The Strategic Repositioning of Arts, Culture and Heritage in the 21st Century

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Edited by

George Mugovhani, Owen Seda and Mzo Sirayi

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PREFACE

STRATEGIC REPOSITIONING OF THE ARTS AND CULTURE IN THE 21ST CENTURY

BY WOLFGANG SCHNEIDER

How do the arts and culture affect the development of societies? What role do the arts play in concepts for securing the future? What kind of cultural policy is needed to create sustainable structures? The arts and culture have not been included in the United Nations' Development Goals. This is a major omission. However, the arts and culture are frequently mentioned in connection with political strategies, and particularly with regard to the reorientation of cultural policy. The arts and culture should be bound by economic interests to use education, exchange and dialogue for the purpose of encouraging people to espouse particular values and ideas. However, this is not always the right approach, because it is not always in the interests of artists and other cultural actors.

Artistic and cultural processes are not instruments of policy. The arts and culture should not be supported for the purposes of peacebuilding, but quite simply for their own sake. Above all, they should not be supported on the basis of some political criterion or one-off effect, but on the basis of quality and sustainability. In this way, the arts and culture can indeed play an indirect role in peacebuilding, even—and especially—in conflict-ridden regions.

The power of culture also lies in its artistic complexity, in the fact that it plays with human sensibilities, reflects reality and raises questions about life in our society. In order to do this, the arts and culture must be made a priority in international policymaking, and cultural policy should be part of every social agenda.

"Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." This quote comes from the UN's 1987 Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development. It contains two key concepts: the basic needs of the world's poor, who should be given

absolute priority; and the idea that the environment's ability to meet current and future needs has clear limitations imposed by the present state of technology and social organisation. We are still waiting for these concepts to be turned into policy. It is time to have a debate about how this is linked to cultural policy, and we need to define sustainability at a global level. This definition should integrate the dual character of sustainability, green development and culture. This should involve a set of framework conditions, capacity development, and support for the arts and culture system.

What kind of infrastructure do the arts need? Regular reports produced by the Arterial Network, an African civil society arts organisation, view capacity building as a vital tool for ensuring effective policy and efficient management.

> Measures to promote capacity building, which may include workshops, fieldwork and research projects, ensure the convention (cultural diversity) is implemented sustainably. (...) The programme includes research, regional training workshops, field projects and internships. Although all these measures make a major contribution to capacity building, internships are the best way to offer basic training and more practical experience; (...).

Networking is the new principle in the arts world. Artists need space for their work, laboratories for experiments, and constant opportunities to talk to each other and their audience. This is another complex system that requires study in order to find out more about the conditions needed for thriving artistic development and to discover what the inspiring role of mobility has to do with the work of the artist and how art can be successfully transferred to everyday life.

There is much debate about arts education, but very few practical results. We are still waiting for the arts to be integrated into the education system. We are involved in a process that means arts management is arts dissemination, and we work in the area of development as arts experts. The arts allow people to move on from their current situation. Not everyone is lucky enough to be born into a rich family, but the arts provide opportunities for change. For many men, reading fiction suddenly teaches them how to talk to women properly.

Cultural policy studies also involve the use of scientific methods to gain specific knowledge from artists that allows us to see and experience the world in a different way. It is important to uncover the fundamental legitimation for a cultural policy that focuses on the artists' motivation. The search for this could be our research, and *vice versa*. Artistic concerns are political concerns; the issue is the role of art, the framework provided

by culture, and the ideas that lie at the heart of how future societies will be structured.

This is one of the reasons why the African perspective needs to be placed at the centre of research into cultural policy. It is clear that many lively discussions on the arts and development are taking place in Africa. They go hand-in-hand with political movements such as the Arab Spring, and also military conflicts involving Islamic State. Across the continent, the post-colonial system of society and culture is changing. We can observe the agenda-setting of cultural policy, along with processes of sustainability, infrastructure development and arts education. The focus should be on exploring artistic processes and social developments.

This is why I was delighted to be invited to attend the International Conference held at Tshwane University of Technology on the theme Strategic Repositioning of the Arts and Culture in the 21st Century. I also feel honoured to be asked to write this Foreword to the conference record. I have taken the liberty of selecting a few quotations in order to draw attention to commonalities in cultural policy research, and hope I have identified the important themes: identity and heritage, freedom and humanity, empowerment and sustainability, creativity and entrepreneurship, education and sustainability, and cultural and arts management.

