

UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL

BEADWORK IDENTITY AS BRAND EQUITY:

AN ANALYSIS OF BEADWORK CONVENTIONS

AS THE BASIS FOR CRAFT ECONOMIES

IN KWAZULU-NATAL, WITH SPECIFIC EMPHASIS ON

THE BEADWORK OF AMANYUSWA.

BY

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DECLARATION REGARDING PLAGIARISM

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2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

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Signed……

Date……

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DEDICATION

To my father, Arthur Gatfield; my mother, Anne Gatfield; my sister, Brenda Gatfield;

my wife, Yvonne Gatfield and my son, Christopher Gatfield.

ABSTRACT

The Zulu identity appears to have enjoyed precedence over other polity identities in KwaZulu-Natal for what is largely viewed as time immemorial. Yet, a cursory glance at emergent literature on the Zulu and what has come to be called 'Zuluness', the reification of this identity, reveals that in every instance, where the term 'Zulu' is perpetuated as if an overarching singular socio-political entity, ethical questions emerge. In economic terms these questions become inflamed, particularly within Tourism related industries, where products and services are being sold as authentically 'Zulu', thereby negating other potential for varied brand offerings. Much of the body of literature on beadwork appears to be similarly 'framed', by this seemingly unopposed view of the Zulu. When juxtaposed against the dire poverty within the province, compounded through HIV/AIDS, and retail sites saturated with 'Zulu' product, such as beadwork, the value of brand diversification emerges. Based on this premise, this study examines how polity identity within the Zulu might translate into the alleviation of poverty through micro-economic approaches, by capitalising on visual anthropologies in the form of beadwork identity. To this end, this thesis examines whether the people within one such polity, the amaNyuswa at KwaNyuswa, in the region known as the 'Valley of a Thousand Hills', in KwaZulu-Natal, continue to maintain the use of this identity and elect to define that identity through a beadwork convention. Further, it examines whether such forms of denotation can serve as a basis for a departure from the existing position on beadwork and its relationship to the Zulu brand.

This study therefore examines the historical, political, cultural and socio-economic factors that continue to impact on the survival of amaNyuswa identity, from numerous theoretical perspectives. Methodologically this study draws on the training and experience of the researcher as a visual communication design practitioner and educator, employing a reflexive ethnographic research framework through which to interpretivistically deepen understanding on beadwork conventions of amaNyuswa, in relation to other beadwork conventions within the Zulu. Drawing on qualitative data gained through unstructured interviews and participant observation, by attending numerous traditional events, and in design- based engagements with three craft collectives - Sigaba Ngezandla, Simunye and Zamimpilo, in KwaNyuswa, and with Durban Beachfront Craft retailers and Rickshaw Pullers, it discusses various prototype handbags and Rickshaw cart and outfit designs developed to test the value of beadwork denotation in serving micro-enterprise and polity-based brands.

The findings of this study point to the value of polity-based branding and product development, but also represent the value of visual ethnographic analysis towards understanding the material culture of those from the amaNyuswa, the extended amaQadi, and the larger amaNgcobo polity. Many of these groups elect to denotatively represent themselves through *isijolovane , also referred to as isiyolovane* , the beadwork convention said to look like colorful 'peas' floating in a black 'soup', examples of which were found across KZN province. These findings not only point to a new way in which oral records might be validated through beadwork, but also serve to challenge the commonly heralded view, particularly in the Tourism sector, that the Zulu are a singular identity represented by a single beadwork convention known as *isimodeni,* or the view held by many scholars that Zulu beadwork is simply comprised of a limited number styles, or as merely denoting large regions in the KZN province. Instead the outcomes of this study represent a step towards a reconstituted perspective of beadwork as being a denotative tool for communicating polity allegiance and for representing the diaspora of identities within the Zulu, displaced through time and circumstance across South East Africa. These findings are underpinned through the analysis of secondary data, accessed in museums; in beadwork archives, across KwaZulu-Natal; online; and in relevant texts.

PREFACE

Published in the period that followed the fall of Apartheid, in which much celebration and uncertainty no doubt prevailed, and in which the positivistic approach to Anthropology had served those intent on classifying and dividing racial groups, Boonzaier and Sharp (1998:1) in their book *South African Keywords: The Uses and Abuse of Political Concepts* comment that, "to many South Africans it is self evident, a matter of common sense, that society consists of different racial and ethnic groups, each of which form a separate community with its own culture and traditions. It is believed that such groups actually exist objectively in the real world and there is nothing anybody can do to change this". The authors continue that the bases on which such arguments are founded, "are social and cultural constructions".

It may be assumed that the authors are plainly offering that the converse to this argument is a society comprised of a dynamic confluent societal menagerie, without borders or constraints. Instead the book, written as an educational tool for anthropology students, appears to strike at the 'heart' of cultural and ethnic generalisations and the manipulation of differences in serving control.

The authors speak to the idea that 'culture' is defined only by its effect and affect. Claims that one's culture is defined by cultural difference can be interpreted by first understanding that culture is "not simply a knowledge of differences, but rather an understanding of how language, thought, use of materials and behaviours have come about". In other words culture is a product of historic events (Boonzaier and Sharp 1998:25).

This preface, written sixteen years later, acknowledges the necessity, as detailed by social scientists, to proceed with caution when addressing concepts of identity and ethnicity in anthropological studies. It is therefore noted that there is danger in simply of perpetuating existent social constructions in a study of this nature.

I have during this study come to terms with the idea that there are people who may not always see themselves as members of anything, except of course the human race. I have found that categories, such as 'a nation', 'polity', 'tribe', or 'indigenous' are necessary, and can explain difference, if correctly contextualised.

With reference to such categories, it is through beadwork that I have seen these cultural concepts manifested and perpetuated, particularly in a large part of the body of literature on the subject. Boonzaier and Sharp (1998:26) point out that "cultural categories … are political entities only when they act together in some way".

Such caution of positivistic pursuits, especially if claiming cultural exclusivity, seem fitting if one considers the racially charged period in which this book was written. Equally, such cautions are valid, given that in South Africa's past such forms of 'exclusivity' were used to justify the apartheid agenda, through the argument that categorisations such as 'this nation' or 'our culture' were defended as if some kind of singular organism (Boonzaier and Sharp 1998). Such caution is also acknowledged, particularly when the use of such classifications still appear to persist, in service social dominance and new forms of emergent racism.

This study is written as a response to the 'status quo', as serving a 'middle-ground' between post-apartheid reaction and philanthropy. It assumes a position, with the sole view of strategically maneuvering new thinking on the continued disenfranchisement of the poor, while remaining mindful of social constructions still being perpetuated. In these respective ways, the tension between the Nyuswa identity and that of the Zulu is merely a means of illustrating that new approaches to addressing poverty are possible if epistemologies on beadwork identity in KwaZulu-Natal are deepened.

Although much of the content in this study is aimed at adding to the body of knowledge on the Zulu identity, it draws heavily on contemporary literature on this subject, much of which attempts to 'untangle' the past, while situated in what I view as a period in South Africa's history where the layers of 'dust' caused through Apartheid have largely 'settled', and so are able to be 'wiped away' to reveal new realities, some formerly unseen or some revisited after some time. Informed in this way, this study culminates as an example for 'up-scaling' an emergent economic opportunity. Based on a single identity, and a branding and product development process, it attempts to address poverty within a micro context, based on the success of the current macro context in which a single identity dominates.

I have attempted throughout this study to acknowledge, wherever relevant, that isolated communities or identities with unique culture and traditions, do not fundamentally exist as such in KwaZulu-Natal. A large part of this study is dedicated to pointing out that such constructions are problematic, which necessitated some historical delving and attempting to track the movements of amaNyuswa across the province, through various means. In addition, it would seem noteworthy to point out that this study is not focused on proving or disproving genealogies or chieftainships; on entering into the ongoing debate on *mfecan*e - the destruction supposedly caused by Shaka's Zulu (Wylie 2011); or on validating or motivating for land disputes.

Instead, this study favors an approach which acknowledges that individuals never live out singular identities, but instead form complex identities, based on a multitude of 'actors', as personalities and roles. Even if identities are manifested through beadwork, and are viewed by the makers as purely denoting amaNyuswa identity, it is acknowledged within the context of this study and in the face of globalization that a single isolated identity is practically a distant memory. Equally in the context of contemporary discourses on the liberation from such classifications, this may also be said of 'being Zulu'. Equally, seeing the 'self' as *Nyuswa*, might mean that an individual is seeing him or herself as being of a region, while simultaneously seeing themselves as

Zulu, and as non-different to being *Qadi*. However, this is not to say, quite honestly, that such classifications do not have value in economic terms: a value which I refer to, at length in this study, as 'brand equity'.

This commercial sounding reference might seem very foreign in social scientific circles, but it appears to have been created to define the consumer response to a brand logo, most often created by a Graphic Designer (Barnard 2005). This response can manifest as differential effects, ignited through the marketing of that brand. The result of the promotion of the brand's values and concepts translate as meaning for the consumer, of an image of that brand, or 'brand image', which may manifest in a positive or negative emotional and cognitive response. The aim of a brand marketing campaign is to disseminate knowledge of the brand with the hope that it might achieve brand attachment. This attachment, in turn, can translate in fiscal terms, as brand advocacy, and as brand loyalty (Keller 1993, Barnard 2005). However it is a 'lens' of sorts, with which I am familiar through my practice as a Designer, and what I view as the 'essence' of what is slowly revealed through this PhD endeavor.

I have also attempted to remain mindful that the wearing of beadwork is by no means ring-fenced as definitively denoting socio-political affiliations and geographic bearings. Instead, displays of material culture by individuals could simply be a means of gaining approval from peers and relatives; a result of simply 'going through the motions'; the result of what was taught; a consequence of fashion trends; or a means to denote regional 'style'.

Equally, it is acknowledged that emotionally charged forms of creativity can also be an intrinsic part of the making and wearing of beadwork. To this end I have attempted to distance this study from the discourse on connotative expression, 'love letters', and the like, viewing this form of expression as largely sporadic and individualistic, and not a generalizable phenomenon.

I have attempted to mindfully apply Boonzaier and Sharp's (1998) contribution towards the repositioning of thinking on positivistic Anthropology and unfounded classifications throughout

this study, while simultaneously pointing to the utility in identities to serve as templates for the product development and market diversification. So it is assumed that such practice might at times be misconstrued as a dismissal that phenomena such as fashion, intermarriage, homogenization, modernity and globalization exist, and that identities are static or definitively cellular or bounded ethnicities. This is certainly not the case.

In addition, after spending much time reading the early writings of colonialists and missionaries such as Reverend A.T. Bryant or James Stewart, and other similar authors who wrote during the later 1800's and early to mid 1900's, I acknowledge that the popular response to such texts is the complete dismissal of their validity. For the most part, it is quite easy to sometimes read such work in utter shock, given the apparent audacity of the writer. Cautions by various scholars and authors of such works were most certainly acknowledged. However, it was interesting to note that, in some cases, the converse presented itself. Assisted through a process of rigorous verification, portions of the data offered by these sources proved to be of measurable value.

Finally, the contribution of this study to the body of knowledge on both branding and poverty alleviation in South Africa is firmly based on the reflexive 'lens' of a Visual Communicator or Graphic Designer, through which I believe a deeper form of visual analysis was made possible. To this end it is my hope that this study may serve as a fitting example of Visual Anthropology, a branch of Anthropology that seems to still be fairly unrecognized.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS – Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

ANC – African National Congress

COGTA – Department of Co-operative Governance &Traditional Affairs

DUT – Durban University of Technology

DVCD – Department of Visual Communication Design

HIV – Human Immunodeficiency Virus

IKS – Indigenous Knowledge Systems

NPC – National Planning Commission

NRF – National Research Foundation

RT – Responsible Tourism

SA – South African

TA –Traditional Authority

WACE – World Council and Assembly on Cooperative Education

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Figure 6.8: Harrison, C., 1903. *Fully suited individual on Durban Beach. Bluff can be seen in the background. It does appear that non-Whites are sitting on the beach too, evidence that hawking may have begun on the beach around that time.* In *Natal: An Illustrated Official Railway Guide and Handbook of General Information*, London: Payne Jennings.

Figure 6.9: Stark, F., 1960. LEFT: *Whites only beach, during the 1950's, pg. 55. RIGHT: White tourists are exposed to beadwork through the Rickshaws.* In *Durban*, Johannesburg: Felstar Publishing, pg. 349.

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Figure 6.25: Dodds, W., Monroe, K., and Grewal, D., 1991. *Monroe and Krishnan's (1985), model using Monroe's (1979) conceptualization model of perceived value.* In, Effects of price, brand, and store information on buyers' product evaluations, *Journal of Marketing Research,* 28(3). [Image].

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[Accessed 2/03/2014] [Electronic Image].

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a) Luxury Cultural Media. 2005. *An early 'Zulu Kingdom' logo for Tourism KwaZulu-Natal*, Available: http://www.luxuryculturaltourism.com/zulu-culture.htm;

b) Ask Logo. 2013. *A later reworked 'Kingdom of the Zulu' logo for TKZN* Available: http://asklogo.com/show/detail/K/kingdom-of-the-zulu-logo;

c) Zulu Graphix. 2013. Logo for Zulu Graphix, a marketing and design company, situated in the United Kingdom, Available: http://www.zulugraphix.co.uk;

d) Universal Zulu Nation. 2014. *A logo for the internationally renowned brand 'Universal Zulu Nation' an international hip hop awareness group formed and headed by hip hop pioneer AfrikaBambaataa from New York, USA,* Available: http://www.zulunation.com/events.html;

e) Zulu Labs. 2013. *A Logo for 'Zulu Labs', who purport that the company produces, "Software for business warriors"* ,Available: http://www.zululabs.com;

f) Zulu Tattoo. 2011. *A logo for 'Zulu Tattoos', a tattoo concern in Los Angeles, and in Austin in the USA, where one is "Welcome to Tribe",* Available: www.zulutattoo.net;

g) Brand Crowd. 2011. *A "ready-made logo" for sale online at a website called Brand Crown, which includes the image of a central African styled mask combined with the word.* *Available:* http://www.brandcrowd.com/logo-design/details/23629;

h) Dining Out. 2014. *A logo for Taco Zulu, a Mexican grill and cocktail bar, situated in Durban's popular night 'spot' Florida Road,* Available: http://www.dining-out.co.za/md/Taco-Zulu/2806

i) PheZulu Safari Park and Estate. 2012. *A logo for 'pheZulu Estate', or Phezulu Game Estate, to which visitors at PheZulu Safari Park are directed. This fairly new 54 unit sectional title Village, appears to also share the use of the Zulu brand,* Available: www.phezulusafaripark.co.za/contact.htm;

j) ZuluZulu African Hot Sauces. 2013. *A logo for a Peri Peri Chili Pepper Hot Sauce called 'Zulu Zulu' made in Atlanta, USA*. Available: http://www.hotsauce.com/Zulu-Zulu-African-Hot-Sauces-s/127.htm;

k) Zulu Marketing. 2008. *A logo for a company called 'Zulu Marketing'*. Available: http://zulumarketing.com

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Figure 6.33: LEFT: Gatfield, R., 2013. *Selephi Blose photographed with her beaded umbrella and handbag* [Photograph]

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Figure 6.57: Wells, K., Macdowell, M., Dewhurst, K., and Dewhurst, M. ed. 2012. *The cover of the Siyazama: Art, Aids and Education in South Africa book produced at Workspace.* In, *Siyazama: Art, AIDS and Education in South Africa, Pietermaritzburg*: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. [Electronic Image].

FIGURE A: MAP OF NATAL PROVINCE (n.d), NOW RENAMED KWA-ZULU NATAL



FIGURE B: PRE-SHAKAN MAP DENOTING POLITY LOCATIONS



FIGURE C: MAP OF KWAZULU-NATAL PROVINCE

DETAILING NYUSWA/NGCOBO POLITIES.

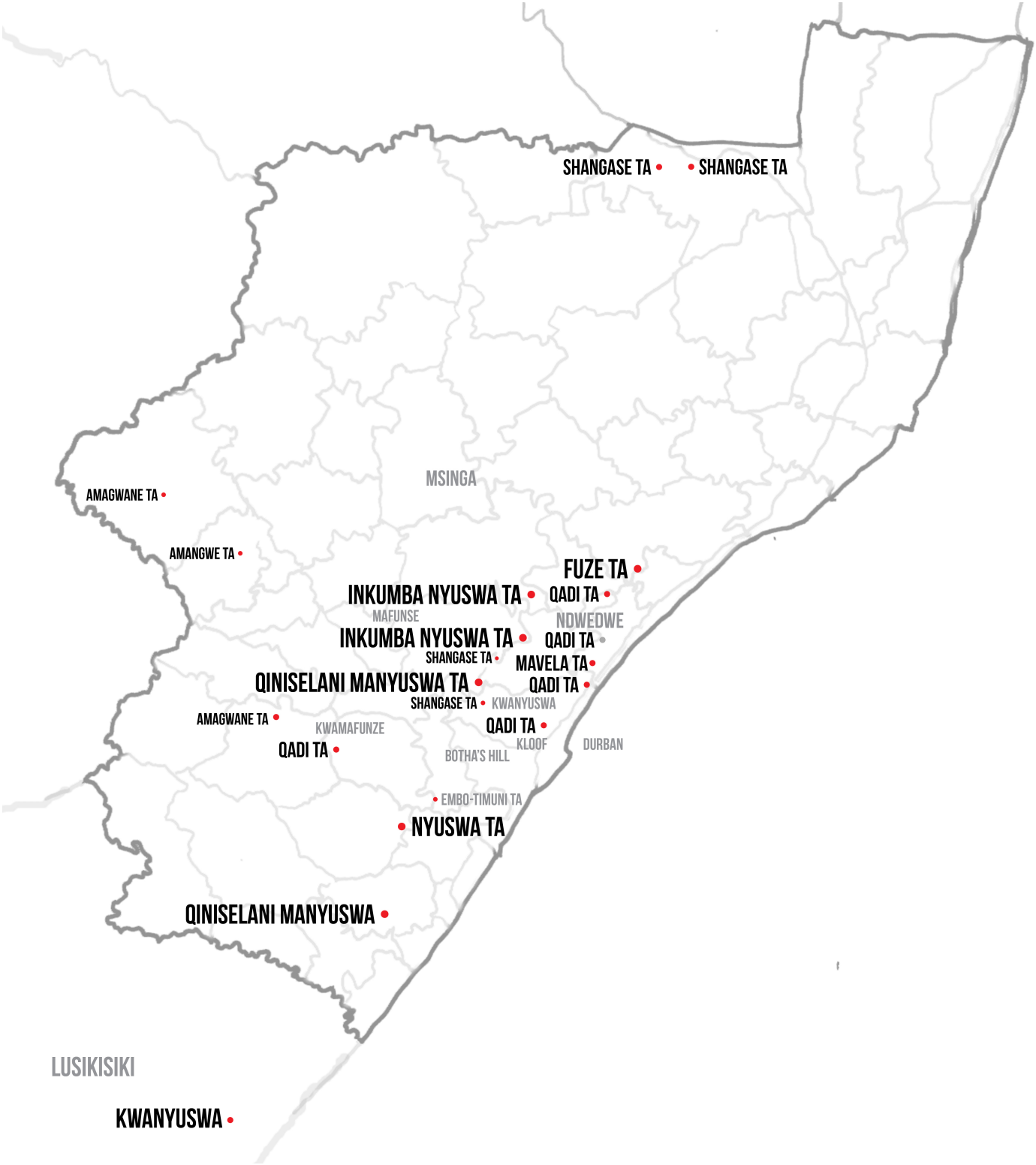


FIGURE D: FRONTIER CHANGES IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH EAST AFRICA



FIGURE E: MAP DENOTING EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN TRADE AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH EAST AFRICA

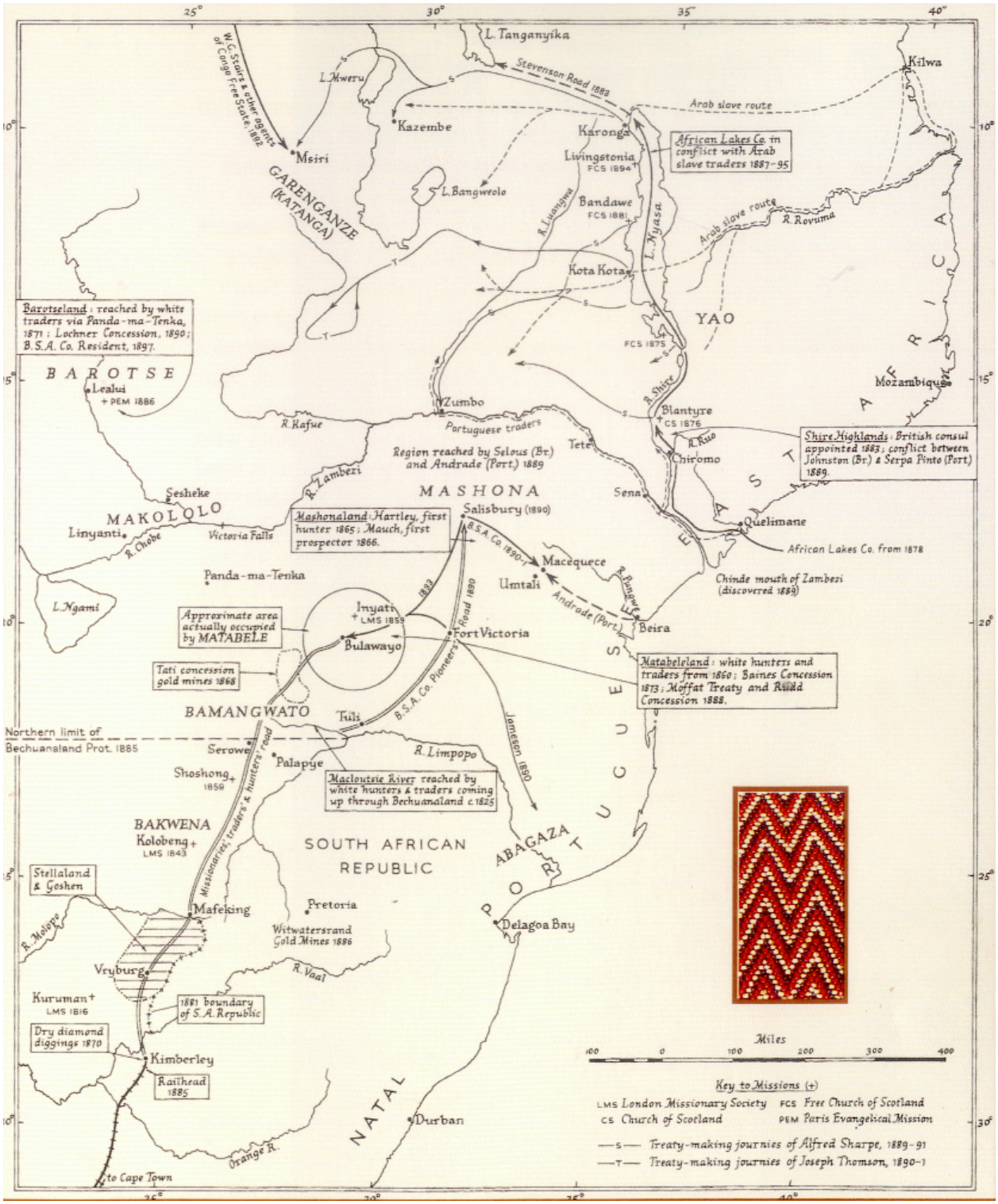


Figure E: This map confirms that Arab Slave Trade was pressing into the African Interior from the Eastern African Coast where it may have engaged those moving South from Egypt and Ethiopia.

FIGURE F: TRADITIONAL COMMUNITIES MAP

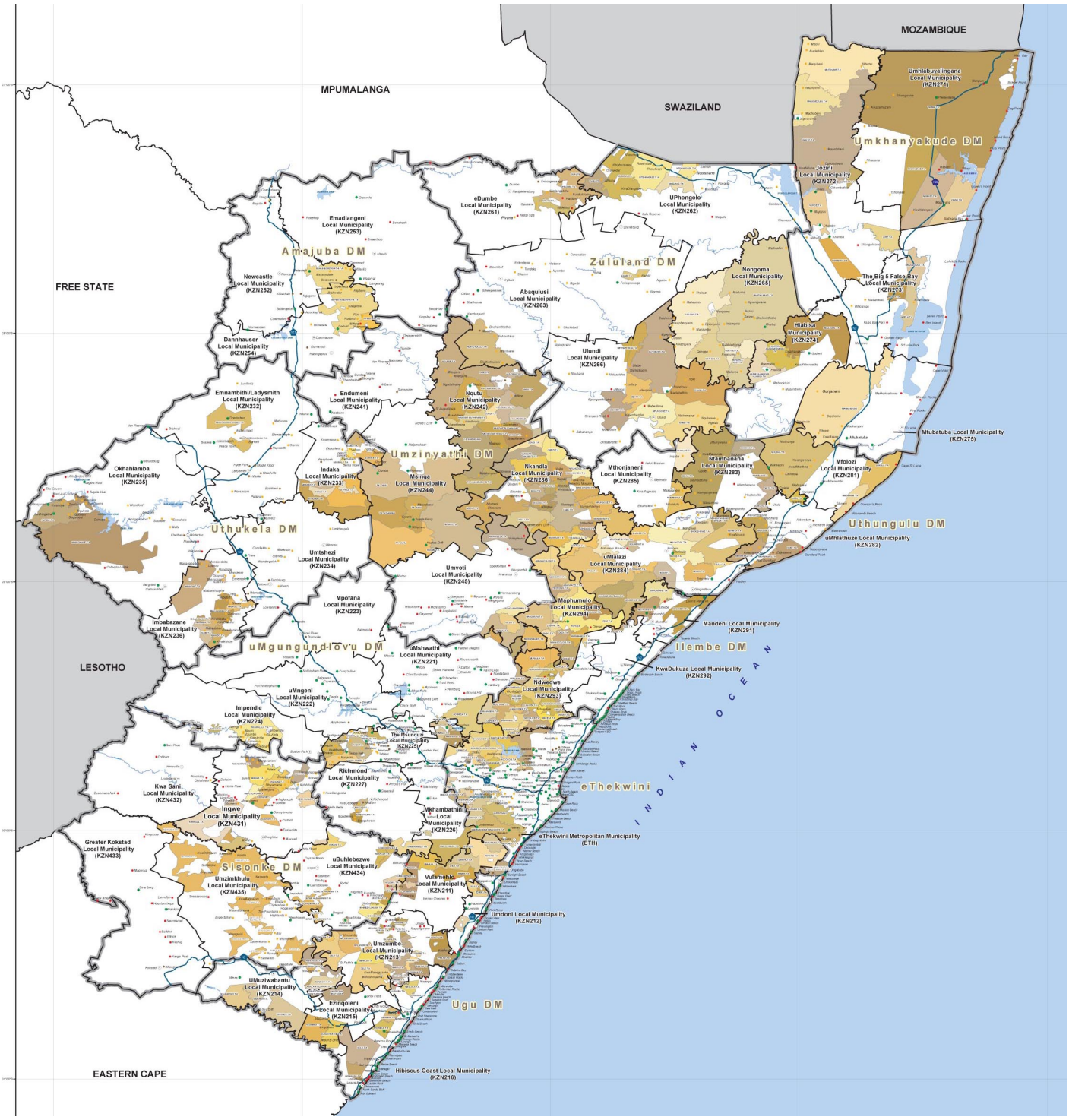
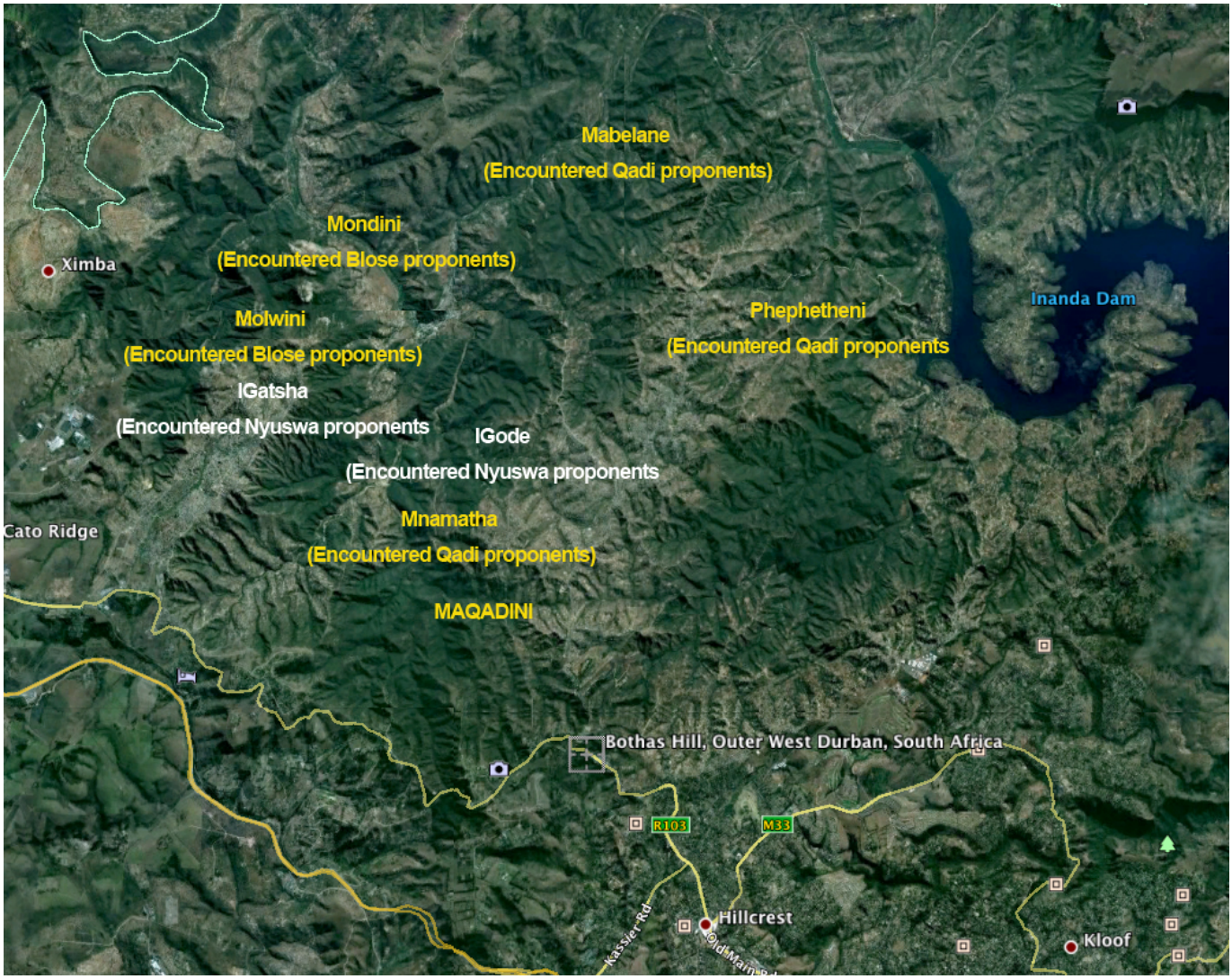


FIGURE G: RESEARCH SITE MAP: QINISELANI MANYUSWA DISTRICT,

KWANYUSWA, VALLEY OF A THOUSAND HILLS REGION

(DENOTING AREAS VISITED)



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

In 1995 at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, poverty was identified as one of the challenges facing humanity. It was therefore imperative for governments to implement strategies aimed at eradicating poverty. According to the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BDPFA) point 16, "eradication of poverty based on sustained economic growth, social development and social justice requires the involvement of women as agents and also beneficiaries of people-centred sustainable development" (Ozoemena 2010).

25 million of South Africa's 48 million citizens are women (Statistics South Africa 2013). Yet 15 years after the establishment of the Beijing 'Platform for Action', most South African women still live in poor conditions with meagre salaries, few skills, poor sanitation and inadequate basic necessities (Ozoemena 2010). When examining issues on poverty alleviation and community development in the world, one is also sure to encounter the concurrent impact of the HIV AIDS pandemic, most prevalent in Africa.

More than two-thirds (70 percent) of all people living with HIV, 25 million, live in sub-Saharan Africa—including 88 percent of the world's HIV-positive children. In 2012, an estimated 1.6 million people in the region became newly infected. An estimated 1.2 million adults and children died of AIDS, accounting for 75 percent of the world's AIDS deaths in 2012 (amFAR 2012).

Further to these statistics are facts concerning women. UNAIDS estimates that close to 8 million women in sub-Saharan Africa are HIV-positive, out of 10 million women infected worldwide (Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations 2013).

Although this study is not directly concerned with HIV infection, it is concerned with poverty alleviation by using micro-economic strategies suited to those either infected with HIV or affected in some way by the loss of family members. These strategies also aim to empower those who find themselves unemployed or simply as victims of poverty. Race was also a factor for consideration in the design and development of the strategies detailed in this study.

"There are significant differences in poverty levels between the population groups in South Africa. In terms of poverty share, more than 9 out of 10 (94,2%) poor people in South Africa were noted as being black Africans in 2011, a proportion that increased slightly from 2006 (92,9%) and 2009 (93,2%). In 2006, two-thirds (66,8%) of black Africans were living under the upper-bound poverty line. This proportion remained relatively unchanged in 2009 (66,9%) before declining to 54,0% in 2011 – this reflects a 19% decrease in the level of poverty amongst black Africans from 2006 to 2011" (Statistics South Africa 2011).

What is not apparent from these statistics is whether this 'decrease' is as a result of increases in social grants (Khumalo 2013), and not necessarily the product of employment intervention strategies.

The strategic approaches to be discussed in this study are also aimed at inadvertantly 'touching' the lives of men, although I have attempted to direct this study primarily towards women, given that women seem so directly affected.

Yapa (1996, as cited in Khumalo 2013:5644) offers that "people are considered poor when they are unable to satisfy their basic needs for food, clothing, shelter and health". This may be most relevant to the 59.3% of poor individuals who are rural dwellers, with the highest prevalence of poor rural dwellers being found in the female population between the ages of 25-49 (Statistics South Africa 2013). What emerges is whether continued poverty in South Africa is simply a result of apartheid and too prolific to address, or if the designs of current poverty alleviation strategies are inadequate.

Khumalo (2013: 5645) points out that there are many theories on the reasons for Poverty. Some "relegate these to Human behaviour where poverty is seen as poor genes, individual failings, and by cultural 'deficits'". She continues: "others view poverty as a structural problem where the poor are victims of systems that confine them in a cycle of lack and inadequacy". The cause, she posits, is that "poverty from this perspective is an unwillingness to do the scientifically right thing of making the macro-economic system, politics and ideology work for the better of everyone" (Khumalo 2013: 5645). Such attempts, by South African leaders and economists to 'widen access', has seemingly been attempted by embracing neoliberalism. An approach which appears to have only benefitted certain sectors of South Africa's population.

Sneider (2003:23) explains that "although the political environment in South Africa is vastly improved, economic apartheid still exists: the economic divisions along racial lines created by apartheid are still in place today. Despite these divisions, neoliberal economists continue to press for a largely unregulated market system, which is unlikely to improve the lives of most black South Africans". The intention was that with the advent of neoliberal economic policies and market pressures, racial inequalities would eventually erode. Despite the apparent result of this intervention, neoliberal economists' seem "penchant to ignore the problems created by inequality and their pursuit of narrowly defined economic goals and criteria".

This study, and its aims are therefore 'eclipsed by an economic trajectory that seems destined to simply perpetuate South Africa's history of economically disenfranchising the poor from prosperity. Further, that the plausibility of this enquiry in testing an emergent premise, within this context of neoliberalism, seems unlikely and an unrealistic aim. This does not however change that post-neoliberalist thinking by economists is necessary and that in that context, specific poverty alleviation strategies might flourish.

In a similar vein, Franklin and College (2011, as cited in Khumalo 2013:5643), point out that there is a need for a re-think on the poverty reduction strategies and efforts given the poor performance of poverty alleviation programs, despite domestic and global efforts to reduce poverty on the African continent.

These statistics and views on poverty and HIV speak of the socio-economic plight of the poor and more particularly of the plight of rural South African women, and serve as evidence of the chasms existing between well-intentioned social empowerment strategies and the effectivity of such strategies in effectively addressing poverty. This dissertation speaks directly to such disparities by confronting, in part, how poverty alleviation could be approached using beadwork craft together with applied anthropologies by using the 'language of commerce' - branding.

In discussing branding, Klein (2009:4) speaks of a significant shift in the history of business, in America in the mid 1980s, in which entrepreneurs reached the realisation that being a manufacturer, and "running one's own factories, being responsible for tens of thousands of full-time, permanent employees – began to look less like the route to success and more like a clunky liability", and that more money was to be made in corporations that used contractors to do the actual manufacturing, and instead focussed their energies on producing 'images' of their brands. This shift, from manufacturer to marketer, proved to be immensely profitable, with these corporations realising that 'winning' was based on who could produce the most powerful image, not product.

Another reason for branding was that with these new forms of contracted manufacture came uniformity and consistency of quality, resulting in products produced by multiple manufacturers being "virtually indistiguishable" from each other. This fundamentally meant that branding offered retailers a means by which to differentiate themselves from other retailers offering identical products (Klein 2009:6). The notion of 'differentiation' is a central theme in this study. In the face of globalisation it is fairly clear that South Africa will need to look inwards to find how best to differentiate itself and its product offerings.

Brooks-Spector (2014), in an online article entitled, *What economic future, South Africa?*, which appeared online on the 1 July 2014, details Khulekane Mathe's outlining of the National Planning Commission (NPC) Secretariat's vision for South Africa in 2034, in which Mathe points out that in the future, the country "will exist in a fast-changing global environment" in which "socioeconomic change

via sustained 5% economic growth…will require significant growth in exports to fund the country's growth, rather than to continue to depend on the inward flow of (inherently unstable, unpredictable) portfolio funds". Further, in the same article, it is detailed that "with Ghana, China and Thailand, their sucesses in building export growth have largely come through deliberate, and frequently successful, efforts to … embark on a broad diversification of their respective export product mixes". When considering how best to emulate these foreign competitors, it would appear that economic strategies seem not to have included an introspective 'audit' of the country's cultural heritage, and the value of such consideration, when combined with micro-economic sectors such as craft and beadwork, in serving to address the need for a diversified export offering.

This study, attempts to confront this apparent strategic shortfall, by visiting or rather, as is revealed later in this study, 'revisiting' cultural identities in new ways, in the pursuit of a viable avenue for various design-based interventions. This renewed focus on cultural identities, is framed by an intention to seek out a means of translating 'social identity equity', based on non-colonial, socio-political histories, intrinsic to the province of KwaZulu-Natal, into 'brand equity'. The ultimate aim being, to establish a means of 'spanning the divide' between the poor and, local and international markets. To this end this study is situated at what could be deemed to be one of the many 'coal faces' of economic empowerment, in peri-urban KwaNyuswa, in KwaZulu-Natal.

KwaNyuswa or the Place of Nyuswa is the site of a similar disjuncture to that detailed by Ozoemana (2010). *KwaNyuswa* is a steeply dissected region of hills and watercourses lying west of Durban city. It was formerly part of the KwaZulu Bantustan or homeland, and is now designated as partly within the eThekwini Municipality. The Valley of a Thousand Hills includes the large Traditional Authority (TA) of KwaNyuswa, which is part of the peri-urban zone of dense, partly urbanized settlement which has changed and thickened the occupation of the districts of former KwaZulu located closest to Durban.

KwaNyuswa, a traditional community, lies on the extreme outer fringes of urban development, west of the Inanda Dam and north-west of Pinetown, about 35 kilometers by road from the Durban city centre. It is one of the largest of the various Thousand Hills Traditional Authorities, and occupies most

of the central high ground between the Umgeni and Umlazi Rivers. To the south is emaQadini, another relatively advantaged Traditional Authority, to the east lies KwaNgcolosi, and north across the Umgeni is emaPhepheteni, a somewhat remote TA. Further to the west and south are white-owned farms and small farming towns along the Durban/Pietermaritzburg transport corridor, now changing over to a tourism economy and a more suburban identity. Immediately south are the nearest towns of Botha's Hill and Hillcrest, growing rapidly with a developing tourist trade. Further south is the Shongweni area, with its economy of racing, horse farming, polo and tourism (Cross 2002:6).

KwaNyuswa is also known to some as The Valley of a Thousand Tears (Valley of a Thousand Tears - Zulu Song 2011). It is so nicknamed as it has been a site "often studied for its overt poverty, proliferation of HIV/AIDS and Tuberculosis, and consequential high orphan rates, despite its relatively close proximity to the urban centre of Durban" (Cross 2002:6).

Much written material 'speaks' to these levels of poverty and the efforts at both the macro policy level and at micro level, concerning economic intervention strategies amongst those known as the Zulu, many of whom reside in peri-urban and rural KwaZulu-Natal (Cross 2002; Ozoemann 2010; Woolard and Liebbrandt 1999; Drimie 2002; Seekings 2007). Some of these efforts appear to have fallen short of expections. Seekings (2007:5) explains that:

> Democratic South Africa was born amidst high hopes for the reduction of income poverty and inequality from their high levels under apartheid. The reality has been disappointing: despite steady economic growth, income poverty probably rose in the late 1990s before a muted decline in the early 2000s, income inequality has probably grown, and life expectancy has declined. The proximate causes are clear: persistent unemployment and low demand for unskilled labour, strong demand for skilled labour, an unequal education system, and a social safety net that is unusually widespread but nonetheless has large holes. It is also clear that economic growth alone will not reduce poverty or inequality. Pro-poor social policies are important, but not as important as a pro-poor economic growth path. Unfortunately, there

> is little sign of the political conditions changing to push the state towards the promotion of a more pro-poor pattern of economic growth. There is some chance of parametric reforms of the welfare state. Overall, however, it is likely that, after another ten years of democracy, unemployment and poverty rates will remain high, despite significant redistribution through cash transfers, and incomes will continue to be distributed extremely unequally.

Throughout this study I acknowledge various policies that have been put in place by the South African Government and by municipalities towards addressing unequal practices in the Tourism Sector. Of these the fairly recent 2012 *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy* is particularly signifanct as evidence of the South African Department of Tourism's attempt to address poverty through heritage and cultural tourism strategies. In this document it is detailed that "currently, as a tourist destination, South Africa is positioned largely around "safari-type" experiences and scenic natural environs which undisputedly constitute an integral part of the biodiversity of heritage resources. South Africa, however, also has much more to offer as a cultural landscape endowed with a diverse wealth of exuberant heritage and cultural products in the form of the arts, crafts, festivals, oral history, storytelling and folklore, heritage sites, places of historical and cultural significance, archeological remains, paleontological evidence and geological formations. The gap analysis conducted by South African Tourism (SAT) shows that more tourists prefer cultural and historical heritage than wildlife viewing, yet fewer had experienced it while in South Africa. Even though heritage and cultural products are highly desired by tourists, this cultural diversity is underrepresented and under-performing within the tourism market" (Department of Tourism 2012:16).

The Tourism sector is therefore highlighted as an important point of focus in this study with "international tourism arrivals to South Africa having grown significantly since the advent of democracy, reaching 8.1 million arrivals in 2010", therefore representing an important conduit of access to affluent markets for informal traders. Sadly the sector also appears to be a site of unequal business practice and the misappropriation of cultural equity (Department of Tourism 2012:16).

As a Graphic Design practitioner and educator, employed in the Department of Visual Communication Design (DVCD), at the Durban University of Technology (DUT), my focus has been on exploring the relationship between culture and design, and exploring projects centred around uplifting the lives of the craftspeople within the KZN region, with a view to upscaling design interventions across the KZN province, and further, towards encouraging my students to participate in similar activities, and towards exploring the design source in KwaZulu-Natal.

This chapter will first offer a background to this study, as inspired through the founding of Workspace, a work integrated learning design studio at DUT, detailing how this unit served to kickstart thinking that Zulu beadwork could result in forms of brand equity, through anthropological research and design intervention. To this end, this chapter will serve to articulate the problem statement, research question, study aim, objectives and nature of the study, and will offer a summary of the various chapters in this document.

1.2 Background to the Study

In 2009 the DVCD at DUT, in partnership with the 'Continuum' Unit for Widening Participation at the University of East London, UK, embarked on an eighteen-month pilot WIL 'incubator' research project. This project was funded by the British Council under their Education Partnerships in Africa (EPA) programme.

The DVCD has for some time incorporated work-integrated learning into its Graphic Design programme, partnering with employers to mentor 'live' briefs with its students. However, the necessary level of business and production experience needed to achieve acceptable levels of work readiness in students has been difficult to simulate. The DUT identified this need and encouraged lecturers who were teaching undergraduate courses to engage their students in work experience.

In 2008, as a Graphic Design lecturer in the Department with many years experience in branding and marketing, and who had partnered and owned a number of Graphic Design Studios, I was asked if I would develop a Work Integrated Learning Design Studio at the University. I agreed, and

consequently went on to manage the unit, which became known as Workspace, for three years between 2009 and 2012. During this three-year period I became increasingly aware that the students were perpetuating a design aesthetic in their work, that subscribed directly to a Western design paradigm. This was, in my view, a direct consequence of the curriculum, framed within European and American design traditions.

Further, when required to include Africanisms or culturally orientated material in their design work, students would mostly arrive at design solutions that seemed only to perpetuate the commonplace and stereotypical visual representations of South Africa. Many of these, either directly or indirectly, perpetuated images and ideas incongruent with a post-Apartheid need to pursue reconciliation and multiculturalism. The need to recontextualise and to redefine the graphic design curriculum, so as to render design and communication solutions better serving a democratic and multicultural society, was most evident. A report commissioned by the Minister of Higher Education and Training, for the *Charter for Humanities and Social Sciences*, published by the Department of Higher Education and Training (2011:21) highlights that:

> Scholarship cannot be based on a closed and everlasting definition of 'the African' or a definition of Africa, rather it needs to strive for an open and dynamic process through which African scholars co-operate, collaborate and help each other reflect on the past, present and future of this continent. Further the necessity that such a reflective and innovative theory-building process around the human and social condition of and on the continent, and their relation to nature and other sentient beings - in terms of heritage, culture, history, aesthetics, sociology, anthropology, ecology and all possible fields – should also be critically unraveling the heritage of authoritarianism, colonialism and the rule of race.

Since the fall of Apartheid in 1994, designers have been attempting to address the apparent 'shortfall' in South African design discourse and practice, brought about through "authoritarianism, colonialism and the rule of race", as detailed in the 2011 Charter. However, much of this 'new' design work appears to be based on the premise that art and design is less about honouring the source, and more

about what can be 'created' by the artist or designer while appropriating the indigenous visual source. These attempts by designers, seemingly intent on making a positive contribution towards reconciling South Africa, simply perpetuate a deeply ingrained colonialist/nationalist styled 'lens', which legitimized the borrowing from the 'open source' of indigenous material culture. The view, as I personally witnessed during the apartheid years, was to translate and to reconstitute this source material as and how the artist saw fit.

In contrast, Waldron and Newton (2012) suggest that such practices are viewed by some as nothing less that cultural misappropriation, uncritical essentialism or cultural theft.



Figure 1.1: The Madonna piece, and two 'pin up girl' images, taking inspiration from African cultural elements and patterns, as well as classic religious icons (Studio Muti 2014).



Figure 1.2: Images painted on the walls of the Mama Africa Restaurant in Long Street Cape Town.

