace and Social Classes". In: Colin Leys/John S. Saul (eds), Namibia's Liberation Struggle. The Two-Edged Sword, London: James Currey, pp. 153-170.

Tarkkonen, Mari (2017): "Changing Understandings of Gender and Parenthood in a North-Central Namibian Village". In: Journal of Southern African Studies 43/2, pp. 283-297.

Teichmann, Jenny (1982): Illegitimacy, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Tersbøl, Britt Pinkowsky (2002): "How to Make Sense of Lover Relationships – Kwanyama Culture and Reproductive Health". In: Volker Winterfeldt/Tom Fox/Pempelani Mufune (eds), Namibia, Society, Sociology, Windhoek: University of Namibia Press, pp. 347-359.

Thelen, Tatjana (2015): "Care as Social Organisation: Creating, Maintaining and Dissolving Significant Relations". In: Anthropological Theory 15/4, pp. 497-515.

Therborn, Göran (2006): "African Families in a Global Context". In: Göran Therborn (ed), African Families in a Global Context, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp. 17-48.

Thomas, Lynn M./Cole, Jennifer (2009): "Thinking Through Love in Africa". In: Jennifer Cole/Lynn M. Thomas (eds), Love in Africa, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 1-30.

Timaeus, Ian M./Reynar, Angela (1998): "Polygynists and their Wives in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Analysis of Five Demographic and Health Surveys". Population Studies 52/2, pp. 145-162.

Tötemeyer, Gerhard (1978): Namibia Old and New. Traditional and Modern Leaders in Ovamboland, New York: St. Martin's Press.

Tremayne, Soraya (2001): "Introduction". In: Soraya Tremayne (ed), Managing Reproductive Life. Cross-cultural Themes in Fertility and Sexuality, New York: Berghahn, pp. 1-24.

Tuupainen, Maija (1970): Marriage in a Matrilineal African Tribe. A Social Anthropological Study of Marriage in the Ondonga Tribe in Ovamboland, Helsinki: Academic Bookstore.

/Uirab, Charles O. (2007): "The Question Is: Who am I?" In: Francois Dawids/Fiona Ilonga/Titus Kaumunika/Julia Pauli/Michael Schnegg/Jorries Seibeb/Charles O. /Uirab (eds), Living Together. Culture and Shared Traditions in Fransfontein, Namibia, Cologne, pp. 19-22.

Upton, Rebecca L. (2001): "'Infertility Makes You Invisible': Gender, Health and the Negotiation of Fertility in Northern Botswana". In: Journal of Southern African Studies 27/2, pp. 349-362.

van der Vliet, Virginia (1984): "Staying Single: A Strategy against Poverty?" Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa, Cape Town: Conference Paper no. 116.

van der Vliet, Virginia (1991): "Traditional Husbands, Modern Wives? Constructing Marriages in a South African Township". In: Andrew D. Spiegel/Patrick A. McAllister (eds), Tradition and Transition in Southern Africa. Festschrift for Philip and Iona Mayer, Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, pp. 219-241.

van de Walle, Etienne (2006a): African Households. Censuses and Surveys, New York: M.E. Sharpe.

van de Walle, Etienne (2006b): "Introduction". In: Etienne van der Walle (ed), African Households. Censuses and Surveys, New York: M.E. Sharpe, pp. xxi-xxxix.

van Dijk, Rijk (2010): "Marriage, Commodification and the Romantic Ethic in Botswana". In: Marian Dekker/Rijk van Dijk (eds), Markets of Well-being. Navigating Health and Healing in Africa, Leiden: Brill, pp. 282-305.

van Dijk, Rijk (2012a): "A Ritual Connection: Urban Youth Marrying in the Village in Botswana". In: Mirjam de Bruijn/Rijk van Dijk (eds), The Social Life of Connectivity in Africa, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 141-159.

van Dijk, Rijk (2012b): "The Social Cocktail: Weddings and the Innovative Mixing of Competences in Botswana". In: Jan-Bart Gewald/André Leliveld/Iva Pesa (eds), Transforming Innovations in Africa. Explorative Studies on Appropriation in African Society, Leiden: Brill, pp. 191-207.

van Dijk, Rijk (2017): "The Tent versus Lobola: Marriage, Monetary Intimacies and the New Face of Responsibility in Botswana". In: Anthropology Southern Africa 40/1, pp. 29-41.

van Maanen, John (2011): Tales of the Field, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

van Wolputte, Steven (2016): "Sex in Trouble Times: Moral Panic, Polyamory and Freedom in North-west Namibia". In: Anthropology Southern Africa 39/1, pp. 31-45.

Veblen, Thorstein (1994 [1899]): The Theory of the Leisure Class, Mineola: Dover.

Vedder, Heinrich (1923): Die Bergdama, Hamburg: Friedrichsen.

Vesper, Michael (1983): Überleben in Namibia. "Homelands" und kapitalistisches Weltsystem, Bonn: Informationsstelle südliches Afrika.

von Trotha, Trutz (1994): Koloniale Herrschaft. Zur soziologischen Theorie der Staatsentstehung am Beispiel des "Schutzgebietes Togo", Tübingen: Mohr.

Wallace, Marion (2011): A History of Namibia. From the Beginning to 1990, London: Hurst.

Wardlow, Holly (2006): Wayward Women. Sexuality and Agency in a New Guinea Society, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Weismantel, Mary (1995): "Making Kin: Kinship Theory and Zumbagua Adoptions". In: American Ethnologist 22/4, pp. 685-709.

Werbner, Richard (2004) Reasonable Radicals and Citizenship in Botswana, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Werner, Wolfgang (1987): "Ethnicity and Reformism in Namibia". In: Gerhard Tötemeyer/Vezera Kandetu/Wolfgang Werner (eds), Namibia in Perspective, Windhoek: The Council of Churches in Namibia, pp. 69-81.

Werner, Wolfgang (2004): "Landenteignung, Reservate und die Debatte zur Landreform in Namibia". In: Larissa Förster/Dag Henrichsen/Michael Bollig (eds), Namibia-Deutschland. Eine geteilte Geschichte. Widerstand, Gewalt, Erinnerung, Cologne: Edition Minerva, pp. 292-303.

Weston, Kath (1991): Families we Choose: Lesbians, Gays, Kinship, New York: Columbia University Press.

White, Hylton (2016): "The Materiality of Marriage Payments". In: Anthropology Southern Africa 39/4, pp. 297-308.

Whyte, R. Susan/Alber, Erdmute/van der Geest, Sjaak (2008): "Generational Connections and Conflicts in Africa: An Introduction". In: Erdmute Alber/Sjaak van der Geest/Susan R. Whyte (eds), Generations in Africa. Connections and Conflicts, Berlin: Lit, pp. 1-26.

Widlok, Thomas (1999): Living on Mangetti. Hai//om "Bushmen" Autonomy and Namibian Independence, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wildenthal, Lora (1997): "Race, Gender and Citizenship in the German Colonial Empire". In: Fred Cooper/Ann L. Stoler (eds), Tensions of Empire. Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 263–283.

Wilson, Monica (1977): For Men and Elders. Change in the Relations of Generations and of Men and Women among Nyakyusa-Ngonde People 1875-1971, New York: Africana Publishing Press.

Wojcicki, Janet Maia (2002): "'She Drank his Money': Survival Sex and the Problem of Violence in Taverns in Gauteng Province, South Africa". In: Medical Anthropology Quarterly 16/3, pp. 267-293.