Identity and Heritage

Roland Hansel Moses looks at the meaning of religion and music in constructing the identity of the Christian Indian diaspora in South Africa, particularly during the apartheid era. The article examines

> the impact of apartheid (...) on music making amongst the Christian community within the South African Indian population. It also traces the trajectory of socio-political change and its effects on musical performance aligned to church-based religious practice. Finally, it highlights the role of the Church as an empowering establishment in music literacy. (3)

Hybridity—in cultural, linguistic and ethnic terms—became a constitutive element of the Indian community in South Africa: "Although the Indian community tried to preserve their cultural and religious identity, the effects of colonisation and western education led to the adaptation and assimilation of western cultural and religious practices" (7). Playing music, particularly in church and religious services, became an important source of identity. In this way, during the apartheid era the Pentecostal

church stood out from the mainline congregations (Catholic and Anglican) because of the hybridity of its musical practices.

The Pentecostal movement proved particularly popular with the Indian diaspora, partly because it did not seek to put people in boxes, and its church music underwent a process of indigenisation and hybridisation. From a cultural policy perspective, churches are of particular interest as places for non-professional musical training, such as church bands. Black South Africans (including the Indian, Coloured and African ethnic groups) were often systematically refused access to university education, so they were unable to undertake professional musical training. Along with its importance for forging identity (religion and music as identity providers) churches became places of informal, largely autodidactic music learning, places of fragmented knowledge and fragmented skills in the area of music education—and education that could not be gained elsewhere.

Freedom and Humanity

In her article on national reconciliation processes in South Africa, Tembeka Ngcebetsha looks at the Freedom Park project in the Calvinia region:

> This paper examines the impact made by the Freedom Park in pursuing its reconciliation mandate by reflecting on the public participation process that was undertaken in Calvinia between 2012 and 2013, with particular focus on the efficacy of implementing South Africa's 2030 vision of the National Development Plan. (3)

The author describes Freedom Park as a

> presidential legacy project that was established by the South African government after 1994, to honour those who died in the struggle for freedom and humanity; and to foster reconciliation, social cohesion and nation building in the country. (3)

She comments on the region's previous attempts at political consolidation as follows:

> […] despite interventions made by government to reconcile the nation through the TRC, Affirmative Action, Explicate acronym BEEE and other policies to unite the nation such as the White Paper on Welfare, the White Paper on Transformation of Public Service addressing Batho Pele principles, Policy on Families, and the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage which mandates the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) to promote social cohesion, moral regeneration and nation building;

achieving equality, unity, social cohesion and a more humane citizenry has remained a challenge. (5)

She describes the aim and purpose of the Freedom Park project as follows:

- To promote reconciliation and efforts to deal constructively with the past;
- To promote community cohesion, cooperation, nation building and humanness in the Hantam region;
- To restore, preserve and protect social, cultural and spiritual heritage, and to cultivate a deeper awareness and appreciation for a common heritage (9).

In her summary of the impact of the project, the author notes that positive developments can be identified with regard to the involvement of a range of stakeholders: "However, based on the active engagement of participants and pledges made in community meetings, it seemed that set objectives were realised as many participants showed commitment to the reconciliation process" (19). But old ways of thinking and acting are still present:

> The structural conditions in Calvinia have placed the coloured community in positions of poverty and dependency, and the government must devise and implement appropriate strategies that will improve these conditions. What came out clearly during the public consultations was that although freedom was attained in 1994, race has remained a salient feature that defines the socio-economic environment of Calvinia. (20)

Based on her findings, the author criticises the still incomplete democratic system and concludes with recommendations for further developing the Freedom Park project and the particular need for a reconciliation process. She mentions culture and the arts at various points in her conclusion and recommendations:

> For the reconciliation process to be successful appropriate interventions will need to be developed and implemented, that should enable the community to reclaim their humanity. The DAC must also intervene and find ways to preserve a common identity and foster social integration and inclusion in Calvinia; in line with the commitments made in the White Paper—to foster social cohesion, moral regeneration and nation building. (21 and 26)

> Freedom Park as an entity of the DAC, in collaboration with the Hantam Municipality, must empower the community with strategies that should

ensure that Calvinia benefits from other government developments such as the NDP and MGE. The second phase of the Reconciliation Project must therefore incorporate these interventions in its approach. (27)

The author quotes the cultural policy aims of the National Development Plan (NDP) and its description of the role of culture and the arts:

The NDP states that: 'Arts and culture open powerful spaces for engagement about where a society finds itself and where it is going. Promoted effectively, the creative and cultural industries can contribute substantially to small business development, job creation, urban development and renewal'. The primary focus of the NDP is to contribute to social cohesion, nation building, and moral regeneration; and to promote and sustain a culture of democracy and development that will ensure the achievement of socio-economic aspirations of a multicultural society. (24)

Empowerment and Sustainability

Isaac Bongani Mahlangu describes a product development training course as a tool for empowerment in the crafts sector. The South African government is trying to support the crafts sector in order to encourage economic growth and create jobs. Support for crafts is seen as an opportunity to pass on indigenous knowledge, develop skills, create jobs, and in this way reduce poverty. The sector is characterised by the large number of women that it employs and its low material costs.