Artist unknown (Gatfield 2012).

In a post colonialist, post apartheid South Africa, designers seem unchallenged in their continued borrowing from indigenous knowledge systems (IKS). This practice is maybe worth some discussion towards validating my observations and towards attributing such a practice as the result of a constructed mindset, a mindset which appears to have facilitated a license for artists and designers to deconstruct and to exploit the IKS resource, without acknowledgement or recompense.

1.2.1 The Designer 'Gaze'

Firstly, most graphic design students in South Africa, would have been taught to see graphic design through a largely Western 'lens', through the prescribed use of the textbook *Meggs' History of Graphic Design* (2012), which delivers a well articulated account of European and American Graphic Design and, from a very Western perspective of the 'other', details a history that stretches from early cuneiform characters, to that being delivered on the internet and in digital media today. Simultaneously, throughout an undergraduate's design education, access to the internet's largely Eurocentric and American design content would serve to perpetuate this perspective on design.

Secondly, former South African technikons, now universities of technology, are the predominent purveyors of Design related courses and are somewhat structurally disenfranchised from the traditional humanities faculty model, which traditionally seem to incorporate Art, Anthropology and Sociology into course offerings. It is therefore not surprising that Design and Ethnography have seldom been mentioned in the same sentence in Design schools in South Africa. Yet, this has not stopped designers from accessing and appropriating indigenous design source, even if with noble intention.

The images depicted in figures 1.1 and 1.2 speak to this idea. On the far left, in figure 1.1, an African styled Madonna has been 'compiled' using multiple cultural sources, mixing rickshaw headdresses with beadwork from the Ivory Coast, together with printed plastic table clothes designs, the like of which can be purchased on Durban's streets. The two pin-up girls (centre and right) also draw on indigenous sources, with the girl on the right wearing the necklace as traditionally denoting a Zulu King, framed in the American 50's styled pin-up visual tradition. In figure 1.2 the images also appear to iconically romanticize an African ideal.

Hal Foster (1995), as cited by Chikha and Arnaut (2013: 662) details that there is an "urge among contemporary artists to engage (directly or indirectly) with anthropology. Anthropology is a discipline those artists find attractive because of, among other things, its access to alterity, its conceptual focus on culture(s), its commitment to on-site collaboration (fieldwork)". However, this "holds the risk of instrumentalisation and appropriation of 'the other' ", or as obliterating "much in the field of the other". Foster speaks of such practices as in opposition to "a critique of ethnographic authority, indeed the opposite of ethnographic method" (Foster 1995, as cited in Chikha and Arnaut 2013: 662).

Foster's (1995) position, in my view serves to describe an unchallenged, constructed 'gaze' of the contemporary designer very similiar to the colonialist 'gaze', which appears to often include a sort of romanticized view of the other, not dissimiliar to the relatively contemporary manifestation, seen in figure 1.1 (left), in its situating of multiple sources into a Catholic or western religious symbolic context and as a homogenised product .

Waldron and Newton (2012:68) comment that this “romanticist idealization of indigenous cultures as a model for Utopian ideals, rituals and symbolic configurations has a long history in Western culture. Seventeenth-century cultural trends described the "noble savage" as evidence of the innate goodness of humanity in the perceived state of nature”.

What comes into question is whether designers are constructing new versions of what is deemed to be indigenous, and whether design education should not rather retrospectively and respectfully acknowledge design sources, and acknowledge what may have been ‘hidden’ through the affects of hegemonic social constructions, brought about during apartheid. Further, it is important that an ethical concern is evident, and that ownership is acknowledged of what has come to be known as an Indigenous knowledge system (IKS), particularly where commercial gain is at stake.

“Indigenous knowledge is defined as ‘‘knowledge that is held and used by a people who identify themselves as indigenous of a place based on a ‘‘combination of cultural distinctiveness and prior territorial occupancy relative to a more recently arrived population with its own distinct and subsequently dominant culture” (Masango 2010: 74).

In exploring these various premises, I began to encourage interns at Workspace, to pursue research specifically aimed at uncovering a distinctly South African design aesthetic. In many cases these enquiries rendered very sound academic results that pointed to an even deeper need for research, positioned around design, culture and visual anthropology.

In 2011, Workspace was appointed as the official advertising agency of the DUT. Noteworthy was a project which involved the rebranding of the Durban University of Technology. The new brand logo of DUT, and its respective sub brands were based on ‘Amasumpa’.

"Amasumpa, are pyramidically shaped pellets found on early examples of *izinkamba,* traditionally fired clay drinking vessels (Armstrong 2008:414). In an interview, with a senior official at the Eshowe Museum, it was explained that:

> *Amasumpa* are said to represent the inception of the triangular form into Nguni visual culture. Pot making and firing was taught to the Nguni by the Khoi San, during a period that preceeded the time of Chief Malandela's rule approximately 350 years ago.

The development of this brand logo, consisting of six coloured triangles, each representing a faculty of the DUT, marked an important transition in the history of the University, towards aligning itself with the endemic history and culture of the KwaZulu-Natal. In my view, this new brand logo also represented an example of how ethnographic research could begin to reposition how Graphic Design could approach transition in South Africa.

1.3 Significance of the Study

This study is therefore significant in four areas: In exploring the value between two largely disassociated disciplines, namely Graphic Design and Anthropology; in acknowledging IKS in beadwork; and in exploring the link between applied anthropologies, found in beadwork, and micro-economic poverty alleviation strategies; and finally in its highlighting of the role that beadwork conventions can play in the tracking and possible validation of oral records detailing the diaspora of polities across South East Africa[1].

Until recently much literature on the Zulu has either been concerned with their conquests, history and political evolution, (Mountain,1999) or with their unique spiritual practices and oral traditions (Bryant 1929, Ownby 1985, Bergland 1976). Scholarship concerned specifically with issues of self-definition through beadwork has been sporadic, primarily over the last fifty years (Tyrell 1968,

[1] Within the context of this study, the term 'South East Africa' refers to the region immediately surrounding and including Pondoland or former Transkei, and what is now known as KwaZulu-Natal –comprising of the towns of Newcastle; Ulundi; the municipality known as uMkhanyakude, which includes St Lucia, Sodwana Bay, Kosi Bay, Hluhluwe, Mkuze, Jozini, Kwangwanase and Ingwavuma; Richards Bay; Dundee; Ladysmith, and the cities of Pietermaritzburg and Durban; the Drakensburg region; Msinga; Limpopo province and the countries of Mozambique; and Swaziland.

Wickler 1989, Jolles 1993, Morris and Preston-Whyte 1994, Klopper 1996, Stevenson and Graham-Stewart 2000, Winters 2008, Dube 2009, Boram-Hayes 2005, Wells 2012).

Much of this literature seems to inadvertently or directly perpetuate the position of the Zulu as primordial, in some cases firmly disregarding the hegemonic position of the Zulu with regard to issues of ethnicity, tradition, practice and belief. “This view takes no notice of the argument, made by academic commentators for the last several decades, that ethnicity is never a fixed, primordial form of identity, but one that is the product of historical processes” (Carton, 2008).

Barth (1969:9) offers that it is a “naïve assumption that each tribe and people has maintained its culture through a bellicose ignorance of its neighbours” and that such thinking is “no longer entertained. Yet, “the simplistic view that geographical and social isolation have been the critical factors in sustaining cultural diversity persists”. In my view, those intent on popularising or in capitalising politically or economically from the Zulu identity, have to some extent understood the currency of this misconception around ethnicity and geography.

Barth (1969:9) explains that “practically all anthropological reasoning rests on the premise that cultural variation is discontinuous: that there are aggregates of people who essentially share a common culture, and interconnected differences that distinguish each such discrete culture from all others”. However, it is also “clear that boundaries persist despite a flow of personnel across them. In other words, categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information, but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained despite changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories… Further, ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance, but are quite to the contrary often the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built. Interaction in such a social system does not lead to its liquidation through change and acculturation; cultural differences can persist despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence. The differences between cultures, and their historic boundaries and connections, have been given much attention; the constitution of ethnic groups, and the nature of the boundaries between them,

have not been correspondingly investigated". In reference to the Zulu, the basis for the argument that the Zulu is a singular or is undiluted, seems publicly to still be heralded as an accepted view. The possibility that smaller clans may well have identities of there own is still largely unexplored. Further that 'Zulu' individuals engaging with these 'identity categories' may be negotiating multiple identities simultaneously; be unconsciously doing so; or may not even subscribe at all to these identity catergorisations. Further, that the position of 'being Zulu' is unchallenged as being a possible consequence of the political histories within South Africa. This concept no doubt relates also to clan or polity identities, with questions then emerging around how socio-political identities are maintained and sustained through concepts of ethnicity or through political control.

More recently writers have begun to question the integrity of the Zulu as a fixed, primordial form of identity, seeing this as what is often referred to as 'Zuluness' (Hamilton 1992, Carton, Laband and Sithole 2008) seemingly serving to diminish the position of clan or polity identities. The impact of Zuluness on the identities of smaller polities within the tourism industry, is a an area that appears to have received little attention.

A prolific writer in Social Anthropology concerning the power and position of the Zulu, Professor Carolyn Hamilton (1992:2), speaks of tourism developers and promoters seeking to promote Zulu history and culture as "African heritage", most favoured for its "distinct and potent public image". Hamilton (1992:2) details this image as one "endowed with a deep historical background," noting three well-known elements of this image both within and beyond KwaZulu-Natal: Shaka, the founder of the militarized Zulu nation; the Zulu defeat of the guns of the great British empire at the battle of Isandlwana of 1879; and, finally, during the latter part of the century, Mangosuthu 'Gatsha' Buthelezi, South African politician and former Prime Minister of the KwaZulu Bantustan. She comments that "Zulu ethnic tourism - the consumption of 'Zulu' history and culture in situ by outside visitors, has been actively marketed for much of the twentieth century and is part of the growing international commodification of African culture. Tourism is of increasing significance today in South Africa's otherwise sagging economy" (Hamilton 1992:1).

Like Hamilton's (1992) offering, other forms of scholarship have explored the relationship between Tourism and the Zulu identity (Mthethwa 2008; Naidu 2011; Marschall 2003). This discourse seems to be largely framed either as a critique of the Tourist 'Gaze' of the other, the search for authenticity and the exotic, or what Chikha and Arnaut (2013) call 'Human Zoos' – " 'black villages' or 'human showcases', as exemplary loci of colonial ethnographic work". Comaroff and Comaroff (2009:11) state that, "KwaZulu, the ethno-nation 'itself', seems to be mutating slowly into a culture park, a tourist destination, the 'ur-space' of tradition in the country at large". In the context of this study, concerns about the essentialisation of the Zulu identity for economic gain emerge. Such concerns are expected, and so an area that should be carefully contextualized for this study, in which the tension between identity essentilisation in serving a need for cultural tourism, is juxtaposed with addressing the realities of failed pro-poor or poverty alleviation strategy in South Africa.

John and Jean Comaroff in their 2009 book *Ethnicity Inc.* 'pick' at what they call 'ethnopreneurialism', or entrepreneurship connected to ethnicity, citing numerous instances where ethnic groups have been either voluntarily or involuntarily connected to commerce, highlighting neoliberalism's inability to approach an "ethic of responsibility" and that the "commodification of culture is more than a manifestation of the modern 'march of the market', where otherness is merchandized to and by alienated actors.". In his review of Ethnicity Inc., sociologist Jacques Henry, points to the authors carefully avoiding condemnation "of the San (and their pharmaceutical industry with *Hoodia gordonii* cactus) and the Twsana for industriously feathering their niches in post-apartheid Southern Africa" and that the authors point to "cultural identity economy as an "open‐ended dialectic in which … human subjects and cultural objects produce, reproduce, and refashion each other" (Henry 2009:234). What emerges is an unresolved debate, and an area of commerce seemingly open to ethical challenges.

The San's success is possibly a case in point, where success was built on 'the back' of ownership. The Comaroffs do however caution that a tension exists in this debate between *both* what is innate and what is constructed; what *is* ' blood' and what is choice; and that orientationally these kinds of links between commerce and ethnicity have "incorporated an economic claim of ownership" being linked

to the original "claim of political sovereignty" (Henry 2009:234). To this end, I have attempted to remain mindful when problematizing the relationship between commerce and ethnicity. However, the sobering motivator behind this study is the harsh realities of poverty, as detailed previously in this chapter. The tension between commerce and ethnicity therefore remains a discursive area of consideration.

Scholarship, which has interrogated the Zulu identity separately from commerce, appears to have followed two other trajectories. The first focuses on the stereotype of the Zulu King, Shaka, the nature and legitimacy of his legacy, particularly regarding Mfecane[2] as a historic record underpinning claims by current King Goodwill Zwelithini, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to various forms of geographic sovereignty (Wylie 2011; Hamilton 1992; Wright 1989; Buthelezi 2008). The second is based on a seemingly similar stereotyped legacy of the Zulu, but in exploring what has come to be known as 'Zuluness' or 'Zululisation' - but essentialises the Zulu identity and cultural symbols for political gain (Carton et. al 2008; Wylie 2011; Sithole 2008; Dlamini 2008). It would seem then that in every instance, where the term 'Zulu' is perpetuated as if it is the overarching singular entity, ethical questions emerge.

The significance of this PhD study is maybe made clearer through author, Dlamini's (2008) offering which points to the use of beadwork as a vehicle for manipulating ethnographic representations in the public domain, namely in museums. Dlamini (as cited in Carton et. al 2008: 477) explains that, "until recently, in KwaZulu-Natal museums, the presentation of Zuluness has followed a well worn script with a summary of what makes ethnic identity homogenous and naturally unified." He argues that, "for bantustan authorities, in particular, political imperatives dictated this script" (Dlamini as cited in Carton et. al 2008: 477). His observations speak specifically of engineered 'truths' that sought specifically to disregard various polity identities and their respective colour combinations.

2 Mfecane is the term given to describe the hegemonic destruction and 'consumption' of indigenes within the South East African region, as directly instigated by King Shaka. (Etherington 2004; Wylie 2011) Etherington (2004:203) suggests that this "unresolved debate on the mfecane in southern African history has been marked by general acceptance of the proposition that large scale loss of life and disruption of settled society was experienced across the whole region. Attempts to quantify either the violence or mortality have been stymied by a lack of evidence". Wylie (2011:33) argues, as informed by Julian Cobbing's (1988) take on "*mfecane* as an alibi for colonial-sponsored violence" (Etherington 2004), that "early voices" announcing its implausibility were simply, " comprehensively buried" and that more recent views have pointed to it being "untenable" (Wylie 2011:33).

The significance of this study is that it departs from Dlamini's position and embraces the notion that emergent realities concerning the Zulu identity, evident in history and perpetuated in contemporary representations of life within KwaZulu-Natal, underscore the argument that no single overarching visual and conceptual identity exists. Rather it seems more plausible that the Zulu identity is the hegemonic sum of many polity identities. Many of these polities appear to be 'intact'. The existence of these polities, and their respective beadwork conventions, is particularly evident when reviewing literature on beadwork from within South East Africa.

Here the significance of this study shifts towards the value of the 'polity identity' – as a socio-political unit either a phenomenon seemingly disregarded in the public domain when eclipsed by the dominant Zulu identity. In this study I have attempted to situate this study within the broad context of writings on beadwork, with a specific aim to establish the collective position by established academic writers on polity-based beading conventions. Particular emphasis has been placed on polities that were formerly entities independent from the Zulu, prior to Mfecane. These are sometimes referred to in this review, by various authors as 'tribes' or 'clans'. Further I have continually searched, to little avail, for authors who directly acknowledge the existence of beadwork conventions that denote *izigodi*, or sub-polities, sometimes also referred to as 'clans' or 'districts' or even 'tribes'.

Many of the writings I encountered on traditional Nguni beadwork from the South-East African region (Klopper 1996, Morris and Preston Whyte 1994; Wickler 1989; Jolles 1993, Mayr 1907, Wells 2006), speak to the connotative and denotative properties of this form of adornment. It becomes apparent, in these various texts, that the purpose of beadwork extends beyond adornment towards serving as a visual signifier - as a denotative conduit for identification, and as a means to connotatively ascribe meaning to the wearers and to those viewing the beadwork.

This study therefore represents an area largely unexplored, within the realm of poverty alleviation. A critical examination of the social and visual dynamics of one such polity, the Nyuswa, therefore represents a microcosm situated within a broader discourse on the role of Zuluness in an extended

Tourism industry, as impeding emancipatory ends. The intention therefore is to explore through reflexive means how such a 'sample' might illuminate thinking on 'identity equity' and the intellectual property intrinsic to the epistemologies of the Nyuswa, or what could be referred to as 'brand equity'.

Finally, the value of this study as revealed through theory 'grounded' in the data, is that it appears to point to a new role that beadwork might play in serving epistemological pursuits surrounding diaspora in South East Africa.

With reference to such pursuits Cele (2014: 27-29) offers that, "conflicts between African groups in the late twentieth century were not a product of 'tribal' issues, but were modern struggles for power and resources" and that "official boundaries of Zuluness were refashioned for political purposes in KwaZulu-Natal. People invoked and mobilized cultural affinities and affiliations for political purposes". To this end, it is also acknowleged that there have been few means of accurately validating the diaspora of these groups. ... the dynamics of social change in many chiefdoms have been hidden from the regional history of South Africa. This is because the study of KwaZulu-Natal has generally identified all Africans in the province as IsiZulu speaking, and thus as AmaZulu/Zulu, without investigating role and influence of Orality in Southern African studies". Although in its formative stages, the premise that beadwork might be used to validate or verify oral records appears to emerge through the account and recount of Mduduze Fuze[3], a primary informant in this study.

1.4 Motivation for this study

Clearly the divide between what is artistically created for commercial purposes and what is ethnographically documented and understood, exists (Foster 1995; Chikha et.al 2013; Siegenthaler 2013).

[3] Mduduze Fuze is a primary informant in this study. Formerly Mduduze Ngcobo, he changed his name, as demonstrated in identity documents, based on his own confidence in oral record of the Nyuswa, to which he is privy. By his own introduction to me and through his demonstration, of extensive historic evidence and oral records, some of which I have attempted to validate in this study, he indicated that he is a 'Prince', or awaiting Chieftainship of the Nyuswa.

In my own experience, I have come to understand that although designers are in many cases artists, Art practice, as taught academically, does not permeate those practices already in place within design based pedagogy. Siegenthaler (2013:737) offers that, "while an ethnographic turn has indeed taken place in contemporary art practice, this is not necessarily the case with scholarly research in contemporary art. This is especially surprising considering the conditions under which research on contemporary art production takes place. The particular processuality of the artworks does not allow for an exclusive use of established methods in art history, but requires additional approaches". Instead she calls for "an ethnographic turn in art scholarship that complements established approaches with methods and research questions derived from social anthropology and sociology, such as participation, observation and qualitative studies in social and aesthetic production, reception and perception" Siegenthaler (2013:737).

In a similar manner, I acknowledge this gap in my own practice as an educator. So to some extent this PhD study represents a testing ground, exploring how design education can be improved, but also exploring how aesthetic ethnographic methodologies might be bolstered to include the value of a reflexive position, seemingly omitted in design practice, training and research. In an artistic context, or rather in what is often referred to as Fine Art, the reflexive self can determine the basis for self-expression, or as a comment on or reference to the artist's own existentialism. Where I separate in approach, from this view of Art, is in the relationship between Art and the principles of perception and reception.

Graphic Design is in my experience, focused art - created with a very specific intention and outcome in mind, usually as a 'visual message' directed at a specific audience. I see that Graphic Design can draw on the reflexive ethnographic process as a means of tempering the effectivity of visual messaging and 'visual dialogue'.

Further, I acknowledge my position, as a 'formerly privileged' 'White' South African. I also acknowledge that I have elected not to flee this country, but have instead chosen to participate in a

multicultural sense and to contribute towards South Africa's development. This I view as my responsibility as a South African what motivates me and is what has motivated this study.

Further, I have always gravitated toward the study of anthropological behavior. Since an honours study, of Durban subcultures conducted in 1998; and later in a Masters study that took the form of a worldwide cinematographic study of alternative/intentional communities, I have explored the value of the ethnographic approach. In this manner of research approach, this PhD study represents a hybridity of thought and training, which I view as experience that has assisted the 'unmasking' of emancipatory avenues. It is hoped that this contribution might illuminate new thought on how best to transcend current policies, which in my view are still crude, alienating, and simply creating more poverty.

These policies and strategies, aimed at alleviating poverty, appear to be situated with the frameworks of 'welfare' and 'social protection', instead of 'entrepreneurship' and 'economic development and planning'. The reason for this, in my view, is that South African business continually looks to the West and the East for business opportunity, and for the 'nature' of what could be 'commodified', instead of first 'looking within' for what might serve economic emancipation. This study is therefore centred on empowering the poor through a 're-evaluation' of what might be deemed intellectual property and which, as is demonstrated in this study, manifests as 'brand equity'.

In reference to the background, significance and motivating factors offered in this chapter this study seeks to deepen understanding regarding how polity identity within the Zulu, is perpetuated and the means by which individuals within those socio-political units elect to self-define through polity-based beading conventions. It will also examines, the historical and contemporary political, cultural and socio-economic factors that have impacted on the survival of polity identity and beading conventions, and if these surviving identities can be employed in the creation of 'brand equity', through design and strategic marketing interventions aimed at repositioning public perception and empowering rural beadworkers. To this end, this study will focus on a single polity within the Zulu, the Nyuswa or in the isiZulu plural the amaNyuswa, residing at KwaNyuswa, a region on the outskirts of Durban.

1.5 Research problem and key questions addressed in the research

The Zulu identity has enjoyed precedence over other polity identities in KwaZulu-Natal for what might seem since time immemorial (Carton 2008; Dlamini 2008; Buthelezi 2008; Wylie 1995). Similarly views on beadwork are mostly contextualised by this unnopposed 'truth' (Tyrell 1968, Wickler 1991, Morris and Preston-Whyte 1994, Klopper 1996, Stevenson et al. 2000, Dube 2009, Boram-Hayes 2005, Wells 2006).

In contrast, this study is intended as an examination of the amaNyuswa at KwaNyuswa to gain an understanding of how this group self-defines, and if a beadwork convention is being used to denote this identity inside and outside the group. On the basis of this premise, this study extends to consider whether polity-based beadwork denotation could serve as a departure point from the existing position on the beadwork of KwaZulu-Natal, which seemingly holds that a single beadwork convention denotes the Zulu identity. Further, it explores whether polity-beadwork conventions could translate into a design intervention suitable for alleviating poverty through various micro-economic approaches. In support of understanding the Nyuswa identity, this study examines the historical, political, cultural and socio-economic factors that have and continue to impact on the survival of this group's identity and beadworking convention. The study sets out to gain such understanding by examining the following key questions:

• What visual beadwork constructs that have been historically used as denotation by those of the Nyuswa and related polities?

• How does beadwork play a role in constructing meaning and self-definition for those inside and outside of the Nyuswa polity?

• What are the visual origins that underpin this beadwork convention and why has this convention been perpetuated?

• What economic strategies have impacted or continue to impact the craft industry in KwaNyuswa?

• What effect have these strategies had on the Nyuswa identity?

• What historical, political, cultural and socio-economic factors have impacted and continue to impact the Nyuswa identity?

• What design and strategic marketing interventions, based on the Nyuswa beadwork convention, might inform new Tourism-related, micro-economic strategies for the community at KwaNyuswa?

• How might this premise of polity-based beadwork denotation be used to improve poverty alleviation across KZN?

1.6 Objectives of the Study

In 2008, the White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism In KwaZulu-Natal was "developed against the background of Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal contributing about R18 billion to the GDP – about 10% of the provincial economy". As of 2008 it was established that the "Province attracts about 1.3 million foreign visitors and 13.9 million domestic tourism trips on an annual basis". The KwaZulu-Natal Province put in place plans to "increase its foreign arrivals by 2011 to 2 million, and its domestic trips to 15.5 million, and a R34 billion contribution to GDP". It is identified that the document is not "a Tourism Marketing Policy, but a Policy document that sets out the strategic policy issues any competitive destination strives for" (KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Government 2008:5).

This document not only points to the fiscal value and potential of Tourism, but also inadvertently acknowledges that the Province has within it the means to grow capacity, noting that focus should be placed on "planning, development and the promotion of tourism products for the Province" (KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Government 2008:20). The policy document does not however acknowledge the state of the existing offering as singularly framed through the Zulu identity, nor how this strategy might be restricting the potential for trade and product development.

Such an acknowledgement of this persuasion, might be deemed too politically dangerous - as an act of entirely legitimizing the position and role of the Zulu Identity, in 'black and white'. Further, such an acknowledgement might result in the need for an entire reconstitution of the value-chain attached to existing Tourism economies in the province, resulting in all manner of ways in which wealth distribution might be required. Yet the term 'Zulu' appears to still be perpetuated, as if it were an overarching singular entity.

Mbongiseni Buthelezi (2008:23) points out that in 2005, the President of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Mangosuthu Buthelezi, "implored his audience, 'to preserve…. Zuluness… to make our voice ring out across the hills and valleys of KwaZulu; to let the rest of South Africa know that we are Zulu'". Such public declarations of Zuluness appear to have reached their mark in the minds and hearts of recipients, in a manner that seems unlikely to dissipate in the near future.

Buthelezi (2008:31) argues that the politics of cultural nationalism in KwaZulu-Natal is still influenced by an almost exclusive ethnic/tribal identity. He argues, that "the belief in being Zulu will probably not be discarded. It constitutes a part of post-apartheid society" and that one should not "simply dismiss this as "cultural chauvinism" or as "a tired relic of colonialism". This resolute position on the affirmation of Zuluness appears to have also permeated other sectors, most notably Tourism in the KwaZulu-Natal Province.

In an online article entitled *Zulu Kingdom. Exceptional*: *About KZN Tourism*, (2012) It is explained that the post-1994 decentralisation of national tourism marketing saw the establishment of the 'Zulu Kingdom' strategic positioning and tag line by the KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority, which was designed to "position the Province of KwaZulu-Natal as Africa's leading tourism destination". It also pointed to a firmly entrenched position regarding the province's stance on claims by polity leaders, who at the Nhlapo Commission questioned, as Sithole (cited in Carton 2008: xvii) explains, "simplistic assumptions that all black people in KwaZulu-Natal are voluntary subjects of the Zulu King".

Against this backdrop, this study examines 'Zuluness' or 'Zulu-isation' and its impact on polity identity, tourism and economic development of rural craft based initiatives, and interrogates the relationships that exist between the notion of Zuluness and the intellectual property of subjugated polity identities as informing new economic interventions in KwaZulu-Natal. To this end the objectives of this study are as follows:

• Through careful analysis of the Nyuswa identity and its material culture, the intention is to deepen understanding regarding the value of applied anthropologies toward emancipatory ends, and to explore the relationship between design and ethnography;

• To provide an understanding of Zuluness and more directly the Zulu brand's economic impact on Tourism and the related retail trade;

• To explore the relationship between polity identity and that of the Zulu identity;

• To explore beadwork conventions as intellectual property;

• To explore the value of micro economies using polity identity and the related beadwork as equity;

• To address how beadwork is viewed in terms of its value in denoting socio-political groupings and regions.

This study therefore attempts to illustrate the potential of epistemologies, established through an analysis of visual sequences found in the beadwork of KwaZulu-Natal, and through uncovering oral histories and beadwork sequences particular to the Nyuswa. Through this process of analysis, the intention is to consider if such forms of knowledge, framed primarily outside of the popular view of 'Zulu history and identity, might serve as a basis for brand equity and a brand diversification strategy.

The intention therefore is to explore how best to strengthen the current Tourism and identity 'export' offering, using a 'bottom-up' approach. In other words the value of the Zulu Brand is also integral to such a strategy, based on the current brand equity surrounding this established brand, particularly established within the national and International tourism markets, and within related industries which serve those markets.

1.7 Plan and Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters:

Chapter One provides an introduction and background to the study, and offers a context to the research problem by detailing issues of poverty in Sub-saharan Africa, the geographical orientation of the research site, the significance of the study in terms of its value towards transformation and design education and the motivating factors that have inspired a study of this nature. This includes defining and locating 'brand equity', by challenging the ambiguity of Zulu hegemony, and through an acknowledgement of other identities and their intellectual and ethnographic contribution to design pedagogies. Further it details the broad problems to be addressed, and the specific objectives of the study. Lastly, an overview of the thesis structure is detailed.

Chapter Two discusses the theoretical framework for the study, which draws on multiple theories in describing the complexity of this study. Further it details the methodology and methods selected for gathering and analysing data, noting the nature of preliminary research that underpinned choices in the research design, the study site, the samples and sampling procedures employed, how informed consent was sought and the various forms of testing that formed part of the data analysis process.

Chapter Three attempts to position this study as a visual anthropological investigation of the Zulu. It examines the role of colour sequences and visual constructs, or patterns found in beadwork in rural KwaZulu-Natal, as an attempt to better understand 'Black' cultures in KZN province. To this end, it examines the relationship between polity identity and beadwork, as a means of denotative representation, of both large and small polities, and as a departure from the popular view in ethnic

tourism, which favours that there a single Zulu identity in the province (Hamilton 1992); it questions whether beadwork can be best described as stylistically regionalised (Mayr 1907; Jolles 1994; Morris and Preston-Whyte 1994, Boram-Hayes 2005; Van Wyk 2003; Tyrell 1968; Dube 2009) or whether beadwork is primarily a form of connotative or semiotic messaging; spiritual art; or purely creative expression (Dube 2009; Wells 2006; Winters 2008; Van Wyk 2003). Further, this chapter takes an interdisciplinary approach. It discusses the reflexive ethnographic nature of this study as a means to detect, verify and analyse beadwork identity. In addition, it discusses this 'means' as a 'trained perspective' or 'way of seeing', informed both through Visual Communication Design practice, Communication Theory, and through visual anthropologies. Collectively these various perspectives have facilitated a reconstruction and identification of visual and social relationships found in polity beadwork in this study. This chapter does not deal specifically with the Nyuswa, but is an attempt to position this study within a broader social context, that might serve to highlight the value of a denotative perspective to beadwork analysis and, by exclusion, offer that the beadwork of the Nyuswa or Ngcobo is unique and different from other forms of beadwork found in the province. In so doing, the attempt is also to highlight the value of beadwork analysis, through observations made during visits to KwaZulu-Natal museums and rural areas, towards deepening understanding of the denotative visual dynamics of Zulu social geography.

Chapter Four is concerned with the politics of representation between the Zulu identity and the Nyuswa identity. This chapter tracks the historical and political factors that have impacted on this relationship and how those within KwaNyuswa see themselves, and the role of their beadwork, in relation to these identities. To these respective ends, it discusses the homogenisation and commodification of beadwork identity as a product of hegemony, social construction and the influence of various ideological positions, with a view to establishing a position of departure upon which to base economic craft-based inteventions.

Chapter Five discusses the role and semiotic construct of beadwork as creating meaning for those who wear it. It discusses how this role has shifted, with time, in style, colour sequence and design or visual construction. It also discusses how the specific colours and forms found in the beadwork of the

Nyuswa appear to facilitate an interplay between identity, social interaction and solardarity through ritual and ceremony, through various stages of female life, and in denoting the respective roles or positions of members within the polity. This chapter posits, based on respondents' perspectives on the relationship between cultural identity and beadwork, and on the semiology of that beadwork as denoting identity, that the social construction of the Zulu identity has almost entirely obliterated any pre-Shakan notions of the Nyuswa beadwork visual construct. Through the experience of the respondents, I offer that in post-apartheid, post-liberation terms these rich visual systems continue to diminish in value at the 'hands' of modernity, globalization and political agendas, and should be re-evaluated as survivals of these dissipating identities.

Chapter Six focusses on the entrepreneurial activities of beadworkers and informal traders living and working in KwaNyuswa, in the Botha's Hill region, and in Durban. It discusses the development of *isimodeni*, the beadwork style which appears to be synonymous with the Zulu identity. Further it discusses the basis for a differentiation brand strategy, based on emergent anthropological visual data, aimed towards serving new Tourism related economies and in also reinvigorating existing ones. The chapter identifies an interest in beadwork and artefact evident in international purchasing patterns and shown by visitors to South Africa in pursuit of the seemingly 'authentic' and exotic, associated with the Zulu. It then details two design intervention tests that investigate a basis for a commodification and brand development process, based on the epistemologies surrounding the Nyuswa identity and its related beadwork convention. In this way the premise that beadwork might be used as brand equity in alleviating poverty is explored. This process is also detailed in reference to various other polity or regional identities and related beadwork conventions found in KwaZulu-Natal. To this end, it details the development of the Ntombi Handbag Project and the Durban Rickshaw Renovation Project, established to explore feasibilities for craft and tourism economies.

The final chapter, Chapter Seven, will provide a summary of the research findings, the significant contributions of the study and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

2.1 Introduction

In essence this study has been guided by the principles inherent in any qualitative investigation, namely that the construction of concepts that have informed emergent processes and products have resulted out of an open-ended, non-prescriptive endeavor (Charmaz 2006), based on in-depth interactions, fastidious data gathering and critical self reflection, negotiated within a theoretical framework.

To these ends, this study has employed a constructivist approach to emergent theory, grounded in data, by placing emphasis on the phenomena of study (beadwork denotation and identity), seeing both data and analysis as created from shared experiences and relationships with participants (Charmaz 2006). While employing a reflexive ethnographic approach, which has in part served the analysis of beading sequences, I have attempted to identify conceptual constructions linked to beadwork's denotation of identity. This process was assisted through the mapping and careful 'unpacking' of socio-political chronologies and events, which have marked the history of KwaZulu-Natal. In many cases, this historic context has seemingly served both to underpin and to even 'eclipse' responses, revealing the multiplicity and dynamics of identity formation and construction amongst participants. These include ideas of Zuluness, but also Blackness as propelled by Whiteness. Collectively these 'social concepts or constructed categorisations have informed an analytical process aimed at formulating an understanding of the reductive processes affecting the Nyuswa identity and beadwork convention. In this process, 'brand equity', attached to the Nyuswa beadwork convention, has emerged through the tracking of oral records, as a means of testing the premise that an undiscovered intellectual property might be intrinsically linked to beadwork, and a vital means of envigorating micro-economies.

To these ends, this chapter outlines the nature of the theoretical framework and its relevance to the research design and methods employed. It details the specifics of the research sites, the approaches to sampling, the population of those samples, and instruments of data collection used, which have served to assist reflexive ethnographic accounts. These 'instruments' include the extensive visual analysis of beadwork and photographic material, unstructured in-depth interviews, the capture of oral records and the analysis and validation of those sources through historic records, empirical evidence, and the neccessary testing of emergent theories through an inclusive process of applied anthropologies towards service enhancement and product development.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Introduction

In this section I outline the various theories employed in this study, which have served the construction of a theoretical framework structured to render critical perspectives and argument.

2.2.2 Social Identity Theory

Burke and Stets (2009:3) note that, "people possess multiple identities because they occupy multiple roles, are members of multiple groups, and claim multiple characteristics, yet the meanings of these identities are shared by members of society.

Although indirectly moderating argument and analysis in this study, Social Identity theory has served as a tool by which to indirectly 'unpack' the multiplicity and the racially charged South African identity debate, and more directly, the Zulu identity. in this way I consider how each of the participants in this study, with any knowledge of apartheid, is forced to negotiate and even to assert numerous identities. I see this multiplicity 'playing out' in my own five year old son's life, who is both Indian and White and yet is really neither, born free in a new South Africa.

In preliminary perusals of literature concerning Zulu Identity, multiple views were encountered that each articulated a need to revisit the Zulu stereotype, constructed through versions of the Shakan Legacy and the effects of various political agendas being played out (Carton et. al 2008). Social Identity

theory was selected as a means of understanding how and whether self-conceptions of being Zulu are being protected and reified. Burke and Stets (2009:56) note that self-verification comes out of people desiring to confirm what they already believe about themselves, and will seek to maintain their self-views in the face of resistance. In this way, Social Identity Theory served to examine if, and how, beadwork serves as a means of 'acting out' or as validating the Zulu identity for each individual.

As I have negotiated my own reflexivity in this study, it has been necessary as the research 'agent', to continually assume various roles - that of the objective researcher, the subjective 'self', my identity as a 'White person', a designer, an educator and a visual anthropologist.

Similarly, Social Identity Theory has served to widen my understanding of the participants in this study, who appear to be simultaneously navigating hardship and their respective socio-culturally charged roles and identities. This theoretical 'lens' therefore served to explicate the relationship between being Zulu, while simultaneously being Nyuswa or Qadi, especially when I repeatedly encountered the omission of clearly defined identity conceptions in the responses of participants. In this way this approach has served to constantly moderate my own perceptions against these various forms of identity concepts.

Burke and Stets (2009:5) point to actions taken by individuals as underpinning social structures, "as those actions are patterned over time and across persons. In this way social structure is a very abstract idea. …This patterning process also permeates social spaces and social geography. Our senses are not well tuned to these patterns as they occur over time and across persons. …Some are recognized, but harder to point to, such as 'the working class' or 'the country club set'". Identity Theory offered a means by which to become cognizant of the link between the self-conceptions and misconceptions of being Zulu or Nyuswa and the playing out of these conceptions in broader contexts. I was able therefore to identify such notions of identity as being unconsciously essentialised with the 'self', as a reflection of the society with which that individual engages. The self is the product of social interaction and so individuals take on the roles of others (Hogg, Terry and White 1995). To this end, understanding the role of the social identities is central to this study.

What appears to have emerged in this study is that many socio-political entities, including the amaZulu and the amaNyuswa living in South East Africa since the early 1800's, were significantly affected and even socio-politically reconfigured during four critical tipping points in South African history: firstly, during the rule of a number of powerful leaders of the Zulu, who assisted, along with the 'push' of the slave trade, the pressing expansion of colonial agents, and various socio-economic factors of the time, such as droughts and population increases, in reconfiguring and displacing the various polities within the region (Wylie 2011; Wright 2008); secondly, in response to the combined efforts, by British and Dutch colonialists (Martens 2008) and later the apartheid regime, which aimed at suppressing and controlling those deemed to be the 'other' in the region, resulting in a 'Black' critical mass which began with the Bambata rebellion (Redding 2000), and which later gained impetus through the uniting of displaced migrant workers, and culminated in a unified new identity in the form of ANC and the 'comrade' identity (Roussouw 2012; Dlamini 2008); thirdly through liberation from that 'struggle', and the apparent responsive surge to embrace the 'fruits' of the Western 'world', imbued with its own identity (Roussouw 2012; Freund 2008); and finally through advanced 'access' to globalization, through the taxi, radio, television, the internet and the Western ideal (Freund 2008; Rogerson 2000).

In these respective ways, Social Identity Theory has assisted in considering the role and identity of the individual shifting during these various 'milestones': initially seeing the 'self' as being Nyuswa or Qadi, or from any other polity; to fighting with and then alongside the Zulu against other polities, the Boer and the British; later fully embracing the Zulu identity; to becoming 'Black; to becoming a 'comrade' or a member of the IFP; to becoming a free South African citizen and then towards becoming an integral part of a new form of global homogeny where polity identities and ethnographies appear of much lesser relevance.

Klandermans, Werner and van Doorn (2008: 331) point out that, "people derive their self-esteem from the status of the groups of which they are members… Being a member is an important part of how they see themselves. If it were otherwise, they would have quit the group a long time ago. Who after all wants to be a member of a group he dislikes?" Burke et al. (2009: 121) offer that, "role identities

and social identities reference the self in terms of both 'me' and 'we' respectively…. 'We's' are derived from such cognitive processes as group catergorisation (one sees himself as the embodiment of the ingroup prototype) and group evaluation (one positively evaluates the ingroup and negatively evaluates the outgroup). Collective identities function to foster conformity."

These positions, posited by Klandermans et al. (2008) and Burke et al. (2009) assume that group identities are formed only during peaceful, politically stable times, and while enjoying an ability to choose one's identity, but this was most certainly not the case in South East Africa.

It is not difficult to comprehend that the expedience of identity changes, in South East Africa, was largely fuelled by a turbulent, politically charged environment, in which the needs of the group outweighed the needs of the individual. Conversely the 'prize' of liberation, in the form of Western culture brings with it the kinds of choices Klandermans et al. (2008) and Burke et al. (2009) speak of, namely the freedom to renegotiate one's identity based on the value of the ingroup. In this way Social Identity Theory served, in this study, to assist an understanding of how role identities are re-prioritized hierarchically over time in the 'self' (Hogg et. al 1995). The authors speak of this phenomenon as 'identity salience', explaining that such hierarchical organization is based on the probability of these roles will for the " basis for action. Those positioned near the top of the hierarchy are more likely to be invoked in a particular situation", resulting in a behavioural action (Hogg et. al 1995:255).

Social identity theory was selected in this study to assist in 'mapping' out how these self-concepts are extrapolated in group dynamics. "Social identity theory is intended to be a social psychological theory of intergroup relations, group processes, and the social self " (Hogg et al. 1995:259). The theory has assisted an understanding of how identity salience interfaces in the self, translating as polity affiliation, hierarchically. For example, an individual could view the self as being South African, Black, Christian or *amakolwa*[4], Zulu, Nyuswa and Qadi simultaneously, in that order. Further the idea of identity salience has also served as a 'lens' through which to consider these hierarchically ordered self-perceptions,

[4] The name *amakholwa* was given to native christianised intellectuals, whose efforts are recorded in missionary journals and newspapers. Of these many were Fuze (Mokena 2011).

which serve to diminish, reify, stereotype and normalise group identities. In addition, social identity theory then serves to explain the intergroup relationships as in-group and out-group relationships, as an extension of that manifested by the 'self' through a hierarchical multiplicity of affiliations. It also assists to consider the social mobility or the psychological, passing from one group to another or changing of self-evaluative consequences of existing in-group membership (Hogg et. al 1995:260). This study also employs an interpretive stance, placing the emphasis on understanding rather than mere explanation.

2.2.3 Social Constructionist Theory

The interpretive stance calls for imaginative understanding of a studied phenomenon, assuming emergent multiple realities, indeterminacy, facts and values as linked, truth as provisional, and social life as processual. In this way my personal interpretations of participants' meanings, actions and practices (Charmaz 2006), through the interpreting, making and wearing of beadwork, have served to 'paint a picture' of how these participants construct reality for themselves and for others with whom they co-exist. In formulating such a 'picture', I have elected to employ a constructionist stance as the primary 'lens', through which to moderate personal interpretations, observations and the participation in various research activities.

Andrews (2012:39) details that "Social Constructionism originated as an attempt to come to terms with the nature of reality. The theory is essentially an anti-realist, relativist stance". The terms constructivism and social constructionism tend to be used interchangeably and subsumed under the generic term 'constructivism', particularly by Charmaz (2006). However Andrews (2012:39) offers a distinction between the two termsnoting that, "Constructivism proposes that each individual mentally constructs the world of experience through cognitive processes while social constructionism has a social rather than an individual focus". Andrews (2012:40) purports that, constructionists view knowledge and truth as created not discovered by the mind, …being a realist is not inconsistent with being a constructionist. One can believe that concepts are constructed, rather than discovered, yet maintain that they correspond to something real in the world…. He continues that "reality is socially defined but this reality refers to the subjective experience of every day life, how the world is

understood rather than to the objective reality of the natural world". In my view both 'views' play out in this study, through my observations of my 'self' in constructing perspectives, and in acknowledging my perceptions as being a result of social constructions; or how perceptions of 'reality' shift through social and political influence; and how conceptions of reality are shifted, by others and through the contexts in which an individual finds or places themselves.

In reference to how the constructionist perspective is applied reflexively to a study, Burawoy (2003:646) suggests that it " is to strip ourselves of our prejudices, biases, theories, and so on before entering the field and to minimize the impact of our presence once we are in the field. Rather than dive into the 'pool' fully clothed, we stand naked on the side."

Although this study is interpretively concerned with understanding meaning and identity roles of the Nyuswa 'self', the core impetus is in the forms of meaning created through 'self categorisation' in relation to the group, and intergroup, semiological interactions and identity relationships, as formulated through beadwork. It is also observed that those relationships and interactions are facilitated and sustained by a common spoken language. This commonality of language has not been an area of focus in this study.

The selection of this theoretical 'lens' was based on suspicions very early in the research that the Zulu identity might well be a construction. This idea had emerged during a preliminary review of literature on beadwork in South East Africa, in support of the proposal for this study. This suspicion was later reinforced during field trips to various sites in rural KwaZulu-Natal where mixed identity messages were evident in those I spoke to.

Although I have elected to employ a constructionist stance, I have attempted to remain mindful of the tension that exists between what I have come to view as constructed 'truths' of participants and what is entirely real for those who construct it. In this way, beadwork has offered a constructed manifestation of 'reality'. As Charmaz (2006:130) notes, "only after establishing how people construct meanings and actions can the analyst pursue why they act as they do". In this way human action,

communication, perception, identity formation and various forms of 'meaning making' appear to emerge as ideas for consideration.

2.2.4 Visual Communication Theory

This study is centered around how beadwork has been used to denotatively transmit and receive unspoken socio-political data (Wells 2006; Jolles 1993; Washburn 2004, Wickler 1989). Barnard (2005) speaks of Shannon and Weaver's 1949 model of Communication Theory. Based on electronic media, Shannon and Weaver developed the idea that, the 'information source' produces the 'raw information' to be transmitted and the transmitter (encoder) transforms the information into a signal that is appropriate for the channel of communication. Then the receiver (decoder) translates the signal back into the 'original message' and the recipient receives the message. All the while the signal is subject to potential 'noise', which is a distortion of, or an 'interference' with, that signal. This model, which I discuss in more detail in Chapter Four, has offered a partial explanation around which to examine and to analyse how beadwork might serve the transmission of 'encoded signals' to audiences.

However, Barnard (2005:22) suggests that this model fails through its exclusion of the effect of the communication on the recipient, however passive. It also fails in demonstrating how this effect might result in change and in the facilitation of meaning. He adds that in this model it is presupposed that, "meaning arrives at its destination unaffected by the vehicle in which, or the journey by which, it is conveyed." Meaning is, "conceived as already formed, or as preceding communication".

In this way, Shannon and Weaver's 1949 Communication Theory appears as unsuitable for determining the 'content' (Meggs 2012), intrinsic to beadwork sequencing, being transmitted, and further, in understanding the 'encoding' process of the maker in engineering denotative meaning in accordance with a socially predetermined communication formula. In other words, it fails to explain how the notion of 'perception' alters the understanding of the function and role of beadwork in Zulu society.

In reference to how visual communication is received perceptually, Barry (2002) explains that "the process of perception, particularly the sense of the present moment unfolding in front of us, begins not in the 'now' but in the past, in the crude emotional which prepares conscious seeing", thus any attitude or behavioural reaction to the visual is based on our comparison of the experience with "templates of past experience". In other words, reaction to the visual is based on memory. This advance on the communication theory model to include visual perception, appears to be what Barry refers to as Visual Communication Theory.

According to Smythe (1954:31), three stages of perception exist: the 'receiving of information', the 'interpreting of received information', and the 'transmitting of information to other units'. Account has also to be taken of 'noise' (in the sense employed by Shannon and Weaver) and 'feedback', implying that the transmitter is then able to renegotiate the message through the nature of action or response. Smythe (1954:36) offers that, "the viewer and listener are dynamic participants in the situation. They react on the content presented rather than reacting to it".