Mintek's Timbita Ceramic Incubator and the Semphete Pottery were used as case studies. The empowerment of marginalised rural communities was examined at three levels: organisational structure and trainers, the content of the training programme with regard to product development, and the content of the training programme with regard to marketing and market entry. A comprehensive strategy is already in place with a view to providing beneficiaries with access to infrastructure, resources, production training and market entry, but the author concludes that this strategy has not been implemented as desired.

A lack of integration between the different areas has led to fragmented planning, poor needs analysis and a disjointed training programme. The importance of developing the necessary skills in order to build human capital has been ignored.

The planning and implementation have not been an indigenous process that '...builds on the skills, strengths and ideas of people living in poverty—on their asset' but rather it has 'treated them as empty receptacles of charity'

(Green, 2008: 7). This approach perpetuates dependency where handouts tend to become expected as a norm. Timbita has thereby failed to 'look at individual situations and community resources as mutually dependent...' (Bradshaw, 2006: 14) (39)

There has also been a failure to follow up on the need to build partnerships with local organisations and stakeholders. Today, four of the eight potteries have been shut down. "The success of such programmes is not only dependent on policy, partnership, organisational structure and programme content but also dependent on the quality of the delivery of programmes" (40). In addition, the individuals who received funding were prevented from interacting directly with the market, and at the same time they were not informed about which products would do well in the market.

> Timbita has thereby not managed to enable the beneficiaries the opportunity to compete favourably in mass and export markets. The approach has been one that prioritizes maximising production and overlooked the importance of training the beneficiaries to understand that products are carefully conceptualized, researched, planned and then produced. These products are poor in workmanship quality and also from a design/concept perspective. (45 - 46)

The author concludes with an observation on cultural policy: "Training is considered in this research as a tool for empowerment. It is no longer enough to rely on product designs and techniques passed on from one generation to another, without any professional intervention. (…) Traditionally, low quality, poorly finished and common products are manufactured. This often forces crafters, who flood the markets with similar products, to compete at sub-minimal prices.

Education and Sustainability

Another article looks at the development of arts education in the South African education system from the colonial era through the apartheid regime to the present, and considers the successes and failures experienced in changing and transforming arts education curricula in terms of "South Africanisation" since the end of apartheid in 1994.

The first art schools were established in South Africa in the 19th century and closely followed the example of European institutions in their content and form rather than developing their own South African curricula. "Instead of establishing uniquely South African art curricula, scholars wrangled over which mother country was the best" (54). With the Bantu Education Act of 1953, for the first time the Ministry of Native

Affairs gave thousands of African children their first access to school education, though this was still at a much lower level than the normal education offered to white children.

The Arts and Culture Task Team Group (ACTAG) was set up when apartheid ended, and the whole South African school system was given a new direction and curriculum overhaul with a focus on outcomes-based education (OBE). The author criticises the fact that this general reorientation was not fully thought through and was too rushed in its implementation, leading to failure. From a cultural policy perspective and on a more positive note, OBE now includes an "Art and Culture Learning Area". The ACTAG aimed to make arts education a "central pillar for healing a divided nation" (60). With regard to the introduction of arts education measures as part of OBE, the author particularly criticises a number of shortcomings in the reform and the ongoing tribalisation of black African ethnic groups:

> Whose culture was it going to be that the teaching staff were to introduce and promote when the demographics in South Africa, as it has been argued above, are skewed in favour of the minority? The previously disadvantaged schools fared worse as good educators left fearing the new curriculum (that they were not trained to implement). The apartheid philosophy of divide and rule, especially tribalising the African ethnic groups of South Africa still prevails to this day. The central thesis of colonisation was to destroy all cultural symbols of African ethnic groups, and it proved too difficult for the 'new democracy' generation of educators to suddenly embrace the new South Africa and its symbols; to generate pride and introduce these symbols into the classroom, when they themselves were ignorant of the symbols' significance. This was further exacerbated by the lack of published and teaching materials featuring African artists for educators to begin to address the impasse. (61)

Along with this lack of teaching and learning materials featuring African and black African artists, there was and remains a lack of appreciation of the role and importance of arts education among many parents and teachers. The author traces this back to the indoctrination of the apartheid era. In the past, independent NGOs and community art colleges made an important contribution to arts education, but they were reliant on international donors. Many of these sources of funding have dried up since South Africa became a democracy, but the government has generally failed to take comprehensive action in this area, with the result that: "the arts are unfortunately the ongoing losers in the formal school system" (63).

Universities are also forced to create and use synergies between tertiary arts institutions and education departments in order to tackle the lack of arts educators and help to transform the curricula. However, the author claims that the universities have also failed to adequately transform themselves:

> The lack of published material on black artists exacerbates the issue, thus limiting their inclusion in the curriculum. This area is still neglected twenty years into democracy. Research and scholarship initiatives are not the competency of the national education departments, but of universities; yet the universities have not transformed themselves either, and as a result, this urgent area is not being addressed. (62)

The article concludes with a reference to the current government's National Development Plan (NDP), which fails to mention arts education. The author sees this as a backward step compared to the Mandela administration. He therefore calls for the establishment of a committee similar to ACTAG in order to address the challenges faced by arts education in South Africa.

Creativity and Entrepreneurship

In her article, Eurika Jansen van Vuuren takes a critical look at the new school curriculum in South African schools. The area of arts and culture has been combined with "life orientation" under the new Life Skills module, presenting a new challenge for generalist educators:

> The curriculum proved to be a major challenge to most generalist educators because they did not have the training or the required skills to cope with the four art forms that were included in this learning area, namely Dance, Drama, Music and Visual Art. (76)

The author describes the content and purpose of her cultural policy research as follows: "This study aims to show the areas of content knowledge breakdown amongst in-service generalist educators teaching Life Skills and explore possible solutions to rectify the current disservice done to the arts" (57). Her main criticism is the increased complexity of including a range of specialist subjects in the teaching of Life Skills, ensuring that teachers are adequately trained to handle this. Very few teachers have the required specialist skills and knowledge in all these areas (68).

The author underlines the importance of arts education by referring to the National Development Plan Vision 2030: "The National Development

Plan Vision 2030 regards the Arts (2013: 261) as a foundational skill that must assist in elevating the South African schooling system and if that is to happen, the training of educators is the rational starting point" (68). She also points out the importance that UNICEF affords to teach life skills (71).

The author is particularly critical of the training provided to educators at universities. She notes that:

> Educators are not academically prepared to teach Life Skills, just as they were not prepared to teach Arts and Culture in the previous curriculum. Most universities are not training educators with the curriculum in mind and generalist educators are just expected to cope—regardless of their knowledge of such a specialized subject. (69)

Her article highlights the fact that educator training has not been adapted to suit the needs of school curricula: "Some universities are still offering Life Orientation and Arts and Culture as prescribed in the previous curriculum and the majority of the remaining universities have the arts as an elective" (75).

The author believes that "educators need to be developed" and calls for a national education pact. She refers to a CAPS statement and makes a connection with the process of social transformation:

> The purpose of the statement is 'equipping learners, irrespective of their socio-economic background, race, gender, physical ability or intellectual ability, with the knowledge skills and values necessary for self-fulfillment and meaningful participation in society as citizens of a free country; providing access to higher education; facilitating the transition of learners from education institutions to the workplace and providing employers with a sufficient profile of a learner's competences.' (CAPS, 2011: 5)

> This statement is based on the principle of social transformation; ensuring that the educational imbalances of the past are redressed, and that educational opportunities are provided for all sections of the population. Imbalances cannot be redressed if educators do not have the required knowledge and training. (71 f.)

She also predicts that: "The National Development Plan Vision 2030 will fail without focused intervention plans to break the vicious circle of knowledge voids in South African arts education" (76).

In conclusion, the author proposes a two-pronged solution:

> […] training is needed in two spheres: pre-service training and in-service training. Pre-service training is burdened with time limitations in education

training curricula. No arts expertise can be built in one module since it needs intensive practical training. Generalist educator training must run over at least 4 modules to compensate for most students not having an Arts background. (76)

Cultural Policy and Arts Management

Apegba Ker and Dul Johnson describe how Nigerian arts and culture are used for national development. "Nigerian arts, crafts and culture, no doubt, have made contributions to national growth and development. Nigerian cultures promote peaceful co-existence by encouraging dialogue, mutual understanding, respect and reconciliation" (9). In their studies they identify the following working areas for cultural policy and arts management:

Film Identity

Nigeria's film and entertainment industry (Nollywood) makes an important contribution to economic growth (it is also heavily subsidised by the government, but the authors still believe there is room for improvement), and hence to national development. "Every film is a cultural brand for the society that produces it" (5). The craft industry also makes its contribution: "These are not only sources of employment and income generation but also a major component of the culture and identity of a people" (5).

Cultural Products

Here the focus is on arts festivals, such as the 2nd World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC 1977), the largest festival on the African continent, attracting thousands of participants. Here too, the authors mention its dual role as a contributor to national development and economic growth.