I have selected this theory as a means to critically explore three areas of focus: firstly in attempting to explore the nature and role of beadwork towards constructing meaning amongst the Zulu and the Nyuswa; secondly in considering how visual communication and visual material used in support of propaganda can also serve to reify perceptions of being Zulu, thereby serving to reductively adjust memories of sub-polity history; and finally to understand the role that beadwork can play to address the past in alleviating poverty through the medium of branding. Thus Communication Theory and its critique might serve to explain why hegemonic identities are imbibed and why marginalized identities are resistant.

Visual Communication theory has therefore assisted in moving the perspective of this research enquiry towards examining the link between the semiotic information, embedded in beadwork, and the notion of building recognition through memory. A communication solution crafted, to link semiotics with memory, through a perceptual process in targeted first language isiZulu speaking consumers, appears as an appropriate means of achieving brand loyalty. It is therefore posited, that such loyalties might

emerge is based on prior knowledge or experience of polity-based beadwork sequences, in those who may have consciously or, unconsciously come into contact with a relevant beadwork sequence.

Although beadwork appears imbued with 'leading' signifiers in this study, and that this signification may be viewed as 'concrete' proof that all polities within the Zulu can be identified in this way, I have attempted to remain mindful that no concrete theoretical plausibility concerning beadwork identities, in KwaZulu-Natal, can ever fundamentally be reached. This reservation is based on my view that beadwork is dynamic, and subject to 'fashion', and an assortment of other economic, cultural and socio-political influences, most notably Westernisation and Globalisation. These influence also extend to the pressure of Tourism and tourists, on the makers of beadwork, ssemingly 'lured' ,into serving demands for constructed ideas of the exotic, and the 'authentic' (Wells 2006; Jolles 1993; Preston-Whyte 1994; Wickler 1989; Marschall 2003; Naidu 2011). I have also come to understand that an interpretive, constructionist framework includes the acknowledgement that my view, of how individuals view their beadwork and how individuals in groups view the beadwork of other groups, is still just a personal interpretation (Charmaz 2006; Andrews 2012).

Identity Theory, Social Identity Theory, Constructionism and Visual Communication Theory are concepts that appear to come together in Symbolic Interactionist Theory (Charmaz 2006; Andrews 2012; Milliken and Schreiber 2012; Solomon 1983; Barnard 2005), selected as a means of articulating and analysing the semiological value of beadwork in facilitating connotative and denotative meaning, (Barnard 2005) as apparent through the social interactions of participants.

2.2.5 Symbolic Interactionism Theory

"Symbolic interactionism, is a theoretical perspective that assumes society, reality and self are constructed through interaction and thus rely on language and communication. This perspective assumes that people can and do think about their actions rather than respond mechanically to stimuli" (Chamaz 2006:7). In this way, this particular 'lens' has been selected as a means of contextualizing how participants interact and create meaning through the semiotic properties intrinsic to beadwork

'language'; the spoken Zulu language; cultural practice and ritual; and skin colours, as forms of symbolic stimuli for interaction.

The origins of social constructionism can be traced in part to an interpretivist approach to thinking. George Herbert Mead, one of the originators of symbolic interactionism, is the common link (Andrews 2012). In reference to Mead's thinking on the nature of symbols, Milliken and Schreiber (2012:686) explain that "symbols have been understood as the very basis of social interaction, mediating between stimulus and response. Symbols are abstract representations of social objects that enable people to communicate both verbally and non-verbally and to understand each other's intentions and actions. Because social action and interaction are symbolic in nature, people interpret the objects in their environment and the behaviors of others around them and, rather than reacting directly, respond on the basis of their interpreted meaning of those objects and actions". Symbolic interactionism has served to facilitate various approaches in this study.

Its usefulness is most apparent in understanding situational concepts of self-image through cultural symbols. By hypothetically taking on the role of being Zulu or of being Nyuswa, Qadi, Christian or as seeing one's self as modernised, I have attempted to comprehend how self-esteem is constructed, and how behaviour is orientated through the use or shunning of beadwork, dress and dance.

Preliminary research conducted in Msinga indicated that Zulu dress offered women a measure of status in a largely patriarchal society. Participants indicated that they felt feminine while simultaneously remaining aware that the weight and ill-fitting, uncomfortable garments were also symbolic of what some viewed as an 'archaic' visual tradition, against which softer, lighter, aesthetically 'modern' garment choices were juxtaposed.

It was also apparent, through qualitative investigation, that the beadwork served as identity symbols, mostly as denoting being Zulu, irrespective of the beaded colour sequence or pattern. The interactional perspective (Solomon 1983) of beadwork in serving group dynamics is very central to this study, and in some instances served, through qualitative processes, to critically undermine the notion

that beadwork was solely a symbol of being Zulu. It was most apparent, particularly in photographic records found in photo albums, that beadwork had served as a form of material cue, for an extended period of time in Zulu history. From these pictures it was also apparent that these women were born into a social context, in which the objectification of the 'self' was required. By this I imply that, when adorned in beadwork, the women served as 'walking signs' denoting allegiance. It also became apparent, through these pictures and through interviews with the women, that personal creativity levels proportionately denoted the level of one's socio-political allegiance. In addition, these photos revealed how beadwork denotes social status. This form of denotation was particularly evident, when viewing a series of photos taking over a period of time, of an individual who had 'climbed the ladder' in her community.

Through these forms of denotation, beadwork appears to elicit various anticipated responses from others, in the group and outside the group. In this way the tension created through beadwork denotation has been a vital underpinning fulcrum in in-group and out-group identification and consideration.

A second area of consideration is the symbolic interactionism evident in broader political contexts, particularly in the media, through the political battle for 'ownership' of Zulu cultural symbols (Roussow 2010; Dlamini 2008; Klopper 1996), which appears to have impacted the lives of participants, who were required to 'choose sides' between multiple identities. In this way cultural symbols become imbued as signifiers of allegiance in serving national politics, translating as role expectations and the transition from one role to another, as an individual is required to move through various stages of lives, while having to 'play the part' of hazy' political expectations (Solomon 1983). This was evident in comments of participants regarding their acknowledgement that the use of traditional dress, or even simple pieces of beaded adornment, could during times of political unrest be construed as showing political allegience.

A third area is the consideration of my impact and presence in the study. Symbolic interactionism played an important part in facilitating self-reflection and in understanding the participants'

expectations of me. I became very conscious of being seen as White; as affluent; as being deceptive, or as having a second agenda; as ignorant, possibly due to my inability to speak isiZulu, or due to the historic unwillingness of my White peers to demonstrate interest in Zulu culture.

These perceptions, or 'labels', imposed on me were openly discussed at times by participants basing their view of me on prior engagements with White business people. Symbolic interactionism served then as a 'lens' through which to observe myself, from the participants' perspective and as a foreign agent. To this end, while in KwaNyuswa, individuals were recorded as shouting, as I drove through the rural area, "look it's a White man in our neighbourhood, we must surely be free now". In response, I deemed it necessary to adjust how I approached my role as researcher, by first being very careful to observe Zulu etiquette and *ukuhlonipha*[5] protocols, and then to 'remain very 'transparent' throughout poverty alleviation intervention testing.

Further, symbolic interactionism theory was selected as a means of codifying qualitative analysis using the Grounded Theory Method (Charmaz 2006) towards resolving and verifying my theoretical understanding on oral histories, historic texts, and qualitative data, based on denotative signifiers apparent in the beadwork of the Zulu.

The theories mentioned thus far have all assisted in a grounded analytical methodology in which agency, subjectivity, and the identification, of the essentialising elements of culture, have been essential considerations in this study.

2.3 Research Methodology and Methods

2.3.1 Research Design

Charmaz (2006:178) notes that "when we think about what defines the grounded theory method, we may consider a specific philosophical stance, a particular logic of inquiry, a set of procedures or flexible guidelines. All these views imply that the defining properties of grounded theory reside in attributes external to the researcher and the research process. Yet finished grounded theories are emergent, the

[5] Wells, Sienaert and Conolly (2004) explain that in rural Zulu communities, *ukuhlonipha* is a series of politeness conventions, which have up until recently dictated the proper behavior, topics, and modes of discussion.

grounded theory method itself is open-ended and relies on emergent processes, and the researcher's emerging constructions of concepts shape both process and product".

Charmaz's (2006) words really sum up how this study has proceeded. As a study which sits within an interpretivist paradigm, this study has largely followed a reflexive ethnographic process of analysis of the accumulated data, extracted through verbal and visual means. This process was selected for its value in accommodating an analytical perspective on beadwork, for me as a designer.

2.3.2 Data Gathering Methods

2.3.2.1 Reflexive Ethnography

Since this study sits within an interpretivist paradigm. reflexivity as a designer, subjective 'actor' and as a visual anthropologist has been vital in positioning myself as part of the process of data capture, analysis and interpretation. Geertz as cited in Jones (2004:247) "argues that the study of culture ought not to be an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning".

Jones (2004:248) continues, that interpretivists are "not looking for the ultimate purpose or 'the meaning of life' ". But are however looking for "native hopes and fears" or the "native point of view" in trying to uncover the " mental beliefs and other mental states typically engendered in individual natives by certain actions and artifacts". The mental reactions that researchers have to certain actions or artifacts can greatly vary from individual to individual (Jones 2004:249).

The potential for subjective interpretation in such instances emerges as a real concern. Particulary for someone such as myself relatively distanced from everyday Zulu life. For example, I recall my own viewing of the slaughter of a cow. With the meat was stripped from the carcass and then hung on walls of a small hut, into which I was invited. I watched as flies settled in their droves upon the raw flesh, and on the cooked meat offered to me, while in that same moment being 'confronted' by a pot of beer offered to me in an apparent gesture of goodwill, or towards my inclusion, in the ritual taking place. I recall simultaneously being watched over by the resident Sangoma, seemingly measuring my response to these circumstances and gestures. The outcome of my interpretation could have been

based on how conflicted I felt about my western sensibilities being so directly confronted. Yet, I attempted to remain mindful of the need for objectivity, reminding myself of the deep spiritual significance that the event had, towards celebrating the *amadhlozi* ,or ancestors of past *amakosi* or chiefs. These actions and gestures that I encountered were in my view, quite likely clear gestures of friendship and respect, and that my role was merely to record these while remaining vehemently and analytically aware of the micro context (behavioural, mental, spirtitual, cognitive and emotional context) while consciously and almost continuously juxtaposing and comparing what I saw and interpreted with environmental and the socio-political context. Even then, as Jones (2004:249) puts it interpretivists need to make "fine-grained claims about variabiality", based on there own subjective position versus that of another. This is possible also true for those being interviewed.

As discussed in this study the multiplicity in responses concerning the self-conception of participant identities was later unravelled interpretivistically by juxtaposing the connotative and denotative meaning emerging in interviews with socio-political history and context.

This interpretivistic approach is seemingly complemented by a reflexive ethnographic approach. "Reflexivity is the process of becoming self-aware. Researchers make regular efforts to consider their own thoughts and actions in light of different contexts. Reflexivity, then, is a researcher's ongoing critique and critical reflection of his or her own biases and assumptions and how these have influenced all stages of the research process" (Begoray & Banister 2010: 789). The author's point to a need for, the researcher to continually critique impressions and hunches, to locate meanings, and relate these to specific contexts, experiences and observations and point out that, "Researchers are part of the world they study and thus are closely involved in the process and product of the research. By being reflexive, "researchers self-critique their frame of reference, cultural biases, and the ethical issues that emerge in fieldwork" (Begoray & Banister 2010:789). In reflexive ethnography, Buroway (2003:645) highlights the value of the focused revisit. A technique that proved particularly value when working with the women of Sigaba Ngezandle, or 'work with our hands', whom would very slowly reveal the extent of their knowledge, offering me a means to verify and validate data gained in previous interviews with that being recorded. Buroway (2003:645) offers that discrepancies between earlier

and later accounts can be attributed to differences in (1) the relation of observer to participant, (2) theory brought to the field by the ethnographer, (3) internal processes with the field site itself, or (4) external to the field. In a similar manner, in the last two points, to that being proposed by Jones (2004) in his outlining of the interpretivitic approach. In a reflexive sense these afore mentioned approaches were employed during primary research and during the analysis of beadwork.

The reflexive approach, in this study, has included my predisposition as someone who has spent many years training, teaching and practicing branding, Graphic Design and Visual Communication. In this study I argue for this 'lens', now intrinsic to my design 'gaze', or as being an automatic means of first identifying and then verifying emergent visual sequences in the beadwork, through comparison with texts and other secondary sources. This training has included an understanding of colour sequencing and visual formulas, logo development and strategic branding in which the relationship between colour sequencing, 'signal' and response is central.

However, despite this training offering a distinct value, in the analysis of beadwork, I have also attempted to remain mindful that own cultural reference points and my training are ostensibly based on a Eurocentric cultural orientation and graphic design tradition, with the latter having its origins in the German Bauhaus, for example (Meggs 2012), which may only offer a limited perspective when analysing beadwork. To this end personal interpretations of the semiotic/ connotative values of various colours have been entirely avoided.

As a result I have been mindful of the post modernist critique of anthropology, "whose twin imperatives are, first, to redefine culture not as the privileged domain of an intellectual elite but as an arena for the everyday practices of conflicting social groups; and secondly, to turn the exoticist gaze of anthropology back on the viewer, recognizing in the process that the study of culture might best begin at home" (Huggan 1997:91). As I acknowledge, this is a critique which cautions that in some instances anthropologists should be mindful of being complicit in conducting research, "in conspicuously asymmetrical relations of power", or in serving the ideologies of third parties (Huggan 1997:91).

Although the fieldwork approach for this study has followed a qualitative approach to data collection, reflexively I view it as necessary to acknowledge that I have not been raised in the Zulu cultural tradition, nor do I speak isiZulu fluently. To this end I acknowledge that finer details intrinsic to beadwork's cultural contexts could have been overlooked during the interpretation of participant's accounts, and during the observation of various cultural events. I have thus elected to approach my understanding of the Nyuswa through a critical process of reflexive ethnography, relying quite heavily on empirical forms of data capture.

Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit (2004) explain that, "in ethnographic studies the 'system' that ethnography tries to capture is the way of life within that system or group. Capturing that way of life means getting to know the people and their practices as they occur as everyday actions. Thus the group must be clearly identifiable and their lives studied over a period of time with the aim of capturing typical activities and tools, ways of communication and meaning making. …This approach is useful to establish the way of life or culture of a group of people, particularly where the researcher needs to establish what power relations exist and whether hegemonic practices are prevalent. This process is particularly useful to aid emancipatory goals.

Critical ethnography has included: my own reflexivity as a source; oral histories; structured and unstructured interviews with individuals, and group discussions in KwaNyuswa; fieldwork in Msinga; the observation of various cultural practices and ceremonies; and the documentation of the beadwork evident at these events, at beadwork repositories and museums, and in participants' photo albums.

These data gathering instruments have served to achieve what Henning et. al (2004) describe as a 'thick description' of the study and a 'thick explanation' of the methodology itself. Henning et. al describe how the phenomenological researcher attempts to capture different views of reality and knowledge, by allowing the participant to describe their perceptions and experiences through their own words, in the form of individually reflective interviews. The world of the participant is captured

without prescribing a structure in which the participant must reflect this world. The following section detailing my challenges experienced in the 'field' speak to this reflexive ethnographic process.

2.3.2.2 Fieldwork Challenges

Throughout this study the colour of skin, my 'White' skin and the skins of those of the 'Black' people about whom this study is concerned, has never 'darkened' nor 'paled' from context or significance. I found myself having to consistently renegotiate the conceptions of myself as a 'White' anthropologist conducting research in Post Apartheid South Africa, in a study theoretically framed towards explicating the relationship between poverty and the irrevocable sense that South African society is still out of equilibrium, not only in economic terms, or even in terms of racial inequality, but also in terms of an apparent theoretical void concerning what I view as a necessary liberation from a post-liberation discourse, so apparently 'locked' in the past. If this statement appears to turn on itself then I have possibly made my point. In other words, my struggle in this study has been to achieve a reasonable measure of objectivity or 'birds eye view', free of stigmas, from which to renegotiate ideas on a societal trajectory so wholeheartedly embracing globalisation as the prize of liberation from apartheid.

Klandermans, Werner and van Doorn (2008: 331) point out that if you are a white Afrikaner youth confronted by the history of Apartheid, "you need not be personally responsible for those crimes of the past to feel guilty. The authors point out terms coined by Doosje, Branscombe, Spears and Manstead (1998) such as, 'guilt by association' and 'collective guilt' that might serve to describe the emotions being felt by "their group to another group, even if they themselves are not responsible for the harm done. Such collective guilt makes people more prepared to engage in compensatory action towards the group that has been disadvantaged" (Klandermans et.al 2008: 331). It is also possibly worth noting, that in my experience, not all Afrikaners, during Apartheid, had racist intent nor were all non-Afrikaners free of racist intent.

However, I don't know if it is guilt that I feel, as I am not an Afrikaner and have always seen myself as intrinsically removed from racist intent. However it is safe to say that I have been implicated through the colour of my skin and through how I might have benefitted from Apartheid. I was aware that

interpretations by participants of my visual identity (skin colour), and my interpretation of theirs, might affect the data being gathered, even if without intention or on a sub-conscious level.

When entering the 'field', I was immediately conscious of my fear, an almost overwhelming sense that I was surrounded, and that as I travelled deeper and deeper into KwaNyuswa, the viability of an 'escape route' moved further and further out of my grasp. In the first few weeks this feeling never left me. It was fuelled by a lifetime of stories about the 'Black' man told to me through the press, my years as a conscript serving in the South African Defense Force (SADF) as a chef, and more significantly through the countless accounts, at parties and family gatherings, of attacks on Whites mostly painted as racially inspired crime.

Equally, my years living in KwaZulu-Natal brought with them another frame of reference, which also prepared me for this fieldwork engagement. My mother spoke fluent Zulu, and her father, my Grandfather, a gentle man and a devout Jehovah's Witness, had been a farm manager in Merrivale in central KwaZulu-Natal, and had, along with her non-white peers, taught her Zulu.

My mother played with the local children and so grew up with a slightly altered empathetic perspective on race, in comparison to some of her White peers. I believe it is this sensibility that was imparted to me. As a child, growing up on the Bluff in Durban, friends were few and far between. I befriended a migrant worker, a non-White man from Mtwalume on the South coast, a local Pharmacy delivery bike-rider on the Bluff, who was also alone and in need of conversation, living behind the Pharmacy in a small room. Here we would spend the nights talking about Zulu culture, language, dance, custom and folklore until I was told, by the local police, to no longer visit him.

These more empathetic conceptions of the context and circumstances or demystifications of race and the 'other', stayed with me, dispite the racist overtures surrounding me, to which I became accustomed. Yet the realities of the attacks and crime, bandied around by my peers, were also directed at me. I was mugged, and burgled ten times in my life, returning from work to find my home had been ransacked, with most prized mementos, of late parents, having been taken from me. The

likelihood that these acts, barring the mugging, were perpetrated by non-whites was most likely ascribed to the socio-economic climate of South Africa at the time. These incidents no doubt served also to cement my fear. It was also during this time that I had spent my days as a part-time Christian missionary travelling with fellow water specialists, helping rural communities to build water tanks and to 'trap' natural water springs, in the rural areas of the KZN's South Coast. My tenure there afforded me the name *Thandabantu,* or the one who loves all, an accolade I have kept to this day. I would later go on to spend time preaching and living in Gazankulu amongst the Shangaan, which further extended the contexts of poverty in my mind.

So it was with a mixture of fear (also of tuberculosis, known to be prevalent in the area), empathy and respect that I entered KwaNyuswa. It was also with some predetermined understanding of Zulu culture, more importantly etiquette and a rough knowledge of the isiZulu language that I believe allowed me some access to the homes and maybe 'hearts' of respondants. It is also noteworthy that my fears were often abated through the warmth I was shown, and openness of people: many of whom would stop what they were doing to assist my requests.

It also struck me that my demonstration, to understand the material culture and economic circumstances of the respondents, was possibly something that they had never experienced from a White man. Issues of race were often raised by the respondents in conversations, and so I sensed that the respondents were giving me the benefit of their doubt, allowing me time to prove myself.

However despite always having a local guide and isiZulu speaking translators with me, I couldn't help feeling that so much of the essence of what was being said was 'lost' on me, or in other words was so embroiled in cultural context that was beyond my understanding.

What was also clear was that the women I interviewed recognized my ability to quickly comprehend those parts of the conversations dedicated to visual language and colour sequence. Somehow I got the sense that this and my business acumen acted against me, despite my attempts at painstakingly offering transparency regarding finances and my intentions.

When questioned about this apparent suspicion of me, it was offered by respondents that "many Whites have cheated us before". This was almost the single most frustrating and impeding reality, resulting in what I see as the withholding of information. I realized this over numerous visits to individual participants, some of whom even withheld large collections of personal beadwork from me in initial visits.

Towards the later part of the research cycle, I was even accused by a respondent of somehow having ulterior motives, and of making false promises which I failed to realise. On reflection, I later realized that this was possible due to my over- expanding the possibilities of the proposed poverty alleviation model, to which some participants attached particular interpretations or significance.

Finally, one of my greatest concerns, which seemed to partly transpire as reality, was attempts to embroil the research process in chieftainship disputes. I had known broadly of this phenomenon before commencing research and so remained very guarded in this area. Thus I continued to hold to the stance that the documentation of lineages and genealogies was the limit of my intention, and so I would avoid becoming implicated in a particular chieftainship claim or case.

2.3.2.3 Oral History

One of the criticisms I have encountered, in texts and in conversations amongst fellow researchers working in the anthropological field on Zulu related studies is that the failure, of contemporary researchers who are attempting to compile records of 'chieftainships' or traditional leadership succession, is mostly due to the reliance placed on early writers such as the Reverend Bryant[6] (1929),

[6] Reverend Alfred Bryant's widely influential history, *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, first published in 1929,* detailing the Zulu and more specifically the migration of the Amalala, produced during the early twentieth century, has been used by scholars intent on studying the Zulu as a seminal source of reference. However many have come to dispute his versions of this history. In one such example, author J.B. Wright notes in his paper *A.T. Bryant and the 'Lala'* that, "to historians of the subject, it has for some time been clear that Bryant's usage is an obstacle to understanding the ways in which a specific *amalala* identity came to be formed in the course of the nineteenth century, and that it needs to be abandoned…. The salient fact is that there is comparatively little mention of the Lala in the literature before Bryant's time, and very little, if anything, that lends support to the elaborate schema of migrations which he presents in Olden Times. Missionaries and officials in colonial Natal were drawing up lists of the region's 'aboriginal tribes' and developing brief tribal histories from the late 1840s and early 1850s onward; the better known (because more accessible) ones have nothing to say about any tribe or group of tribes known as the Lala. Thus the name does not appear in the lists of the tribes of Natal originally drawn up in 1849 (78 names) and in 1853 (128 names), and published by the philologist Wilhelm Bleek, who visited the colony for eighteen months in 1855–56. He obtained much of his information from James Perrin, who he described as a missionary and

and to a lesser extent, Father Mayr,[7](1907), who focussed mainly on the documentation of culture and medicinal practice of the Zulu; and that much of the later writings on the Zulu pertaining to these genealogies, is said to be derivative. This is not to say that these were the formative writers. For example, Mduduzi Fuze, who I interviewed, made particular reference to his own readings of the work of Bleek[8], amongst others, many of whom were either clergy or colonial administrators in early Natal Colony.

I did find many of these early sources to be both flawed, but in some fairly accurate, when carefully cross-referenced with other texts. However I felt it necessary to investigate other means towards an appraisal of the apparent origins and the ancestry of the Nyuswa, other than that textually documented by the missionaries. Although the integrity of the versions of the Nyuswa account and Nyuswa chieftainships may vary, each of the accounts documented in this study appear to base the origins of their stories on *izibongo* and *izithakazelo.*
Koopman (2002) explains that, each *isibongo* has a 'main' or 'primary' *isithakazelo*, used as the 'address', as in title or greeting. Koopman (2002:24) explains that the *isithakazelo*, function is extended beyond this form. Each *isibongo* is a clan name and or surname (Koopman 2002:71). The *isibongo* is seemingly not structured in the 'singular' western pattern of surname, but is constructed as groups of people.

Koopman *(*2002:71) points out that "in addition to the main clan praise, each Zulu clan name has a number of secondary praise names which when added to a string of praise phrases, becomes a clan

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lexicographer, and who worked for a while from 1853 in the office of Theophilus Shepstone, the Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes in Natal" (Wright 2012: 355).

[7] Reverend Father Franz Mayr was an early missionary in Natal colony best known for his studies of medicinal plants and their uses by the Zulu, some elements of the spiritual life and the material culture of the Zulu in his works, Language of Colours amongst Zulus expressed by their beadwork Ornament; and some General Notes on their personal adornments and clothing, published in 1906 and The Zulu Kafirs of Natal, published in 1907.

[8] Wilhelm Heinrich Immanuel Bleek (1827-1875), one of the fathers of African philology, is renowned for his "Bushman" research. Bleek was a student of Lepsius, studied at Bonn (1845-1849) and Berlin (1849-1851) universities specializing in Hebrew and Egyptian, and coined the linguistic term "Ba-ntu" (meaning "people" but subsequently given a racial connotation as "Bantu") for what are now called the Nguni group of languages. Between 1855 and his death, the "father of Bantu linguistics", carried out research in the Natal and Cape colonies. ...Bleek arrived in the Natal colony with Bishop Colenso in 1855, landing at D'Urban on 20 May, to work on the Zulu language. His linguistic research also involved a consideration of the institution of kingship, ancestor worship, and polygamy (Moran 2009).

praise poem…They have decidedly poetic features, and so can be considered to be a bridging form between naming and poetry". Koopman's use of term 'Zulu clan name' is of interest, in that with the 'Zulu' prefix, an assumption is made that all clan names are fundamentally Zulu. Koopman appears to contradict himself later his own text, pointing to the value of clan names as demonstrating genealogies from the Zulu.

Koopman (2002:24) acknowledges the value of this form of oral record as both a "neglected area of Southern African poetry" and as a neglected "historical narrative, even if much of this is obscure". He continues that *isithakazelo* are completely genealogically disconnected from the Zulu, relating to "no known word in the Zulu lexicon". Further, he acknowledges the author Mzolo's (1978) criticism of Bryant's (1929) definition "of a clan as being, 'but a magnified family, consisting of offspring of a single father, the clan's founder' "(Koopman 2002: 76). He continues that Mzolo offers in contrast that, "this view implies a continuous process of expansion by which a traditional, patrilocal, polygamous, extended family has given rise over the generations…… however this is not now the case… Nor is the clan a localised group; its members can be found widely scattered throughout the province of Natal and elsewhere in South Africa".

To this end I have attempted to collate what is best viewed as a mere semblance of the Ngcobo/Nyuswa lineage, while simultaneously acknowledging that I have omitted data from proponents that could not be verified or positioned into a lineage. Where possible, and through an asterix I have noted the number of times the name has been verified.

The value of this enquiry into oral histories is that it appears to illustrate that the Nyuswa may be somewhat removed from the Zulu lineage. Further, it suggests that the historic dispersal of the Nyuswa polity across the province is a significant point in this study towards validating the recorded oral account of Mduduzi Fuze, who I interviewed in 2013.

This comparative mapping process, which does not include any of the *isithakazelo* records, does however attempt to compose Nyuswa traditional chieftainships and genealogies. In my view, this reconfigured result has offered a deeper understanding of the Fuze/Ngcobo/ Nyuswa genealogy.

Thus the emphasis has been to allow largely historic data, based on a very large body of literature on the Zulu and on beadwork, to lead the enquiry of this study. Based on preliminary readings I was able to establish that a social constructionist approach would serve as the primary approach towards a critical examination of historical and in more recent times political terms, how and why the Nyuswa identity has been reduced to relative public insignificance. Further, in reconstructing the Nyuswa story as aligning to beadwork evidence, the economic disposition of those from KwaNyuswa, has become a little clearer.

As a study primarily focused on identifying how beadwork identity might serve poverty alleviation, I have been 'lead' by the data towards first attempting to establish whether a Nyuswa beading convention was still in use. This involved the broad accumulation of verbal, textual and visual data based on KwaZulu-Natal beadwork and Zulu history. The data then offered a means to better develop a research design and trajectory.

Two research 'paths' unfolded concurrently. These respectively involved the historical mapping of the development of the Zulu identity and the mapping of the body of knowledge on Zulu beadwork, with the intention of isolating a convention that might be attributed to being Nyuswa. Both areas of investigation were key in understanding how to gather and epistemologically how to approach the accumulation of uncharted historic records or relatively undocumented beadwork sequences.

This knowledge of the Zulu facilitated an extensive process of qualitative data gathering of the oral histories of the Ngcobo/Nyuswa lineage, while concurrently conducting fieldwork in KwaNyuswa in an attempt to understand the social geography of the area, and while simultaneously sampling for beadwork particular to the region. During these field enquiries, the role of such beadwork in constructing meaning and in serving as forms of self-definition for those inside and outside of the

polity were thoroughly explored through a process of qualitative sampling. This process involved the drawing of constant comparisons during each stage of the analysis, advancing theory development through each step of data collection (Charmaz 2006).

2.3.2.4 Participant Observation

This research has been achieved through a variety of research methods including participant observation - the observation of behaviour and speech, watching and recording what participants say and do. This has included the observation of traditional ritual and ceremonial practices, such as *Umkosi woMhlanga*[9]; *umemulo*[10], *isikwehlela*[11], *umabo*[12], where beadwork has been used to form meaning. Empirical means were also employed during participation in beadworking and product development interventions and workshops.

Field notes have been collated and analysed for content ethnographically by conducting in-depth interviews, and by transcribing and analysing content, or 'lived experiences', while remaining mindful of the theoretical framework in which this study has been framed.

Henning (2004) describes how ethnomethodologists attempt to find common-sense ways of seeing social patterns and note that these are employed to construct everyday life.

[9] The Reed Dance is held at Nyokeni near Ulundi, where young girls (said to be exclusively virgins) present reeds before the Zulu King.

[10] A coming of age ceremony, conducted by the parents, for their daughter. Girls from the *Izigodi* will sing and dance at this event, dressed in beadwork, while walking through the neighbourhood and collecting gifts. Here the girl celebrating *umemulo* will wear *isidwaba*, a pleated leather or fabric skirt, a distinct symbol of fidelity or in this case the intention for marriage. The girl will wear a necklace bearing a beaded word, beaded panels or *amadavathi*, across the breast and shoulder area, and a tasselled necklace called *intshebe. Icilongo* or Bugles are used to announce the ceremony a week beforehand and on commencement of the ceremony. During the ceremony she is required to be draped in the stomach lining of a freshly slaughtered cow. Well-wishers will offer blankets and pin money in her hair.

[11] A ceremony where the family of the girl will compile a list of goods to be supplied by the groom's family. Often a sheep is slaughtered here.

[12] A ceremony in which the family of the girl brings gifts to the groom's family home. Here the girl will wear the beads of the Isigodi.

2.3.2.5 Interviews

The interview process involved a request for an interview being directed to the participant, indicating a time and venue in which the interview was to be conducted. This was arranged telephonically through a guide and translator. One to one interviews between the researcher were conducted using a semi-structured interview guide (see Appendix A).

Each participant was asked to sign an informed consent letter (see Appendix B), available in isiZulu and in English. This letter detailed the terms and intentions of the study. Interviews were conducted in English, in which I was able to establish through conversation the level and command of language of the participant. However I made use of various isiZulu interpreters where necessary, given that many participants were first language isiZulu speakers.

Initial interviews served as a means to achieve a level of familiarity and understanding with participants. I would sometimes return to an individual's home several times, if I felt that she was able to offer deeper insights. These follow up visits also offered a means of confirming that the participant's views had not shifted. I also conducted group interviews as open-ended discussions, allowing participants to contribute freely to the process. In these instances, I would sometimes become aware of various subtle political undertones, particularly where power struggles in the group were evident or where participants were appearing uncomfortable (when interviewed with a fellow wife in a polygamous marriage, for example). Traditional protocols were observed throughout the research process. This involved standing outside the property, before being invited into the homestead, and waiting to be introduced. Eye contact was also avoided where possible, as this, according to my guide, is deemed improper. A digital audio recorder was used where permission was granted by the participant. Where appropriate, municipal officials and traditional leaders were consulted, to attain the necessary permissions prior to conducting research.

2.3.3 Sampling Techniques

Henning et. al (2004) describe how criteria for desirable participants come from the researcher's knowledge of the topic, and how theory on the ground is developed during the research. Preliminary

readings on beadwork and preliminary research, which I detail later in this chapter, have informed the selection of these two sampling techniques in this research design.

2.3.3.1 Purposive Sampling

During preliminary research I employed a purposive sampling approach. Henning et.al (2004) explain that the purposive sampling technique involves seeking out participants who can help build substantive theory further. Initially the purpose of this sample was to locate the Nyuswa directly, but also indirectly by exclusion, through sampling for beadwork convention types by systematically sampling in approximately 10-20 kilometer intervals. Insights that served to orientate the analytical and theoretical approach to this study were gained through this process of purposive sampling, by offering insight and understanding concerning the denotative 'geography' of beadwork in the area.

2.3.3.2 Snowball sampling

I then elected to employ a snowball sampling technique with each sample in the study, by first locating key informants and by then being referred to other potential candidate paricipants. A snowball sampling technique establishes whether further interviewees are needed based on the data collected thus far. Also known as chain referral sampling, this form of sampling is considered a type of purposive sampling. In this method, participants or informants with whom contact has already been made use their social networks to refer the researcher to other people who could potentially participate in or contribute to the study. Snowball sampling is often used to find and recruit "hidden populations," that is, groups not easily accessible to researchers through other sampling strategies. This technique proved very successful, particularly where older members of the community were sought, as a conduit from which to draw seminal data (Henning et. al 2004).

2.3.4 Preliminary Research

Fieldwork commenced in early 2011. Both verbal and visual (photographically documented) data was gleaned through visits and in depth interviews with the curators of the Phansi Museum in Durban, The African Art Centre in Durban, Weenen Museum in Weenen, Greytown Museum in Greytown, the

Talana Museum in Dundee, Ladysmith Museum, the Voortrekker/Msunduzi Museum, Zululand Historical Museum in Eshowe, The KwaZulu-Natal Cultural Museum in Ondini/Ulundi and Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg.

At an initial visit to Phansi Museum in Durban, I was directed by various individuals to first visit a rural area, which was fairly isolated, and in which I might be able to broadly understand socio-political groups and their beadwork. The basis for this advice, I believe, was in offering a comparative 'social map' with that of the socio-political arrangement in KwaNyuswa - a largely peri-urban area. The intention was that this visit might serve as a broad 'sweep' of the Msinga area, and not as an intensive analysis of beadwork. I was fairly aware that much of the literature written on beadwork had centred around fieldwork conducted in Msinga, and that this literature would be available to me.

To this end, qualitative research was conducted in the Msinga region, with members of amaChunu, near Muden; the amaBaso at Weenen; and amaThembu at Nhlawe. I met with the latter group, in the Nhlawe Community Hall, which turned out to be a craft collective called Sinethando, comprised of ten individuals making copper wire baskets. This preliminary research provided first hand accounts and insights of the beadwork of KwaZulu-Natal and also allowed me to test my abilities as a researcher in the field. The trip extended to visiting the aforementioned museums at towns surrounding Msinga and in Pietermaritzburg.

What was very evident was the poor state of museum curatorship of beadwork across the province. Most museums appeared to offer somewhat superficial displays with multiple polity based identities displayed collectively as being Zulu, with little significant metadata, histories or contextual information attached to each piece on display. Of particular interest was the level at which beadwork was still being used to denote socio-political allegiance in the Msinga region, particularly amongst the youth. Metadata concerning beadwork origins and makers was captured or photographed (using existing metadata tags) for verification.

Fieldwork commenced in Mnamatha district in the southern region of KwaNyuswa, where I encountered a Qadi polity. Thereafter I visited Mondini, on the western side of KwaNyuswa where I encountered a Blose polity. I then travelled to Mabedlane district in the Northern region of KwaNyuswa, within the Qineselani MaNyuswa TA, where I encountered proponents of a second Qadi polity. I then encountered the first Nyuswa polity in the Emlambo district within the Qineselani MaNyuswa TA. Later toward the end of March I traveled to the Ngode district, in the south west of KwaNyuswa and encountered a second Blose polity and former members of the Mapumulo polity from Msinga, near Greytown, who had married into the Blose polity. I then traveled back to Qineselani MaNyuswa TA, and interviewed an 84-year-old member of the Nyuswa polity. Finally during the later parts of April, I visited the Manqoba district within the Qineselani MaNyuswa TA, finding further evidence of those calling themselves Nyuswa.

During this period I encountered a beadworking collective, Sigaba Ngezandla or 'Pride with our Hands', at Mnamatha; another collective in the Qineselani MaNyuswa TA, called Simunye, or 'We are One', and a third group calling themselves Zamimpilo, or 'Trying to Make Life Work', amongst the Blose at Ngode.

2.3.5 Research Sites

Two distinct sites were then selected in this study, namely Qineselani MaNyuswa, a Traditional Authority (TA) in the Valley of a Thousand Hills Region, situated near the Rob Roy Hotel in Botha's Hill and the affluent neighbouring suburbs of Hillcrest and Drummond; and Durban Beachfront.

2.3.5.1 Qineselani MaNyuswa

The reason this peri-urban site was chosen, was for its relative ease of access and close proximity to sites such as PheZulu Safari Park and Cultural Village, 1000 Hills Hotel, and various other Tourist sites strewn along the Old Main Road from Pietermaritzburg to Durban. More importantly, it is the site of the three aforementioned craft collectives.

It is also situated very closely to the Don McKenzie Tuberculosis Hospital, “a public hospital where more than 1,000 impoverished adults and children from the rural areas surrounding the clinic receive antiretroviral therapy, adherence support and additional services” (Harvard University Institute of Politics 2013) and fairly closely to the Hillcrest Aids Centre Trust.

2.3.5.2 Durban Beachfront

Often referred to as the ‘The Golden Mile’, the road formerly the Marine Parade, on the Durban Beachfront now has many names. Moving North along the Durban Coastline, at UShaka Marine World, an aquatic and shopping complex, Erskine Terrace merges into O R Tambo Parade, which in turn merges into Snell Parade which then becomes Battery Beach Road. The Golden Mile is a road steeped in history and is well known as a popular tourist destination. This road is the site of, mostly, Zulu craftswomen, plying their trade under the cover of recently constructed shelters. It is also the site of the Durban Rickshaw Pullers.

2.3.6 Sample Groups

Three distinct sample groups were established in this sample namely Rural Craftswomen, Street retailers and Craftswomen, and the Durban Rickshaw Pullers.

2.3.6.1 Rural Craftswomen

Given that little contemporary literature on the Nyuswa appeared to exist, it was fairly unclear if I would even find willing or valid participants, despite a fairly clear demarcation on the map indicating that two Traditional Authorities existed in the Valley of a Thousand Hills Region, namely Qineselani MaNyuswa in the KwaNyuswa region, and Nkumba-Nyuswa situated further South near Mavela, which I later visited. The purposive sample conducted in early 2011 over a few months served to paint a clearer picture of inter-polity beadwork differences, however subtle. This difference between the Nyuswa located at the Emlambo district and Manqoba and the Qadi located at Mnamatha and Mabedlane remains inconclusive.

Data was also gained through interviews conducted with rural craftswomen in Nhlawe, Muden and Weenen in Msinga. Throughout the 'differentiation testing phase' of this study, dealings with women from the Siyazama Craft Collective also offered various insights on denotation and craft.

The criteria for participants in this sample included: Zulu speaking women between the ages of 30 – 85, who either made beadwork or who owned beadwork that appeared to contain visual signatures particular to the KwaNyuswa region or that displayed visual signifiers indicative of socio-political allegiances identified by participants as Nyuswa, Qadi or as denoting the Ngcobo lineage. In this way, the lines between regional (district) denotation and polity denotation were never 'drawn'. Understanding that such distinctions are largely no longer made and that beadwork is fundamentally dynamic and borderless took time. This research sample was comprised of twenty five participants, ten as part of an initial broad purposive sample and a second group of ten residing within Qineselani MaNyuswa TA, the other five being women from Msinga.

Initially interviews conducted at Mnamatha took up to four hours each, in which an exhaustive, in depth process of questioning ensued. Although this interview length was unplanned it did serve as a means to establish a strategy for further interviews, consequently redirecting my approach in questioning. This resulted in shorter interview times with richer results.

With each interview, photo albums were requested. Images from these albums were documented and photographed. These images would later render some important insights in the study. Unfortunately most were black and white.

A semi-structured approach to interviews allowed participants to also 'lead' the direction of the interview, with may speaking at length about their lives, reflecting on how beadwork had become relevant in their lives. (See Appendix 3) for list of questions.

2.3.6.2 Street Retailers and Craftswomen

The criteria for participants in this sample included: Women between the ages of 30 – 55, who either made or sold beadwork, and other curios and trinkets, on Durban Beachfront. This group did not include unlicensed hawkers, but was comprised of women from various regions of KwaZulu-Natal including KwaNyuswa, the neighbouring Inanda region, Empangeni, Umkomaas and Wartburg. Data gained at similar retail sites at Umgababa Shell Ultra City sites and on the streets of Escort also served to bolster understanding and analysis. (See Appendix 4) for list of questions.

2.3.6.3 Durban Rickshaw Pullers

The criteria for participants in this sample included: Zulu speaking men between the ages of 25 and 55 known as 'pullers' who either own or rent rickshaws and operate along Durban Beachfront. These 'pullers' originate from, and still return to their families in KwaNongoma, a region situated in central Zululand, in Northern KwaZulu-Natal. More specifically the men hail from two specific izigodi – a term used to denote both a district and a clan, namely the Mandlakazi clan and the Usuthu clan. (See Appendix 5) for list of questions.

2.3.7 Data Analysis and differentiation testing

Data analysis involved a three-prong approach. Firstly, to broadly understand the denotative nature of beadwork, and then by exclusion identify the beadwork style into which the Nyuswa convention might fall. I then proceeded to explore the *isijolovane* convention, looking further for denotative properties that would distinguish the Qadi from the Nyuswa. In attempting to make this distinction I was lead by the data to examine how this *isijolovane* might serve to verify the oral histories that I had gathered. Secondly, to draw out themes from the data gathered amongst rural and peri-urban craftswomen in KwaNyuswa. The third form of analysis was based on an emergent theory that the Nyuswa convention might serve as a form of strategic differentiation in addressing a saturated craft retail market.

2.3.7.1 Visual Analysis of Beadwork

Approxiamately 500 photographs of beadwork were analysed. This 'bank' of images was extracted from academically sound texts; the photo albums or collections of participants; from photographs taken at the eNyokeni Reed Dance, at which beadwork was identified and catalogued with the assistance of the assistant curator of Eshowe Museum, in 2011; from various museums and beadwork repositories across KwaZulu Natal; and as collected or documented photographically in KwaNyuswa, Muden, Weenen, Greytown and Escort.

This body of visual material was first loosely categorised according to the following denotative considerations: colour use; number of colours; sequence of colours; placement of colours in a sequence; use of pattern; use of shapes; use of symbols; primary focus of the forms in relation to phatic visual devices; and metalinguistic properties of the item, for example a wedding apron where hybridities were evident.

Thereafter these categories were further scrutinised against the geographic and polity name descriptions on tags; against geographic and textual data evident in British military intelligence maps and a more recent map denoting traditional authorities produced by COGTA, and Google maps where much synergy was discovered against which verification was possible. These polity categories were then analysed for their validity against academically sound texts on beadwork. Finally beadwork samples were sorted as denoting either polity identities or regional sequences or both where this was unclear.

As discussed the focus then shifted to explore the *isijolovane* sequence and its value in denoting polities or regions and in serving identity roles.

I also revisited the three craft groups repeatedly during the month of May 2013, as a means to interrogate, clarify and validate the data gained. This process involved the testing the identification of *isijolovane* sequences and patterns. This involved a series of unmarked photographs of beadwork, from the KwaNyuswa region, being shown to each participant, in an attempt to establish a broad

position on the notion of the Nyuswa and Qadi denotation of beadwork. This questioning was also aimed at establishing commonalities and denotative differences in the *isijolovane* sequence as representative of the two separate polities.

The emergent themes were as follows: commonalities found in the beadwork studied from the KwaNyuswa region or Ngcobo polity; commonalities found between regions as confirming and defining denotative polity-based difference; and fashion and its impact on influencing stylistic changes in beadwork. These three categories then served as the basis for analysis.

2.3.7.2 Analysis of Interviews

Charmaz (2006:128) points out that "the fundamental contribution of grounded theory method resides in offering a guide to interpretive theoretical practice not in providing a blueprint for theoretical products. Interpretive theorizing arises from social constructionist assumptions that inform symbolic interaction…cultural studies and phenomenological discourse and narrative analysis. Such theorizing is not limited to individual actors or micro situations". Charmaz's (2006) words really speak to the employment of the Grounded theory Method in not only serving as the basis for micro interpretivism but in seeing the emergent themes as a guide towards analytically engaging a broader discourse.

In depth interviews with participants were initially recorded and then transcribed. These transcripts then served as the basis for a process of coding by employing the Grounded Theory Method to draw out thematic categories. Data was analysed for content and discourse against the following themes:

- Denotative visual constructs of *isijolovane*
- Construction of meaning, self definition and identity roles
- Origins and perpetuation of the Nyuswa Convention
- Factors impacting craft economies in the region
- Reductive processes affecting the Nyuswa Identity
- Emancipatory possibilities based on identity or craft.

Interviews conducted were most often in reference to the beadwork offered for documentation. During these interviews emotional responses to the beadwork and photographs were monitored to appraise the levels of self-esteem being suggested through beadwork, body language, posture and attitudinal subtleties. These forms of consideration extended in the observation of traditional events and ceremonies, in which beadwork was implicit in serving self-esteem and identity formation.

Participatory observation included attending the anointing of a chief at Hillcrest; and an ancestor acknowledgement ceremony of past chiefs of the Nyuswa, where I observed Nyuswa dances led by a Nyuswa Sangoma, Nyuswa songs, Nyuswa prayers and chants. I also participated in a traditional meat eating process and traditional beer drinking processes with Nyuswa men. I also met with traditional Nyuswa leaders; and attended the Uhlanga or reed dance at eNyokeni where I met with Nyuswa and Qadi reed dancers wearing *isijolovane*; and a umemulo ceremony at Shongweni, where the extended use of isijolovane was evident amongst the Khuzwayo and Shezi polity members. These observations offered a means to also gauge the active use of the Nyuswa identity.

2.3.7.3 Summative analysis: Differentiation testing

2.3.7.3.1 Data analysis: Beaded products

Based on the emergent data, a summative process of analysis ensued. This process of prototype development, testing and analysis drew on strategic, design and branding practice, market trends and visual communication theory as a means of developing a Nyuswa logo which might transform into a brand, based on the Nyuswa identity. Later a Qadi logo was added. These two logos were developed as a basis to test the premise that a design intervention could assist the economic emancipation of those living in the KwaNyuswa region. Income generation did not feature as an instrument for measurement as it had been sporadic and involved infrastructural factors outside the study.

2.3.7.3.2 Data analysis: Rickshaw restoration

In an attempt to also broaden testing and the analysis of the differentiation premise, this process was extended to incorporate the restoration of two rickshaw carts and the pullers outfits, using polity based beadwork sequences as the source for decorating the carts and outfits.

The first rickshaw was restored in January of 2012 and the second in January of 2013. These were then reintroduced to Durban Beachfront. Income generation was measured before and then one year after each restoration, directly after each December season period. Unstructured individual interviews and a group discussion also served this process of analysis. Data from these two forms of applied anthropological interventions was analysed against the following themes:

- Viable translation of polity beadwork identity into prototype product or service;
- Suitability of these products in serving local and international target markets;
- Expandability of this premise if viable.

2.3.8 Viability, Reliability and Bias

This study, which sits within an interpretivist paradigm and which makes use of a reflexive ethnographic methodology, which may be viewed by some as situated within the subjective realm and so open to scrutiny. Further, any attempts at validating emergent social, psychological processes and behaviors, as manifested and reified through material culture, could be viewed as lacking in scientific rigour when viewed through the positivist 'lens'. Such views might not necessarily be surprising given that Constructivist Grounded Theory is part of the interpretive tradition and Objectivist Grounded Theory derives from positivism (Charmaz 2006). Therefore this study is centred around an inherently subjective process. Reliability has been achieved through "placing priority of the phenomena of the study and see both data and analysis as created from shared experiences and relationships with participants". It is also firmly framed by the position that although the outcome of this study is merely interpretation, such conjecture has been tempered through a process of skepticism of the social 'realities' of participants.

In this manner reliable epistemologies have been pursued by establishing patterns of action, visual commonalities, and patterns of justified belief, and through retesting and revisiting sources of data. If there is a bias in this study it is my bias towards the alleviation of poverty. Some may argue that this has accelerated the outcome of the study and so the validity of process could come into question. Instead I suggest that the data has 'spoken' and that the reflexive process has enabled a systematic criticality of my research process and a minimizing of bias, resulting rather in an extension of thought, which is navigated along a new trans-disciplinary research trajectory. It could also be argued that the 'differentiation testing' has actualized, through participants responses, the value of the premise.

2.3.9 Ethical Considerations

UKZN Ethical approval (Protocol reference No: HSS/0968/012D) was secured. Informed consent was gained from all participants. Each informed consent letter was offered in English and isiZulu, and in each instance the nature of the study was explained and expanded upon beyond the descriptor offered to participants.

At the onset of this study, no significant ethical considerations were identified, although as I have proceeded in this study I have remained aware of the sensitivity of the study regarding polity identities, particularly concerning ongoing chieftainship disputes. As stated previously I have attempted to always make clear to participants that the intention behind leadership lineage compilation or its reconstruction is purely academic and that, given the complexity and limited concrete evidence, these reconstructions cannot be deemed to be conclusive.

Further, this study is limited in its reach, in terms of fully exploring how best to elicit permissions from traditional authorities regarding the implementation of polity based brand identities. To this end this study has focused on differentiation as a viable strategy and has not implemented, nor attempted, to test the implementation of polity based brand logos in the marketplace. This does raise the issue of the perceived 'conflict of interest' that might arise from my roles as 'developer'; while simultaneously fulfilling the roles of 'designer/ visual interpreter of beadwork'; and researcher. To this end, I must first state that I have never gained financially from this study, besides how I might advance in my

career. All monies gained from the sales of beadwork were devided between the maker, seller and the cost of materials. All transport costs for the delivery and collection of the products, and the facilitation of workshops, was paid by myself at my personal cost. During this period I also purchased numerous sample prototypes, which were purchased at a calculated 'cost plus profit' or retail price. Breakdowns of the costing for each product was shown or discussed openly with each beadworker. My role therefore, as researcher, was framed not by any personal commercial interest, which was communicated to each participant. The difficulty was in convincing participants that I would not be financially benefitting from the transaction.

To facilitate the testing of the premise, of beadwork identity translating into actual sales, I also fulfilled the role of saleperson in finding customers that would purchase the goods, and in trying to establish sustainable business links for the women. Transparency was attempted through inviting the women to meet the end user; by in inviting them to the two exhibition shows to sell their goods and in making clear that at any point they could manufacture and sell the handbags to anyone they chose at their chosen retail price, without any remuneration on my part.

My ethical role as designer and as creatively overseeing the interpretation of beadwork forms is surely also an area for discussion. As discussed in section 2.3.7, data analysis and differentiation testing involved a measure of ethical consideration, through ensuring that an acceptable level of integrity, or visual accuracy, was displayed in colour and in form with each vector-based visual translation, or designed work.

Further it should be noted that names of the participants have been changed and faces in pictures have been blurred. This has been done to protect the identities of participants. In a similar manner, to protect the identities of individuals, the positions or titles of participants, connected to institutions or organisations, have been used instead of names. As exceptions to these instances of name changing and blurring of photographs, some participants have given informed consent for the revealing of their identities, or the use of their names was deemed to be integral to the interpretation of the data in this study.

2.4 Conclusion

In the selection of both a theoretical framework and methodology, this chapter articulates the epistemological approach taken in the study. The intention has been to critically examine how the reification of the Zulu identity and the resultant Zulu brand have served to suppress market diversification. Further, this methodology is structured to highlight an apparent gap in the body of knowledge on beadwork as historically denoting hegemonically positioned socio-political units. The research methods in this study have been selected to examine these phenomena in a manner that might reflexively 'unpack', through a transdisciplinary research process, visual ethnographies in data that are credible, original, useful and that resonate (Charmaz 2006) with the people at whom this research is directed. This chapter is underpinned by a firm acknowledgement of the subjective approach selected, intrinsic to interpretivism, towards a summative constructionist grounded theory. To this end, the research process has been facilitated through constant skepticism of assumptions and 'facts' concerning identity, tempered by my own continual self-evaluation as a researcher, and the constant re-evaluation of any seemingly plausible premise.

In the following chapter I discuss the theoretical framework, methodology and methods employed to guide the study.

CHAPTER THREE

REFLEXIVE ETHNOGRAPHY IN VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

> If any black man with a little knowledge of English, French or Portuguese wants to study the white man – as I have done – all he has to do is to go to the nearest town and become a regular customer of one of the second-hand bookshops there. He must buy and read at least twenty different books and magazines a month, for a period of no less than two years. As the years pass he will gain more or less a clear understanding of the White man, his way of life, his hopes and ambitions. But few white people have ever bothered to study the African people carefully – and by this I do not mean driving around African villages taking photographs of dancing tribesmen and women and asking a few questions, and then going back and writing a book – a useless book full of errors, wrong impressions and just plain nonsense….there are doctors, missionaries and scientists who have spent years and years among Africans – many of them can even speak the local language better than the indigenous people – but what they know about them as human beings amounts to nothing. Many have studied the African only to compare him with the White man. Ask any anthropologist in South Africa who was the greatest Zulu King and he will reply instantly, "Tshaka, of course". That is not so, Tshaka or Shaka was not the great Chief White historians make him out to be
>
> (Credo Mutwa 1998: XVIII).

3.1 Introduction

Mutwa's use of skin colour distinctions paradoxically perpetuates the constructed position that only 'Whites' and 'Blacks', terms most often used to denote skin colour and cultural orientation, exist in isolation of each other in South Africa. In his reference to the lack of value in Anthropology and related sciences, disciplines that by their design serve to address misconceptions of stereotyping and broad race classifications (Haviland, Prins, Walrath and McBride 2010) in South Africa, Mutwa fails to

fundamentally acknowledge the manner in which these race distinctions, essentialised through political agenda, have ironically served to undermine the understanding which he claims is lacking.

In the context of contemporary race classifications in South Africa, although born in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, I am of European descent, and I am deemed to be 'White'. In contrast, I view myself as more specifically disassociated from what I believe Mutwa refers to as the easily determinable 'White man', but rather as an individual discovering my identity and the identities of others with whom I share this continent. In other words I see myself as only 'African' for lack of a better explanation.

A fundamental tenet of the South African 'struggle', that skin colour should not definitively denote identity, is surely a sub-theme in this study of groups within KwaZulu-Natal, who are broadly 'tarred' as Zulu, and 'Black', given that it is broadly understood that the Nguni themselves were the sum of a mix of ethnicities who migrated through West, Central and East Africa to South East Africa (Stevenson et al.2000).

Mutwa's reference to the "great White historians", perpetuating misconceptions, speaks little of those non-whites who appear to have perpetuated the Zulu legacy, under the auspices of serving the propagation agenda of the Black Conciousness Movement (Southall 1981; Gillwald 1988). In the following chapter I will discuss the Zulu legacy, in relation to that of the Nyuswa, at length. Ironically, in this chapter, it is 'colour' that is, in my view, at the centre of this identity discourse.

This chapter examines the role of colour sequences and visual constructs, or patterns found in beadwork in rural KwaZulu-Natal, in an attempt to better understand 'Black' cultures in KZN province. To this end, it examines the relationship between polity identity and beadwork, as a means of denotative representation, of both large and small polities, as a departure from the popular view in ethnic tourism, which favours a single Zulu identity in the province (Hamilton 1992); it further investigates whether beadwork can be best described as stylistically regionalised (Mayr 1907; Jolles 1994; Morris and Preston-Whyte 1994, Boram-Hayes 2005; Van Wyk 2003; Tyrell and Jurgens 1983;

Dube 2009) or whether it is primarily a form of connotative or semiotic messaging; spiritual art; or purely creative expression (Dube 2009; Wells 2006; Winters 2008; Van Wyk).

In this chapter I make numerous references to terms often used in discourses surrounding the notions of visual communication and visual perception, which I relate when describing the various functions or qualities of beadwork as relating to the wearer or viewer. These include: 1. the 'connotative' function - of the beadwork invoking "an idea or feeling" (Oxford Paperback Dictionary 2001:180), which might include a sense of 'place', a sense of 'home' or a sense of allegiance; 2. the 'denotative' function - of the beadwork acting as "a sign" (Oxford Paperback Dictionary 1995:232), which might include it signifying or denoting socio-political membership, or the geographical origin of the wearer; 3. the 'metalinguistic' function: Barnard (2005:16) offers that, " 'metalanguage' is a language that is used to talk about some other language". In this way, it is that function of beadwork which relates to the 'cultural or visual linguistic code' embedded in the colour choices, colour sequence, or beading structure of the beadwork, which offers visual clues to a viewer, whom might be acculturalised to the visual language of beadwork. *Merriam Webster's Online Dictionary* (2014) defines 'Metalinguistics' as, "a branch of linguistics that deals with the relation between language and other cultural factors in a society"; 4. the 'phatic' function or qualities of beadwork: (Barnard 2005:16) describes the 'phatic function' in language, as that part of communication, in spoken language, which appears to be "redundant ". He explains that phatic function in language relates to those parts of language which "initiate, continue, or conclude conversation" (Barnard 2005:16). In relation to beadwork, I am therefore referring to that function which relates to the value of the secondary or even tertiary visual hierarchial components in the structure of a beadwork piece, as offering information to the viewer or maker. These could include the colours or visual devices that support the main colours or design elements of focus, or even the shape or manner in which the beadwork is made, or how it is worn. These respective terms, in these contexts, have therefore assisted as 'tools' in the analysis of beadwork.

To reiterate, the terms 'nation', 'indigenous', 'clan' and 'tribe', included fairly frequently in this and the following chapter have been avoided in original or paraphrased texts in this study, given the

broadly held view in the Social Sciences that these are “cultural categories” and largely politically charged (Boonzaier and Sharp 1988:26). Instead the terms ‘traditional community’ or ‘polity’ have used. However, I have elected to include these terms when citing verbatim the work of those authors who in previous studies and periods have elected to use such categorisations. In my view, the inclusion of such examples serves to situate such excerpts, and the mindsets with which these were written, within the context of this study.

This chapter takes an interdisciplinary approach. It discusses the reflexive ethnographic nature of the study as a means to detect, verify and analyse beadwork identity. In addition, it discusses this ‘means’ as a ‘trained perspective’ or ‘way of seeing’, informed both through Visual Communication Design practice and Communication Theory, and through visual anthropologies. Collectively these various perspectives have facilitated a reconstruction and identification of visual and social relationships found in polity beadwork in this study.

This chapter does not deal specifically with the Nyuswa, but is an attempt to position this study within a broader social context that might serve to highlight the value of a denotative perspective to beadwork analysis and, by exclusion, offer that the beadwork of the Nyuswa or Ngcobo is unique and different from other forms of beadwork found in the province.

In so doing, the attempt is also made to highlight the value of beadwork analysis through observations made during visits to KwaZulu-Natal museums and rural areas, towards deepening understanding of the denotative visual dynamics of Zulu social geography.

As indicated previously, the Nyuswa focus on beadwork and identity, has been analysed after an extensive contextualisation of beadwork visual convention in the KZN province. Such conventions were encountered on the KZN Coast and during visits to various inland regions within the province, including sites at Muden, Weenen and Greytown, in Msinga, but also extended to Eshowe, neighbouring Ondini, and eNyokeni in the KwaZulu region. To reiterate, these visits were also conducted with the purpose of establishing whether assumptions surrounding regional patterns were

plausible.

3.2 Reflexivity and Visual Anthropologies

Haviland et al. (2013:15) explain that Anthropology is an empirical social science based on observations of information about humans, taken in through the senses and verified by others, rather than being based on intuition or faith. Anthropology is distinguished from other sciences by the diverse ways in which scientific research is conducted within this discipline. These authors continue that creative science of this nature, "seeks testable explanations for observed phenomena and that two fundamental ingredients are essential for this, namely 'imagination' and 'skepticism'. Imagination facilitates the recognition of 'unexpected phenomena' and skepticism allows one to distinguish fact from fancy, to test speculations".

This chapter represents a similar endeavour, as a reflexive process of denotative beadwork analysis. This form of analysis has entailed the identification, verification and in some cases dispelling of patterns of design or visual constructs, as both a graphic design practioner and as an anthropologist. Throughout this process of analysis, each beadwork identity was verified through primary and secondary sources, placing a greater emphasis on the former as a means to better interogate the body of knowledge concerning this area of study.

Reflexivity is a process of self-awareness and self-reflection, in other words it refers to "reflecting on *oneself* as an *object* of provocative, unrelenting thought and contemplation. Reflexivity makes a claim to self-reference" (Davies 1998, as cited in Nazuruk 2011:73). It generates a "heightened awareness and vertigo, the creative intensity of a possibility that loosens us from habit and custom and turns back to contemplate ourselves…. It is a technical term that permeates critical literary discourse and social science research, as well as aspects of the autobiographical life of regular people" (Nazaruk 2011:73). However it is also more specifically used to describe the point of view of the author or narrator, as used in the context of a discplined self-consciousness. This includes self-strategies, self-discovery, self-intuition, self-critique and selfhood as an interplay between subjectivity and objectivity, with an emphasis on realising the latter (Nazaruk

2011). In this way this approach offered a framework for self consciousness and reflection, a means of looking outwards and inwards, of also determining the effects of one's presence in a research setting and how this might impact the research process and data being gathered. In addition, my training or my manner of seeing visual systems was intrinsic to this self-consciousness.

Pink (2013:76) comments that "reflexivity presents a concern with images and representations, the fluid and constructed nature of meaning", that reflexivity is a process that serves to address "whether one can really get beyond representations to an ultimate signified truth". In the case of this study on beadwork, this craft form is being viewed with the intent to better determine signified ethnographic 'truths'.

As a study focused on beadwork denotation, the reflexive ethnographic analysis of beadwork has involved, in many instances, a process in which each item of beadwork was either photographed or gathered as previously photographed data. By virtue of its being photographed, the beadwork had been removed from its traditional context, place and origin. These photographs, distanced from the source, have served as the basis for an analytical and somewhat positivistic scrutiny, or in other words a process in which the analysis of pattern, colour systems, and visual stucture was intentionally devoid of connotative association or consideration. This process of beadwork analysis considered qualities such as, 'colour', 'pattern or design', 'kind of adornment' and 'place of origin' as key categories within the meta-data. Notions of metaphor, emotive meaning and social standing, or status, attached to the beadwork were not the primary concerns, but were 'visited' if it was felt that such considerations might further understanding of denotative meaning. However, the reflexive approach in this study initially 'played out' through my 'revisiting' of personal experiences of beadwork.

Growing up in Durban, like most privileged 'White' children I enjoyed access to the most pristine sites along the KwaZulu-Natal seaside, on the North and South Coasts, and often on Durban's Beachfront. Here I encountered the Durban Rickshaw pullers and an array of street vendors selling beadwork. I came to understand that the histories taught to me at school about the Zulu were intrinsically linked

to the beadwork and rickshaws[13] that I encountered. I never once, in 40 years, questioned that the identity of those within the province was anything other than Zulu.

In 2011, I began preliminary investigations in support of this study. I revisited these coastal sites. I traveled to beadwork retail sites in Amanzimtoti, Scottburgh, Hibberdene, Margate, Ramsgate and Umgababa, the Shell Ultracity site, which hosts beadwork vendors on both sides of the N2 South Coast freeway; and Port Shepstone. I also travelled along the North Coast visiting various vendors at Umhlanga Rocks, Ballito, Richards Bay and St Lucia, and turned inland, visiting tourist sites in Eshowe.

I also made numerous visits to 'The Golden Mile', formerly the Marine Parade, on the Durban Beachfront. During these visits, along the KZN Coast, I engaged with craftswomen and vendors, in unstructured interviews, in an attempt to establish if the beadwork was anything other than 'Zulu' often enquiring in a diasporic sense to their respective origins in rural areas. All those I interviewed were clear that the beadwork being sold was 'Zulu'.

Initially, the reason for this seemingly unequivocal distinction being made in responses was, in my view, that the beadwork was Zulu, or at least that these informants believed it to be so. Later, in this study, I 'returned' to this view realizing instead that these responses might simply have been 'playing' to my potential as a tourist or someone seemingly in search of an 'exotic' trinket from the popularly heralded 'Kingdom of the Zulu' - a notion which I as a tourist would quite possibly have encountered on my travels in KwaZulu-Natal (Zulu Kingdom. Exceptional: About KZN Tourism 2011).

[13] The first Rickshas, also spelt as 'Rickshaws', were imported into the early Natal Province, by Natal "Sugar Baron", Sir Marshall Campbell from Japan to Durban in 1892 (Brown 1989). The word 'Ricksha' is said to have derived from the Japanese word Jinrikisha - 'Jin' meaning 'man', 'riki' meaning power and 'sha' meaning 'carriage' (Power Carriages of the Mandlakazi 1892 - 2000 (2012)). In other words these are man drawn carts.

The beadwork I encountered comprised of mostly bracelets, belts, and some 'traditionally styled' artifacts such as *nkehle*[14] ; or *isigege,* all of which followed a similar beadwork 'design script', namely that based on the use of primary colours in triangular patterns, broken by white or black (see fig.3.1).

In my view, this style of beadwork known as *isimodeni*, or 'modern', is derivative. By this I mean that it appears to be the product of influence rather than the sum or a homogenisation of various styles, maybe it is best described, by its origins, as a commercial product design for tourism retail, inspired by the polity beadwork source.

I also encountered what most referred to as 'love letters', seen in figure 3.2, made as a 'badge-like' beaded rectangle, with a safety pin sewn into the one side, bearing a colourful shield-like pattern. Sometimes, at more affluent tourism retail sites, these are packaged with a card attached describing the meaning of the colours. At no point did any of the makers or sellers indicate that this beadwork denoted a sub-polity of the Zulu.



Figure 3.1: Examples of the kinds beadwork being sold at various sites along the KwaZulu-Natal Coast (Gatfield 2012).

14 *Nkehle* is a traditional hat often made of dried grass, often intertwined with red or whitw cotton thread, worn to denote marital status by women.



Figure 3.2 : Beaded 'badge' with safetypin attached. (Gatfield 2013)

During this preliminary phase of research in preparation for the proposal for this study, I purchased 40 beaded bracelets and artifacts. Each of these was then photographed and documented, with details of the date, place of purchase, and the name of the maker or seller.

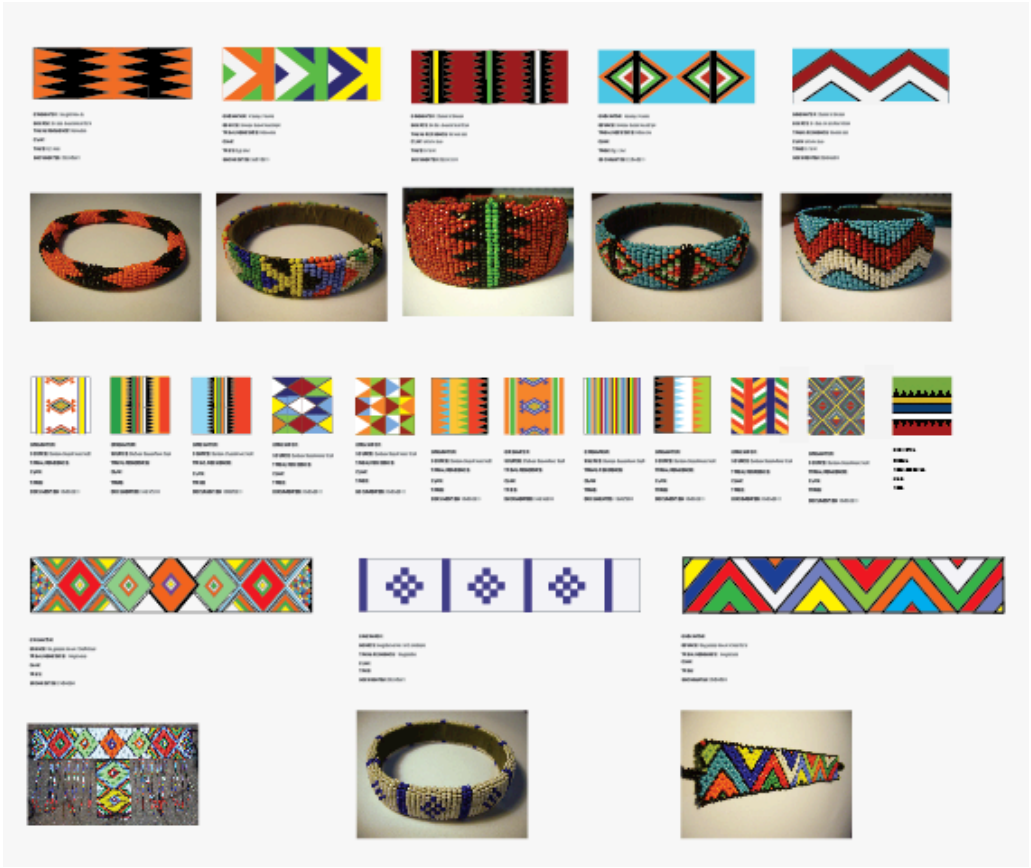


Figure 3.3: Initial efforts at archiving and gathering visual data on Durban beadwork (Gatfield 2011).

I then began to systematically reconstruct each bracelet's pattern on the computer, in what are broadly referred to in the Graphic Design business as 'vector graphics', flat, digitized coloured shapes.

The reconstruction of three-dimensional shapes, or photographs of three-dimensional objects, into two-dimensional renditions is commonplace in design practice. The intention was initially to simply create some record of each bracelet, however what transpired, presented an important transition in my approach to beadwork analysis.

By disassociating the pattern from the object, I was able to distance the analytic process of the beadwork from its connotative meaning, namely its supposed 'Zulu' identity or its functionality as jewellery or tourist keepsake, towards a platonic visual construct.

A clearer picture of the maker's thinking and design ability, pattern frequency and design construct was also realized through the digital reconstruction process of the pattern. What became apparent through this reflexive practice was that no subscription to a fixed number of colours or limited colour palette, or a derivative visual sequence, could be established. In other words, it appeared that the generation of beadwork being sold to tourists by the craftswomen, was being produced creatively and as a result of a process of self-expression in the patterns.

Further, qualitative investigations at these coastal sites then revealed that such creative expression was based on *isimodeni*, or a visual homogenization process, based on years of establishing the demands, tastes and perceptions of tourists regarding what beadwork should look like, merged together with actual cultural design source. This homogenized product was then being sold as Zulu beadwork. This new data pointed to a need to better understand the cultural source from which this homogenized beadwork convention had been derived.

At the same site on Durban Beachfront, alongside newly constructed stalls run by beadwork retailers and craftswomen, I encountered the Durban Rickshaw Pullers. Extensive in-depth qualitative interviews with 24 rickshaw pullers, operating along Durban's beachfront, together with a review of literature on the Rickshaw's origins (Brown K. 1989; Geens E. 2012; Posel R. 1996 ; *Rickshas, Cars and Coaches* 1954) established that the pullers are all members of the Mandlakazi and uSuthu polities, who live in neighbouring regions or districts in Nongoma, and respectively make use of beadwork

design systems, in their rickshaw dress and decoration, that are directly derived from these two identities.



Figure 3.4: Example of a Durban rickshaw and its 'Puller' (Xtreme Car Rental 2014).



Figure 3.5: Example of the rickshaw beadwork and cart encountered. (Gatfield 2011)

3.3 Love Letters, isiModeni and the Polity Beadwork Identity

During a process of analytical digital reconstruction of the Rickshaw beadwork, it was established that little direct or clear-cut visual connection could be drawn between *isimodeni* and the beadwork forms being used by the Rickshaw pullers. Instead, during this process of digitization, what was revealed was that shield like forms, constructed through the use of triangles, were being used by both groups indicating that the two polities may share social-geography. Further it was established that the two groups share four colours in their respective beadwork conventions.

The uSuthu beadwork, depicted in Figure 3.4, clearly subscribes to a limited palette of colours, namely blue, green, red, black and white. White serves as a phatic or supportive colour.

The Mandlakazi beadwork differs in its colours by omitting the colour blue, and is made of a colour palette of red, green and black and white, see Figure 3.6. This comparison between isimodeni, the Usuthu beadwork, and the Mandlakazi beadwork is what directly inspired further investigation into the value of thinking on beadwork around denotative meaning.

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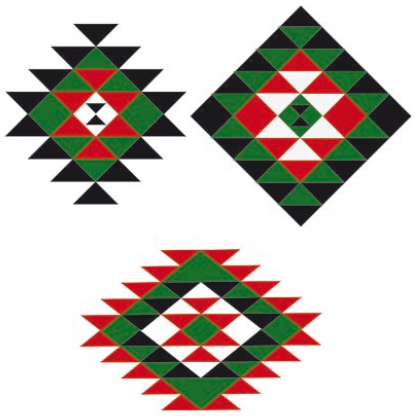


Figure 3.6: A vector-based rendition of the Mandlakazi beadwork convention. Mchunu 2011

As indicated, in the review of literature on beadwork found in KwaZulu-Natal conducted for this study, few authors have centred their research on the relationships between beadwork styles as denoting polity identity, with many favouring the idea of beadwork as a form of regional style or artistic self-expression.

Dube [15](2009) speaks of beadwork as perpetuating a sense of belonging. She explains that the Zulu people call beads *ubuhlalu*, meaning 'that which makes us stay' or 'that which gives me life', intimating to the importance Zulus placed on beads as a means to self-define. However, Dube (2009) also describes the Zulu 'love letter' as a, "message in beads" and that this form of beadwork can be decoded through, "the skill of symbolic interpretation" (Dube 2009:23).

Yvonne Winters, in her paper entitled *The Secret of Zulu Language and Proportion and Balance of Zulu Headrest, Isigqiki*, (2008) explains that *incwadi yothando,* the love letter, is a beaded necklace or pin that carries messages of love, which may explain why it is one of the popular curios bought by tourists in South Africa. Commercially savvy beadwork sellers append a note to their wares, explaining in English what their designs say, thereby entrenching the idea that the 'love letter' encodes special feelings. But contemporary scholars of Zulu material culture have scrutinised this assertion. Eleanor Preston-Whyte and Jo Thorpe, for example, critically note that with beadworkers there is no overall agreement about the meaning of different colours. This has not prevented producers and middle-people trading on the romance of the love letter, to great effect (Carton 2008).

[15] Hlengiwe Dube has served as the manager of the African Arts Centre store, in Durban, and is the author of the 2009 book *Zulu Beadwork, Talk with Beads.*



Figure 3.7: Necklace captioned as a " Love letter from Msinga area, Umzansi style" . Dube 2009

In Hlengiwe Dube's text, *Zulu Beadwork, Talk with Beads* (2009:21), she displays an image of a necklace with a caption that reads "Love Letter from Msinga area, *Umzansi* Style". The image, seen in Figure 3.7, depicts three beaded graphics, in navy blue, red and green. Each graphic comprised of two triangles vertically inverted with points facing inwards, divided by a thin stripe, with a phatic use of white. Based on visits and interviews with curators of museums and beadwork repositories [16]and having conducted qualitative research with those in Msinga, it seems apparent that the visual system used in this photograph is specifically used by the amaChunu people from Msinga as part of a denotative system.

[16] These include Phansi Museum in Durban, The African Art Centre in Durban, Weenan Museum in Weenan, Greytown Museum in Greytown, Talana Museum in Dundee, Ladysmith Museum, the Voortrekker/Msunduzi Museum, Zululand Historical Museum in Eshowe, The KwaZulu-Natal Cultural Museum in Ondini/Ulundi and Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg.



Figure 3.8: Amakosi or chiefs of the AmaChunu polity, at eNyokeni wearing distinctive amadavathi, or lapel style necklaces apparently denoting their respective polities. Chennels (2003)

Constructed in a very similar fashion to that seen in Figure 3.7, Figure 3.8 depicts three amaChunu men and a boy, wearing *ughonko* or lapel-style necklaces bearing what appears to be differently denotating symbols. One of the three symbols or patterns displayed is being worn by what might be a father and son. This image appears to clearly indicate that a denotative system is in place. It might be assumed that these are denoting various *izigodi.*

This idea, of this image denoting *izigodi* or smaller polities, was later disputed in a 2014 interview with Labolile Ximba, a member of the Siyazama Craft group, of the Mchunu at Msinga. She indicated that this was merely decoration. However, she did add that the red, white, blue and green sequence is entirely denotating the amaChunu, which she refers to as *isizwe* with a primary *inkosi*. Further, she added that the amaThembu use a sequence known as *isithembu* to denote that polity and that i*sishunka* is an old fashioned style. She also explained that a modernised *isishunka* is still shared by both the amaThembu and amaChunu. She indicated that sequential ordering of colours in *isishunka* serves to denote polity differences between the amaChunu and amaThembu.

Jolles[17] (2006) confirms that beadwork has historically served as both a conduit for messaging and as regionally denotative. He explains (2006:6) that beadwork was "entirely local, being governed by

[17] According to the Curator of Collections at Natal Museum, Frank Jolles is an Honorary Research Associate at the Natal Museum and the University of KwaZulu-Natal where he was Professor until his retirement in 1994. His numerous articles

regional colour conventions of between three and seven colours that were stabilised by the trade of beads (manufacturers even issued regional colour cards for the guidance of traders). They were typically local in another respect as well. Most colours had more than one associative meaning and two or more colours could form compounds with distinctive meanings." Jolles adds however (2006:7) that the value of these meanings was "limited to the boundaries of the *izigodi*". He continues that today it is unclear as to the value of beaded messages in modern Zulu society, noting that it would seem plausible that the advent of the postal service, cell phones and email seem to have replaced the function of beadwork as a form of messaging.

In contrast, it does appear that the denotative use of beadwork as representing polities is still a phenomenon in the rural parts of Kwa-Zulu Natal. Visits to Msinga indicated that young girls of the amaChunu still wear these colour sequences in the practice of *umemulo*[18], (see figure 3.9) and those of the Nhlawe *isigodi* of the Thembu in Msinga still use a specific limited colour palette to represent the clan and district (see figure 3.10).



Figure 3.9: LEFT: Modern, Umzansi style, beaded waistband amaChunu umemulo ceremony (Gatfield 2011).

Figure 3.10: RIGHT: Modern beaded isithembu style, anklet of the Nhlawe izigodi of the amaThembu (Gatfield 2011).

include "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area," and "Messages in fixed colour sequence? Another look at Msinga beadwork." He has done extensive fieldwork among the Zulu, and interviewed dozens of Zulu women in their sixties, seventies, and eighties about the izikoti they made as girls. He lives in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa (Zoominfo 2013).

[18] Umemulo is a coming of age ceremony, which can represent an availability or readiness for marriage. More definitively umemulo appears to represent the direct endorsement, consent and protection of both the parents, and more importantly, the amadlozi (or ancestors). To the latter end, it appears to represent a 'clearing of obstacles both figurative and physical'. Umemulo is not exclusively practiced in service of unmarried individuals (Mkhize 2012; Fuze 2013; Majola 2012).

It would appear that the value and purpose of messaging in contemporary beadwork is also being impacted by tourism. Labelle (as cited in Wells 2006:60) comments that "it is buyers who are being seduced by what they half believe by bead workers. It is tourist jargon claiming that beadwork has hidden codes and messages, and that this talk is simply 'sales pitch' based on colour symbolism and mystery, often unknown to the makers themselves".

Jolles (as cited in Washburn and Crowe 2004) speaks of colour as central to beadwork, within an oral society. Beadwork served to express personal particulars to a community conditioned to this visual language. Many texts on Zulu beadwork (Jolles 2006, Washburn et. al 2004, Wickler 1989, Wells 2006) speak not only of the value of colour as denoting regions or typologies, but place much emphasis on the communicative and metaphorical value of colour as a form of semiology inherent within beadwork.

Wells (2006) confirms that colour as found in beadwork is used both as a means to denote meaning and as a medium for identification. Wells, who conducted extensive research in the Msinga area, explains that "there are some significant functions of beadwork within Zulu culture. As a spiritual art, this point finds support amongst anthropologists and researchers; as a 'vehicle of expression' by both wearer and the maker; and as a signifier of identity and that assists to denote regional difference". Wells also indicates that beadwork serves to map typologies and allows social identities to be read (Wells 2006:52).

Although this chapter acknowledges the semiotic value of colours found in beadwork, it also attempts to break from the popular position of beadwork as only a means for expression and transmission of messages between individuals, or individuals and society (Jolles 2006), often within a romantic context.



Figure 3.11: Mannequins and beadwork on display at Phansi Musem. Gatfield 2012.

Travel to the various beadwork repositories, previously mentioned in this chapter, began at Phansi Museum, in Glenwood, Durban, shortly after encountering the rickshaws. Phansi has a rickshaw on display. I was immediately overwhelmed at the vast array of beadwork. However, it appeared to be poorly arranged and exhibited. Based on rudimentary readings on beadwork it appeared that beadwork from various polities, from different regions, and as worn by different sexes was being arranged for display together on a single mannequin, and presented as being representative of a singular polity identity or region.

It seemed apparent that beadwork identities, as displayed in Phansi Museum (Figure 3.11), were reasonably easily 'isolated' from each other, by first establishing the nature of the colour palette, then by consciously seeing past the visual constructions, patterns or designs, to the colour usage itself. What became apparent was that it was not just a matter of counting colours, but a process of seeing the use of primary and supporting or phatic colour use, used to construct a visual system or visual formula. In each case I would aim to establish the total number of colours in the palette or what I have come to refer to in my own design education practice, as a limited colour palette.

Wickler [19]and Seibt (1989: 315) describe how "each cultural group in South Africa developed its distinctive accepted colour combinations which may vary substantially from place to place", and how 14 pieces of Zulu beadwork were purchased from curio shops, collected by Apostle Mzila[20], from various families in the Msinga area. They continue (1989:316): "at first sight the pieces seemed different, in shape, size, in artistic perfection, were made from different kinds of beads and their coloured segments, seven colours, namely light blue, green, pink, red, charcoal black, white, yellow, occur on the 14 pieces. If one considers the sequence of colours only, an interesting pattern emerges. It was intuitively recognised from the first three pieces obtained, and later confirmed by the acquisition of the later pieces. Wickler refers to this as the 'Msinga colour convention' " (Wickler et. al 1989: 316).

The authors also acknowledge various other examples of beadwork denotation, noting that the convention of white, red, black and green is representative of the Mabaso polity, and a "five colour convention exists in representing the Mkhwanazi tribe". (Wickler et. al 1989: 316) They do not specify the colours of the latter.

It is possibly of value, at this juncture, to acknowledge the role of semiotics in society. Santos (2012:95) speaks of "a semiotic sign" as simply anything that "represents something to someone", thereby pointing to a level of social acceptance, associated with symbols. Further, that over time, these symbols form the basis for a socially negotiated visual language.

Bagchi and Marcheema (2013: 947) point out that "colours play an important role in affecting our perceptions. They form an omnipresent part of our daily lives, influencing our interactions with other

[19] Professor Wolfgang Wickler is from Munich University and has written extensively on those of the Msinga Area. Noteworthy, in this particular context, is his paper Studies in Bantu Peoples' Bead Language: A special Colour Convention from Msinga District (1989).

[20] I first met Apostle Mzila in 2005, and have since met others like him, who supply beadwork collectors, with beadwork from rural areas. Apostle Mzila explained to me that much of the beadwork he supplies is bought in rural areas, from deceased estates or from the elderly in need of finances. Apostle Mzila hails from Msinga, but also supplies beadwork from other areas. More recently he visited me with some beadwork from Bergville for sale, which he indicated was the beadwork of the amaNgwane.

individuals and with inanimate objects". In these respective ways, colour emerges as being imbued with semiological references and a capacity to denote and to connote meaning.

Wickler et. al (1989) make a noteworthy distinction on beadwork colour, in addressing the popularly held view on the function of beadwork colour as largely connotating semiotic messaging. They offer (1989: 325) that, "many authors have pointed to special meanings being attached to coloured beads by African peoples. White beads are believed to combat evil influences, red next to white are commonplace on a diviner's wig. Red representing the evil of the *mamtosti* bird, a mythogical bird said to inhabit the spiritual realm, which in turn is vanquished by the white". They suggest that "although the 'Msinga colour convention may well have some type of messaging, there is no way of suggesting meaningful interpretations of these colour sequences for the Msinga area."

What seems immediately apparent in Wickler et. al's (1989) writings, is that they fail to offer any interpretation of these conventions by those living in the Msinga area, thereby undermining both the connotative and denotative value of their observations. This beadwork was simply purchased from Apostle Mzila, from whom I have also purchased beadwork, without accurately establishing its origins.

However what is confirmed is that colour conventions do exist, and that it is apparent that these conventions may well be representative of regions or polities or both. Wickler et. al [21](1995), use the phrase 'sequence of colour', which is fairly comprehensible if viewed in relation to the *isishunka and isithembu* styles, or 'striping', upon which Wickler et al. focus.

[21] Wolfgang Wickler and Uta Seibt co-authored *Syntax and Semantics in a Zulu Bead Colour Communication System* in 1995, which in my view served as an important example of a positivistic approach to beadwork analysis.



Figure 3.12. As cited in Jolles (1993) Left: Anklet (*isigqizo*) in the color scheme called *isishunka*. The anklet is normally worn by girls and married women but can also be worn by men. Probably from Muden, 23cm x 9cm. Author's collection. Center: Sketch of an idealized *isishunka* sequence by Hluphekile (Machunu) Zuma. February 1990. Right: Waistband (*imfacane*) in *isishunka*, worn by unmarried girls and sometimes by boys. From Mashunka, 50cm x 2.5cm.

The tension between connotative and denotative meaning is noted, with Wickler et al. (1989:326) detailing that "it is an open question whether *isishunka*, seen in figure 3.12, items are intended to convey messages. But there is a list of traditional meanings assigned to the *isishunka* colours, written down at the Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg: Green: I am still a virgin; a young child (un- tried); like a fresh shoot. Sooty: I am ready for the marriage skirt. Blue: I would go even to the ends of the earth with you; together we can go far. Pink: You are very poor, without cattle (unable to pay the bride-price). Red: My heart is on fire for you. Yellow: Do not gossip about us; let's keep the relationship a

secret. White: My heart is pure (clean). This list comes from a Mchunu informant, Salafina, who was born in 1921."

Wickler et al. (1995) offer a very complex analysis of the *isishunka* style 'sequence', acknowledging after an exhaustive analysis of 411 pieces of beadwork that "as shown in our study, it is unlikely that this embellishment facilitates sending messages. Nor does it correspond to spoken syntax in Zulu language. Rather, aesthetic feelings seem responsible for the complex *isishunka* convention".

In contrast to the term 'sequence', I elect to use the phrase 'limited palette' of colours as more fitting in some instances, as it meant that each beadwork artifact was then being visually assessed for its weighting of colour, as opposed to its frequency or sequential use of colour. Ironically the term 'limited palette' was not easily applied when considering the beadwork of the Ngcobo or Nyuswa, which I detail later in this study, a beadwork system that appears not to subscribe to a limited colour palette or a sequential visual system.

Using my newly acquired knowledge of design systems, I appeared also to be able to isolate visual relationships or visual formulae in a metalinguistic sense. I began to realise that the beadwork offered often subtle, leading visual clues or signifiers to its sociopolitical identity. The shape or 'form' of the artifact; the form of visual devices in the beadwork; the manner in which shapes were placed in relation to each other; line, bead type and size; and the context and manner of production method used, all offered means by which to draw comparisons and to isolate commonalities. I was also aware of the semiotic or symbolic use of known or unknown icons or pictographs as further delivering metalinguistic properties for analysis.

Using this approach to analysis, together with archival meta-data, I was able to presuppose beadwork origins and possible socio-political connections. This approach later proved to be quite effective.

It was only later in talking with curators and other researchers in beadwork that I realised that my training as a Graphic Designer was faciltating a form of natural visual analysis. This realisation

regarding the value of my training in revealing visual anthropologies around ethographies became the basis for this study. The Graphic Design, or what is now referred to as Visual Communication Design, perspective or lens, in which I am trained, became a means through which to deepen research and possibly accelerate understanding on the beadwork of KZN province.

3.4 Graphic Design, Visual Communication and the 'Consumer Gaze'

Barnard[22] (2005:1) explains that, " most people see more examples of Graphic Design before they get to work, than they see examples of art in a year. Before they are even fully awake, most people will see the colours, lettering and shapes on tubes of toothpaste…. Graphic Design is everywhere. Yet, is often taken for granted, passing unnoticed and unremarked as it blends into the visual culture of everyday life".

Just as in the example of toothpaste packaging, Graphic Design functions as 'identification', to explain what it is and where it came from, as 'instruction and information', as indicating the relationship of one thing to another, and as 'promotion' and as 'presentation. He adds that Graphic Design has also been described as being fundamentally 'symbolic','epistemic' and 'aesthetic' (Barnard 2005). To this end, explanations of the function of beadwork detailed in this study (Wickler et al. 1989; Wells 2006) bear some striking similarities to that of Graphic Design.

In the context of visual anthropologies Barnard's (2005) definitions of Graphic Design could be aligned to the manner in which a Scottish tartan represents a clan or a heraldic coat of arms represents a family.

[22] Malcolm Barnard is a senior lecturer in the history and theory of art and design at the University of Derby. He has written widely on Visual Communication Theory and Visual Culture. He is considered by many within the field to be one of the seminal authorities in these respective fields of thought. He is also the author of *Graphic Design as Communication* (2005), used as a textbook in many South African design courses.



Figure 3.13: Clan Tartans from left to right: Malcolm, Mactavish, Macloed and the Macintosh Chieftainship (Hageney 1987).

Hageney (1987:8) describes the *breacan* or tartan, seen in figure 3.13, as consisting of the, " weaving of stripes and bands in different colours, whose combination is repeated at regular intervals, and so produces a symmetrical pattern that is equally adhered to by the warp and woof (the threads that run lengthwise and across respectively). The forms and the colours of the *breacans*, realised in this way, were not originally left to the pure creativity of the individual weaver". Instead, "they were prescribed by the family group of the customer, namely the clan. Consequently clan colours and clan patterns were a kind of external indication, an outward sign, of membership of a clan. Dress as a kind of flag worn on one's body, as a coloured family coat of arms."

The coat of arms, the product of the practice of Heraldry, is another example that demonstrates Barnard's (2005) articulation of the role of Graphic Design, as serving both figurative and non-figurative cultural expressions.

The social prerequisites for the creation of heraldry have long been in existence, but did not have a long lasting effect until this practice was combined with military experiences which made it necessary to be able to identify both the individual person and the nation he belonged to. The need arose for knights to distinguish themselves through combinations of shape and colour. This was achieved through by dividing a flat surface geometrically into at least two coloured sections, or the use of an already memorable distinguishing sign or symbol. The rules of heraldry, developed during the first few centuries of the second milennium A.D., were formulated by a professional body called heralds. These complex sets of rules have remained valid with very little alteration to this day. "For this reason, everything connected with arms is called 'heraldic', and the whole complex of armorial knowledge and

art is called Heraldry". Heraldry has been used to denote individuals, families, companies, churches, universities, municipalities, republics and monarchies. Much heraldry is orientated around reality, making use of the shield; a symbol or collection of symbols, which draw on weaponry, architecture, fauna and flora, symbols of commerce; and subscribe to a palette of colours (Neubecker 1976).

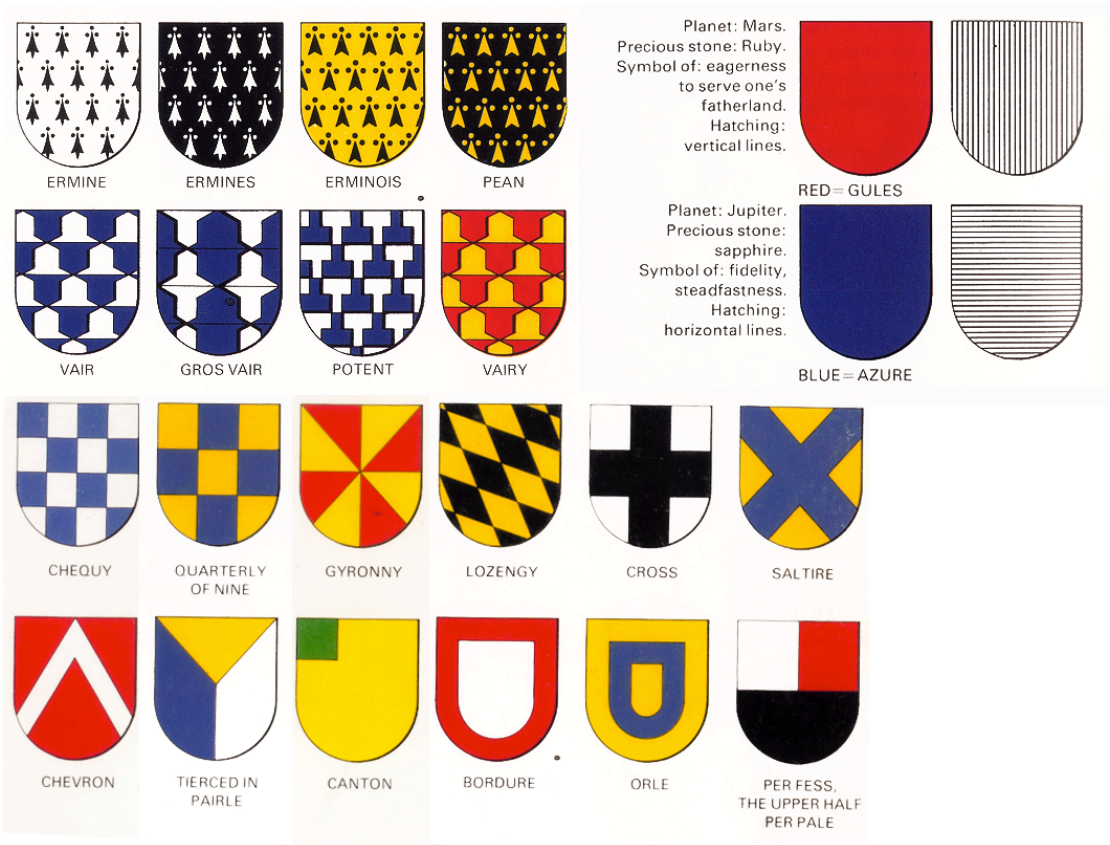


Figure 3.14: Blazons, or shields, bearing patterns comprised of shapes or symbols (Neubecker 1976).