Most of the festivals have their origin in religious practices, historical events or some socio-political desire for bonding. Many have become the basis for community or Cultural Development Associations as well as avenues for political awareness, health awareness campaigns, and community development fund mobilization, etc. The Osun Oshogbo Annual Festival is one festival that fulfils the roles of educating, sustaining and passing cultural values, beliefs and skills to the younger generations. (6)

Performing Arts

This involves the study of traditional performances (storytelling, puppetry, music, dance, masquerading, dramatisation and poetry) and the role of the arts in the everyday life of local communities/ethnic groups/rural areas. An interesting example is that of a singer whose songs contributed to national development:

> On the whole however, there is no doubt that throughout his singing career, Tarker Golozo helped in the propagation of many government policies in Nigeria by explaining such policies to his audiences, successfully mobilising them to actively participate in government or community development projects. The oral poet composed and sang on almost any topic of national interest ranging from the Nigerian civil war, the various military and civilian regimes as well as their respective programmes. (Ker, 2002) (9)

The authors feel that the Nigerian cultural sector is facing a number of challenges, including poor administration, the government's lack of interest in providing adequate funding for cultural activities, and an inadequate interaction between public museums and galleries and the local population. In Nigeria, people still think of the arts and culture as a luxury form of entertainment. Only the craft industry does not suffer from poor funding: "The craft industry does not suffer from poor funding, and so should not die. Almost all the craft industries are independently operated and self-sustaining" (10). Part of Nigeria's problem is the colonial mindset that "foreign is better" (10).

The authors make the following proposals for repositioning the Nigerian arts scene to aid national development: change public awareness of the arts and attitudes to industry. Give less priority to entertainment and making profits from the arts. The Culture Ministry views tourism and cultural heritage as priorities. It is in a repositioning phase and, the authors believe, has had some successes. These include providing a new orientation for institutions, supporting creative industries, expanding Nigerian missions abroad, recovering stolen artefacts, supporting arts festivals, and supporting minority languages.

Why We Need More Research in the Area of Cultural Policy

Our societies are undergoing fundamental change, and over the coming years and decades this will change how we live together. Cultural policy

also has to face up to this challenge. There is a renewed need for knowledge and research in order to approach these cultural policy issues in a systematic and concept-based way. There is a need for more research in this area that is commensurate with the importance of the challenges faced by this policy area. Such studies should look at the content, orientation, and organisational structure of cultural policy. It is high time to begin institutionalising and stabilising the research infrastructure that underpins cultural policy, something that goes without saying in other policy areas.

With just a few exceptions, the area of cultural policy has rarely been the subject of continuous theoretical or empirical studies. In contrast to most other policy areas, cultural policy is, therefore, not based on a scientific discipline and its associated research capacity and institutional structures. This applies to the university and non-university sectors. Both sectors currently lack the infrastructure and personnel that are needed to guarantee the quality and continuity of application-related cultural policy research—something that will be vital for tackling the growing need for research, information and skills.

Every policy area needs research, and this need increases in line with the number of policy measures and programmes that it initiates. At present this applies particularly to cultural policy because:

- Cultural policy has grown in importance over recent years—not just quantitatively, but because it has taken on new areas of responsibility. In the past it was responsible for promoting the arts and culture and their legal framework, whereas now it has to focus more strongly on coordinating programmes and projects with regard to processes, contexts and structures in order to have a social impact. This necessitates a deeper knowledge of the underlying context.

  Changes in society have necessitated a new orientation for the content of cultural programmes and concepts. Demographic change alone has a huge impact on the cultural infrastructure and how it is used; then there are the effects of digitalisation, changes in cultural interests and *milieus*, new requirements linked to integration and inclusion, and new structures of social inequality that are now repoliticising questions relating to equal participation. As a result, there is an increased need for research into participation using sophisticated methodologies;

- The cultural infrastructure is in urgent need of restoration and transformation in terms of its structure, finances and demand. Many institutions have funding and utilisation problems and it is

questionable whether their concepts are still relevant. Therefore, it is important to focus more strongly on studying infrastructure in the area of the arts and culture.

Application-related cultural policy research needs an appropriate financial and institutional framework, and also has to meet conceptual requirements. The following key points should be considered: practical relevance, relation to theory, interdisciplinarity, reflexivity, cooperation and networking. Cultural policy studies require a large number of researchers and the appropriate instruments and processes for collaboration, networking and transmitting information in order to ensure research activities and resources are coordinated more effectively and that the findings of the scientific community are also examined.

Tshwane University of Technology also requires more staff to conduct cultural policy research, along with greater continuity in its teaching, and more opportunities for international exchange. The Strategic Repositioning of the Arts and Culture in the 21st Century conference was a key milestone in the cultural policy discourse, and the aim of the articles collected in this volume is to have an impact on both theory and practice.