Of these heraldic ingredients, shields bearing patterns comprised of shapes or symbols, bear striking parallels with both tartans and beadwork in their propensity to denote through colour and visual construct.

In this manner, form, shape and colour are epistemic, conveying information to the recipient. Barnard (2005) continues that Graphic Design can also serve both as decoration and as the potentially sacred. Symbolic imagery therefore can become emotive.

If one considers that both tartans and heraldry have been used throughout much of history - in times of war, ceremony and ritual (Hageney 1987, Neubecker 1976), it is not too difficult to understand the power of graphic design as instrumental in delivering meaning to participants, sometimes to simply denotatively represent, but also to connotatively ignite emotive responses, as a means to persuade, and as a means to control or to govern.

In a manner similar to that of the kilt and shield, Barnard (2005:16) also points to the "phatic and metalinguistic functions" of design. 'Phatic' refers to the spaces that contain or hold the symbol of focus, in the way that an image is framed, the 'container' or shape and nature of the 'housing'. In this manner it is these ‘spaces’ around the point of focus that serve to further contextualize the message being delivered. He explains that “comics are rich in phatic devices” that carry the way in which “drawings are framed, how images overlap, or are contained in arrows….” which “keep the story going, it tells the reader where to look next”.

In this way the phatic device could be aligned with the ‘carrier’ of beadwork: the *isigege*, the beaded skirt of an unmarried girl; the *isidwaba*, the leather skirt of a married women; or *endelelo*, a kind of soft belt without grass lining, worn by females who are not pregnant, as detailed by Sephiwe Majola in 2012. Whether the bead is made of glass or of plastic, is well made or poorly made; and the bead size might also be deemed to be a phatic device.

Barnard (2005:16) explains that metalinguistic devices, such as a 'key' on a map, perform an explanatory function. A key explains, "what the lines and shapes on a map mean”. He explains that in order to understand what an image means one must understand the code being used. For example, “a frame around an image might indicate that it should be viewed as a work of art " (Barnard 2005:17).

Metalinguistic devices are certainly apparent in much beadwork. For example the triangle is a shape that makes perfect mathematical sense in beadwork construction, by simply placing two beads below a single bead. However the manner in which triangles are arranged to form shields or other design configurations points, in some cases, to possible links between more than one polity, despite a

variance in colour palette. This metalinguistic quality within beadwork points more specifically to the communicative and denotative qualities of this form of adornment in delivering messages such as polity identity, geographic position, socio-political allegiance, community standing, and marital status.

To clarify the distinction between the role of denotative and connotative meaning, Barnard (2005:35) speaks of 'denotation' as being the answer to the question, "what is this picture of ?" He adds that " an account of a denotational meaning can be correct or incorrect", explaining further that it is the "literal translation" of a sign or symbol (Barnard 2005:35).

As mentioned previously, 'connotation' on the other hand may be thought of as the interaction of the values and beliefs of a culture with symbols or signs, in a manner that allows an individual to be constructed as a member of a social group.

This relationship between what is denotatively represented or signified (in this case beadwork) by a signifier (the individual or polity) (Barnard 2005); and denotatively or connotatively received, emerges as an integral consideration in understanding the role of beadwork in the formation of individual and group identities. Barnard (2005:50) explains that in Foucault and Magritte's work they note that, "denotation, in even the most innocent of illustration, is the product of cultural selection and agreement".

The relationship between culture and image is integral to Communication Theory (Barnard 2005), and as previously indicated is a theory clearly aligned with Graphic Design practice, now commonly referred to as Visual Communication Design. As detailed previously Shannon and Weaver's 1949 model, seen in figure 3.15, has been used to describe the communication process.

Information >	Transmitter >	Signal >	Receiver >	Recipient
Source	(encoder)	(in channel)	(decoder)	(destination)
		^ noise		
		source		

Figure 3.15: Phillip Meggs' depiction of Communication Theory. Barnard 2005.

In a similar manner it is possible to transpose thinking regarding the denotative role of beadwork, particularly in the context of the various forms of noise that have over time intercepted denotative transmissions of identity. I discuss in detail, in the following chapter, the strength of the colonialist, Zulu, IFP, and ANC 'signals' as overpowering the 'signal' of the Nyuswa. This could be aligned to the manner in which large brands overpower smaller brands, through frequency of message and through various media carriers.

Originating brand logos and bulding strategically targeted brand campaigns to persuade or serve specific target markets is what I am trained to do and an area in which I have worked consistently for the last 22 years. It is my experience that at the centre of successful communication lies a perpetual need to direct the signal or message at an already culturalised predisposition of those being targeted. Barnard (2005:153) recounts Appadurai's comments on the postmodern consumer as being "transformed by global advertising" and that Visual Communication Design is directly involved in the process of "encouraging consumption", pointing to the power of design to alter perception and to persuade. In this manner the power of beadwork might be viewed as serving similar ends.

Dlamini (2008: 477) explains that "until recently, in KwaZulu-Natal museums, the presentation of Zuluness has followed a well worn script with a summary of what makes ethnic identity homogenous and naturally unified." He argues that, "for bantustan authorities, in particular, political imperatives dictated this script" (Dlamini 2008: 478). Dlamini's (2008) observations, which speak specifically about the exhibition design of beadwork as supposedly representing history, point to the role that design has played in facilitating a message that disregards polity identity as respective colour combinations.

I personally visited the *Sisonke* exhibition, at Natal Museum, in Pietermaritzburg, which Dlamini (2008:478) describes as being, largely intended as a display of "an embryonic Rainbow Nation". My visit, was to confirm first hand, the nature of this criticism, directed by Dlamini of this exhibition as merely a display of "Zuluness and its many strands and manifestations". The exhibition, which consisted of much antique beadwork, labled as 'Zulu Beadwork', was interspersed with old photographs and textual descriptions. The beadwork displayed included the telltale 'dirty pink' beadwork, often depicted in various texts and displays, as being the beadwork of the amaLala, or the 'sleeping ones'. Dlamini (2008:478) confirmed that amaLala and amaBhaca, whose beadwork was also apparently displayed, were in fact groups that were "never truly incorporated into the Zulu Kingdom". This point is later confirmed in this PhD study. This exhibition is therefore seemingly physical evidence of the public disregard for other identities, seemingly outside the Zulu fold.

As previously suggested, visits to Weenen, were inspired by a personal decision to visit an area in KwaZulu-Natal, relatively untouched by urbanisation, in an attempt to encounter and to document, the existence and 'lived' beadwork traditions of the amaChunu, abaThembu and amaBaso polities in the Msinga region.

3.5 Beadwork as Polity Identity

However, on a trip to Weenen in 2011, I interviewed the curator of the Weenen Museum. He has lived in Msinga all his life, and has ensured that the beadwork, of the polities living in that area, is represented in the museum. He explained the background to the local polities:

The amaChunu, amaBaso and abaThembu live in this area, each of these groups, who live around Weenen, are made up of smaller districts or 'clans' called *izigodi*. Each has a 'small chief' or *induna* in charge. The two biggest polities are the amaChunu and abaThembu, who have been fighting with each other for about 100 years, but now they are peaceful and intermarry. These two groups are led by two separate chiefs or *amaKosi* respectively. These two groups are recognised by the South African Government as two separate traditional authorities.



Figure 3.16: Wire bowls (LEFT) made by the Sinothando craft collective (RIGHT). Gatfield 2011

I was accompanied by the Curator of Weenen's Museum, to visit members of the abaThembu polity living within the Nhlawe *isigodi*, on the outskirts of Weenen.

Mountain explains that the amaBhele, amaChunu and abaThembu attempted to resist Shaka (Mountain 1999:36), pointing to these groups not being Zulu, prior to Shaka's military defeat of their armies.

Similiarly, Laband (as cited in Carton et al. 2008) indicates, that three major chiefdoms existed in South East Africa, by the end of the eighteenth century, such as "the Mabhudu-Tsonga, to the southwest of what is now southern Mozambique; "the Ndwandwe to the southwest of them; and the Mthethwa to the south of the Ndwandwe". At this time the Zulu chiefdom was merely a "Mthethwa vassal". Laband continues that later, in 1819, Shaka engaged the Ndwandwe pushing them "north over the Phongola….and broke up the chiefdoms to the west and south of him….and had extended his sway into the foothills of the Drakensberg and as far south as the Mzimkulu River" (Laband as cited in Carton et al. 2008:89). Geographically, this would support Mountain's (1999) assertion that the amaChunu and abaThembu had previously engaged the Zulu.

This short recount of Shaka's movements, is in my view of value, in that the intention of my visit to Weenan was largely centred around determining beadwork's value as denoting formerly independent

polities such as that of the abaThembu, from that of the amaZulu. I would later also meet Baba Ndwandwe, a rickshaw puller, who indicated that the amaNdwandwe do actually have their own beadwork and traditional attire, different from the amaZulu. He later showed me photographs of women at a traditional event dressed surprisingly, in grass skirts.

In a similar fashion, at the Nhlawe isigodi, I encountered the *isishunka* style first-hand, which is detailed by Jolles (1993) in his paper *Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area*, in the form of a*madavathi* or *isigqizo*[23] seen in figure 3.12.

As detailed in the review of literature above, Jolles (1993:43) notes that a number of beadwork styles in the Msinga region exist, namely: "*isishunka* or *isishunki* which is comprised of 7 colors: white, light blue, dark green, pale yellow, pink, red, black; *isithembu* is made of 5 colors: light blue, grass green, bright yellow, red, black; *umzansi* is comprised of 4 colors: white, dark blue, grass green, red; and *isinyolovane* is a combination of any colors that is not consistent with one of the above schemes. He also acknowledges that a number of clans such as the Bomvini, Mabaso, Cunwini (also known as Mchunu), and Thenjini exist within the Msinga region.

The author, in this text, appears to affirm that colour sequences exist, which he refers to as 'styles', yet later acknowledges that separate polities also exist and that there are others, "such as the Zulu clan", which lies outside the district (Jolles 1993:43), yet appears not to commit to the styles specifically denoting a single polity. He also uses the term Zulu beadwork as if an overarching distinction, while simultaneously acknowledging a socio-political difference between the Msinga polities and the Zulu polity. Referring to the 'style terms', Jolles (1993:44) continues that:

> None of the above terms have been recorded in the literature on beadwork as applying to colors. John W. Grossert notes that pupils at Impumelelo Mission School in northern Zululand named *isinyolovane* and *imvalimvali*, from *imvali* or gate keeper,… but he interpreted these

[23] *amadavathi* or *isigqizo* are anklets usually fixed around the ankle using strings sewn onto each band. However in the case of the Chunu these are sometimes worn as epaulettes or as shoulder insignia.

> terms as applying to the shape of the pieces. Schoeman (1968), on the other hand, describes the two color conventions of the region he surveyed as "Mtunzini A" and "Mtunzini B"; if he had found local names he would certainly have recorded them. Thus the naming of the individual color schemes in the Msinga area may indicate the makers' awareness of the composite nature of their style… The names *isithembu* and *umzansi* refer to clans or their areas. *Isithembu* is the region occupied by the amaThembu or abaThenjini clan north of the Thukela River within the Msinga area. According to my informants *umzansi* is the "low country" around the upper reaches of the Mvoti River southeast of Greytown (*izansi*: coastal belt, low country; *umzansi:* person from down-country). *Umzansi* belongs to a stylistic region quite different from Msinga. Thus if the name is anything to go by, this color scheme must have originated outside the Msinga area[24]. I was told that *isishunka,* is just a name, it has no other meaning.

Again, is this the above excerpt some ambiguity emerges. In one instance, through literature, Jolles appears to distance the style name from colour, and then in later texts returns to affirming this relationship. He also acknowledges Schoeman's (1968) view of the style denoting shapes in the beadwork. He then appears unwilling to commit to the beadwork denoting either polity or region, and then appears to resolve his view to the 'style' denoting a 'region' where a particular group 'happen' to reside. Although presented as an apparently inconclusive text, these inferences of the relationship between beadwork and socio-political identity do, in my view, assist the impetus of this study. Jolles does not seem to conclusively address the issue of 'what denotes what', any further in his text, but instead refers to beadwork as just being regional or as offering meaning.

It is also noteworthy that Jolles (1993) acknowledges the existence of the term *isiyolovane* or *isijolovane,* explaining that, "*isinyolovane* has a complex of semantic associations referring to *yola* (1: become perfect, well made, thoroughly done; and 2: bewitch, hypnotize, charm) and more closely to *yolanisa* (mix thoroughly together, make a mixture, make a very good dish, cook very well). Described

[24] It is noteworthy that 'Mzansi' means 'South' or 'downwards' pointing to a measure of validity in Jolles' (1993) position regarding the Umzansi Style.

to me as an "Irish stew," it is a mixture with the widest range of possibilities with regard to the size, color, and arrangement of its constituents".

In an interview with Yvonne Winters, in 2013, the then Curator of the Mashu Museum of Ethnology, she used a similarly sounding, and apparently similarly meaning term. She indicated that this term, which she refers to as *isijolovane,* is indicative of a multicoloured sequence, which in my view might also be interpreted as *jolivane* if one considers that 'joli' means 'spotted' [25], I have elected to use the term *isijolovane* in later chapters of this study.



Figure 3.17: Beadwork of Sindy Mbatha, from the Thembu polity, at Nhlawe near Weenen, Gatfield 2011.

During the visit to Nlhawe, in Weenan in 2011, I interviewed Sindy Mbatha, of the Sinothando craft collective. Referring to beadwork styles, she explained that the *isigqhizo* or anklet, seen in the top left of figure 3.17, denotes the Nhlawe *isigodi* or district, specifically differentiated from other *isithembu* sequences, within the large Thembu polity, by the use of yellow. In my view this response appears to reveal that, in contrast to Jolle's (1993) text, a direct denotative value might exist in beadwork, as directly representative of a small sub-polities, in a very unambiguious and specific manner.

After engaging in an in-depth discussion on identity and beadwork with the women of the Sinothando collective, who specialize in copperwire weaving, but who also produce much beadwork, I began to

[25] The word *joli,* is defined in the Scholar's Zulu Dictionary (1969) as 'spotted'.

realise that at one point in history beadwork might well have clearly defined specific polities in South East Africa. However, modern democratic South Africa is a country, which appears to have, and which seemingly continues to experience the influences of migration, along with powerful cultural, political and socio-economic forces. Forces, which no doubt, act intentionally or unintentionally to influence, or to interfere, with the visual integrity of polity beadwork to denote. These influences might also be the reason for researchers on beadwork being unable to conclusively 'pin-point' instances of conformity in beadwork sequencing.

Jolles (1993:53) explains that although beadwork does in some cases subscribe to "traditional conformity", it is also dynamic and is constantly being stylistically updated. It was interesting to observe that the copper woven bowls, displayed by the abaThembu women for my benefit, bore no resemblance to the Nhlawe beadwork identity. Somehow the women had never seen the value of including the colour sequence, in their own beadwork identity, in the products made for sale. Later, during that day, in which I visited Nhlawe, I visited the Weenan Museum, where the dynamic nature of material culture seemed to be evidenced.

While at the Weenen Museum, I noticed a set of *iziqhaza,* or earplugs, in a glass cabinet. The Curator explained that these circular wooden discs decorated with coloured Marley Tiles, a brand of linoleum flooring tiles, pwere commonly worn by the amaMchunu and amaThembu. He explained that some of the older folk still wear these. Jolles [26](1993: 53) details how the, "color conventions of earplugs often followed those of beadwork", namely that of red, green, dark blue, light blue and white".

[26] This excerpt is from Professor Jolle's 1997 paper *Zulu Earplugs: A Study in Transformation.* This paper, in my view, serves as a seminal example of the impact of migrant labour on the visual integrity of the Msinga material culture.

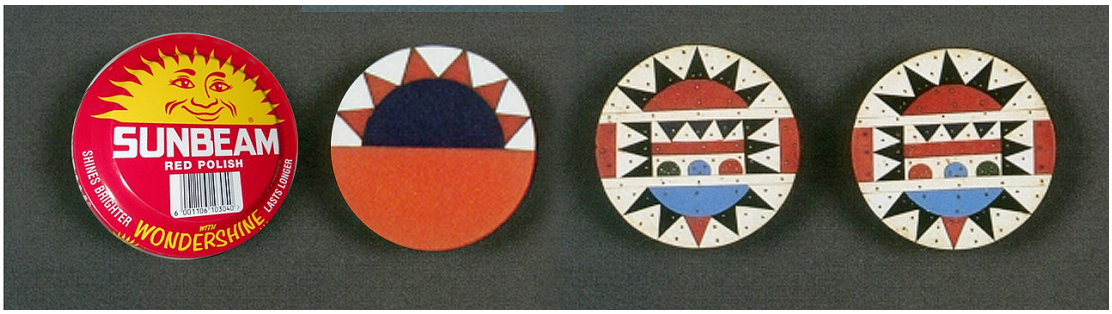


Fig 3.18: LEFT: Sunbeam polish tin, the basis for the *Iziqhaza* design. Accessed at ushopzambia.com 2013. RIGHT: Depicted in Jolles (1993) *iziqhaza* or traditional earplugs are worn by being inserted into pierced and stretched ear lobe cavities.

In reference to *iziqhaza*, Sutherland [27](1997:59) speaks to the dynamic quality of cultural identity in his paper entitled, *Paradigm Shift: The Challenge to Graphic Design Education and Professional Practice in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. He explains that, "before the 1950s the traditional Zulu earplug was worn in a hole pierced in the lobe of the ear as part of a ceremony marking a rite of passage from childhood to adulthood. By the 1950s, the ear-piercing ceremony had lost its ritual significance and had become cosmetic among a specific group of rural men who had migrated into Durban, for whom it was of a particular significance. These were the men who were employed to clean the floors of the hotels and flats in the city. This subcultural group identified themselves by wearing earplugs that were decorated with motifs derived from the logo of the Sunbeam wax polish can" (see figure. 3.18).

The inclusion of external visual influences, such as the Sunbeam floor polish, into cultural identities that followed the limited colour palette of the *isishunka* colour format speaks volumes of how the integrity of material culture is constantly being challenged.

Jolles (1993:52) speaks of the *isishunka* style being replaced by the newer *umzansi* style. He explains that, "the style can also evolve and adapt to more general changes, as individual variations gradually shift the center of gravity of the entire system. Sometime in the 1960s a fundamental shift did occur. The somewhat sombre *isishunka* colors dropped from favor and were superseded by the more vibrant

[27] Professor Ian Sutherland is a colleague in the Graphic Design programme at Durban University of Technology. He has published in the area of Design, Health and Community, relating directly to KwaZulu-Natal, and on various forms of material cultural practice.

umzansi. This position of one style replacing another does however come into question in his paper on earplugs.

In this article, Jolles (1997:46) describes how these two styles were also used together on one artifact. He comments, that:

> In the 1960s and 1970s the vinyl asbestos Marley Tiles were replaced by the thicker and more brittle translucent perspex and occasionally by other plastics. As the new materials were more difficult to work, the motifs became simpler, relying for their effect on bold areas of color, a highly polished finish, and, frequently, brass or chrome studs. The surfaces were usually overlaid on both sides and followed the more recent *umzansi* patterns and colors. Earplugs of this type are known by the general term for earplugs: *isiqhaza* (pl. *iziqhaza*). Some were made in Johannesburg, but many were produced locally in the Msinga district of KwaZulu. Although the change from *isishunka* to *umzansi* went hand in hand with the switch from vinyl asbestos to perspex, isolated examples do exist in which the *umzansi* sequence occurs on one side of a vinyl asbestos plug with the *isishunka* design on the other. This suggests that there must have been a transitional period during which both styles were being produced side by side.

Jolles' (1993) position on the transition of styles however conflicts with explanations by Busiwe Mbatha in 2011, who confirmed that *isishunka* still exists and represents the amaThembu.

Furthermore, in a second interview with a Cabangile Ximba, a Sangoma or traditional diviner, in her home in Kwanobamba outside Weenen, qualitative data gained also conflicted with Jolles' position on a single *isishunka/umzansi* style shift or evolution. Instead Cabangile Ximba (2011) spoke directly, in a similar manner to Busiwe Mbatha, noting that the *umzansi* beadwork convention was denotatively representative of the amaChunu. Cabangile Ximba explained her relationship with beadwork polity identity:

I gain an income as a Sangoma and specialise in hiring out traditional amaChunu beadwork for ceremonies. My chief, of the amaChunu, is Nkosi Smakade. You see, this *iXama* [28] (held in her hand in Figure 3.19, left), has no pink in the beadwork. This is how you can see it is not amaChunu beadwork. There is no colour meaning behind this *umzansi* style, it just means its Chunu. This Chunu beadwork and colours, its my identity. When I wear this people know who I am. I think the amaChunu are getting 'stronger'. When I go to an amaChunu gathering, and I wear this beadwork, I feel very happy. It makes me feel strong. I am proud to be Chunu, than I am to be Zulu.

The distinction made in the last sentence of this interview, regarding her identity, is possibly noteworthy, in highlighting the power of beadwork in fermenting socio-political allegiance.



Figure 3.19: Cabangile Nlongo, a Sangoma and Member of the amaChunu polity at Kwanobamba near Weenen, Gatfield 2011.

One particular piece of beadwork caught my attention amongst Cabangile Nhlongo's collection of 'for hire' goods. Unlike the common set of stripes or triangles this piece an *itemba* or necklace (Figure 3.19, centre) was uniquely different. I would later discover that the pattern on these flat beaded 'fabric' pieces, are a common detail in Chunu traditional attire. Similar visual forms can also be found on belts of the amaChunu and Bomvini.

Visual anthropologist Professor Kate Wells, who has worked extensively with the amaChunu at Muden and who has facilitated the production of traditional dolls by the amaChunu wearing similar necklaces and belts, referred to this in a personal communication, as the 'keyhole style', because of its jagged

[28] An *iXama* is a grass belt also known as an *endelelo*, often worn by women after childbirth, the term refers to the belts ability to "reduce the belly size.

appearance, similar to that of a Yale key shank. What has 'unravelled', through this study, is how the design, and colour, of traditionally worn beadwork has been renegotiated over time,through the supply and trade of beads, and by those who supplied them.

3.6 Beadwork Identity and the Kilim rug

When investigating the early supply of beads to the province, three main suppliers had emerged, namely: the Portuguese, who landed in Delagoa Bay in the early 16th century; the British, who traded from Port Natal in the early 19th century; and the Arabs or Moors who plied their trade along the coast of Africa, selling beads made in India, believed to have been produced around the 6th century BCE. Pale blue-green and yellow beads of Indian origin were discovered at Mapungubwe and other sites, in the Limpopo valley, dating from as early as the 10th century CE (Stevenson et al. 2000). What emerges, is the revealing quality of the bead trade, in revealing sirces of design influence.

Kusimba[29] (2004:64) discusses the trade networks detailing that, "perhaps the oldest known document that alludes to East Africa (ca 50 AD), *the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, provides glimpses of an extensive trade network that had already existed for over a thousand years between India, Persia, Egypt, and East Africa… As early as AD 1770 slaves destined for the French plantations in their colonies were being procured from Nyasaland, now Malawi…. Although Europeans initially confined their presence in Africa to coastal regions between the sixteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries, their slave trading enterprise affected all African communities. Before the eighteenth century, interior and coastal trade networks dealt in legitimate items such as ivory, gold, beeswax, cloth, and beads…. Goods, were brought to the coast by people from the interior; there is hardly evidence of expeditions inland until the nineteenth century… Like Arab sources, European documents rarely refer to slaves and the slave trade during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. However, one German traveler, who accompanied Francisco d'Almeida to Mombasa and Kilwa, observed in Kilwa 'more black slaves than white Moors', and in Mombasa all the 500 archers were "negro slaves of the white Moors".

[29] Professor Chapurukha Kusimba, author of *Archaeology of Slavery in East Africa* (2004), is a curator of African archaeology and ethnology at the Field Museum of Natural History in Illinois.

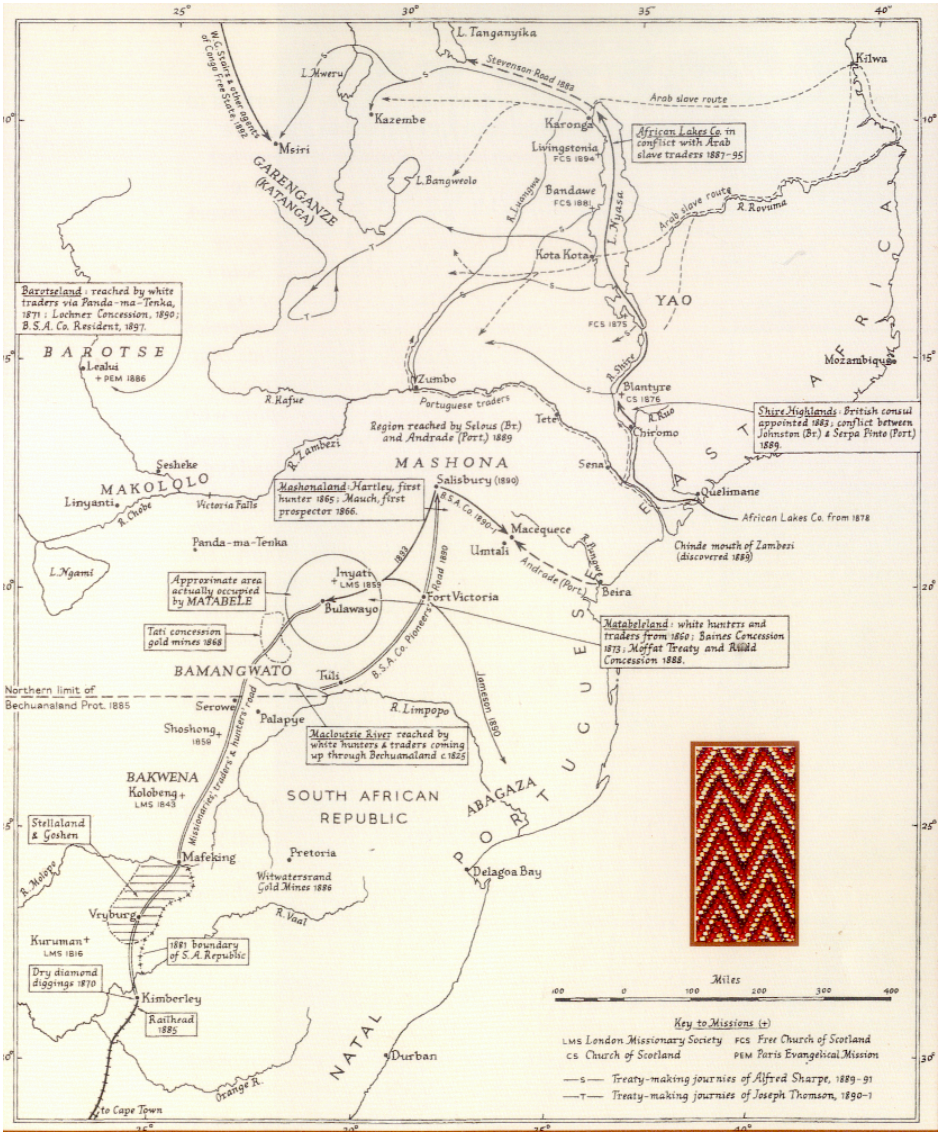


Figure 3.20: 19th Century map showing, in part, the Arab slave route inland from the East African coast (Stevenson et al 2000).

Most revealing in Kusimba's (2004) paper is his reference to Islamic traders engaging with those from the interior of East Africa as far south as Malawi. What emerges in his text is, in my view, is a plausibility that early trade between the Moors and the Nguni, for ivory and other commodities, in exchange for beads, may well have facilitated an exposure to the patterns of Islamic prayer mats or carpets, possibly even as a means, or form of 'sales assistance' to demonstrate the value and function of beads and beadwork.

Making reference to early 16th century prayer carpets, Walker [30](1988:5) comments that "these rugs, provided the faithful with a portable version of a clean place required for prayer. Most prayer rugs …are designed for individual devotions. Prayer rugs were woven in most Islamic weaving areas, but the design achieved special popularity in Turkey; why this is so is not understood". What becomes apparent is how that the designs implicit to Turkish Kilims were revealed through trade to targeted customers, during the late 18th century.

The uncanny similiarity between Turkish Kilims and the beadwork of the amaChunu (figure 3.21) and various polities within central Zululand, such as those discovered at Nongoma, Ceza and Pongola (figures 3.21 and 3.22) serve, in my view, to re-enforce the dynamic nature of beadwork conventions, the possible result of Islamic/Turkish influence.



Figure 3.21: LEFT AND CENTRE: Kilim rugs from Lake Van, in Eastern Turkey. Nazimiyala Antique Rugs. 2006. RIGHT: AmaChunu beadwork from the Msinga area. Gatfield 2012.



Figure 3.22: CENTRE (LEFT) AND FAR LEFT: Kilim from the Caucasus, Kuba area, *Jozan Oriental Rug News.* 2013. CENTRE (RIGHT) AND FAR RIGHT: Beadwork from the Zululand area, encountered at Eshowe Museum. Gatfield 2012

[30] Daniel Walker author of *Turkish Rugs* (1988) and Pritzker Chair and Curator of Asian Art at the Art Institute of Chicago.



Figure 3.23: LEFT: Example of a Kilim rug, and its design relationship to the Nongoma beadwork. Van Wyk 2003.

This reflexive observation on the relationship between Kilims and beadwork was, in part, later validated. Van Wyk (2003:32) offers a slightly different perspective on how these forms were appropriated into beadworking visual systems. He acknowledges, that “some Nongoma pattern motifs echo stepped-diamond motifs (figure 3.23) in Asian weaving, which combine triangles and diamonds. It is possible that Zulu beadworkers adopted these from members of the Muslim community in colonial Natal, particularly Gujerati immigrants from Pakistan and India whose fabrics employed identical motifs, and grafted onto them their owm symbolism. Gujerati fabrics adopted this motif from kilim rugs, where the motif is widely used from Turkey to western China, but most consistently in neibouring Afganistan. The dispersion of these distinctive motifs to communities as widely separated as the Zulu and Native Americans also could have occurred directly via Central Asian rugs seen in white homes and interiors during the 1800’s. Navaho weavers, for example, were instructed to copy kilim designs hung up in trading stores, and before long such designs were regarded as quintessentially Navaho”.



Figure 3.24: Beadwork comprised of both the *umzansi* and *isishunka* styles. Jolles 1993.

The extent to which cultural forms might have been influenced offered a new perspective to this process of analysis. I became careful to no longer view beadwork in isolation from its historic and socio-political circumstances. Instead I became mindful that borders are often blurred and that I should be vigilant regarding indicators that might point to appropriation, hybridization, influence and intermarriage. Figure 3.24 shows beadwork that is comprised of both the *umzansi* and *isishunka* styles (Jolles 1993), which may point to any one of these possiblilities.

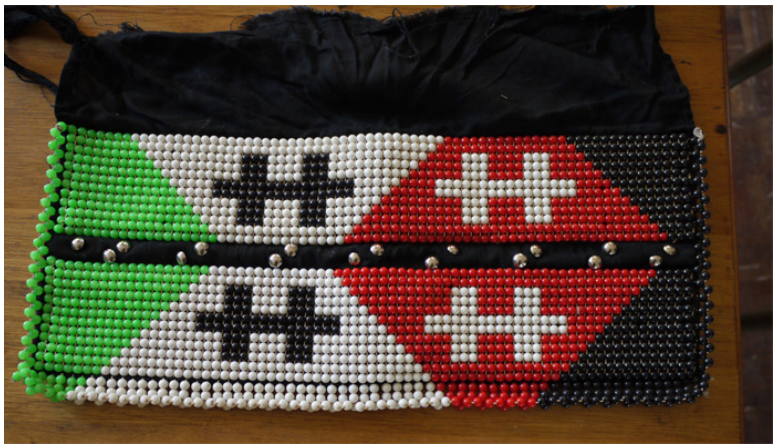


Figure 3.25: The Beadwork of Mrs Mabaso, Gatfield 2011.

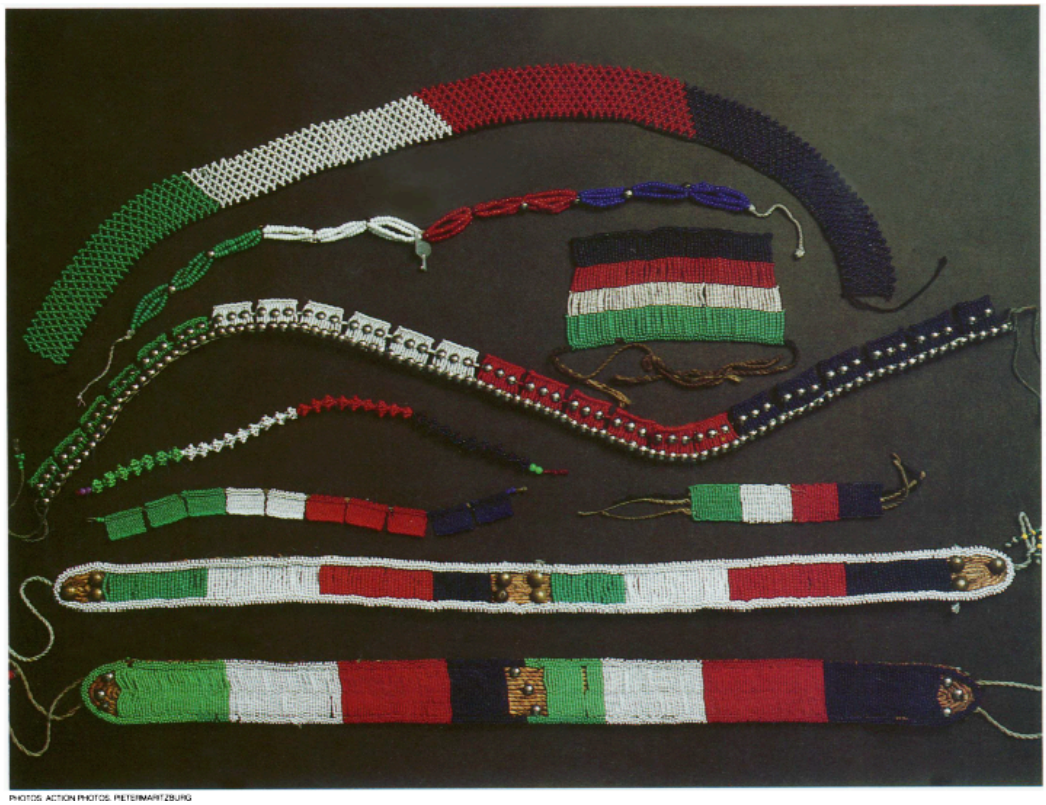


Figure 3.26: Jolles (1993: 49) identifies these pieces as from Kwalata, Msinga and confirms in principle that these subscribe to the *umzansi* colour sequence, which ordinarily would carry a bright blue, most often used by the amaChunu. These could be dark blue or black thereby intimating that they might be Baso. However Van Wyk (2003) offers a conflicting view, claiming that the Mabaso are Thembu.

After the visit to the amaChunu region, I was taken by the Curator of Weenen Museum, on the following day, to meet Mr and Mrs Mabaso and their daughter Beauty Mabaso. In contrast to Cabangile Ximba's view that beadwork identity offers a means to better express one's own identity and social position, Mr Mabaso explained:

I believe that beadwork identities, such as that of the amaMabaso, amaChunu or abaThembu is no longer relevant. It is only important to make the distinction between being amaZulu, amaXhosa or amaPondo. The amaBaso people, existed long before Shaka, Mzilakazi Khumalo was the brother of Mabaso Khumalo from which the amaBaso derived. At the same time, Macingwane was the nkosi of amaChunu and resided at iLangeni in Muden, the house of Chunu, while Ngoza was the Nkosi of amaThembu. But today there is just amaZulu, amaXhosa, amaPondo and amaSwati.

Later Beauty Mabaso, who I also interviewed in 2011, presented her late mother's beadwork, seen in figure 3.25. The beadwork, in the form of a *iphinifa lesidwaba*, comprised of red, black, green and white beads. She explained that she was unsure if this was indicative of the amaBaso polity. The interview with Mr Mabaso corroborated the Curator of Weenen Museum regarding the separation between the abaThembu and amaChunu, thereby suggesting that the *Umzansi* style might not actually be a newer version of *isishunka*.

The link between individuals and their beadwork as justification for personal identity, and as the denotation of socio-political entities such as the abaThembu, amaChunu and amaBaso, suggested that other beadwork identities may exist within KwaZulu-Natal. Woodward (1997) speaks of identities as being marked out by difference. She speaks of the difference in beadwork identity being underpinned by exclusion.

Based on the 2011 interviews with Cabangile Ximba and Mr Mabaso, concerning the amaThembu/amaChunu relationship, it would appear that difference is being underpinned by the exclusion of colour. It would appear that polity beadwork identities exist through difference. In this way I believe the line between being Zulu and being of a polity is blurred, although in some instances clearly distinguishable and separate.

3.7 Reflexivity in Mapping Typologies

Between 2011 and 2013, site visits to various museums and beadwork repositories, together with interviews with curators, were conducted as a means to bolster my understanding of beadwork identity in the province[31].

Data gained through these visits began to reinforce in my mind the premise that 'Zulu' beadwork, as evidenced in these respective museums, is not only comprised of regional conventions, the view

[31] During this period I visited Phansi Museum in Durban, The African Art Centre in Durban, Weenan Museum in Weenan, Greytown Museum in Greytown, Talana Museum in Dundee, Ladysmith Museum, the Voortrekker/Msunduzi Museum, Zululand Historical Museum in Eshowe, The KwaZulu-Natal Cultural Museum in Ondini/Ulundi and Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg and Mashu Museum of Ethnology in Durban.

mostly favoured (Jolles 1994; Morris and Preston Whyte 1994, Boram-Hayes 2005 and Van Wyk 2003) but can be directly linked to former *isizwe*, translated as 'nation', or large polity identity, and as manifested as denotative representations at the *izigodi*, district or polity level.

It is an emergent theme in this study that beadwork often serves as a means by which to map typologies and political histories. Boram-Hayes (2005:40) notes that, "after reign under Shaka and then Dingane, in which the Zulu Kingdom varied in strength and in which clans broke away, the period between 1840 and 1879, of King Mpande's reign, served to restore the kingdom to vigor and ushered in a thirty year period of peace and properity". During this period a national identity was pursued and refined. Boram-Hayes (2005:39) continues: "though beadwork remained an important mark of status, King Mpande loosened the restrictions that regulated European traders and missionaries who entered the kingdom…. It is believed to be that, during this time, this art form spread throughout the kingdom". However it would seem that this period signified a very important shift towards the direct use of beadwork as denoting political difference.

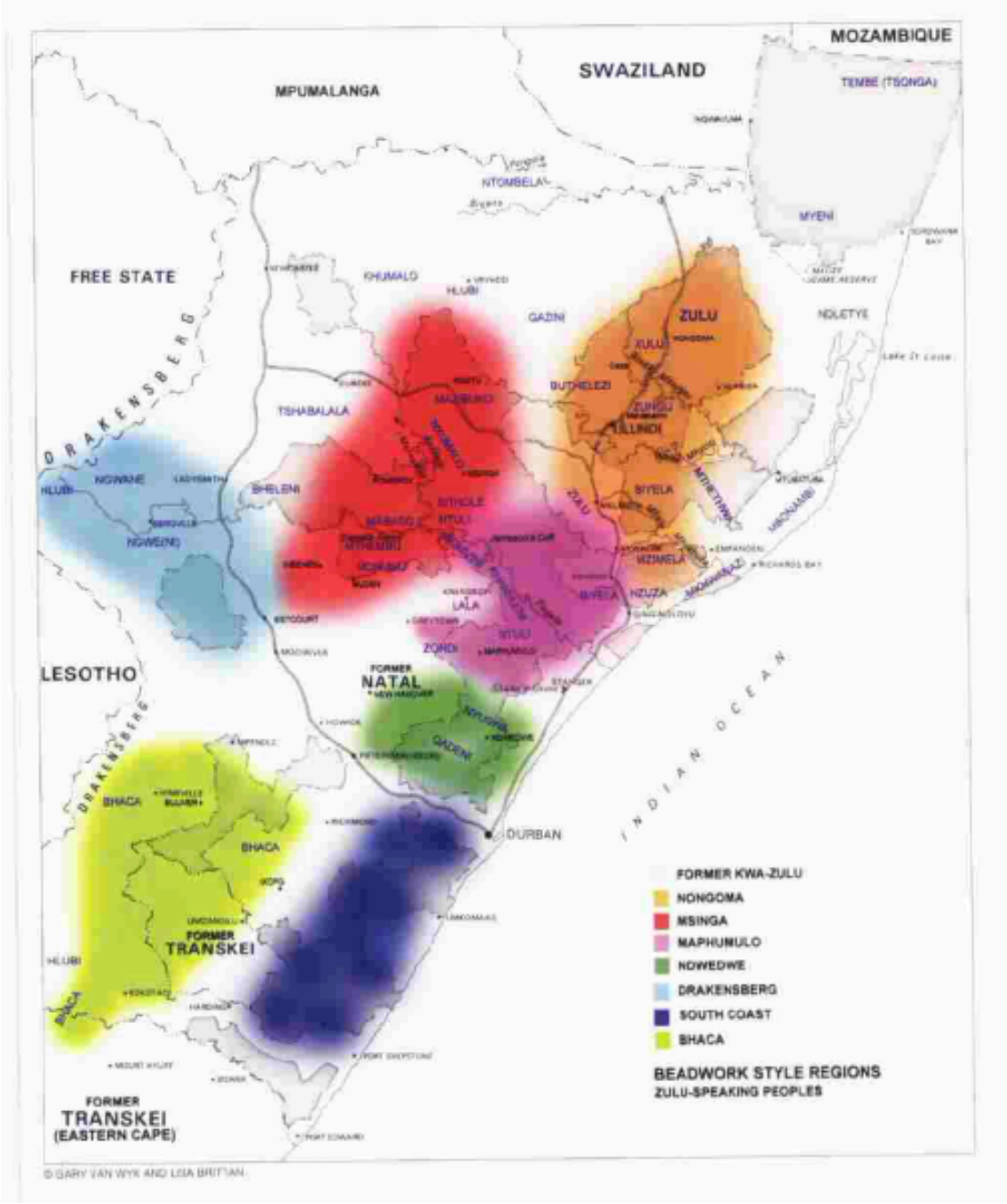


Figure 3.27. Van Wyk's map of regionalised beadwork, which differs from that presented by Boram Hayes in figure 3.28. (Van Wyk 2003).

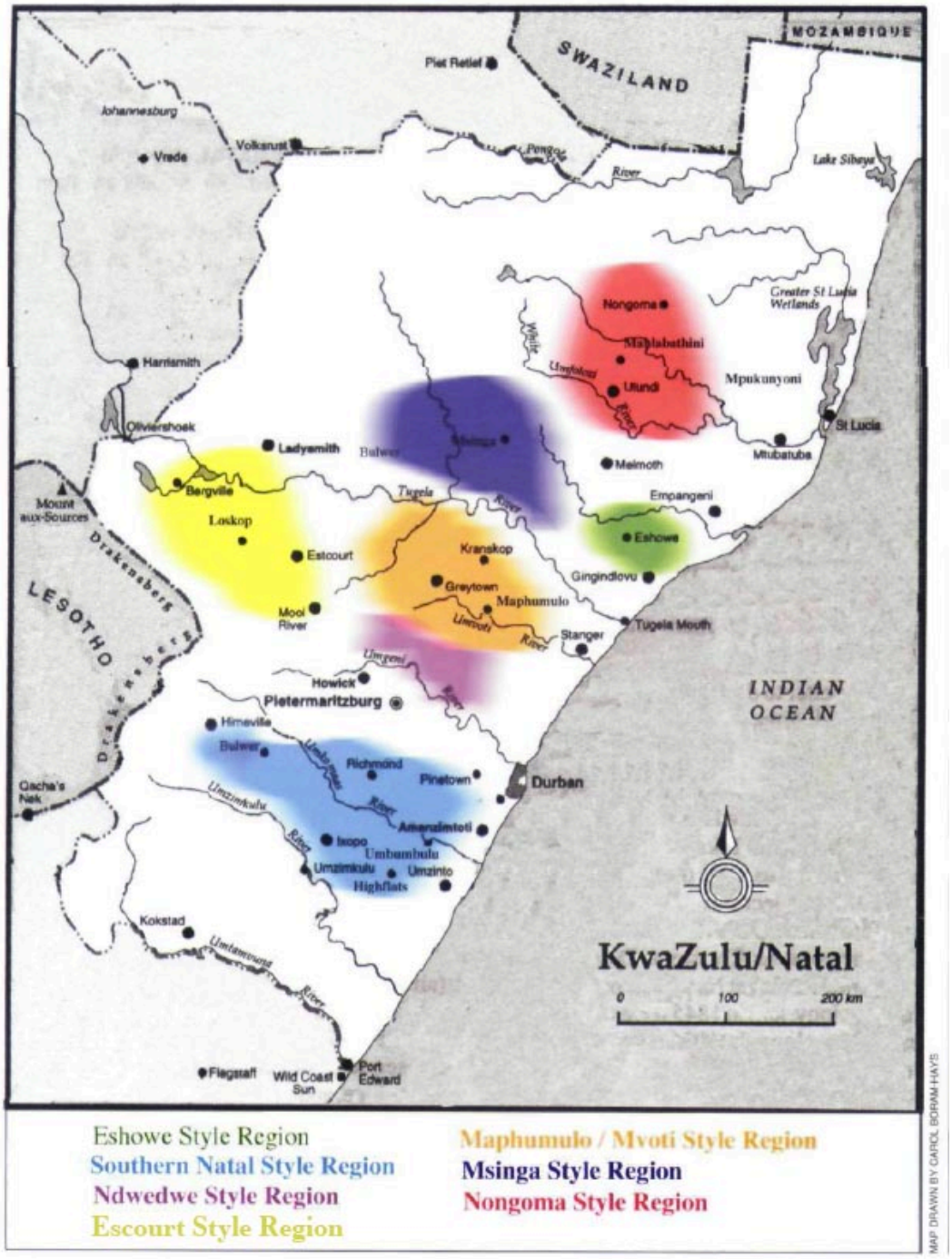


Figure 3.28: Map of regionalized beadwork styles as detailed by Boram-Hayes (2005)

It is noted by Boram-Hayes (2005) that political fragmentation and a strong resurgence of regional identities occurred, in the period that succeeded the Zulu kingdom losing its independence to Britain in 1879. Beadwork began to play a broader role in the articulation of identity among Zulu-speaking people, after the Zulu King Mpande lost control over trade. This included the trade in beads. “People also lost faith in their ruler and no longer felt obliged to follow his rule, resulting in the emergence of

variations of colour combinations, decorative patterns and types of beaded objects" (Boram-Hayes 2005:40). The author goes on to acknowledge that the roles of beadwork included functioning as a form of regional denotation.

Based on Dominices Frey's 1907 review of beadwork, Boram-Hayes (2005:40) claims, that "it is known that these variations were regional and prone to change over time". She continues: "since the 1930s at least seven distinct regional beadwork styles appeared". She details these as the 'Eshowe Style', the 'Southern Natal Style', the 'Ndwedwe Style', the 'Maphumulo/Mvoti Style', the 'Msinga style', and the 'Nongoma style'. What emerges in this text, by Boram-Hayes (2005), is the manner in which these styles have been 'collated' and identified, through what appears to be broadly defined commonalities.

Boram-Hayes (2005:40) suggests that "similar color combinations, design motifs, and, to a lesser degree, the beadworking methods and types of ornaments characterize these distinctive styles which reflect the importance of local identities and function as a reminder to the king of the independent nature of these regions, which could break away if they felt his rule to be unjust or incompetent. The different styles also implicitly allude to the political power differentials that are associated with various regional identities. For example, the clans that form the original core of the Zulu kingdom and have the easiest access to the power of the royal court, live closest to the Zulu capital in the area of Nongoma. Beadwork in the Nongoma regional style (figure 3.6) thus helps communicate the increased political power of the wearer". Boram-Hayes presents an assortment of beadwork imagery, but is firm that 'styles' and 'sub-styles' are merely representative of regions within KwaZulu-Natal.

Boram-Hayes (2005:40) details, that "the Nongoma style is characterized by red, white, black and green rhomboid motifs". She continues: "in a regional substyle found around the town of Mhlabathini, yellow and /or blue are added to this colour combination". She does not qualify or acknowledge this 'substyle' as denoting a socio-political entity, nor does she qualify the reason for these colour additions to the sequence.

Two years prior to Boram-Hayes' (2005) article, Van Wyk (2003) had offered his own version of these regionalised styles, noting seven styles. However, it is noteworthy that these differ to a considerable extent from that offered by Boram-Hayes' in 2005, with Boram-Hayes detailing an 'Eshowe style' and Van Wyk offering a 'Bhaca Style'. This difference is significant and again points to some disjuncture in understanding on how or if beadwork is geographically comprised.

When putting this geographic style disjuncture aside, the implication of regionalised style distinctions remains. In my view these broad 'brushstrokes' represent a significant inadequacy or incompleteness in the body of knowledge on beadwork topologies.

If it is considered that the movements of socio-political groupings, across the Tugela, into the western regions of Natal, and into other parts of South Africa, is an accurate account of South African history, then it is safe to assume that the beadwork of each polity, would have followed suit. Such claims of broad styles are then not as easily justified in a diasporic context. Even if Boram-Hayes, is by omission, implying that these styles are socio-politically denotative, then one would have to assume that the remains of the Shakan Zulu state had been resolved into seven neat polities.

Rather it might be more accurate to assume that beadwork identities are not so broadly grouped and, as has been indicated thus far in this study, are rather representative of dissipated, smaller socio-political clusters across the province. An observation, that appears plausible, when considering the means by which the Zulu state was formed.

Wylie (2011:94) explains, that "Shaka's basic policy was to assimilate people or at least cajole or bully them into partnership or a condition of regular tribute… these were brutal times…by 1824 the Zulu state wasn't unified at all. It was constantly threatening to break up – and broke up repeatedly over the next century", which points to a longstanding unwillingness by those of the hegemonic state to remain Zulus. He explains that "the Zulu polity came together through the propaganda of belonging, as by compulsion" and continued after Shaka's death in a period of confusion, with succession taking time, as Dingane killed the rightful heir Ngwadi (Wylie 2011:94). The political insecurity this murder

must have incurred amongst the recently 'unified' Zulu, points to a basis for a return of the hegemonised group towards reclaiming visual manifestations of difference.

Van Wyk's (2003) and Boram-Hayes' (2005) regionalised styles seem to be based on the assumption that when people are dispersed, they simply regroup into new political clusters and adopt the most dominant beadwork identity, of the region they find themselves in. As is indicated by Boram-Hayes, those in South East Africa, were quite inclined to making political capital of beadwork sequencing, as a means of indicating their unwillingness to be subjugated (Boram-Hayes 2005). This view is seemingly supported by evidence, of an extended, internal civil conflict, one which points to the Zulu state being composed upon 'shaking foundations' Wylie (2011) and so it would seem unlikely that individuals, whom had been forced into submission, would quickly reorganise themselves according to beadwork styles.

On the contrary, as is so often the case in instances of oppression, people tend to return to the identities that were oppressed. The fact that polity beadwork identities, such as that of the abaThembu, at Nhlawe, were sustained despite the influences of their Zulu oppressors from the KwaZulu province, is possibly evidence enough of the implausibility of regionalised styles.

This 'unwillingness' to be oppressed is thematically apparent in this study, if one considers that "the so-called Zulu state was not solidly unified – not even within Shaka's family. The scuffles and murders that followed his assassination merely presaged the eruptions of civil war into which the 'nation' fell repeatedly thereafter" (Wylie 2011:142). Further, that in diaporic terms, the continual displacement of people throughout the region, meant that identities might have been 'transported' in all directions. These civil wars occurred first in 1879 and then again after 1906, and then again between the ANC and Inkatha in the 1980s and early 1990s.

The scale and possibility of this premise, on the dissipation of beadwork identities, was further enhanced when visiting Dundee Museum. There I encountered *Bryant's Map of Zululand and Natal* detailing "the native clans as located in pre-Shakan times" (see full map on pg xx). The map (see detail

below in figure 3.29), specifies by size of font or word the population proportions and territorial control of each polity, as each preceeding significant Zulu control. It demonstrates that a vast number of independent polities existed before the rule of Shaka.

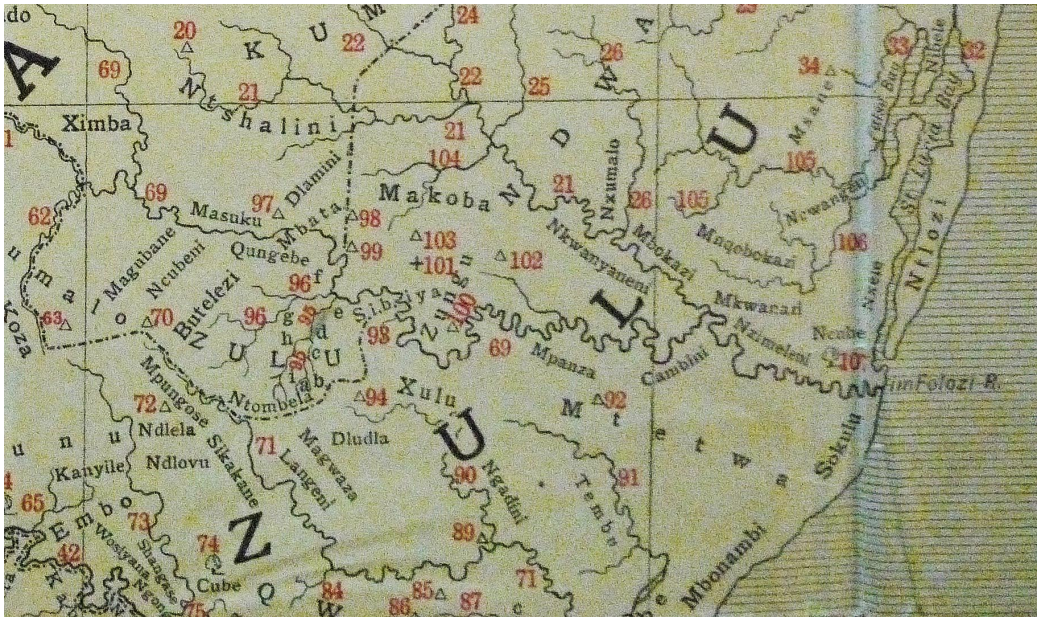
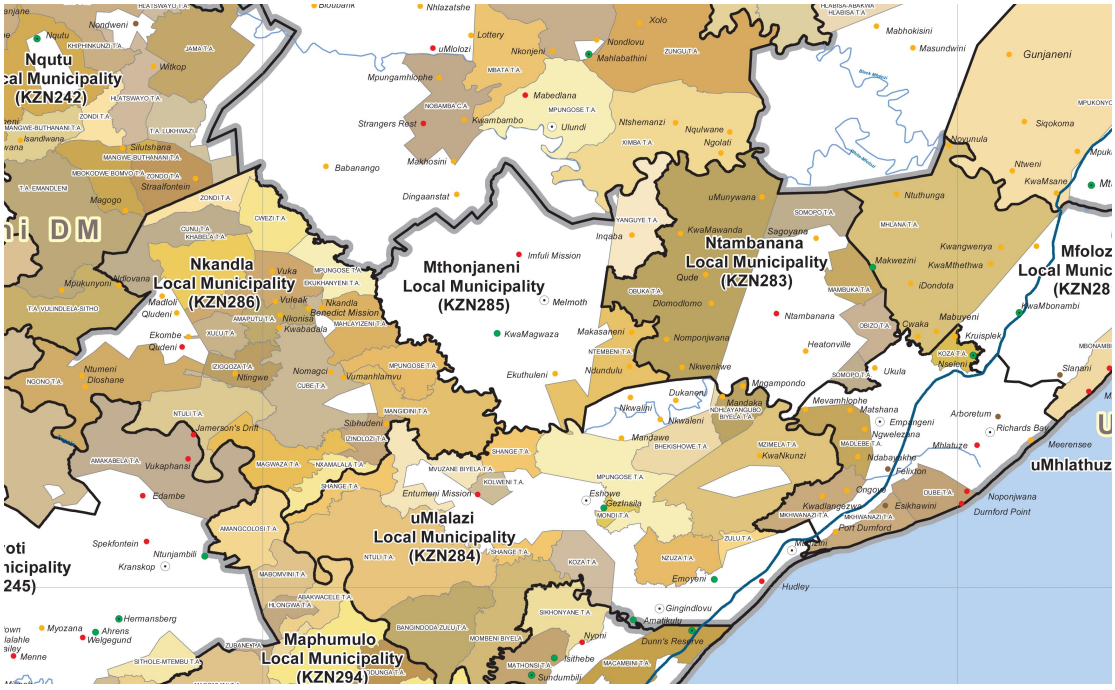


Figure 3.29: Detail of map from Rev. A.T Bryants' (1964), *A History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Tribes* showing pre-Shakan polity positions. The map paradoxically denoted Zululand, which would only have formed after Shaka's rise.


Nqutu
Municipality
(KZN242)
Nkandla
Local Municipality
(KZN286)
Mthonjaneni
Local Municipality
(KZN285)
Ntambanana
Local Municipality
(KZN283)
uMlalazi
Local Municipality
(KZN284)
Maphumulo
Local Municipality
(KZN294)
uMhlathuz
Gunjaneni
Nhlazatshe
Mabhokisini
Masundwini
Mabedlana
Strangers Rest
Ulundi
Babanango
Makhosini
Dingaanstat
Imfuli Mission
Melmoth
Benedict Mission
KwaMagwaza
Makasaneni
Nkwenkwe
Ekuthuleni
Ndundulu
Nomponjwana
Heatonville
Ntambanana
Dlomodlomo
Mandawe
Nkwaleni
Mevamhlophe
Matshana
Empangeni
Richards Bay
Arboretum
Meerensee
Mhlatuze
Felixton
Esikhawini
Noponjwana
Dumford Point
Port Dumford
Hudley
Emoyeni
Gingindlovu
Amatikulu
Dunn's Reserve
Nyoni
Isithebe
Sundumbili
Entumeni Mission
Eshowe
Sezisela
Kranskop
Spekfontein
Ntunjambili
Hermansberg
Myozana
Ahrens
Welgegund
Menne
Edambe
Vukaphansi
Jameson's Drift
Sibhudeni
Nkandla
Vuleak
Nomagci
Vumanhlamvu
Ntumeni
Dlozhane
Ekombe
Qudeni
Madloli
Mpukunyoni
Ndlovana
Magogo
Straalfontein
Silutshana
Isandlwana
Witkop
Nqutu
Lottery
uMfolozi
Nkonjeni
Nondlovu
Mahlabathini
Xolo
Mpungamhlophe
Kwambambo
Ntshemanzi
Ulundi
Nqulwane
Ngolati
Ximba
Mkhosini
Ntuthunga
uMunywana
KwaMavanda
Sagoyana
Inqaba
Kwangwenya
Makwezini
KwaMthethwa
iDondota
Mbuyeni
KwaMbonambi
Kruisplek
Slanahi
Ukula
Mgoampondo
Dukaneni
Mandaka
Nkwaleni
Mandawe
Ntambanana
Heatonville
Nomponjwana
Nkwenkwe
Ndundulu
Ekuthuleni
Makasaneni
KwaMagwaza
Melmoth
Imfuli Mission
Ntumeni
Dlozhane
Nomagci
Vumanhlamvu
Ntingwe
Nkandla
Vuleak
Benedict Mission
Madloli
Qudeni
Ekombe

When viewing a 2013 version of the province's traditional communities (Figure 3.30) a clearer picture forms of a reconstituted, but still sociopolitically charged series of demarcations. In many cases place names are intrinsically linked to polity identity. KwaNyuswa' is one such example, in which eMaQadini is located.

Koopman[32](2002:132), explains that, " the prefix kwa- or 'place of' is typically used with an anthronym, either a personal name, or clan name or clan praise". He gives examples of 'clan names' prefixed in this way as place names, namely 'kwaMandlakazi' and 'kwaMthethwa'.

KwaNgcobo, as derived from either the name Ngcobo or the polity Ngcobo I discovered, through the online topography service called Google Maps, is on the South Coast of KZN. This 'find' resulted in the locating of a Nyuswa polity there. Koopman (2002:185) continues: "people of the same clan will settle next to each other and so do not name their homesteads by their clan names". In this way it would appear that maps serve as socio-political indicators, and, in some cases, as a historic record indicative of polity size or persuasion. When visiting Msinga, I encountered areas such as 'eMaChuwini', pointing to the presence of the amaChunu, and 'MaShunka', pointing to the presence of the abaThembu, who employ the *isishunka* colour convention (Wickler et. al 1986). I began therefore, to carefully examine the nature of these socio-political demarcations, as seen in figure 3.30, in an attempt to understand if the denotation of beadwork can in fact be explained outside of the broad, regionalised beadwork style distinctions made by Van Wyk (2003) and Boram-Hayes (2005).

What transpired, through consulting literature and more specifically through the data gained in Msinga, was a realisation regarding the term *isizwe,* or nation – which I initially perceived to be a distinction, as is used in denoting the overall South African 'nation'. However, I realised that informants used the term to describe a dominant or large 'polity' governed by a principal 'house'[33]

[32] Professor Andrian Koopman, author of *Zulu Names* (2002) is a lecturer in the School of Language, Culture and Communication at UKZN.

[33] In this instance a 'house ' is a figuarative distinction, or in some instances is the physical property here the first chief was born, also called the iNdlunkhulu. The second house or house of the second wife, is known as the igqadi (said to be how the name Qadi was derived).

within a traditional community context. One, which is not always situated, in the same region as the subjects over whom it presides. *Isizwe,* it would appear, can also be deemed to be a 'sub-nation' or primary 'polity'.

To clarify, I began to understand that the terms *isizwe* and *isigodi* – the latter referring to smaller polities or sub-polities, or what is also often referred in texts, as a 'clan' – can be viewed as socio-politically defined districts which are required, by customary law, to 'pay' homage to a genealogically appointed leader or *inkosi*, of the *iNdlunkulu, the* royal or 'seminal 'house', who might preside over lower level *amakosi*[34], or *induna*[35], who head these izigodi (plural).

Despite my attempt at articulating the complexity of this social structure, it does appear that traditional governance, in some cases, has been entirely disbanded; and as a result is only sporadically determinable. Further, that the historic record of chieftainships seems not always adhere to customary law, in terms of how leadership is appointed. It also appears to have been altered in structure through a multitude of factors. These could include intermarriage, but also most notably the modern system of political ward demarcations and ward councillors, and the influence of Common law imposed by the South African governmental proponent, the department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA), the Zulu Monarch and the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial House of Traditional leaders (COGTA 2013).

Based on data gained through the various primary and secondary research activities mentioned thus far, it does seem plausible that a very complex denotative system of beadwork identity, comprised of a limited colour palette and distinctive visual architecture, is still very actively being practiced as a means to denote either region or polity. By these two possibilities, unlike the ambiguity of Jolles on this distinction, I am indicating that modern systems of governance have in some instances resulted in the disbanding of a polity structure in a particular region. In my experience, such forms of beadwork denotation are not necessarily consistent across the province or representative of all socio-political

[34] A traditional leader of a polity, or of numerous polities , also referred to as a 'chief'.

[35] A traditional leader of a district or *isigodi*, also referred to as a 'headman'.

demarcations controlled by *amakosi* or chiefs, or of regions. However, I was surprised when attending the 2011 *Umkosi woMhlanga* [36] at Enyokeni, in the central KwaZulu region, to see how many of these beadwork systems are still in use.

Attendance at the event, in which *isigege*[37], *inzingusha* or *amadavathi* [38]; *ibayi* [39]; or *izinculuba*[40], *umutsha, ibhande*, or *imfacane*[41], and various necklaces are worn, served in part to illustrate that this form of visual representation is still being practiced. Enyokeni is the royal residence of King Goodwill Zwelithini kaBhekuZulu in KwaZulu-Natal, near Nongoma.

Based on the research conducted in Msinga, the KwaZulu-Natal repositories and museums, and through the assistance of an expert on Zulu beadwork[42], attempts were made to accurately identify and to understand the value, in sociological and in denotative terms, of the beadwork being worn by the 'reed dancers'. This attempt was made reflexively, with knowledge, gained over my 20 year tenure as a design practioner, during which I was required to have an understanding of both the visual and psychological principles, particular to the discipline of Graphic Design and brand marketing practice. This reflexive interpretation, of the beadwork being displayed, was also based on my knowledge of limited colour palettes, most often used in brand logo development and corporate identity systems. In other words this interpretation has been based on a need to determine beadwork's visual and social function, through a parallel being 'struck' between the visual structure and role of beadwork, with that of brand logos.

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[36] The Assistant Curator of Zululand Museum, at Eshowe, accompanied me to *Umkosi woMhlanga* or the Royal Reed Dance , which takes place at Enyokeni, in KwaZulu-Natal, near Nongoma, the royal residence of the reigning Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini kaBhekuZulu. She explained that the ceremony, in which *amajongosi* or young girls, who are required to undergo virginity testing, present themselves before the king as prospective brides while carrying a long river reed. This reed is then placed, before the King, by each girl.

[37] *Isigege* is a short beaded skirt, also referred to as *isibunjana*, or pubic cover.

[38] Beaded panels with string-ties which can be used as anklets or leg decorations, epaulettes or shoulder decorations.

[39] Printed cloth or wrap,most often in red, white and black ink. Often bearing an image of the Zulu King.

[40] Short pleated skirt often with sewn in binding around the base.

[41] Various kinds of waist band or belt. These may include beaded rope belts, flat beaded grass belts or flat beaded belts.

[42] The expert referred to is the Assistant Curator at Zululand Museum, at Eshowe.



Figure 3.31: Brands in South Africa easily identified by their difference – each composed of visual forms and a limited colour palette (Brand Council SA 2014).

The pinacle of a brand identity development process is, in my view, the point at which a logo becomes a brand. Perceptions and associations form around a logo through positive experience and the formation of cognitive associations with the brand. In other words, brands are born from logos or visual identities that have various forms of equitable perception attached to them.

" 'Brand identity' is what "represents the external image that an organisation intends to present. It is the synthesis of text, image, intention and public perception of the brand. Good brand identity transmits appropriate brand essentials to form a superior brand image, composed of controllable elements" (Chang et. al 2010: 3345).

In my practice, I have come to understand that an important factor in the development of a brand's image is in limiting the number of colours used, often no more than six. In some cases, one can elect to place emphasis on one particular colour. Most ceremonially worn beadwork is comprised primary of 'complimentary colours', but hardly ever of hues or shades of colour, for example seasonal hues of warm or cool shades. However, 'neon' or 'day-glow', luminous colour sequences do seem to be popular.

In my experience, a sustained frequency of exposure, and use of a limited colour palette, delivered across various media platforms can, over time, facilitate brand association and loyalties in those consistently exposed to the palette of colour, and the intended messaging, resulting in a positive response. The use of a limited palette is fairly well demonstrated in the rebranding exercise of the

Durban University of Technology that I directed and conceptualized together with my students. The main brand logo is comprised of six faculty colours which are used as the basis for six Faculty logos, seen in figure 3.32. Black and white serve as phatic or supporting colours.



Figure 3.32: DUT Logo as a limited colour palette used in varying weightings (Durban University of Technology 2012)



Figure 3.33: Logo used alongside a depiction of the targeted audience (Durban University of Technology 2012).

Chang et. al (2010) explain that successful use of a brand identity, such as depicted in Fig. 3.33, aimed at eliciting loyalties and at triggering the desires of the intended target audience, can be achieved if the perception of the brand by the customer is realised in the form of emotional benefit. Customers

will then respond positively based on what they see, what they feel, and how they rationalise the personal and functional benefits of the brand. In this way I see flags as fulfilling a similar role.

When considering the limited palette of a particular country's flag, one naturally begins to make associations to the intrinsic philosophies, histories and allegiances associated with those colours. The visual convention becomes both denotative and connotative in ethnographic terms, with flags being used both to denote a country, garner loyalties, and to offer a means for individuals to feel accepted.

Similarly, it would appear that beadwork serves as both a form of information graphics by denotatively representing a polity, and through its connotative function - bringing meaning to each individual and to the collective polity through the role that the beadwork fulfils in various rituals and stages of life.

Barnard (2005:35) describes this visual communication phenomenon as achieving 'connotative meaning', explaining that, this form of meaning, "can enable the individual to be identified as a member of a social group" and explains that this form meaning is created when "values and belief interact with image".

During fieldwork in KwaNyuswa I was fortunate to witness identity being vocally expressed. The first occasion of this, was at a meeting of women from a craft collective in KwaNyuswa. I was describing the intentions for the study in front of some 20 rural women. In attempting to describe how brands 'behave', I described how an individual, hungry for fried chicken, might begin to look look for the 'red, white and black' sign of KFC. I then described how the Qadi identity might be seen in a similar manner. Their response to the concept of their identity being seen that way was resoundingly obvious, with chants in support of the Qadi identity. It later transpired that Qadi beadwork has its own unique visual signatures and colour palette.

Beadwork and the visual conventions found in beadwork, particular to each polity have been used in various forms at ceremonies and celebrations from birth to death, in some cases for hundreds of years (Jolles 1993; Dube 2009, Mountain 1999, Wickler 1989). It might be said that beadwork then serves

semiologically (Barnard 2005) to visually communicate one's status, allegiance and position both inside and outside of the polity, generating meaning between the for the wearer of beadwork and those viewing the wearer. Meaning is seemingly also created through making beadwork. I speant much time with beadworkers, watching them painstakingly sewing one bead at a time, and have personally been taught to be by traditional beadworkers myself.

Through this process, of being taught, and in viewing how colour sequencing is negotiatiated, mostly through the oral transmission of knowledge, I came to understand the complexity of this individual expression and social negotiation, both based on limited color palettes of colours.

Schoeman (as cited in Jolles 1993:47) notes, that "the true artistry of ornamental beadwork lies in the creative effort concerned with the modification of traditional colour schemes that form part of regional or tribal conventions," thereby acknowledging both the connotative and denotative value of beadwork, to the makers and wearers. This phenomenon was most apparent during my visit to eNyokeni, at the 2011 Reed Dance.

This experience is possibly best described as a culimation' of song, dance and visual display, visual messaging and communication –manifested as a displays of solidarity, based on socio-political denominations. It was estimated by bystanders that approxiamately 30 000 girls.

Interpretively, as based on training with limited colour palettes but also with design systems[43], pictures of social geography began to emerge. Futher, with many of the ideas, gained in this study on the dynamic nature of beadwork style, I attempted to identify each colour sequence or convention worn by the girls, as comprised of a limited colour palette and a distinctive visual construct, based on my visits to KwaZulu-Natal beadwork archives and collections.

[43] A visual formulae, visual construct or design system refers to, the subscription, by the designer, in a similar form of adherence to a limited colour palette, to a limited organization of design elements in a design space. This formula, serves as the basis upon which to 'connect' various designed formats together, for example, across the 'formats' of beaded skirts, of a group of girls from the same polity. This collective arrangement becomes a 'complex whole' or "organized scheme" (Oxford paperback Dictionary and Theasurus 2009:944).

I then later verified, photographs of this beadwork, in texts and in museums and through meetings with curators and experts in the field. Based on this process, of verification and visual analysis, it appeared that some of the beadwork worn at the Reed Dance might be *isimodeni* or modern beading constructions.

However, it was equally apparent, that an understanding amongst beadworkers existed, that colour palettes should be uncompromised, so as to ensure that the socio-political and socio-geographic, denotative quality of beadwork was retained. Further, that in this, negotiated resolution beadworkers, it was understood sufficient 'space' for self-expression and creativity was allowed. The complexity of this socially negotiated design system is a consideration, at the centre of this study. Given the slow and complex nature of beadworking itself, I have not yet come to comprehend or to be able to definitively articulate how these displays of solardarity, and difference, are so carefully managed across the vast geography of rural KwaZulu-Natal, in such a sensitive and complex manner.



Figure 3.34: TOP: An estimated 30 000 maidens attended the 2011 Uhlanga or Reed dance at the Enyokeni Palace near Nongoma. BOTTOM: Various polity based or regionally based sequences seen on *isisgege*, or beaded skirts (Gatfield 2011).

Unstructured interviews revealed that some of the girls were from school cultural groups, who had collectively agreed on a colour scheme. However, many of the beadwork styles appeared to be determinable.

While at Mandlakazi beadwork convention, encountered with the Durban Rickshaws, on the other hand, was immediately identifiable as comprised of green, white, red and black and by its 'shield-like' design consisting of triangles (seen in figure 3.36). In this instance, these colours were evident in belts worn by the 'reed dancers' (seen in figure 3.35).



Figure 3.35: Reed Dancer at eNyokeni 2011. Belt beadwork identified as being from the Nongoma area. Possibly denoting Mandlakazi, Zondi, Zungu and Zulu polities, which are found in this region. (Mazibuko 2011)



Figure 3.36: Examples of a colour convention and shield like form found in beadwork from Nongoma. Taken at Eshowe Museum (Eshowe Museum 2011).



Figure 3.37: LEFT AND RIGHT: Examples of a colour convention found in beadwork from the Mahlabatini region near Nongoma (Phansi Museum 2011). CENTRE: Taken at eNyokeni Reed Dance. (Gatfield 2011).



Figure 3.38: Examples of a colour convention found in beadwork from the Ceza region in Eastern Zululand, as displayed in Phansi Museum, in Durban (Phansi Museum 2011).



Figure 3.39: Examples of a colour convention found in beadwork from the Pongola region in Northern Zululand. Dated as 1972, displayed at Natal Museum, Pietermaritzburg (Natal Museum 2012).

On my return from the Reed Dance I reviewed the photographic source material I had gathered. When viewed as a combination of a design construct and limited colour palette, the regions or polities represented by the respective identities were relatively easy to isolate and in some case to identify as being of a polity or region. What also became evident is that both form and colour relationships seemed to indicate possible inter-polity allegiances or polities within a broad geographic region.



Figure 3.40: Usuthu beadwork at 2005 Reed Dance (Chennells 2005).

I was able to identity the aforementioned polity in figures 3.35 and 3.36, at Nongoma, as the Mandlakazi polity from central Zululand (later confirmed by the Assistant Curator at Zululand Museum, at Eshowe, in 2012); a polity in Mahlabatini, an area adjacent to Nongoma, seen in figure 3.37; a polity at Pongola, in Northern Zululand, seen in figure 3.39; and a polity at Ceza in Southern Zululand, seen in figure 3.38. All shared distinctive commonalities, in terms of visual constructs of forms found in the beadwork, yet each subscribed to a unique colour palette. The use of the triangle and the shield-like form was common in each of the four instances. The specific use of these forms seems particular to this region. The potential to map social geography, in this manner, presented a valuable 'lens'.

Most notable of these conventions is the uSuthu convention, seen in figure 3.40, worn by the princesses who lead the procession. This convention bears the Mandlakazi colours and style, with the addition of blue.

Further it was also acknowledged, based directly on secondary sources and on in-depth processes of verification, via the consultation of archival photographic sources, primary sources, metadata, and relevant texts, that the following examples of beadwork can be identified as each having direct links to

a respective polity or region as follows. I have included these as a means of demonstrating the sheer level of variation in KwaZulu-Natal beadwork conventions.



Figure 3.41: Beadwork identified as being from Ehlanzeni, Eshowe (Eshowe Museum 2012).



Figure 3.42: TOP ROW: Beadwork identified as being of the AmaNgwane from Bergville, who according to Mdu Fuze are connected to the Nyuswa, displayed at the Eshowe Museum (Eshowe Museum 2012). – BOTTOM ROW : Amagwane in traditional dress, displayed at African Art Centre. (African Art Centre 2012).

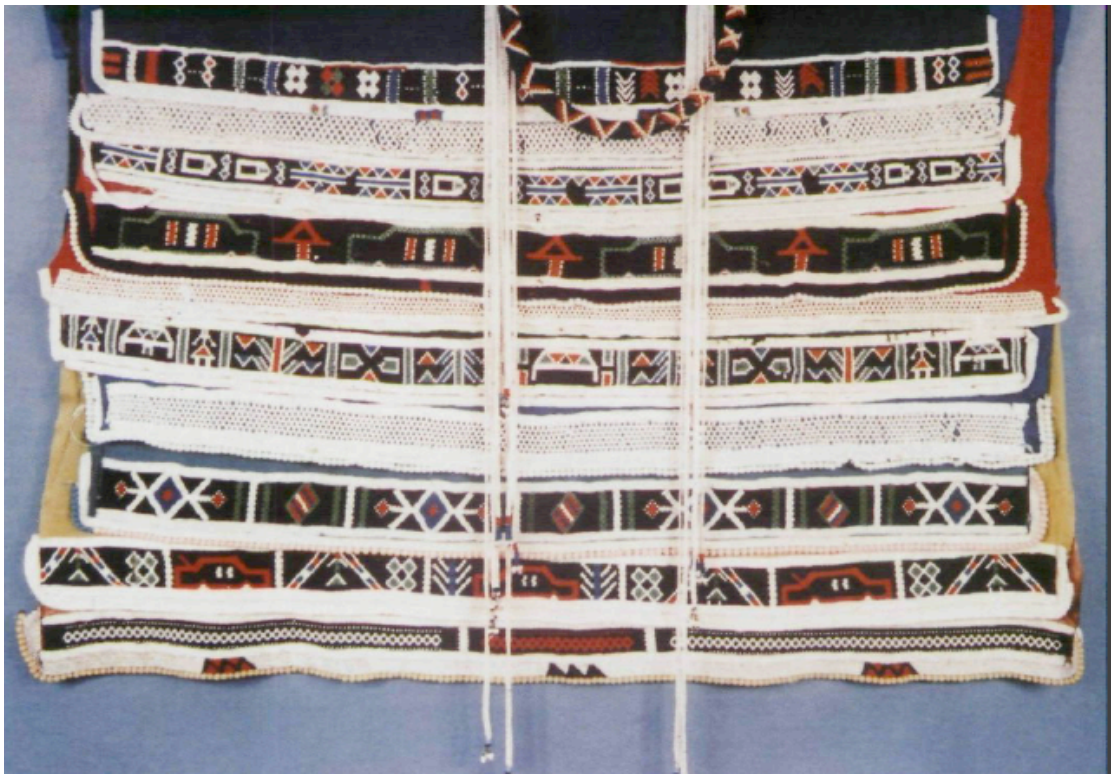


Figure 3.43: Isibheklane (cape) found in Estcourt region, displayed at Mashu Museum of Ethnology, in Durban, (Boram-Hayes 2005).



Figure 3.44: Beadwork qualitatively identified as denoting an amaChunu *isigodi* near Mabomvini, Msinga (Phansi Museum 2012).



Figure 3.45: Isithembu style mostly identified as being from iPalafini in the Msinga region near Kwalata. (Ondini Musem 2011).



Figure 3.46: Isithembu style mostly detailed as being from iPalafini in the Msinga region near Kwalata, as cited in Jolles (1993).

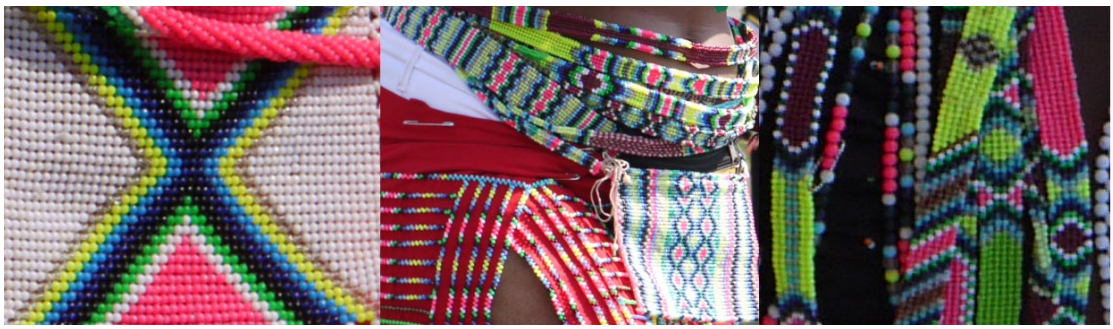


Figure 3.47: Beadwork of Mapumulo polity at Greytown. (Gatfield 2011).

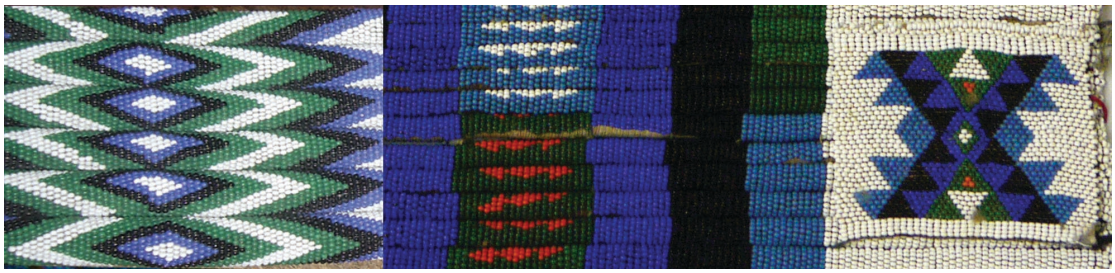


Figure 3.48: Beadwork of the Mapumulo polity at Umvoti. LEFT: Displayed at Voortrekker Museum. (Voortrekker Museum 2012) Pietermaritzburg. CENTRE: Beadwork of the Mapumulo polity at Umvoti. (Natal Museum 2012). RIGHT: Mapumulo, from Umvoti beaded belt displayed at Natal Museum Pietermaritzburg (Natal Museum 2012).



Figure 3.49: Beadwork documented as being from Fawn Leas, Umvoti Valley (Natal Museum 2012).



Figure 3.50: A relationship between the Mapumulo polity at Umvoti (figure 3.44) and a neighbouring polity at Fawn Leas in the Umvoti Valley (figure 3.45) was detected in beadwork encountered at Natal Museum, Pietermaritzburg: A clear hybridity is evident in the use of both beadwork conventions simultaneously (Natal Museum 2012).



Fig 3.51: Beadwork in the Umzansi style, indicated as being of the amaChunu polity. TOP: Taken at 2011 eNyokeni Uhlanga Reed Dance. BOTTOM: Taken at Weenen home, Msinga. (All photos Gatfield 2013).



Figure 3.52: Identified as being Mpongose beadwork (Eshowe Museum 2013).



Figure 3.53: Khuzwayo beadwork, Shongweni (Gatfield 2013).

The following examples of are of unidentified beadwork, included to illustrate the need for further research regarding beadwork in the province:



Figure 3:54 Unidentified (Eshowe Museum 2013).

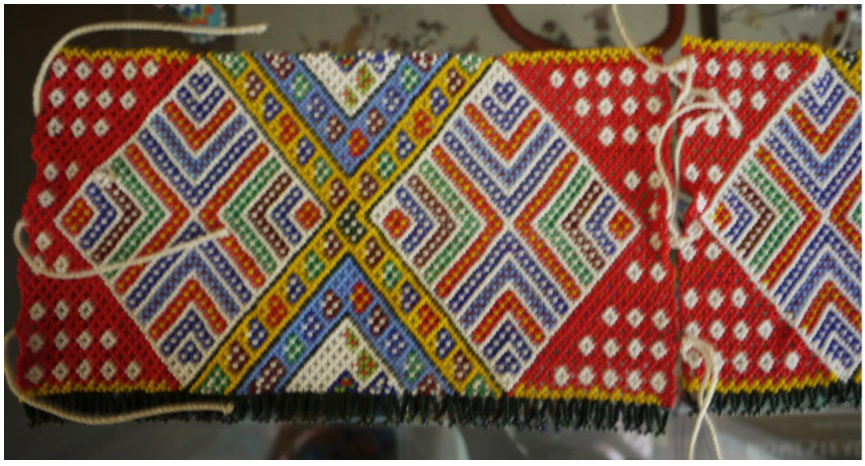


Figure 3.55: Unidentified (KwaDukuza Gallery 2012).



Figure 3.56: Unidentified (Phansi Museum 2012).



Figure 3.57: Unidentified. Enyokeni Reed Dance 2011. (Gatfield 2011).



Figure 3.58: Unidentified. Enyokeni Reed Dance 2011. (Gatfield 2011).



Figure 3.59: Unidentified. Enyokeni Reed Dance 2011. (Gatfield 2011).



Figure 3.60: Unidentified. Enyokeni Reed Dance 2011 (Gatfield 2011).

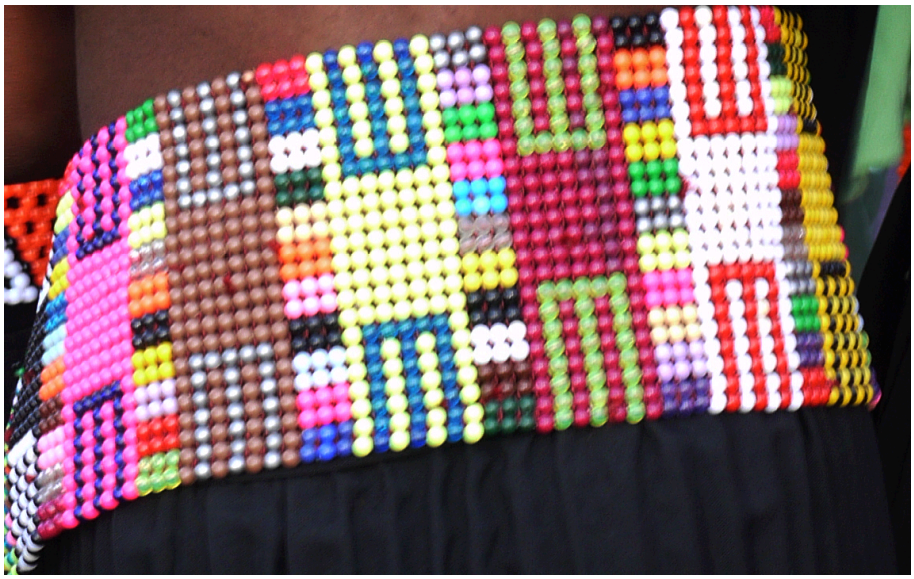


Figure 3.61: Unidentified, photographed at the inaugaration ceremony of Inkosi Zwelithini Mkhize in Hillcrest (Gatfield 2013).

3.7.1 *Isijolovane:* The Multi-coloured Style

On my visit to Dundee Museum, in 2011, I encountered an example of three beadwork sequences, visually represented through coloured panels in a display. Inspired by this form of representation device, my thinking on the existence of visual formulae as evidence of polity identity served to underpin the development, still in formative stages, of a colour chart collating the colour sequences and palettes found (see figure. 3.61).

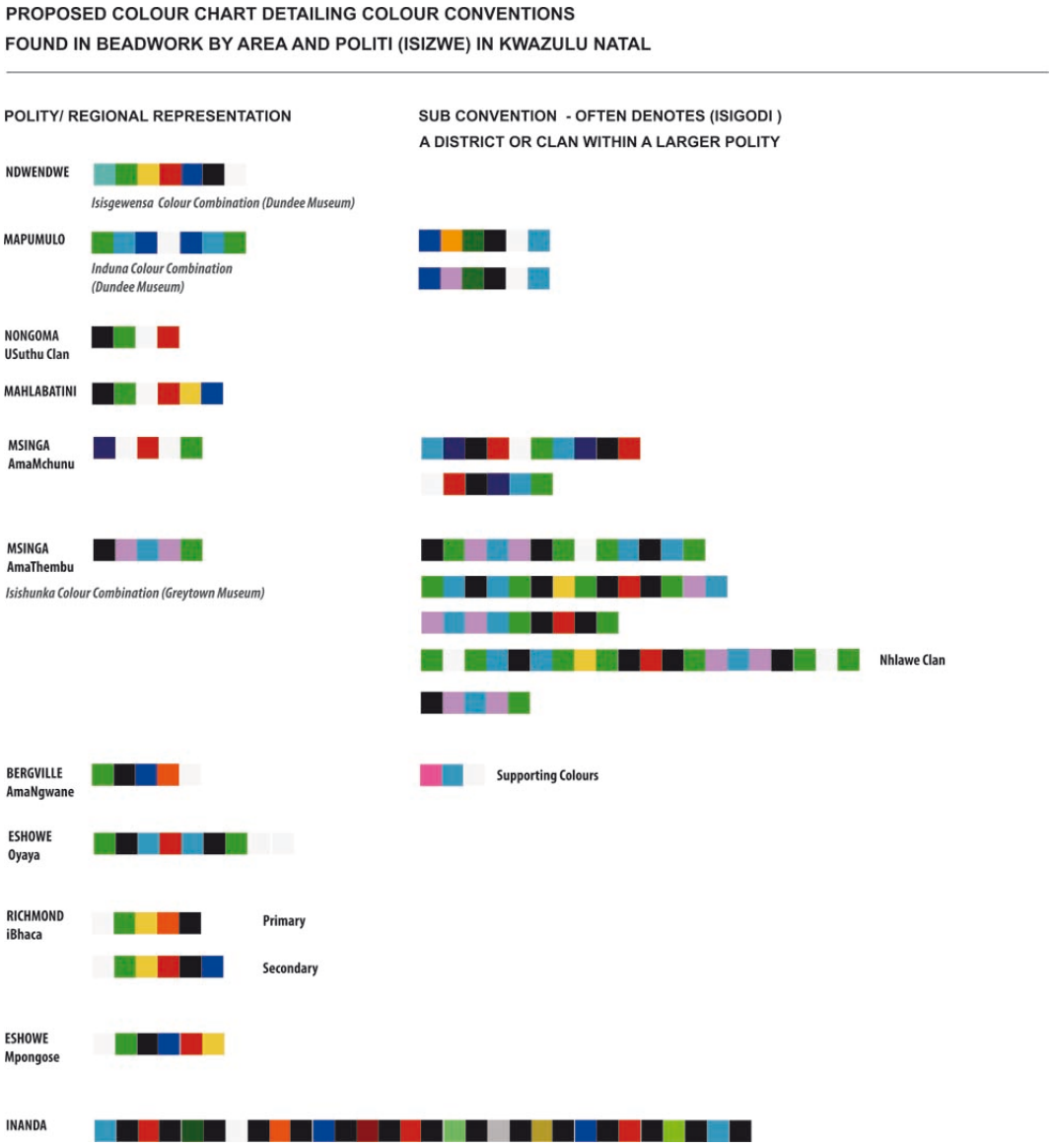


Figure 3.61: Chart of colour conventions found in beadwork in KwaZulu-Natal. The chart is still in its formative stages.

The initial idea was to ascertain if such a chart could potentially assist, as a teaching tool, in the development of better understanding and accurate discernment of the respective styles within the Zulu Kingdom, and their distinction from that of *isimodeni* and other contemporary beadwork.

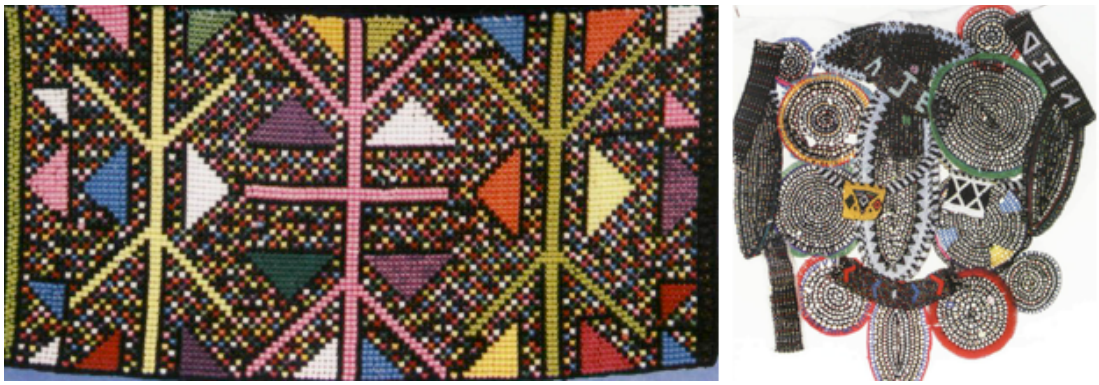


Figure. 3.62: LEFT: The Ndwedwe Style. RIGHT: The Southern Natal Style (Boram- Hayes 2005).

Later it emerged that the chart served more conclusively as a means to track and understand polity colour sequencing. What emerged was that one sequence carried black as a phatic constant and bore, unlike all other sequences, a dominant colour inconsistency (As seen in my formative identification of the sequence underpinning the Inanda sequence, on the Inanda, border near Ndwedwe)

This sequence (seen in figure 3.62) is what Boram-Hayes (2005) refers to as the 'Ndwedwe style', but in my view, incorrectly identifies the Southern Natal style as separate from the Ndwedwe style, in examples found in Umkomaas. The only mention of a multicolored style was encountered in Jolles (1993): in reference to beadwork of the Msinga region, he speaks of a multicoloured style called *isinyolovane,* but the beadwork he refers to is from the Kwalata region and is very dissimiliar in visual construct to that of the Ndwedwe region.

3.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, it is apparent that when approaching this form of visual anthropology, one must proceed with caution - lines seem 'blurred' at times, and political agendas are not always immediately evident. Whilst the intention is not to 'freeze time' and politics, it does seem apparent that what is broadly deemed to be Zulu beadwork and what is viewed as *isimodeni* or the modern pattern, is largely derivative. Instead what emerges is that a multitude of beadwork conventions exist, with some seemingly traceable, whilst others are not so easily identified and traced.