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PART I:

INDIGENEITY, ARTS, CULTURE AND HERITAGE

CHAPTER ONE

AN ANALYSIS OF CONTEMPORARY CLAIMS TO CULTURE, HERITAGE, IDENTITY AND INDIGENEITY AMONGST KHOISAN GROUPS IN SOUTH AFRICA

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The pageant ("die stap")—Mr. and Miss Khoisan

Keywords: culture, heritage, belonging, identity, indigeneity, Khoisan

Introduction

"Our wish for self-determination pertains only to the protection of our identity, cultures, traditions, languages and history."[1]

Following the transition after the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994, Khoisan voices resurfaced in a bid to reassert a particular Khoisan identity. This identity reclamation came about as a result of international debates around indigenous people.[2] In 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, stating amongst other things, that: "human rights should be protected by the rule of law", the first article noting that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."[3] In 1969, the United Nations

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[1] Cecil Le Fleur, "Traditional Leadership in South Africa." Paper presented at the conference on Facing the Contradictions and Embracing Realities, 9 to 10 February, 2012, Goedgedacht Farm.
[2] Barbara Oomen, *Chiefs in South Africa: Law, Power and Culture in the Post-apartheid Era* (New York: Palgrave, 2005), 2.
[3] Bradely R. Howard, *Indigenous Peoples and the State: The Struggle for Native Rights* (Northern Illinois: University Press, 2003), 104.

earnestly began work on complaints from indigenous peoples regarding their rights, culminating in the signing of the "Declaration" on 13 September 2007.[4]

The opening of post-apartheid South African borders, the lifting of sanctions on South Africa, and the formation of a coalition government from 1990-1994 witnessed South Africa's re-entry into global politics. As noted by Oomen, developments in international law set the pace in individual countries with local religious, linguistic and ethnic minorities who often with success obtained a formal affirmation and strengthening of their positions.[5] The United Nations declared 1995-2004 as the decade for Indigenous People, and a forum for Indigenous Peoples was established.[6] These indigenous movements are contesting their rights to land, and demanding the restoration of their dignity, fundamental freedoms and human rights in the various nation states in which they live. This is happening in places like Australia, Canada, India, Mexico, the US and many more countries.[7]

The above-mentioned political shifts and international developments affected the local political processes in South Africa resulting in the surprise re-entry of groups like the Griqua, the Korana, the Nama, the San and the Cape Khoi, all referred to unilaterally as Khoisan claiming indigenous rights or first nation status (Oomen, 2005). In 1998 the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper[8] reported that the United Nations had granted First Nation Status to the Griqua people of South Africa, making them the third group to achieve such a status joining the Khoi and San of Southern Africa

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[4] Erica-Irene Daes, *The UN Rights on the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The Proclamation by the General Assembly of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UN, 2011), 11.

[5] Barbara Oomen, *Chiefs in South Africa: Law, Power and Culture in the Post-apartheid Era*.

[6] Adam Kuper, "The Return of the Native," *Current Anthology,* 44 no. 3 (2003): 389-402.

[7] Joan G. Fairweather, *A Common Hunger: Land Rights in Canada and South Africa* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006); A. Heiss, *Am I Black Enough for You?* (Hawaii: Hawaii University Press, 2012); R. B. Lee*,* "Indigenous Rights and the Politics of Identity in Post-apartheid Southern Africa," in *At the Risk of Being Heard: Identity, Indigenous Rights and Postcolonial States* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

[8] Instituut vir Eietydse Geskiedenis, Die Universiteit van die Oranje Vrystaat. Verwysing 1074, Datum 980806.218, Onderwerp 5, Knipsel 1122- Mail & Guardian.

in places like Botswana and Namibia.[9] Although these groups received recognition by the United Nations, inside South Africa their status remained unchanged until 9 February 2012, when President Jacob Zuma announced that Khoisan leaders were to be recognised in the National House of Traditional Leaders (NHTL).[10] However, despite this "recognition" by the government, many political questions arose in respect to history, culture, identity reclamation, memory and belonging as well as the basis on which these groups drew their past leadership structures. This paper attempts to construct an argument that although "recognition" in the National House of Traditional Leaders (NHTL) has been granted, how this "recognition" manifests in the lives of individuals classified as "Coloureds" under apartheid remains unclear. There are many processes going on in "Khoisanland" like the "recognition" of Khoisan leaders in the NHTL and land claims processes, however this study's main focus is on how ordinary individuals assert themselves in claiming Khoisan ancestry. How do they go about the process in their daily lives? Moreover, this paper, through "die-stap analysis" attempts to highlight what recognition means to the broader populace.