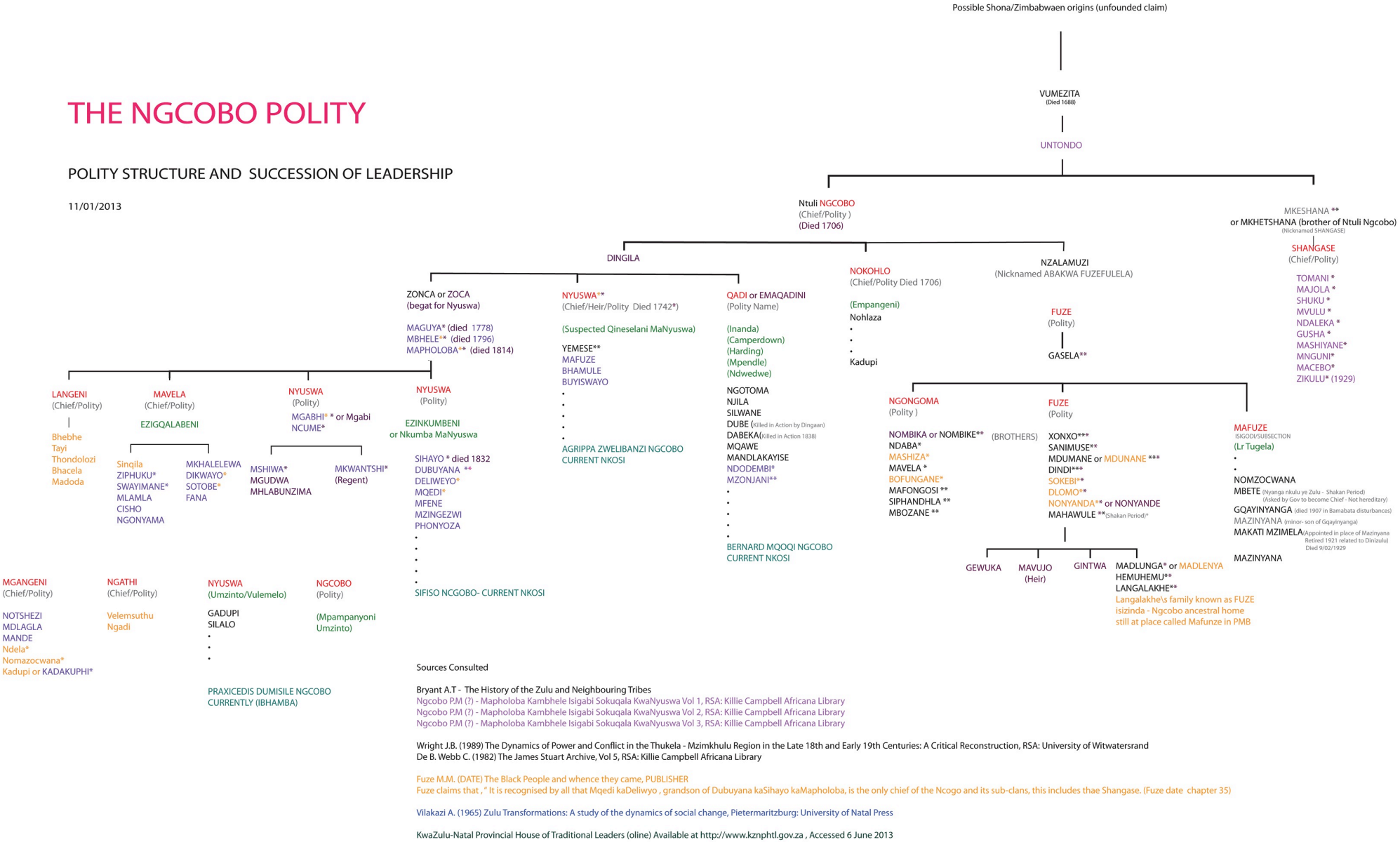
The 'lines' between representation, poetry, emotion, semiotics, politics and typology may merge at times. However, in my view, the denotative values behind the visual forms and colour conventions found in beadwork, distinguish the various polities from each other. It is my hope that a 'lens' of this nature has the potential to serve as the basis for new understanding about the past.

Further, this research points to a necessary shift in approach when addressing how best to represent the Zulu identity. This chapter has been an attempt to highlight that many various beadwork identities do exist, some of which appear to clearly denote polity identity and some of which denote regions of varying sizes.

What this chapter also highlights is that a reflexive position, which is informed by design practice, can employ beadwork colour sequence and its visual constructs as forms of leading evidence. I have attempted both to acknowledge what is known about beadwork in the province and also to broadly highlight some of what is unknown, in an attempt to highlight how much is still unclear regarding the links between beadwork, history and identity.

In the following chapter I discuss the history of the amaNyuswa, noting intermittently that examples of a multicoloured style, such as that found in Ndwedwe, and which is broadly known as *isiyolovane* or *isjolovane,* have been identified as being from regions in which the amaNyuswa settled. The next chapter is an attempt to 'dig down' into the construct of a single polity seemingly deriving from the name Ngcobo.

Figure 4.1: Composited Chieftainship/Lineage. Gatfield 2013



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De B. Webb C. (1982) The James Stuart Archive, Vol 5, RSA: Killie Campbell Africana Library

Fuze M.M. (DATE) The Black People and whence they came, PUBLISHER

Fuze claims that ," It is recognised by all that Mqedi kaDeliwyo , grandson of Dubuyana kaSihayo kaMapholoba, is the only chief of the Ncogo and its sub-clans, this includes thae Shangase. (Fuze date chapter 35)

Vilakazi A. (1965) Zulu Transformations: A study of the dynamics of social change, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press

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CHAPTER FOUR

AM I ZULU? THE EFFECTS OF ZULUNESS ON THE AMANYUSWA

> "History is written by the victors".
>
> (Winston Churchill)
>
> "
>
> Within the modern world which has come into being, changes have taken place as the effect of dominant political power by which new possibilities are constructed and old ones destroyed. The changes do not reflect a simple expansion of the range of individual choice, but the creation of conditions in which only new (i.e., modern) choices can be made. The reason for this is that the changes involve the re-formation of subjectivities and the re-organisation of social spaces in which subjects act and are acted upon. The modern state – imperial, colonial, post-colonial – has been crucial to these processes of construction/destruction".
>
> (Talal Asad as cited in Inda 2005:23).

4.1 Introduction

These words by former British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, and Talal Asad[44], speak to the essence of the following chapter, concerned with the politics of representation between the Zulu and the Nyuswa identities. This chapter tracks the historical and political factors that have impacted on this relationship and how those within KwaNyuswa see themselves and the role of their beadwork in relation to these identities. To these respective ends, it discusses the homogenisation and commodification of beadwork identity as a product of hegemony, social construction and the influence of various ideological positions, with a view to establishing a position of departure upon which to base economic craft-based inteventions.

[44] Talal Asad is an anthropologist at the CUNY Graduate Center, who has made important theoretical contributions to post-colonialism, Christianity, Islam, and ritual studies.

4.2 Regimes of 'Truth'

In an interview conducted with Thandi Magwaza, [45] a beadworker in KwaNyuswa, much was disclosed or more often omitted, regarding the impact of the Zulu Identity. From her descriptions of her identity as a Zulu, and of her beadwork as representing her identity, the connotative and denotative values inherent in this relationship were apparent. She indicated that:

> I choose to wear this beadwork so that people can recognise me in the street. It makes me feel African and it makes me feel authentic. I like to proudly represent where I am from. We believe our beadwork is better than others. We are not better, but our beadwork is. Our area still has its own heritage. We are Zulu people, but we are from the Qadi area. I am Zulu before I am Qadi. Until you asked me about my identity I had never thought about whether I am Zulu or Qadi, but I know that I am Zulu, as I see Zwelethini[46] as my King. I was taught by my mother that I was Zulu.

Thandi Magwaza's comments, regarding her Zulu identity, point to an apparent and unchallenged process of identity construction. Her identity is physically realised through her beaded outfit, which in turn serves as a visual signifier, offering denotative meaning to her and to onlookers. However, despite an unyielding sense of allegiance to the monarch, and a simultaneous acknowledgement of a dual identity as being, " Zulu before I am Qadi" the latter is explained away as simply a geographic denotator. She continued:

> Initially, when I started making beads, I did not understand the meaning of colours found in beads. I learnt to bead from a White lady, from Embo Craft [47], in 2005. She gave me a paper that 'breaks down' the meanings of the colours. Clients, of all races, blacks, whites and Indians mostly, ask for Zulu beadwork not Qadi beadwork, they also ask for a western/Zulu mixture in

[45] This interview conducted with Mrs Thandi Magwaza, a beadworker and member of Sigaba Ngezandhla Craft Collective, took place on 22 March 2012, in Mnamatha section, in KwaNyuswa.

[46] King Goodwill Zwelithini kaBhekuZulu is the current Monarch of the Zulu.

[47] Embocraft, situated in the Botha's Hill Area, conducts skills training to develop craft products in an attempt to facilitate income generation by its participants.

the beadwork. So this is what I make". Pointing to an assortment of modern beadwork, she commented, "this is all Zulu beadwork."

It became immediately apparent that connotative descriptions on identity and colour, found in beadwork, were to be treated with caution. Magwaza's answers seem to firmly illustrate how knowledge of the 'self' and of identity is taught. I also began to realise that I might not always be privy to such direct examples of colour and design, being so 'plainly constructed', as in the case of Magwaza.

Ironically, towards the end of the interview, when asked about a single piece of beadwork, amongst a display of her beadwork, which appeared to be clearly different from the rest, in colour sequence and design, Magwaza noted: "this is Nyuswa beadwork not Qadi", thereby admitting that a denotative distinction did in fact exist for her, between what was deemed to be Zulu, Nyuswa or Qadi beadwork.

The interview with Thandi Magwaza in 2012 offered a unique and insightful glimpse into the complexities around identity within the KwaNyuswa region. Similar responses were to be repeated consistently amongst the beadworkers interviewed. Magwaza's response underpinned what Martens (2008:122) describes as 'Zuluness', which he claims "remains with us today" as a "monolithic characterisation" of those in South East Africa as bearing a single identity, and which "serves to disregard the complexities of polity or kinship identities". This statement is possibly of particular value in this study in its acknowledgement of the broad 'brush strokes' made of those in the region, most often made by colonial figures of authority and so essentialised and then normalised into being.

Burr (1995:83) speaks of how ideologies serve to "mask the contradiction in society between the exploitative economic relationship and the need for some kind of minimum consent from those who are disadvantaged." She suggests that social constructionists should take a critical stance to the discourse and narratives prevalent in society and question what effects they bring about. Further she raises a second question, asking how it is possible for people to become self-deceptive when either consciously, or more importantly, unconsciously and irrationally, committing to a way of life which is not in their best interest? Burr's reference to this 'self-deception' serves meaningfully to underpin the

argument of this chapter, which details an almost unanimous response in study participants, who unknowingly perpetuate political agendas, through identity and self-conceptions.

Burr (1995:83) speaks of this social phenomenon as “false consciousness”, purporting that discourses serve to mask underlying realities of which people are kept ignorant. She offers that such ‘realities’ question the validity of individuals’ accounts of feelings, motivations and desires as they live out this false consciousness. In this way she offers that people essentialise their realities.

In reference to identity construction, Cerulo (1997:386) explains, that “early literature approached these attributes as “natural” or “essential” characteristics—qualities emerging from physiological traits, psychological predispositions, regional features, or the properties of structural locations. A collective’s members were believed to internalize these qualities, suggesting a unified, singular social experience, a single canvas against which social actors constructed a sense of self. Recent treatments of collective identity question the essentialism of collective attributes and images. Anti-essentialist inquiries promote the social construc- tion of identity as a more viable basis of the collective self. Other works stress the problems inherent in collective categorization, presenting a postmodern challenge to arguments of unified group experiences.” From a social-constructionist, anti-essentialist view Cerulo (1997:387) “rejects any category that sets forward essential or core features as the unique property of a collective’s members”.In other words, to be Zulu or to be Nyuswa is not necessarily a consequence of birthright or genetic predisposition, but rather the result of appropriated pathology. He offers, that ”every collective becomes a social artifact—an entity molded, refabricated, and mobilized in accord with reigning cultural scripts and centers of power”.

As I reflect on readings and qualitative pursuits in this study, various forms of essentialism emerge in the discourses of early South East Africa. It would appear that polity identities in this region have been consistently impacted by various hegemonies and ‘reigning ideologies’, since the time of Shaka kaSenzangakhona in the 1800’s, a period seemingly highlighted for its active conquering (Wylie 1994). In reference to these various forms of essentialisation, Piper (2002:90) points out that in just about every instance this has been a fight for identity.

These various forms of essentialism and the more recent "essentialised reading of race" by Verwoerd's regime appears to have left the citizens of post Apartheid South Africa, with, and part of a "conservative pluralist tradition…which sees politics as about relations between mutually antagonistic groups" (Piper 2002:90). This tradition has seemingly underpinned the fight for ownership of a few essentialised identities, eclipsed against the multiculturalist ideology that South Africans should set aside their allegiance to these identities, so fought over, to embrace the nationalist identity of the 'Rainbow Nation' (Piper 2002:84). Such sustained dispute seems therefore to have left those 'on the ground' unsure of how to proceed, resorting instead to a 'requisite responsibility' by remaining true to taught 'cultural nationalism' (Piper 2002:84) and religious ideology, given that these have so effectively offered plausible explanations or 'truths' concerning identity in the past. Piper (2002) points out that identity building around moral issues is common in times of social change.

As in the interview with Thandi Magwaza in 2013, other qualitative data that emerged as a result of in-depth interviews with the Nyuswa point to two very evident overarching 'truths' left in the minds of those living in the region, namely that most see themselves as Zulu and as Christian.

Burr (1995:84) speaks to the notion of 'truth' as only the consequence of numerous constructions of the world, based on cultural and historical factors. She notes French philosopher, social theorist, historian of ideas, and literary critic, Michael Foucault who espoused the idea that "the term ideology assumes that there is a truth" and that instead we should speak of "regimes of truth".

Burr (1995:85) continues that in this way discourses may be used ideologically for good or bad and as a 'lived experience'. Ideology is therefore inherent in what we think, feel, how we behave and the "pattern of all of our social relationships".

Foucault's position on governance is also very relevant to this chapter, and adds to Burr's (1995) notions around discourse and ideology. Foucault speaks of 'government' as the "conduct of conduct, of systemic ways of thinking and acting that aim to shape, regulate or manage the comportment of

others. He continues: " 'Government' designates any rational effort to influence or guide the conduct of human beings by acting upon their hopes, desires, circumstances or environment" (Foucault cited in Inda 2005:1).

Burr and Foucault's views on the forces that shape perception serve as an important theoretical frame for this study. Most notably, Foucault's notions around 'regimes of truth' and 'government' speak to realities being formed and shaped by historic, political and cultural influences. Notable is the ideology seemingly underpinning 'Zuluness'.

4.3 'Zulu' History and Zuluness

What is today referred to as the province of KwaZulu-Natal, appears to have been a site of constant political flux and struggle for power. Still today, it would appear that no single force fundamentally controls the identity of those within the province.

As a means to contextualise the impact of Zuluness on polity identities and their denotative beadwork in KwaZulu-Natal, two significant 'actors' emerge in the relatively recent history of KwaZulu-Natal, namely the current head of the Zulu, King Goodwill Zwelithini, and Mangosuthu Buthelezi [48]. Both of these individuals appear to have made use of cultural symbols, such as traditional dress and beadwork, as a means to communicate their stature, rank and political stategies.

Klopper (1996) speaks to the use of cultural symbols in her paper, entitled He Is My King, but He Is Also My Child: Inkatha, the African National Congress and the Struggle for Control over Zulu Cultural Symbols, noting that political groupings generally communicate important ideas about their perceptions of themselves through their use of cultural symbols. In most cases, these symbols are of course tangible, concrete accretions of the will to influence and direct actual or potential political constituencies. As such, they may include buildings, different forms of dress, flags, even songs; but they also encompass ideas about people, both as individuals and as nations. Of particular interest are

[48] Nkosi Mangosuthu 'Gatsha' Buthelezi is a South African politician, head of the Inkatha Freedom Party and is the traditional premier of the Zulu. He is also the former Prime Minister of the KwaZulu Bantustan.

the monuments and heritage sites that have been erected or preserved as a means to further Zuluness.

Dlamini (2008:383), in his paper *Monuments of Division: Apartheid and Post Apartheid Struggles over Zulu Nationalist Heritage Sites,* indicates that "in the Apartheid-era KwaZulu homeland, the early 1970's marked the beginning of annual ceremonies celebrating King Shaka as the founder of the great Zulu nation. Over the next two decades, the legacies of other famous Zulu rulers were also commemorated with the unveiling of monuments in their honour. Such memorials incorporated a version of heroic Zulu history championed by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe (Inkatha), a political party better known as Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)", which it would appear was viewed by some as merely a direct response to the state's actions against 'non-white' population during apartheid.

Ben Temkin (2003:141), author of *Buthelezi: A Biography,* suggests that the Chief Minister's intentions in reviving Inkatha, and in his promotion of Zulu Consciousness, were in response to his identification of the need for organisations to be formed, "in which a growing black identity could be used to promote self advancement and self determination" in response to the repressive laws of the state. Buthelezi sought to do this through the revival of Inkatha as an organization to develop Zulu national consciousness and pride. In 1973, in consultation with the ANC, this thinking shifted with the organization offering support for the idea that Inkatha include other ethnic groups.

It is interesting that later Buthelezi would break away from the ANC to lead Inkatha as a political party which would aim to further its ideological position by being focused, as Klopper (1995:54) writes, on being the "only custodian of the customs, traditions and values of Zulu speakers". She continues that this position by Inkatha included an attempt to control the meaning and ownership of all cultural symbols attached to the Zulu, even King Zwelithini,- "a cultural artefact of a particular kind". So much so that the wearing of traditional attire such as beads, furs and feathers at politically charged events by both the ANC and IFP supporters became an ongoing attempt to joust for political ownership of the Zulu identity (Klopper 1996).

Dlamini (2008:383) describes how “Buthelezi began to assert himself as a political figure in South Africa during the 1970’s, campaigning for the Zulu Territorial Authority in 1970 within a wider Republic governed by the white supremacist National Party”. Crucial to his rise to power was a steadfast insistence on the “Zulu nation’s self-determination. In 1972, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) was formed, which according to Chief Minister Buthelezi, signaled the ‘rebirth of KwaZulu’. It was through the KLA that Buthelezi was able to petition apartheid officials for recognition of Shaka’s Day on 24 September” (Dlamini 2008:383). Throughout the 1970’s his frequent references to the great Zulu nation during Shaka Day celebrations, which originated without state sanction in the mid 1950’s, aimed to raise awareness of Zulu nationalism and the fledgling Zulu homeland.

Dlamini (2008:387) continues that between 1983 and 1991 Buthelezi “imposed his version of the Zulu past on public institutions”, initiating the exhibition of Zulu material culture and Zulu history. Consequently, the KwaZulu Monuments Council (KMC) and its network of museums, as directed by the KwaZulu leadership, promoted this version of Zulu heritage across various sites. These include the reconstruction of King Cetswayo’s royal residence at oNdini, the preservation of the battle of Isandlwana battlefield and Shaka’s homestead ruins at KwaDukuza, amongst others. He adds that such interventions point to the vision of Zulu Nationalists, during the official period of white supremacy, to reify Zuluness in a manner that sought to “champion the need to unify the Zulu State”.

Dlamini’s words serve to propose that the powerful Zulu ‘brand’ is the result of a sixty-year campaign by the Zulu leadership, in which polity identities were not a consideration within its campaign for hegemonic Zuluness. Klopper (1995:55) explains that faced with the ANC’s persistent attempts at affirming the broader currency of these and other Zulu symbols, Buthelezi’s response was to refer to what had been referred to as “this region”, as the Kingdom of KwaZulu, thus creating a natural continuity between recent history of KwaZulu-Natal and the independent polity established by the Zulu in the early nineteenth century. By doing so he chose to revive the claim made by Chief Gumede, the deputy secretary general of Inkatha, who said at the time of Congress for Democratic South Africa (CODESA) negotiations in 1992 that, “the Kingdom of KwaZulu was there from time immemorial”.

Wylie[49] (1995:8), speaks of how the monarch of the Zulu, Goodwill Zwelithini, perpetuated a similar position to that of Chief Gumede, by "calling for a constitutionally recognised Zulu State two months before the historic 1994 South African election". He speaks of this move by the monarch as expected, given that the Zulu have a well-entrenched history of distinctive national pride, noting that Buthelezi, as Zulu Chief Minister and head of the Inkatha Freedom Party, has long made political capital of Zulu consciousness. However he explains that "King Zwelithini's demands signalled a clear desire to distance himself from Inkatha" (Wylie 1995:8), thereby highlighting "fissures in the Zulu polity which both leaders would rather have ignored" (Wylie 1995:8). However, the disjuncture between the agendas of the King and that of Chief Minister Buthelezi's IFP must surely be acknowledged in relation to the African National Congress (ANC).

What transpired between these three forces was an "intense, sometimes violent battle for control over the meaning and ownership of 'Zulu' cultural symbols" (Klopper 1996:53). In this way land was both a resource and a cultural symbol. Another contestant in 'the fray', was the Afrikaner Nationalist Government.

Meer[50] (1988:174) notes that the 'battleground' was often in the rural reserves, which were pre-Nationalist creations. However the Nationalists, "under the pretext of establishing Bantu authorities and independent homelands, divorced the people from all the resources".

In 2013 I interviewed Thelma Ngcobo [51]. She explained that Chief Sotobe of Nyuswa, was given land at Ndwedwe by the British. Ndwedwe, near NkumbaNyuswa, was one of the early reserves and is where the Mavela House of the Nyuswa is situated. Vilakazi (1965) describes the Nyuswa and Qadi lands as lying outside rich patches of red fertile soil, but within an area which has a granite bedrock. Granite gives rise to poor soils for agriculture and grazing.

[49] Professor Dan Wylie is an established author who has dealt extensively with the 'white writings' on Shaka.
[50] Fatima Meer was a well known South African political activist and biographer of Nelson Mandela.

[51] I interviewed Doctor Thelma Ngcobo, great granddaughter of Chief Dikwayo, of the Mavela House of the Nyuswa, on the 12 July 2013 at Mavela, in KZN.

Meer (1988:174) explains that of concern to Nelson Mandela and the ANC was that people had been purposefully deprived of grazing and agricultural land, and that regulations during these early years made it increasingly difficult to move to urban areas to survive. "People were deliberately contained to die of starvation… Mandela who was intensely rural in his roots, was very conscious that the ANC had neglected the rural areas… The ANC had supported the traditional structures and had worked mainly through the chiefs". However Mandela was later noted as saying, "the African chiefs on the whole have a tradition of working with the ANC from its inception. To continue on this has become more difficult in recent years, yet many are with the people. There are some, however, who have become loyal agents of the Government" (Meer 1988:174).

As beadwork seems so strongly linked to culture in KZN, it is maybe safe to conclude that during this period of unrest and violence, beadwork production decreased, placing beadwork identities at risk, amidst the 'battleground' in which 'government agents' clashed with those of the ANC.

The Curator of Weenen Museum [52] discussed the use of beadwork during the apartheid years, and during the ANC/IFP conflicts. He explained that:

> Some were afraid to wear beadwork publically, in fear of being viewed as a traditionalist and supporter of the IFP. This limitation was particularly a concern of those wanting to practice *umemulo* or the coming of age ceremony, in which beadwork plays an important role".

He continued: "beadwork is not something that one makes during times of conflict", intimating that beadwork use and construction may have diminished during these periods of unrest. This points to the likelihood of polity-based beadwork being interrupted over an extended period of time.

Paradoxically, the fight for culture and its symbols seems to have resulted in the loss of what was being contested, and seemingly on very thin grounds. Klopper (1995:1) explains that "the ANC was

[52] I interviewed the Curator of the Weenen museum, during preliminary fieldwork in Weenen conducted in support of this study in 2010.

determined to reclaim the history of Zulu speakers for a broad, democratic alliance, the ANC repeatedly challenged the IFP's attempts to mobilize a narrowly-conceived ethnic constituency in the interest of retaining its regional power-base in KwaZulu-Natal. Prior to the election, the IFP's response to this challenge was to renew its claims to control over Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini, and to reaffirm its right to shape and define the meanings ascribed both to the present king's twentieth-century forebears, and to the founder of the Zulu kingdom, Shaka kaSazangakhona Zulu. But because Zwelithini felt less dependent on Buthelezi's patronage after the ANC had assumed power, the IFP has found it increasingly difficult to sustain its recent claims to these symbols".

Wylie (1994:8) describes Zwelithini's call for geographic sovereignty as based on a question of boundaries, defining the region as stretching from the Mzimvubu river in the south to Mozambique in the north, from the coast to the Drakensberg mountains, which the King claimed was "the pre-colonial situation". However, Wylie (1994:8) discredits the King's argument, noting that his claim "originates with two crucial eyewitness accounts of the Zulu chief Shaka's reign between 1800 and 1828", namely that of the "two displaced ruffians", Nathaniel Isaacs and Francis Fynn, who were seeking quick and possibly illegal booty, from the running of guns, by serving as merceneries. Fynn was even referred to as *Mbulazi*, the Killer (Wylie 2011:20). Both of these men, Wylie (1994) notes, had much to omit from publicised accounts. Instead they colluded to project Shaka as ravaging and depopulating an area stretching 300 miles to the west, 200 miles to the north and 500 miles southward. Wylie (1994) explains that this idea was instrumental in fuelling accounts of *Mfecane.*[53]

Wylie exppressed concerns regarding the 'seminal' sources upon which King Zwelithini appears to build his argument: the integrity of Zulu Identity is perpetuated in and largely depends on Isaac' s two-volume account of his time with Shaka, entitled *Travel and Adventures in Eastern African*, published in 1836, (Wylie 2011). This version of the Shakan legacy has been perpetuated in seminal author Reverend A.T Bryant's account's of the Zulu legend; E.A.Walker's 1928 book, *A History of Southern Africa*; James Michener's bestselling epic of South Africa, *The Covenant* (1980)*;* Leonard Thompson's *A*

[53] Mfecane is translated as 'the crushing', Wylie (2011:28) explains that Mfecane, is not actually a isiZulu word and, "only appeared in the 1020's as a kind of catch-all term for the explosion of violence associated with Shaka's rise to power and the founding of 'the Zulu nation'."

History of South Africa (1990); and Omer Cooper's *The Zulu Aftermath* (1996). It served along with accounts of the Great Trek as the basis for apartheid's Bantustans, and both during apartheid and earlier to support colonial notions of black self-destructive violence (Wylie 1994).

Wylie (2011) also acknowledges *The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn*, published in 1950 by James Stuart. Wylie claims that Stuart simply took fragments of Fynn's diary, reconstituting it into a continuous narrative by "filling in the gaps, speculating, and by introducing his own passages thereby comprehensively obscuring the original document. He notes that historian Julian Cobbing referred to Stuart's offering as "one of the disasters of South African historiography" (Wylie 2011:20).

In addition, it is possibly valuable to acknowledge that historical inaccuracies regarding Shaka, and consequently the Nyuswa, might have been corrected if sensitivity to the traditions of oral record keeping, particular to traditional communities, was observed. However it would appear, by omission, in various texts on nineteeth century South East Africa, written during that period or even slightly later, that a cultural bias, underpinned by the Enlightenment Theories of civilisation most popular amongst colonialists, permeated record keeping (Bryant 1964; Mayr 1907; Stuart 1976).

Martens [54] (2008:122) comments that "while nineteeth-century settlers did not think in terms of 'Zuluness', their assertion that all Africans in KwaZulu-Natal shared a homogenous barbaric culture blinded them to the complex kinship identities that existed in southeast Africa. This monolithic characterisation profoundly influenced later constructions of Zuluness, which remain with us today.

On the 20th July 2013 I attended the 'anointing', as it is often referred to, or inauguration of Chief Dominique Zwelithini Mkhize of the abaMbo polity at Hillcrest, a neighbouring polity to the Nyuswa at Qineselani MaNyuswa.

[54] In this instance, Jeremy Martens' article, *Enlightenment Theories of Civilisation and Savagery in British Natal: The Colonial Origins of the (Zulu) African Barbarism Myth,* offers significant remarks that speak to a series of historic events that forced pastoral communities into wage labour particularly, in the long term, towards serving the Johannesburg and Kimberly minefields.

As I looked across the crowd at those listening intently to the King's stern concerns regarding discipline within the 'Zulu Nation', including how one should speak and conduct oneself as a Zulu, I was left with some understanding of Mrs Mgawaza's 2012 responses, as being as a consequence of 'Zuluness'. Although a single event, in which the King communicated his will to his subjects, this public affirmation of Zulu sovereignty, by the King, offered a very sobering reminder of the sustained socio-political suppression of kinship identities of subjects seemingly allowed their own beadwork sequences, but whom felt 'compelled' to claim it to be 'Zulu' beadwork.



Figure 4.2 TOP: Attendees at the 'anointing' of 2013 Chief Dominique Zwelithini Mkhize, of the abaMbo polity at Hillcrest. BOTTOM: The current Zulu Monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, giving his address at the event.

4.3.1 History of the amaNyuswa

This study of the amaNyuswa, an apparently "complex kinship identity" (Martens 2008), is an attempt at rationalizing the level of impact and effect of Zuluness on polity identities. It is an attempt also to

establish to what extent socio-political entities within the KZN region, such as the Nyuswa, were fundamentally independent of the Zulu.

The following history, context and the chieftainship organogram, detailed in figure 4.1 at the beginning of this chapter, has been compiled from a number of primary and secondary sources as a means to illustrate that other kinships and histories do exist outside of the Zulu legacy.

In some cases, this compiled history was based on handwritten notes, with some these notes being eligible, and so have been subject to my interpretation. These include the handwritten journal of Reverend A.T Bryant (see figure 4.3), which I suggest is data broadly deemed to be of questionable integrity (Doke et. al 1937); the handwritten accounts of James Stuart, an official in the early Natal colonial civil service, compiled in printed text by De B. Webb (1982); a handwritten account of the *History of the Ngcobo people and their genealogy* by P.M Ngcobo (n.d.), which was translated into English, at my instigation, by Mr Mkhize of the Campbell Africana Library. It is also based on texts of Magema Fuze (1979), an independent researcher; the academic theses of Absolom Vilakazi (1965); and J.B. Wright (1989) and the *KwaZulu-Natal History of Traditional Leadership Project Final Report* (2011), prepared by Houston and Mbele.

It should also be noted that the genealogical references made in this history are within the context of a patriarchal society, which practices a polygamous marriage system. Further, that this is not only a chronological offering but is also a discursive analysis of the Nyuswa record as situated within the larger Ngcobo polity. This is by no means the entire 'story' with some sources being derived from lengthy accounts, songs and recounted versions, based on oral tradition.

Throughout this study I have been made aware by fellow researchers or critics of my work at various conferences where I presented, that secondary written or archival data captured by early colonial researchers is to be treated with caution. In reference to the compilation of such particularly sensitive material, Houston and Mbele (2011:9) explain that:

> History is one of the many living heritage resources that is contested in South Africa. This is partly because colonial history imposed itself over indigenous communities with adverse effects. Written colonial history is not only self-serving, but it is written in a manner omitting the fact that local governance systems and local communities had their own agendas and missions often different to the colonial agenda. As a result, history has been written from a particular perspective over decades of colonialism and apartheid. Nevertheless, it is necessary to utilize secondary sources with careful consideration of these limitations, while recognising the existence of a large body of literature that is of particular use.

To these ends, I have attempted to present both primary and secondary sources as a means of best serving the reader's critical analysis of this account. By this I infer that I have been conscious to remain in an objective position, whereby my interpretations, of these accounts are limited. As previously indicated, there is an ethical concern, that too much analysis of these texts could be misinterpreted, as serving a political agenda and that the validation of chieftainships is an area I have attempted to avoid.

In contrast, these respective versions, which I intersperse with each other, in an attempt to foster 'mild' analysis, have never been situated in a single body of text, and so appear to offer a value in this study. However, the value of this recount is also in illustrating the complexity, difficulty, and value of juxtaposing oral records with written records. This apparent value is also in how oral records, appear to conflict with colonial records.

In my view this 'collective recount' also serves, in the context of this study, to illustrate the richness of largely untold stories, which all seem to illustrate that the Nyuswa were never Zulu to begin with, and so serve as a basis for further debate on 'brand equity' and the possibilities of emancipatory strategies. To this end it has also served as a means, to plot and to document the extent of the Ngcobo/Nyuswa polity, this in turn has served the analysis of the Nyuswa diapora in this study. This recount therefore underpins a very similar approach to the current 'Kingdom of the Zulu' marketing strategy, employed in KwaZulu-Natal, which is apparently based on polity identity and historic accounts. This compiled historic recount is as follows:

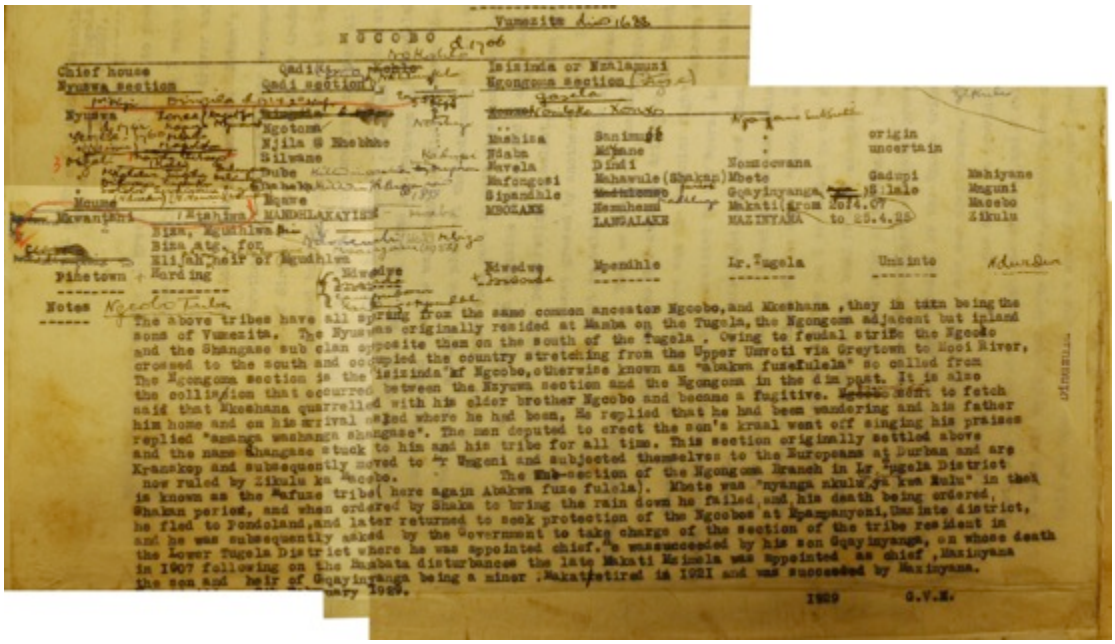


Figure 4.3: Ngcobo Chieftainship according to Roman Catholic Priest Rev, A.T Bryant's original typed notes with handwritten additions. 1911 -1912 Killie Campbell Collection, UKZN.

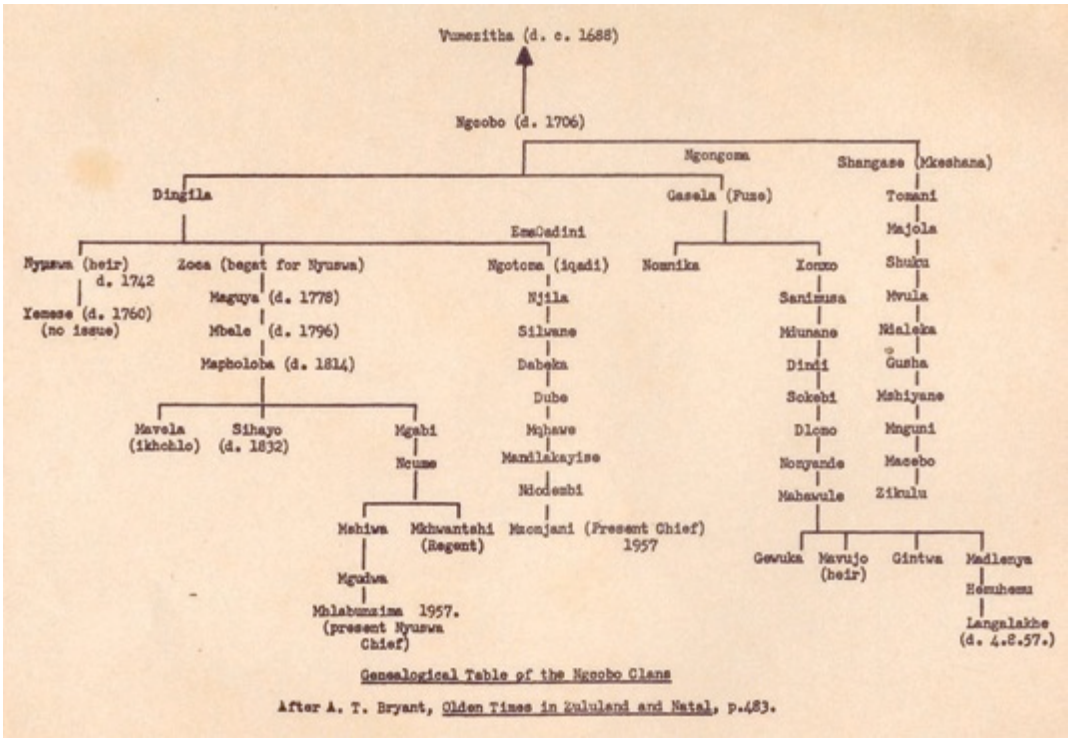


Figure 4.3: Absolom Vilakazi's (1965) table as per Reverend A. T. Bryant's (1929) version.

All of those with whom I engaged on the genealogical structure of the Nyuswa either explained that the AbaKwaNyuswa, or Nyuswa people, are either a sub-polity of 'the Ngcobo's' or, as previously

indicated, are the Ngcobo polity, through the cognomen - 'Nyuswa', or 'the Nyuswa', or the isisZulu prefixed word referring to the collective as *amaNyuswa*, which I refer to in some cases as 'the Ngcobo polity' to explain it genealogically, but which are maybe better defined as rather broadly carrying the surname 'Ngcobo'. The use of the name 'Ngcobo' as denoting the group, is therefore confusing in literature, this misunderstanding is possibly based on the idea that Nyuswa was Ngcobo's son, yet some informants have disputed this claim. To this end my use of the reference 'Ngcobo polity' might also compound this polity naming disjuncture.

Vilakazi (1965:4) explains that according to Bryant, the Nyuswa and Qadi were, "originally one clan group, the Ngcobo. The Nyuswa were descendants of the senior 'house' of Ngcobo while the Qadi are descended from the third 'house'". This hierarchy is according to traditional systems of Kraal arrangement and descent. Vilakazi (1965:4) further notes, that "Chief Vumezita, who is dated as having died in 1688, had two sons - Ngcobo and the younger Mketshana, from which the nickname Shangase derived, and under whom the Shangase polity formed. Dingila, Ngcobo's heir, from the senior' house' first begat Nyuswa, and secondly Ngotoma, from the third 'house' or iQadi[55]... The amaQadi polity or EmaQadini formed under Ngotoma. Ngcobo, in accordance with tradition, became the 'heir' to the Chieftainship of the Ngcobo". However, there appears to be no place or polity known as 'Ngcobo' in the Valley of a Thousand Hills region, rather the name 'Nyuswa' appears to have 'stuck', as the polity name, with the region being named *KwaNyuswa*, or the place of Nyuswa. Initially this seemed unusual. In many cases the polity name seems to be often based on the founding Chief.

However, Siyabonga Mkhize[56] who is a member of the neighbours of the amaNyuswa, the abaMbo, explained in an interview (2013) that:

> Polity names are sometimes based on socio-political intention. According to him polity names, such as Nyuswa, occur as a consequence of being politically popularised. He uses the examples of the strategies employed in the Free Mandela Campaign organised by the African National

[55] Also spelt *iqgadi* (Mountain1999).

[56] Siyabonga Mkhize is the author of *Uhlanga Lwas'eMbo – History of eMbo People* (2007).

> Congress, and the use of Jan Van Riebeck's face on South African currency, as strategic 'points of focus' to popularize an individual or to build 'brand loyalty' and political allegiances.

Further, Mkhize continued that although the name of the polity is Nyuswa, the *isibongo* or surname, of many in the region is Ngcobo. He explains that many Ngcobo's intermarry with the Mkhize, the primary surname of the abaMbo. The close geographic proximity of these two groups, emerges later in this compilation, of the Nyuswa versions of history, as underpinning Mkhize's political position on this inter-polity relationship, which I detail later.

While describing, the 'essentialising' of the Nyuswa name, Mkhize pointed to the Nyuswa house's socio-political position, in relation to its subsidiaries – explaining that Ngcobo had a second son Gasela, under which the Ngongoma polity formed. He then explained that, these various formations or 'splinter' groups of the Ngcobo resulted in the Qadi, Ngongoma, Shangase, Langeni, Fuze, Ngathi, Ezigqalbeni, Ezinkumbeni and Mgangeni, which formed over time, being sub-polities of the Nyuswa Polity or 'House', by descent. Mkhize commented that:

> These respective polities should, according to tradition, pay homage to the 'house' of Nyuswa also referred to as *Nkumba-Nyuswa*, the ancestral home of Nyuswa, situated at Ndwedwe. However during the time of Shaka it appears that this allegiance was divided. Today these respective polities pay varying levels of homage to the Nkumba House. Some, none at all.

Vilakazi (1965) describes how, connubium is now permitted between the Nyuswa and the Qadi, suggesting that previously the traditionally defined inter-polity marriage limitations had been enforced.

Vilakazi's (1965) description of Nyuswa origins, as 'tracked' to 1688, under iNkosi Vumezita, seemingly based on Bryant's account, appears to address the popular assumptions about the primordial origins of Zulu history, by illustrating the Nyuswa polity's development as preceding Shaka's reign, which started between 1812 and 1816 (Wright 1989). Vilakazi (1965) also explains the Nyuswa's geographic

origins, as them being settled on or about the Mamba stream, in what is modern day Zululand, and that by 1800 the large polity was already well established.

In describing the size of the Ngcobo polity, Wright (1989:166) notes that "though early 20th century sources, on the history of the Ngcobo characterise it as having been a 'large' or 'great' tribe in former times, their descriptions were fairly certainly coloured by some of the senior Ngcobo sections and their offshoots who had re-established themselves south of the Thukela, under colonial rule" (Wright 1989:166), noting that Bryant's view was that in the early 19th century the Ngcobo formed not a single polity but rather a "family of tribes" on the "North Bank of the Thukela about the lower Nsuze River" (Wright 1989:166). Each of these groups had its own location, its independent chief and in several cases, "its own distinguishing cognomen[57]" (Wright 1989:166), pointing to an evident diasporic nature or sub-polity identities and partial independence within the Ngcobo.

Wright (1989) explains that the migrations south of the Thukela river of the amaChunu and later the abaThembu across the Mzinyathi river, opened the remaining way for the establishment of Zulu domination over the remaining independent chiefdoms in the Thukela valley upstream of the amaQwabe.

Wright (1989:166) expands on the Ngcobo socio-political construct: "like the amaQwabe polity, the amaNgcobo chiefdom consisted of partially autonomous sections claiming a genealogical relationship to, and recognizing the ritual seniority of, a paramount chief, and resisting his attempts to assert more than the minimal degree of political authority. Recorded traditions give the names of a dozen or more sections of the amaNgcobo which appear to have existed in the early 19th century, but, if anything, the chief of the senior section of the Ngcobo, the Nyuswa, had even less authority over his subordinates than did his amaQwabe counterpart. The traditions of the various Ngcobo sections as synthesized by Bryant in *Olden Times* indicate that groups like the Qadi and Ngongoma acted virtually independently of the Nyuswa chiefs in the early 19th Century". This account thereby situates the status of the Nyuswa

[57] The use of the term 'cognomen' is possibly of significance in that this may very likely refer to the 'nickname' (Apple Dictionary 2005) 'Nyuswa' as in amaNyuswa, being used as a substitute for Ngcobo.

as the senior house of the Ngcobo, and as firmly connected to the Ngongoma and Qadi, who in turn were fundamentally independent, at that stage, of the Zulu.

According to Wright (1989), of the groups migrating south, the relatively large Mkhize chiefdom then submitted to Shaka without a struggle, acknowledging specifically the presence of Shaka as appropriating various polities into his 'fold'. Wright speaks of the amaNyuswa leadership simultaneously "facing the problems of trying to maintain its authority of nominally subordinate groups", possibly thus referring to the amaQadi, amaShangase and amaLangeni offshoots amongst others. The presence of other parties, 'closing in' on the amaNyuswa is clear. Wright (1989:167) points out that "by the 1810's the amaNyuswa leadership was having to deal with unprecedented external pressures", including the Mthethwas in the north, who were in "open conflict with the Qwabe", and the Mkize to the north-west, who were "engaged in territorial expansion". He acknowledges Sihayo kaMapholoba as a chief of the Nyuswa house during this period.

Wright (1989:168) notes that Bryant claims that the Mkhize chiefdom under the leadership of Zihlandlo kaGcwabe was a "strong chief", who he notes subordinated various polities in the mid-Thukela in the period prior to the destruction of his Chiefdom by the Zulu chief Dingane in the 1830's. He adds that prior to Dingane's intervention the Mkhize were a client polity of the Zulu-state under Shaka.

Siyabonga Mkhize (2013) differs from Wright's view of the relationship between the Mkhize and the Zulu, claiming that Zihlandlo, Nkosi of the abaMbo was a close friend of Shaka. He explained that this relationship was so strong that Shaka even gave permission to Zihlandlo to construct his own *isiGodlo* or Harem.

Wright (1989:230) explains that, "of the Ngcobo chiefdom, only the Qadi seem to have been inclined to submit without resistance to the Zulu. Significantly they were allowed to keep some of their cattle". Evidence on the relations, between the Zulu and the Nyuswa who were the dominant section of the Ngcobo, appears to be contradictory.

It is apparent, that Shaka was unpredictable, an opportunist and a strategist, rewarding allegiance and submission and often striking at the heart of dissent. In one case, despite the Cube's peaceful submission to him, he decided to kill their chief, who according to Wright (1989) was less amenable than another potential successor within the clan.

Wright (1989:230) explains, that "the most likely scenario for Shaka, when confronted with the Nyuswa, was to have seen a potential advantage in the continuing rivalries over the succession of the Nyuswa chieftainship, as a means to make the polity submit to him. As a result, the Nyuswa took flight across the Thukela where they were caught by a force of Zulu who killed their chief and took their cattle". After this, Shaka placed the Nyuswa under the authority of the Mkhize chief, Zihlandlo. Of the Ngcobo sections, the Ngongoma then broke into two groups, one of which took refuge with the Qadi, and the other with the related Fuze southwards near the Mvoti river. The Langeni fled up the Thukela to the Bomvu chiefdom.

Siyabonga Mkhize disputes Wright's (1989) version of the Nyuswa link to the abaMbo. He recalls, based on oral tradition, that the Nkosi Sihayo, son of Nyuswa, together with Nkosi Mafongosi of the Ngongoma were killed by Shaka in 1826. As a result the elders of the two polities sought refuge with Zihlandlo who took the two sons Siphandla and Dubuyana and divided them between various 'houses' within the abaMbo. Consequently the Langeni and the Fuze were also displaced, taking refuge elsewhere.

Mkhize explained that today the abaMbo are close neighbours of these various Ngcobo sub-polities in KwaNyuswa, having settled near Inanda, in a place now known as *eMbo*, the place of the *abaMbo.* Inkosi Gusagusa presides over the Embo, with Inkosi Sifiso Ngcobo presiding over the NkumbaNyuswa TA; Inkosi Mehlesizwe Shangase over the Shangase TA; and Inkosi Mqoqi Ngcobo over the Qadi at Ndwedwe and Mnamatha.