Breaking with the Past

The year 2014 is significant in South Africa's political history as the country celebrated twenty years of democracy and freedom since its first democratic elections in 1994. Following the post-1994 period, the search for a national identity had become the premise from which the three successive administrations, under different leadership structures of the African National Congress (ANC), attempted to unite its citizens and to bridge the divide which originated from the colonial and apartheid past.[11] This concept of bridging the divide was further invoked through the rainbow metaphor as espoused by the late President Nelson Mandela. President Mandela's successor, Thabo Mbeki tried to concretise this concept through what he called the "African Renaissance" or the re-birth of Africa. This concept meant that a sense of unitary identity and

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[9] Robert K. Hitchcock, "'We are the First People': Land, Natural Resources and Identity in Central Kalahari, Botswana," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 28 no. 3 (2002); R. Sylvain, "Disorderly Development: Globalisation and the Idea of 'Culture' in the Kalahari," *American Ethnologist*, 32 no. 3 (2005).
[10] State of the Nation address
http://www.gov.za/speeches/view.php?sid=24980&lid=1.
[11] Karel A. Bakker and L. Müller, "Intangible Heritage and Community Identity in Post-apartheid South Africa", *Museum International*, 245-46 no. 62 (2010): 48-56.

belonging to Africa had to be raised. Furthermore, the current President Jacob Zuma, espouses the idea of a country "that belongs to all" which is in line with the Freedom Charter signed in 1955 in Kliptown.[12] In order to achieve this sense of national identity Bakker and Müller argue that the state used a hegemonic dominant voice from above, which swarmed over, ignored or silenced many smaller voices.[13] It is in this spirit that Bredekamp noted in the "I am an African" speech made by ex-president Thabo Mbeki, that individuals previously classified as Coloured, those who now self-identify as Khoisan, belonging to various structures felt marginalised and alienated in terms of the nation-building process.[14] In a study by Lee, the assertion made is that an estimated "2.5 million Coloured South Africans would identify themselves as Khoi or San".[15] Statistically, according to the latest census results of 2011, the Coloured population totals approximately 4 539 790 or 8.9% of the South African population.[16] Those who self-identify as Khoisan openly assert and actively lay claim to their heritage [tangible and intangible] through memory construction or re-construction and the invention of traditions while within other structures individuals and groups alike are vigorously engaging in the land claims process.

With all these international deliberations on the state of indigenous peoples, the UN Special Rapporteur, Rodolfo Stavenhagen visited the country in 2005 at the request of the South African government, to look into the state of indigenous peoples in South Africa. The UN Special Rapporteur noted, that

> there is no internationally agreed upon definition of indigenous peoples, states adopt different definitions in terms of their particular contexts and circumstances. The term 'indigenous' is frequently used interchangeably with other terms, such as 'aboriginal', 'native', 'original', 'first nations', or else 'tribal' or other similar concepts. (Point No. 20 in the report)

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[12] Ibid., 2.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Henry C. Bredekamp, "Khoisan Revivalism and Indigenous People's Issues in Post-apartheid South Africa: A Question of Self-identity". Paper presented at the Africa's Indigenous People: First people or Marginalised Minorities Annual Conference, Centre for African Studies (University of Edinburgh, 24 & 25 May, 2000).

[15] Richard B Lee, "Indigenous Rights and the Politics of Identity in Post-apartheid Southern Africa," in *At the Risk of Being Heard: Identity, Indigenous Rights and Postcolonial States* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 97.

[16] South African Statistics (2011),
http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/SAStatistics/SAStatistics2011.

for focussing on "die stap" as the case to examine was not to resolve the question of authenticity or inventions but to understand under which conditions particular kinds of claims to identity reclamation and recognition are asserted through the eyes of young people.

Following this methodological explanation the focus shifts to the Mr. and Miss Khoisan event held at Askham on 1 December 2012. The event coincided with World AIDS Day. Some of the attendees included representatives from the South African Department of Arts and Culture, the South African Social Services Association (SASSA), the owners of the local community newspaper in the area and a local photographer.

Beauty pageants in a Westernised ideology are associated with the outer physical features and appearances of the physical body. This event was unlike beauty pageants, held in a Westernised fashion, where the body is adorned with designer dresses, jewellery and makeup. The young people through this pageant ("die stap") are at pains to reverse the negative stereotypes perpetuated in museums and books where Khoisan in South Africa and internationally, has been talked about and represented in a derogatory fashion. With the guidance of their elders, these young people are utilising the platform that has opened up post-1994 to freely speak about who they are, and how they want to be known moving forward; this is an opportunity denied to their ancestors and forefathers.

According to Reischer and Koo, anthropological records demonstrate that bodies have been and continue to be reshaped in a myriad of culturally relevant ways.[21] They contend that bodies are modified for many reasons, for example to participate in a social group, or to claim an identity in opposition to a social group. Reischer and Koo further claim that the body becomes a location on which one creates desires, with individuals attaching specific identities to it, expressed through behaviour and the ability to retain ethnic and cultural heritage.[22] The body becomes a symbol of cultural (re)production for collective cultural identities, sites for agency and sites for ethnic expression as seen through this pageant ("die stap"). Reischer and Koo assert that two primary theoretical orientations exist, namely the "symbolic body" and the "agentic body", where the former is the representational or symbolic nature of the body as a social conduit and the latter highlights the role the body plays as an active participant or agent in the social world.[23] Some of the contestants were dressed in loincloth, others dressed in what is perceived to be the ethnic attire of the

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[21] Erica Reischer and Kathryn S. Koo, "The Body Beautiful: Symbolism and Agency in the Social World," *Annual Review of Anthology*, 33 no. 33 (2004).
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid., 298.

various Khoisan groups, while others preferred to partake in the pageant wearing "normal" clothing. This signalled the dichotomy between modern and traditional, westernised attributes of globalisation and the migration of cultural ideas, while displaying a true sense of belonging. The pageant ("die stap") also illustrates the reclaiming of pride and dignity in an identity and culture that are said to be backward, not socially recognisable, that have been framed in such a way that people automatically distance themselves from them.

The following picture illustrates how young people are embracing intangible heritage and culture as told to them by their elders. These young people are on a path towards discovering themselves and who they are, albeit imagined or invented.

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

The contestants of the pageant ("die stap") were judged solely on their knowledge of history, their confidence levels in wearing traditional/ indigenous attire and how well they could illustrate the background of the various Khoisan clans.

The history of Khoisan people as reflected in a case study by Louw, on her narrative of the *Medicine Bag*, leads her and her main informant, Ms Peterson to uncover that she has a long lineage linked to the Bondelswarts

Nama people in Namibia.[24] The claim Ms Peterson posits is that throughout her schooling she was never taught the history of the Nama people, let alone that of the various Khoisan groups. This explains in part the remarkable drive by neo-Khoisan groups to teach and educate the young people through events like the pageant "die stap" about the language and cultural traits of the various groups. Throughout the proceedings of the pageant young people displayed a keen interest in what the elders were conveying to them and showed a willingness to embrace the culture and traditions of their ancestors. Barnard noted that heritage identifies the aspects of a culture which are transmitted through generations, that it connotes features of a given culture and times remembered or (misremembered) by succeeding generations, and that, however constructed, it has meaning to the actors.[25]

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[24] Elizabeth Louw, *The Rise, Fall and Legacy of Apartheid* (London: Praeger, 2006).

[25] Alan, Barnard, "Problems in the Construction of Khoisan Ethnicities," paper presented at the Proceedings of the Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage Conference, the Institute of Historical Research, University of the Western Cape, 12-16 July, 1997.
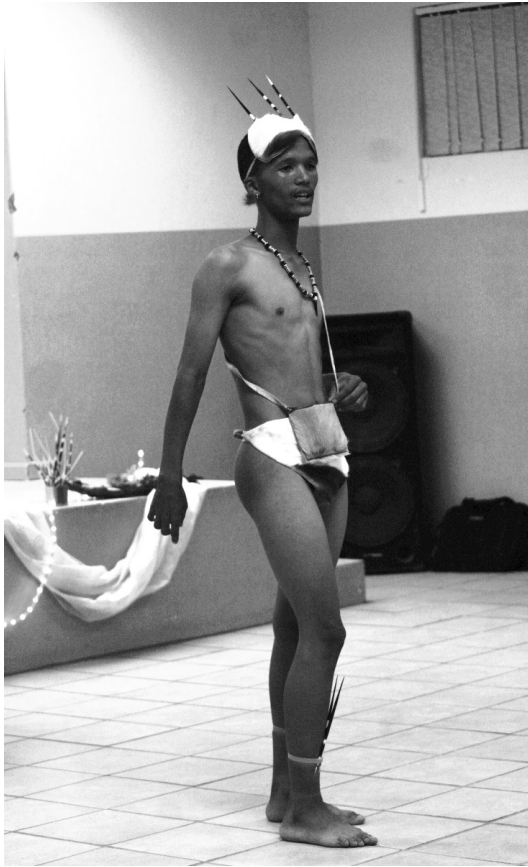
A young man wearing Bushmen loincloth was crowned Mr. Khoisan

Hobsbawn (1983: 2-3) notes the difference between custom and tradition, stating that "custom is what judges do; 'tradition' (in this case 'invented tradition') is the wig, robe and other paraphernalia and ritualised practices surrounding their substantial action".[26] Identity like tradition/culture is not static; they are hybrid, fluid and people invent them and construct them as they evolve and are influenced by outside forces. They construct it and present it in their own way and with their own

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[26] Eric Hobsbawn, "Inventing Tradition," in E. Hobsbawn and T. Ranger eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 2-3.