However, Vilakazi (1965) offers a third perspective on the Shakan/Nyuswa relationship, which it is estimated , as preceeding in date, to Mkhize's 2013 version. Vilakazi (1965) explains that Nyuswa's son, variously called Yemese or Hemese, died in 1750 without issue, so Zoca, a half brother, offered his son Magunya, in accordance with *ukuvusa,* the tradition of reviving a house that would otherwise terminate if not for a male heir. Magunya begat Mbele, who begat Mapoloba. who begat Miswayo, who died in infancy, soon after his father, leaving the Nyuswa without an heir. As a result Sihayo and Mgabi, the surviving sons of Mapoloba contested their respective rights to the chieftainship. Many related polities of the Nyuswa such as the Qadi, Fuze and the Ngongoma favoured Sihayo, the senior son of the Enkumbeni kraal, but Mgabi was undeterred. Supported by a small faction he imposed his intentions, even attempting to assassinate his half-brother Sihayo at a meeting, convened to settle the matter peacefully. News of this dispute reached Shaka, who apparently summoned the Nyuswa before him.

Vilakazi (1965:4) does not clarify how or when Shaka had been empowered to call such a meeting, and so by omission perpetuates misunderstandings abouth Shaka and the Zulu history. Vilakazi (1965:6) continues that Reverend Bryant was offered the following version in 1929, when attempting to reconstruct history around these various polities:

Shaka made the two rival parties stand in two rows. Then he did a surprising thing! He took a dog and led it along the lines, and it sniffed and sniffed at them all until, on arriving where Sihayo stood, it lay down and wagged its tail! 'What more do you want' asked Shaka. 'Go home, there is your chief!' …Mgabi was not, however satisfied with the decision, for he seems to have had ambitions to be chief, so he started a whispering campaign against Sihayo in an attempt to turn Shaka against him. Sihayo was in the habit of sending bundles of tabacco leaves to Shaka as tribute. Mgabi had it secretly reported to King Shaka that those bundles of tabacco had been magically treated …in a way most dangerous to His Majesty's hopes of longevity'

Vilakazi (1965:6) continues that, Mgabi's intervention 'did the trick' and Shaka sent his armies to kill Sihayo and his followers. He continues that, "those who escaped with their lives, crossed into Natal and were settled during Theophilus Shepstone's regime, about the upper Mona stream near the

Noodsberg where they live today under their chief a descendent of Sihayo". The followers of Mgabi, still disgruntled, settled at Mabelana Hills, in the Valley of a Thousand Hills. Ncume son of Mgabi became the chief of the Nyuswa faction and died at Mabelane.

Vilakazi points out that Reverend Bryant's accounts are verified by oral traditions of the Nyuswa, but does not specify when or how Mgabi's faction broke away from the main Nyuswa faction at Noodsberg.

Another version of this story appears in *The KwaZulu-Natal History of Traditional Leadership Project Final Report March* (2011)[58], which I present as a verbatim account. This (2011) report states:

> The aim of the research was to establish a knowledge a base on traditional leadership with specific reference to boundaries, local customs and the impact of white rule on ubukhosikosi. The research was a response to the need expressed by iSilo saKwaZuluKwaZulu to the Department, and to a need identified by the Department itself for the recording of the history of ubukhosikosi in the Province. From the Department's point of view this research is important to undertake as a way to enhance its role in supporting traditional leadership with appropriate and accurate information on the history and developments that have impacted on the institution concerned" (KwaZulu-Natal History of Traditional Leadership Project Final Report March 2011).

Further it is noted that, this research was thus undertaken for three main reasons:

> • To provide information that will help the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs to effectively fulfill its supportive role to traditional leadership in KwaZulu-Natal.

[58] The KwaZulu-Natal History of Traditional Leadership Project Final Report March (2011) was prepared by Gregory F. Houston and Thamsanqa Mbele as commissioned by Human Sciences Research Council Democracy and Governance, as requested by the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) in the KwaZulu-Natal Province commissioned research on traditional leadership in KwaZulu-Natal.

• To provide a knowledge base on ubukosi and amakosi in KwaZulu Natal that may be utilized by: the Zulu Royal House, various government departments, amakosi of KwaZulu-Natal, researchers and many other relevant stakeholders.

• To support informed preservation of cultural and customary practices that strengthens the institution of Traditional Leadership.

Section 5.22 of the report details the Nyuswa history as follows:

The Nyuswa and Qadi are said to have descended from an Ngcobo ancestor. The founding father of all Ngcobo clans was Vumezitha. No historical records exist of where Vumezitha lived and where he came from. According to some of his own people he came from Tongaland. He had two sons, namely Ngcobo and Mkheshana, and one wife. Ngcobo was the eldest of the two. Ngcobo was married to one wife and he had a son by the name of Dingila, who was his only son. Dingila became the first leader of the clan to marry three wives, which were Indlunkulu, Iqada and Isizinda. Dingila had three sons, namely Nyuswa (Indlunkulu), Ngotoba (Iqadi) and Gasela (Isizinda).

Nyuswa became the principal heir. In course of time three branches of the clan were formed: the AbaKwaNyuswa, emaQadini and the abakwaFuze. Maguya may be taken as the first and oldest name in Nyuswa ancestry about which there is any certainty at all. He was the father of Mbele, who was the father of Mapholoba, who was the father of Sihayo, who was the father of Deliweyo, who was the father of Mqeli. Others reported that Sihayo had two sons namely, Ntuli and Dubuyana. Ntuli was the father of Ziphuku, who was the father of Swayimana.

AmaNyuswa, during the time of Shaka's father, Senzangakona, lived on the northern bank of the Tugela opposite Kranskop. As the royal house, AmaNyuswa traditionally produced the chieftain. Chaka settled a dispute between two sons of the royal kraal over succession by

ordering his army to sweep the Nyuswa into the Tugela. The surviving Nyuswa took refuge with Zihlandlo, chief of the Mbo, until he was overthrown by Dingane.

When Mpande crossed to Natal many tribes went along with him, including the Ngcobos. The much harassed Ngcobos of the Nkumba Nyuswa joined the other Ngcobos and they formed one compact tribe generally and wrongly referred to as the MaQadini tribe between the Umngeni and Umvoti rivers. From the Mngeni River the maQadi, then the Shangase separated from the Wosiyana. The Mdloti and Mona Rivers separate the Ngongoma from the Nkumba Nyuswa and finally the Umvoti River then in the Maphumulo district. The Qadis under Mqhawe had already settled at eNanda with the AbakwaShangase and AbakwaWosiyane.

It appears that at some stage the clan must have split into two: probably during the time of Ntuli and Dubuyana. Ntuli's grandson, Swayimana, was then recognized as inkosi of a branch of the clan based in Maphumulo on the 4th April 1887. On the 3rd August 1925 Swayimana died and his son Mlamuli was appointed as an inkosi on the 30 September 1926. He died on the 5l February 1940 and his son Cisho succeeded him on the 16l July 1940. Cisho died on the 24l January 1948 and the principal induna was appointed to act up until the appointment of Mfundisi Ngcobo on the 20l July 1962. The next inkosi was Ngonyama Ngcobo, who was the followed by Sipho Mthokozisi Ngcobo in 1998. The latter was succeeded by Mlungiseni Ngcobo who acted as Ibamba on the 2n February 2006.

Another section of the clan, under Inkosi Mqedi, son of Deliweyo of Dubuyana, was offered a place to settle on the upper Mona stream in the Noodsburg Hills during the time of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, known as Somtsewu. At the time of the Bambatha rebellion (Mqedi who was not yet a chief) took part in the rebellion. He was arrested and imprisoned for four years. Today there are branches of the clan in the Ugu District as well. One branch of the clan is currently found at Ezingolweni near Port Shepstone. In 1962 the inkosi of this branch of the clan was Mhlabunzima Ngcobo. After his death his son inkosi Zwelibanzi succeeded him and remains inkosi up until today. During his Ubukosi he was surrounded by a lot of controversies ranging

> from a charge of misconduct to failing to obey his subjects. Consequently, he was suspended for a period of five year by the then KwaZulu Government in 1990. Eventually he was reinstated as a Chief of the tribe on the 30th January 1998.

The aforementioned versions of Nyuswa history all appear to directly or indirectly subscribe to a version of the Shakan legacy, which includes his taking a hegemonic position over the Nyuswa Polity. However this is apparently not the only version.

4.4 An Alternative version based on oral tradition and secondary sources

In an interview conducted on the 7th June 2013 with 39 year old, Douglas Mduduzi Fuze at Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal, another very different perspective on the Nyuswa legacy was provided. This unpublished version of the Nyuswa origins and history, is based on Fuze's own consultation of historic texts; his experience working as an Administration Officer of the African Union Mission in The Sudan, as part of a contingent sent by President Mbeki, in 2003. This contingent was charged with assisting with conflict resolution in the region. This position afforded Fuze the opportunity to access records generated by British officials tracking the diaspora of groups moving from Egypt, towards South East Africa; and most importantly is based on the oral tradition within his own family – which he states should be referred to as the the Ngcobo Family of the Nyuswa. This oral account was passed on to him by his grandmother, Elizabeth MQadi, and father David Ngcobo.Fuze (2013) first demonstrated, by offering his South African Identity document, that he had changed his surname name from Ngcobo to Fuze. He explained as follows:

> The word Fuze, is not Zulu or Nguni, rather it is English or at least the consequence of a misinterpretation by American Missionaries sent to the Colony of Natal by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the early 1800's, when attempting to translate the polity name *Mlilo,* or 'fire', into English. The word 'fire' may well have been misinterpreted as 'to fire' or to 'fuse'. The Fuze, Fuse, or the plural as in AmaFunze, Mafuze or Mafunse are all simply derived from this misconception. The Ngcobo are amaLala.

This connection of the Nyuswa as being amaLala is confirmed in Volume One of the *James Stuart Archive* on 24.9.1904 in an interview with a man only known as Mbovu. This name Mbovu apparently also confirms that the amaLala are not from Zululand. Fuze continued in the interview that:

> In 1791 General David Baird, the first British Governor in the Cape, baptised Goliath David Mtumeni, alias Steelman Ngcobo, at 18 years old, into the Christian faith. Later, Mtumeni was anointed as chief of the Mlilo polity and made to kneel down in his kraal, Emahlandhleni we Ngwenya, thereafter referred to as *Ngoboyana, or* 'kneel here'*,* from which the word *Mgcobo* is derived. After that he was referred to as *Mgcobo*, the anointed one. The spelling of *Ngcobo* is a spelling error. He was also referred to as *Mgcobo omkhulunkulu,* or the big one; or *Nyuswa,* or the elevated one. The AmaNyuswa became known also as the AmaKolwa or the Christians, based on their nkosi's conversion to Christianity. Mtumeni was the cousin of Shaka.
>
> The root of the Nyuswa can be traced back to Egypt, where they were referred to as the *Musi* or 'clouds', led by a ruler Suswayo, also known as Tatawayo. The Musi then moved through the Sudan, via Ethiopia to Kenya, at Mombasa, from which the name *Baso* is derived. The AmaBaso, who are related to the Nyuswa, can be found at Msinga today. The Masi then moved further south to Mozambique. He claims that genealogically speaking, one might find both very fair and very dark skinned amongst the Nyuswa. This would be accounted for by their fair skinned Persian/Mohammedian, Spanish or Portuguese genes together with the very dark skinned genes of the Sudanese, and explains the complexion of the Ethiopians.

He also pointed out that in his view, many Nyuswa are identifiable through an extended forehead, and thinner, slightly longer nose. He continued that from Delagoa Bay, in Mozambique, the Musi moved to St. Lucia in the Pongola region.

Noteworthy is that Fuze is not offering a time span in which each of these migrations took place. It might be then posited that these movements, first in a south-eastern direction and then in a southern

direction, down the coast of east Africa, could either have taken place within a limited time span, or could as plausibly, taken place over an extended period of time.

Fuze appears to place emphasis on the complexions of the Musi as resulting, through intermarriage, in offspring with medium toned complexions. In my view, this argument, based on skin colour, immediately raises some scepticism, given that arguments framed in this way, have been broadly 'earmarked' as scientifically inconclusive and as historically serving racial agenda in South Africa. Therefore my inclusion of the following texts, which make reference to racial classifications, is rather framed as a means to acknowledge Fuze's other acknowledgements of physical features, not with a view to making any conclusive racial generalisations, but possibly as means of considering the validity of these 'strands' of oral evidence in Fuze's account.

With reference to identifiable differences in physical characteristics, Doke, Dart, Goodwin, Marais and Eiselen (1937:3) detail that, "when the Portuguese rounded the Cape they found *Strandlooper*, or beachcombers" and other communities such as the Khoikoi or Khoisan, largely undisturbed across the whole southern end of the continent. From Sofala northwards, the coast was inhabited by those, which appeared to bear the physical characteristics of those from Angola and West Africa.

The authors (1937:10) continue that, "a distribution map of the African groups would have presented a very different picture 2,000 years ago", (or more accurately now 2077 years ago). Doke et al. (1937:10) continue that, to best understand these differences and how they evolved one must consider the trans-continental movements of these various groups across Africa. They explain that "the Sahara desert has been for millenia a great barrier between a free intermingling" of various groups. It has been natural for anthropologists to imagine that this barren waste, by its isolating effect, favoured the emergence of two distinctive types of mankind. "But the Kalahari desert also extended in a north-easterly direction across the Victoria Falls and the two Rhodesias in early Pleistocene times. It virtually severed the south-eastern from the west-central part of the continent. This old-time Kalahari barrier must have fluctuated with the Ice Ages, as did the Sahara, and at one time probably separated the Khoisan from a group to the west and from the another group to the north. At any rate the cradle

of those from the west, “as nearly as we can determine, was in the basin of the Congo water-shed. Thence they first spread out in a north-westerly direction towards the Niger Valley and the Sahara” and, subsequent to certain intergroup hybridization, “later, moved in the north-easterly direction towards the Great Lakes and the sources of the Nile” Doke et al. (1937:10). The authors discuss at length their detailed analysis of the various skull shapes and features as distinctively different from each other.

Doke et al. (1937:14) continue that the Abyssinians, descendant from Ethiopia/Sudanese regions differ from other groups noting that, “the Asiatic stigmata in the South African native population are not confined to the Mongoloid traits” found in the Khoisan or “other Bush peoples and occurring amongst the " Nyambaan", Shangana-Tonga, Xhosa, Sotho, and other groups and most frequently of all amongst the Zulu of the Natal coast”, thereby acknowledging the possibility of a distinct difference amongst those referred to as ‘Zulu’. The authors (ibid) note that “armenoid features are more widely dispersed than Mongoloid” in the region. They are common amongst the Zulu, but even more pronounced in the Venda of North-Eastern Transvaal, the Shona tribes of Southern Rhodesia and the Rotse of the Zambesi head-waters, as well as amongst the Herero and Ambo; they are expressed in the…’Semitic ‘ traits' of hooked noses and hirsute faces and bodies. These physical traits, referred to loosely and popularly as ‘Semitic’ or ‘Arabic’ “, are derived not from the people of “the Mesopotamian and Arabian area, but from the Armenoids, who from their ancient homeland of Turkestan deluged the ‘fertile crescent’ in successive victorious waves, from Dynastic Egyptian times onwards. This formed the avenue of their approach, by land and sea, to Southern Africa during the historical period….. These ‘long-heads’ of moderate cranial height are … relatively far more numerous in Egypt than in Abyssinia” (Doke et.al ibid).

Although a very specialist analysis, from which I have attempted to extract pertinent content, Doke et al’s (ibid) text certainly appears to point to a possibility of the modern day ‘Zulu nation’ not only being populated with individuals bearing a single commonly occurring physical distinctiveness, but instead could be comprised of those with Armenoid and Mongloid physiological traits respectively. This view,

points then to the plausibility of Mdu Fuze's account, of the Nubian group having migrated from the North East, with their origins in Egypt or Turkestan.

MacGaffey (1961:179) speaks of a group called the Nubians, sometimes called Nile Nubians, in Egypt, whom he claims …have a characteristic reddish skin color as evidence of Hamitic admixture". He points out that he believes the some within the Zulu do have an Hamatic strain (MacGaffey1961), noting that, " Hamitic movements took place at two widely separated periods; that in Paleolithic times the original Hamites arrived in Africa from the northeast, and that between the 11th and 18th centuries AD new migrations of Hamites or Hamiticized peoples took place which contributed to the present distribution of Hamitic traits in northeast Africa" (MacGaffey 1961:179). The authors views on the Nubian movements into northeastern Africa do appear to support Fuzes claim the individuals did move from Egypt into the Sudan.

Of possible significance is that Doke et. al (1937) point to geographic barriers 'channeling' those migrating in a southward movement, along the eastern coast, and 'into slavery'. It would appear therefore plausible that individuals, or groups, bearing the armenoid features, from the Sudan, migrating south from Egypt, could have been 'catapulted', either forcefully or through fear of being enslaved, overland in a southerly direction, 'driven' en masse by, or into, the slave trade being directed through various ports along the east coast of Africa.

The plausibility of this premise is seemingly compounded when one considers that slaves were not being swiftly removed, as I had assumed, via sea to Europe and the Americas, but instead appear to have remained on the south-eastern coast for extended periods of time.

Lovejoy (as cited in Larson (2008:440) indicates that it is, "estimated the slave population of the western and central Sudan in about 1900 at between three and four million… Even in the early nineteenth century, probably more African slaves were held in sub-Saharan Africa than in the rest of the world… , many served for weeks, months, years, and even a decade in Africa before they entered into one of the external commercial systems". Slaves could therefore be sold several times, moving up

and down the Eastern seaboard, via Portuguese and Arab slave routes. Larson (2008:446) continues that, many of the slaves, "mostly outside the Americas, remembered home but achieved some integration into the society of their enslavement through the formation of new kinship and ritual ties and claims upon social and political institution".

Fuze continued that:

> At Pongola, some were confronted by the Dutch East India Company, who captured and enslaved them moving them near Ulund,i between the Pongola and the then named Osuthu River, from which the Usutho polity is named. Here the Musi met with the Ndwandwe. Some were moved down the coast and settled at Port Natal, due to a conflict between the French and the Dutch. This conflict then resulted in the annexation of St Lucia, named after Saint Lucy of Syracuse.
>
> During this period the British arrived in 1791 in the Cape. A Battle for the Cape ensued between the Dutch Cape Colony and the British. Mtumeni sailed with the Dutch to the Cape and fought alongside the British, as a slave, in this conflict. For his involvement in the conflict, Mtumeni was sent to Robben Island.

The British then occupied the Cape for a second time in 1806. After a skirmish between British troops and a Cape burgher militia at Blaauwberg, the Dutch capitulate. All property of the Batavian Government is surrendered to the British (South African History Online 2013).

> Mtumeni was then released from prison after the Dutch and British had reached a resolution regarding the Cape, resulting in it being placed under John Francis Craddock as British Governor of the colony. Craddock was succeeded by Lord Charles Somerset in 1814. Mtumeni joined Francis Owen, Francis Farewell, James Saunders King, John Cane, Henry Ogle and W.H. Davis on a journey by sea along the east coast of South East Africa to Delgoa Bay.

Wylie's (2011:16) comments that these British eyewitnesses, who embarked on this journey and who met with Shaka, were less than credible. Based on contemporary Cape government records, early newspapers, and missionary accounts these men were, "people in poor or questionable circumstances at the Cape". Teenager Nathaniel Isaacs joined the party in St Helena Island en route to Port Natal (Durban) in 1824. Wylie (2011:17) notes that Cape Govenor, Sir Lowry Cole , "cautiously put it in 1828 that Farewell and co, seemed "in their intercourse with Chaka to have had no other object in view but their own advantage" and as " stirring up war wherever they have gone." He continues that Fynn was running from the law at the time and that Isaacs, years later, eventually ended up in Sierra Leone running illicit alcohol and slaves

Reliance on these eyewitnesses, as the only source regarding the events that underpinned the tales of Mfecane and Zulu hegemony under Shaka, upon which various forces have pinned their agendas, presents this alternative, orally recorded, account by Fuze (2013) as a welcome alternative. It might also be considered, that some of this account might also be based on other sources, not revealed in the interview. Fuze did appear to be 'well read'. Fuze (2013) continued that:

> Mtumeni, was taken on the journey as a slave for his ability to serve as a guide and interpreter. He was able to speak Dutch, English, Nguni and some Latin, based on his involvement with Catholic missionaries in the Cape. Mtumeni and the British contingent, were joined by the Musi, referred as the Nyuswa, who departed from Port Natal to meet Shaka at KwaDukuza. Shaka, who by this stage was referred to as *Nkosinkulu* or chief of chiefs, was Mtumeni's cousin. When they arrived Shaka had been wounded in battle. Fynn, a physician, helped Shaka to recover. In return Shaka gave the land between the Mtuvuna river, near Kokstad, and Delagoa Bay to the British. This included *Buholongo* named Port Natal by the British. Fuze (2013) showed me a copy of a letter written by Farewell in 1828 mortgaging this land to the Thompsons in Cape Town, known slave traders, in return for borrowed monies and goods.

Fuze details that, in September of 1828, conflict within Shaka's family resulted in his demise, but disputes that this was at the hand of Dingane who he claims was a Zulu, but not related to Shaka.

Fuze notes a significant separation between the Zulu and Shaka, painting Shaka as geneogically linked to the AmaLala, a praise name for the Musi, meaning the smoke of God, and from which the regional name Msinga or Musi-nga is derived. Fuze claims therefore that the Nyuswa are linked to Shaka, via the Dlamini polity, but not to the current Zulu Royalty. Instead he points to Dingane as partly responsible for attacks on the Nyuswa. Fuze continued:

> With Shaka's death came the burning of the Nyuswa homes in 1828. Chased by Dingane's Zulu army, together with the Dutch, the Nyuswa and the Fynn and Isaacs groups, now consisting of wives and children, fled to the Griqualand Mountains in the Eastern Cape. This is where the Xhosa named the Nyuswa as the*AmaFengu,* or the butterflies, referring to their nomadic ways. Today there is a place called KwaNyuswa near Lusikisiki in the area known as the Transkei or Pondoland.

Fuze explained that the Nyuswa are locked in a dispute with German settlers, who arrived on the ship The Grosvenor, over land claims in this area. He continued that Dingane referred to the Nyuswa derogatorily as the *AmaBhaca* or the hiding ones.

Naidoo (1985) confirms that the broadly held view is that, in 1837 Trekker leader Piet Retief, entered into the Zulu territory of Natal, met with the Zulu Chief Dingane; there is a resultant agreement (Retief recovers some stolen cattle in return for a concession to a part of Natal); there is a sub- sequent meeting of the two leaders; Dingane kills, in February 1838, the unsuspecting Retief and his sixty-seven followers; mortifying and wide- spread attacks on all the Trekker encampments in Natal ensue; the a new contingent of Trekkers gather and defeat Dingane's forces ten months later at 'Blood River'. South African History Online (2013) details that, the amaZulu lose an estimate of three thousand troops in this battle. The region inhabited by the AmaZulu breaks into civil war. Mpande, chief military advisor and brother of the King of the AmaZulu, overthrows Dingane with the assistance of Voortrekkers. The Republic of Natalia annexes the southern region of Zululand. Fuze (2013) explained that those of the Nyuswa who remained in Nongoma fled to Msinga

In the interview Fuze also pointed out that in 1838 Port Natal was attacked by Dingane and the Dutch, who then controlled the port, together with Pietermaritzburg, until 1843 when Natal was annexed by the British with the Nyuswa in tow., and became a British colony (South African History Online 2013). Fuze continued that :

> The British formalised the Natal Colony under Theophilus Shepstone who saw the Nyuswa as a threat, given their numbers. Pietermaritzburg became part of the British Colony, with the establishment of a garrison at Fort Napier. This became Maritzburg County. As a result some of the Nyuswa settled alongside those with whom they had served during the wars.

Wright (1965:166) explains that, "during the 19th Century some of the senior Ngcobo sections re-established themselves south of the Thukela under Natal colonial rule". Some must have also moved North, at some point, as Bryant (1929) places the iNdlunkulu or ancestral home of the Fuze polity at a place called Mafunze near Pietermaritzburg and at the residence of now deceased Nkosi Langalakhe". Although the Mafunse polity exists in this area and Langalakhe can be confirmed as being a chief in that line, the issue of the seminal house being at Mafunse is disputed by Mdu Fuze, claiming that, in his view, a very different version of the lineage from Nkosi Gasela onwards exists. I found Mduduze Fuze to be an almost endless source of information, who was able, without hesitation, to offer broader genealogical contexts, to his accounts. Unfortunately, these have been too extensive and to complex to capture within in this PhD study.

Fuze's overall account, and the various versions, of Nyuswa history, presented thus far in this compiled history do appear to conflict with each other at times. As indicated all of these accounts of Nyuswa history, appear to preceed Shaka's rise, and also point largely, to an initial unwillingness in the leadership to subject to Zulu rule. This unwillingness, until recently, may have been based, on those within the group well versed in the amaNyuswa's migratory origins, offering resilience in retaining a semblance of social identity independence from the amaZulu. The value of such 'heritage' or 'living histories' (Halewood and Hannam 2001) as marketable capital, emerges. Such value in

tourism economies, in serving the apparent need for versions of 'authenticity' could translate as strategic difference towards alleviating poverty. In addition, the significance of this history, is in my view, the basis for an investigation into beadwork's role in manifesting sentiments of socio-political difference.

4.5 Beadwork as validating Historic Accounts

These historic accounts, certainly appear to have facilitated the discovery of other seemingly leading evidence in beadwork artefact, and in photographs of beadwork, through a common appearance - colour use and beadwork structure and design.

As a link to Wright's (1965) notation of the Ngcobo's at the amaFuze settlement at Mafunze, I discovered beadwork, labelled as being Mafunze (Figure 4.5), at Natal Museum during a visit there in 2013. The beadwork bore a striking similiarity to that identified as the Ndwedwe Style, and Southern Style detailed by Boram-Hayes (2005) seen in figure 3.62.



Figure 4.5: Beadwork found at Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg, labeled as Mafunze Zulu, Elandskop as of the Erlandson Collection.

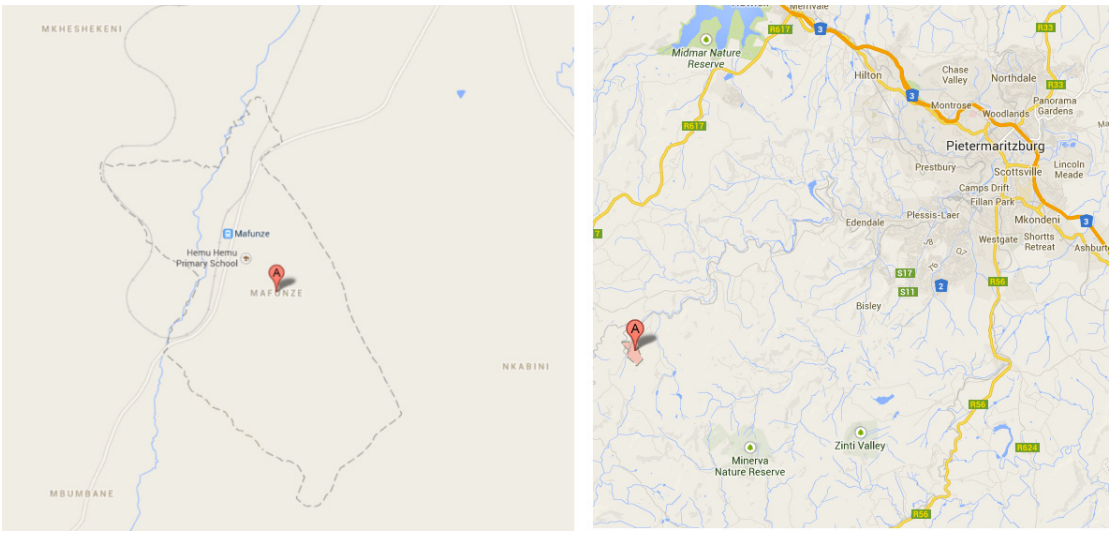


Figure 4.6: LEFT: The Mafunze region Neighbouring Mkeshekeni. RIGHT : Position of Mafunze in relation to Pietmaritzburg, where Mdu Fuze claims the Fuze settled. Google Maps 2014.

Another possible signifier of this connection is apparent on Google Maps (2014), in Figure 4.6. Directly above the Mafunze region is a region called Mkeshekeni, a possible derivative of Mkeshana, Ngcobo's brother. In the 2013 interview Fuze also detailed that:

> Based on the movements of the Nyuswa, the polity are indirectly linked to what are referred to as the traditional authorities of the AmaFunse, AmaFuze; AmaFengu, AmaNgwane, AmaNgwe, Dlamini, Buthelezi, and the AmaBhaca. He continues that in his view, the formalising or categorisation of these polities under favoured chiefs was a means used by Shepstone to 'divide and rule' the large Nyuswa polity.

Although framed by conflicting views, raised in this study, on Shaka's role in Mfecane, which I neither aim to validate or to contest, the following text does appear to point to the diaspora of various groups into the Cape and the movements of the amaNgwane, whom it would appear in a similar manner, detailed in Fuze's account of the amaNyswa's displacement, had also being displaced through the advances of the amaZulu.

It is suggested by (Doke et al. 1937:48), that when the Zulu embarked on empire building in Natal, "numerous tribes were dislodged either directly or indirectly as a result of the ensuing state of war.

Hence early in the nineteenth century many thousands of refugees from Natal began to cross over the Umzimkulu, seeking a new home among the Cape tribes, especially the Xhosa, and among the European colonists. They came both as solid polities, and in large and small bodies of homogeneous or of composite character. Their numbers were further augmented, from another direction, by the fugitive Hlubi of Mpangazitha who had been driven out of Basutoland, whither he had first fled, by Mathiwane and his Ngwane, who were themselves also fugitives from Natal. The latter Chief presently came down into the Colony himself, where in August, 1828, his tribe was broken up in an encounter with European forces. Many of these refugee tribes returned to Natal when peace was then restored. But many others remained behind. The real 'Fingo' (Mfengu) were subsequently led out of Xhosaland but, when later on part of the Western Transkei becoming vacant, they were settled there and still form the bulk of the local population. There are to-day many thousands of completely detribalized Fingo".

As further verification of Fuze's 2013 detailed account of Nyuswa migration or flight from war, and of the naming of the amaFengu a place named KwaNyuswa can still be found near Lusikisiki in the Eastern Cape. See figure 4.7.

Shaw and Warmelo (1998:558) in their accounts of the material culture of the Cape Nguni, and in reference to the staining or dying of mourning attire, detail how, "the immigrant tribes did not originally use red. The Fingo (it is assumed that they are referring to the Fengu) to a large extent adopted the practice with the style of the Xhosa". The text appears to confirm that the Fengu, formerly Nyuswa, were immigrants to Pondoland and that they had begun to assimilate the material cultural traditions of the Xhosa, and so seem to have relinquished their original identity.



Figure 4.7: KwaNyuswa near Lusikisiki, in the former Transkei. Google Maps 2014



Figure 4.8: KwaNyuswa near Lusikisiki, in the Eastern Cape. Gatfield 2014

In March of 2014, I travelled with Mdu Fuze to KwaNyuswa at Lusikisiki. The aim of this visit was to pursue the idea, seemingly evident through discovering a link between the 'Ndwedwe Style' and the 'Southern Style' (Boram-Hayes 2005) with the Mafunze beadwork. The visit was also intended to

simultaneously examine if, the movement of the Nyuswa into the Eastern Cape, as posited my Mdu Fuze and detailed later in this chapter, was accurate. Much of his previous account and the accounts of Shaw and Warmelo (1998), and Doke et. al (1937) were confirmed during this visit. Here we met with Nkosi Samkelo Sigcawu, a Faku chief, who is a descendant of King Faku. He explained that:

> I am the head of this KwaNyuswa region. King Faku had two sons Pondo and Pondomisa. I am a descendant of Pondomisa under whom the Nyuswa people were placed. Here amongst the Nyuswa you will find three major surnames: Ngcobo, Nyuswa and Soyipa.

I encountered numerous individuals with these surnames. One such individual, Wilson Soyipa Ngcobo, contextualised the Nyuswa at KwaNyuswa through his responses:

> Here at Hoombe (place name 10km outside Lusikisiki), we are different from the Nyuswa at Lusikisiki and the Nyuswas at Lambas, near here. We don't call ourselves amaNyuswa, but we are the Ngcobo, there is even a place called kwaNgcobo here. Many Ngcobo call themselves Nyuswa at Lusikisiki, situated at Holy Cross Mission at KwaCele. Here at Hoombe we are converts under the apostolic Church of Africa. Christianity does not go hand in hand with culture, so we have no beadwork. We also no longer cut our faces or conduct *umemulo*, the coming of age ceremony. However those at Hoombe, Lambas and KwaNyuswa all know we are one family and there are those who still practice these things.The thing that made the Nyuswa leave KwaZulu-Natal region was Shaka. When they crossed the Umtamvuna river (border of Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal) running from his forces, we settled at KwaNgcobo or Ngcobozana, as some call it. That time the Nyuswa chief, Mdiya (whose descendants I would later meet in person during this visit) and his brother Nolonda formed KwaNyuswa at Lusikisiki. After Mdiya's death, his wife refused to allow her son to succeed Mdiya as chief. So it was decided that the Faku descendants took over the chieftainship under the Pondomisa lineage. The paramount chief of the Nyuswa is Sigcawu. I never seen any significant difference in attire between the Pondo and Nyuswa they are the same now. However there is no clear difference between the Xhosa and Pondo.

Wilson Ngcobo's account supported Mdu Fuze's account of the Nyuswa movements into the Eastern Cape, and Shaw and Warmelo's (1998) accounts of the material culture of immigrant polities in the area. No reference to the Fingo or Fengu was ever encountered in interviews during my visit. To better understand if the beadwork of those living in KwaNyuswa, in the Eastern Cape, might serve to validate Mdu Fuze's account, which details a 'shadowing' of the British movements, as slaves or servants, I travelled with Nkosi Samkelo Sigcawu to see his sister-in-law, Mrs Nombuyiselo Mali MaSompunzi[59], in KwaNyuswa.



Figure 4.9: An example of Pondomisa dress, the necklaces worn also varying in colour structure and sequence: all seem to follow the 'dotted' style of beading (Gatfield 2014).



[59] It is noteworthy that the prefix 'Ma' denotes her maiden name.

Figure 4.10: An example of Xhosa dress (LEFT) and Pondomisa dress (RIGHT). The necklaces worn (FAR RIGHT) also vary in colour structure and sequence, but all seem to follow the 'dotted' style of beading (Gatfield 2014).

Nombuyiselo makes and rents traditional attire and beadwork. She indicated through photographs and physical examples that no difference exists between the Nyuswa and the Pondomisa people. However the beaded examples she showed indicated otherwise. Although an inconclusive supposition, the examples seen in figures 4.9 and 4.10 point to the possibility that isijolovane may have been adopted by the Faku/Pondomisa lineage, through its multicoloured dotted system of beading, if brought from KwaZulu-Natal during the movements of the Nyuswa over the Umtamvuna River.



Figure 4.11: Mduduzu Fuze (LEFT) with Nkosi Samkelo Sigacawu, a Faku chief, both in Pondo attire (Gatfield 2014).

During this visit, Mdu Fuze, who presented himself as a Nyuswa 'prince', was dressed by Nombuyiselo together with Nkosi Samkelo Sigcawu, the Faku chief, in Pondo attire. This gesture, in visually representing Fuze as being Pondomisa, seemed to emulate the political history of the Nyuswa identity as politically diminished and homogenised into Pondo life and culture. In jest it was stated, after Fuze was dressed, "now you are Pondo".

Finally, the relationship between the Nyuswa and British settlers described by Fuze was further confirmed at Mbotjie on the coast, some 30km from Lusikisiki when visiting Wilson Ngcobo at Hoombe. Directed by acting chief Xoliswa Malindi, who presides over the Mpendkulu district, near the

coastal town of Mbotjie, which she confirmed as a Nyuswa derivative, we encountered a numer of Ngcobo ladies and a Mrs Magubha Caine, who indicated that:

> I am a descendent of John Caine, a coloured man from England, who came to fight people here at Mbotjie. He married eight non-white wives of which I am a descendent. So also I look dark-skinned I am in fact 'coloured'.

Similiarly the wife of Wilson Ngcobo, Mrs Philis Soyipa Ngcobo, whose maiden name is Ogle, indicated that she is a descendent of David Ogle.

This relationship between members of Ngcobo and the early British pioneers is confirmed in the website *South African History Online (2014)*, which details how a township in what is now Durban in the early 1800's, " reaching in size from the Umbilo to the 'Buffalo Spring' was proclaimed, and a set of regulations was drawn up. These included, amongst others, a prohibition upon the construction of indigenous grass structures, and the requirement that homes be built of an acceptable size and style". Although not specifically stated, it must be assumed that these clauses were also designed to act as a deterrent to the kind of "extended families that many of the traders had been gathering about them" (South African History Online 2014), confirming that early settlers had formed families with indigenes.

The article continues: "the 'Buffalo Spring" referred to was probably located near the corner of Field and Smith Streets, where a natural fountain and public well were subsequently located. Land was allocated for a church, a hospital, a cemetery and public buildings, and a '*town*' committee was elected, including Messrs Gardiner, Collis, Berkin, Cane and Ogle" (South African History Online 2014), placing the two men – John Cane and Henry Ogle in the Natal Colony during these early years. The article continues that, " within the year both Collis and Berkin had perished, and Ogle had accompanied Gardiner to the Cape, leaving only Cane to implement these resolutions" (South African History Online 2014). These excerpts and the surnames of the women, appear to point to a connection between the British settlers, Henry Ogle and John Cane, with the Eastern Cape Nyuswa.

Henry Francis Fynn notes in his diary that an Englishman Henry Ogle was a 'mechanic', one of three that arrived on the ship the *Julia* in May. The other two Englishmen in the party were Henry Francis Fynn and John Cane. The article confirms that Ogle went to the Cape in 1835 with Captain Allen Gardiner and revisited the country of Faku after hostilities had ceased. Later in this same edition of Natalia (1974) it is also confirmed that John Cane, described as a carpenter, was sent to the Cape by Shaka to obtain massacar oil (Webb, Clark, Judd and Farrer 1974), thereby indicating that both Ogle and Cane might have spent time in the Eastern Cape en route to the Western Cape.

The uncanny commonality in surnames between the two Nyuswa women and the settlers speaks more broadly to the close relationship between the enslaved individuals of the Nyuswa and the British settlers while fleeing from the Dutch, as indicated in Mdu Fuze's account. Fuze continues that:

> As the Dutch retreated, some of the Nyuswa returned to Natal, to find 'greener pastures' away from the Dutch and the British. Zikali, Mtumeni's brother formed the amaNgwane at Msinga, which through internal faction split to form two polities, the amaNgwane and AmaNgwe under Nkosi Putini".

In my view beadwork of the amaNgwane, seen in figure 3.42, located at Bergville, and very similar beadwork in design or beadwork structure, but which uses a different palette seen in figure 3.43 (which by postulation could be the beadwork of the amaNgwe, located in neighbouring Escort), respectively appear to bear no resemblance to the Ndwedwe Style, Southern Style, the Beadwork found at Mafunze, or at KwaNyuswa in the Eastern Cape. However when reviewing Fuze's account of the Nyuswa's move north to Msinga, new evidence connecting the polity's displacement, began to emerge



Figure 4.12: The tag reads: “From the Berg given Mrs E (Erlandson) from a Greytown friend who got it from a person who was there making it.” Erlandson Collection (Natal Museum 2011). Greytown falls into the Msinga region (Gatfield, 2012).

I encountered beadwork bearing the same striking resemblance to the Ndwedwe beadwork, encountered by Boram-Hayes in figure 3.62, at the Natal Museum, in Pietermaritzburg in 2011. This beadwork seen in figure 4.12 was labelled as being from Greytown, in the Msinga region, pointing to a possible connection between those in Mafunze; KwaNyuswa in the Eastern Cape, Greytown and at Ndwedwe,

Fuze continued that:

> The some Nyuswa then moved, with French missionaries, to Basutholand, later renamed Lesotho, when the Dutch annexed Msinga. Together with Pietermaritzburg, the Dutch formed the Boer Republic of Natalia. Lesotho was then annexed by the British, resulting in the return of some of the Nyuswa and the Fynn group to Port Natal. The Nyuswa settled at Mzinyathi or Nkumba-Nyuswa, near Mavela, and Qiniselani MaNyuswa at KwaNyuswa, wherein this study is located and wherein beadwork (see figure 4.8) very similar to that at Umkomaas, Msinga, Pietermaritzburg was located pointing to a firm link between the historic record, geographic place names and the beadwork itself.

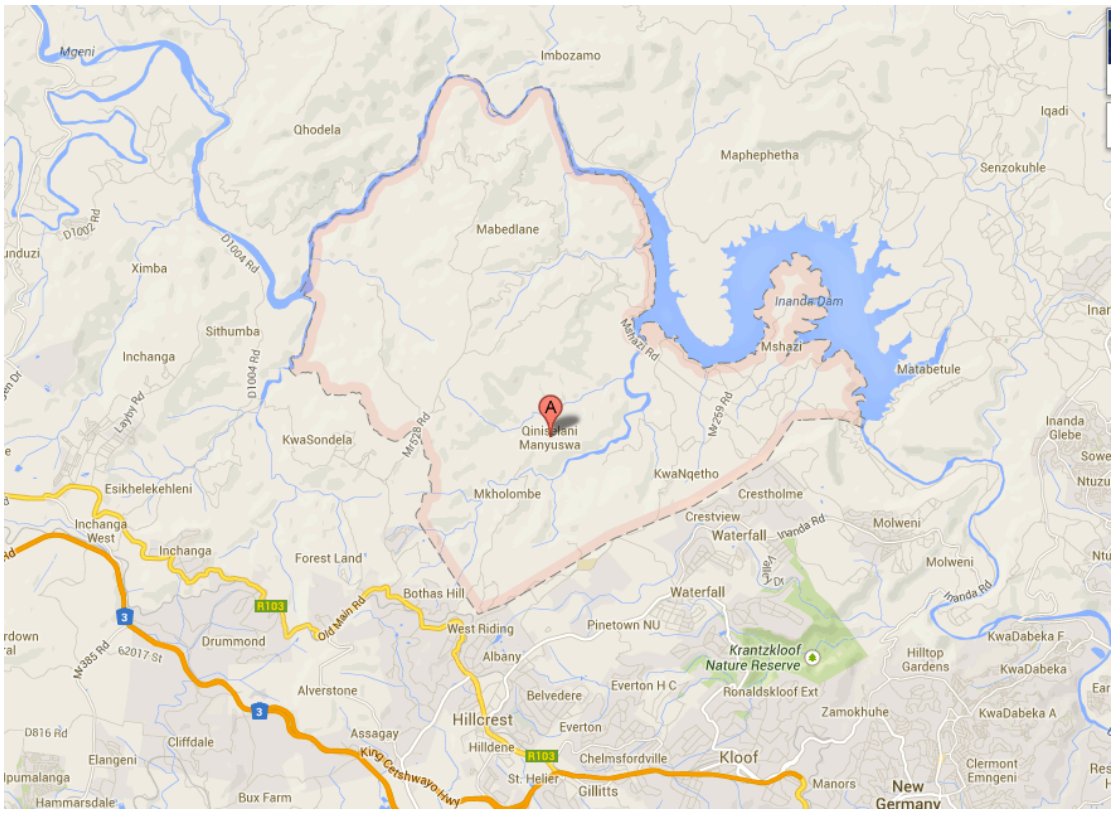


Figure 4.13: Map of the research site Qineselani Manyuswa, with Nkumba Nyuswa and the Mavela House, North East of Qineselani, on the other side of Inanda Dam. Google Maps 2014

Fuze (2013) added that:

> By 1862 the establishment of land reserves, politically demarcated to favour co-operative chiefs, who were prepared to enforce and administer tax collection and indentured labour, together with the imposition of Christianity by the British, which resulted in an internal conflict amongst the Nyuswa. Some of the Nyuswa, returning from Lesotho, settled at Port Natal, and some at Umkomaas.

Beadwork and visual signifiers particular to the Nyuswa dress specifically described as being from the Umkomaas/Pennington/ Ngcobo region were encountered at Phansi Museum in Durban (Fig. 4.14 and Fig. 4.15), as depicted in Morris and Preston-Whyte's book *Speaking With Beads* (1994). In the 2013 interview Fuze noted the existence of a Nyuswa polity at Emagangeni near Umkomaas (see Figure 4.16 below), and that the polity also exists at IXopo.





Figure 4.14: LEFT: Various beadwork on display from Umkomaas, Phansi Museum (Gatfield 2011)

Figure 4.15: RIGHT: Women at Ngcobo are seen wearing dress and beadwork that appear to be visually linked to that in Msinga, KwaNyuswa and Pietermaritzburg (Morris and Preston-Whyte 1994).

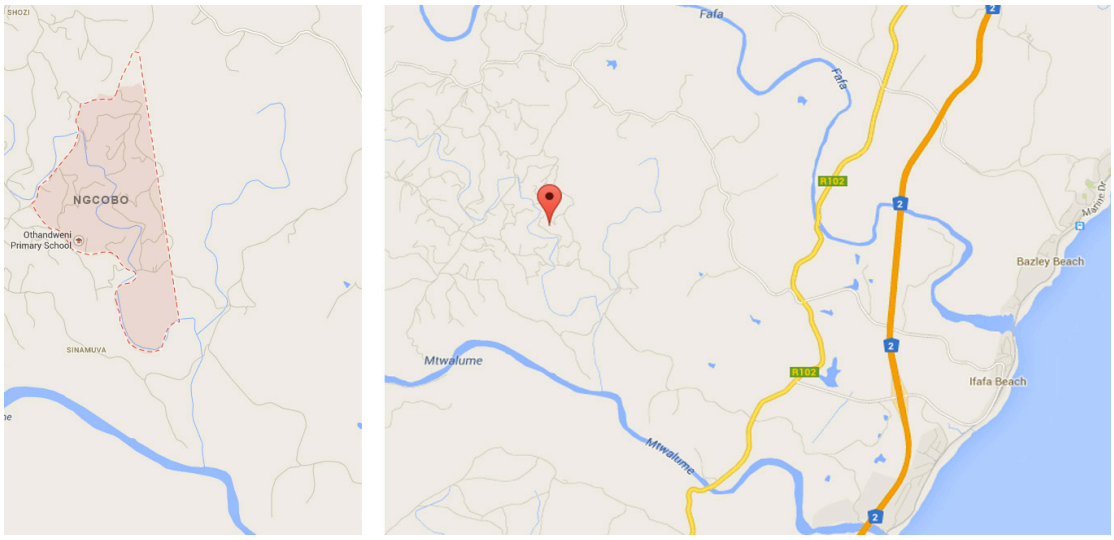


Figure 4.16: Ngcobo situated near Umkomaas and Pennington Beach. Google Maps 2014



Figure 4.17: KwaNyuswa situated inland from Port Shepstone near Oribi Gorge. Google Maps 2014

In all cases the beadwork bore very similar colour constructs, namely a 'base' or background of black, interspersed with a multicoloured assortment of beads. Fuze's (2013) account of the movements of the Nyuswa, Ngcobo and Fuse, Fuze, Mafunze or Mafunse began to offer a direct connection to the geography, as seen in the various Google Maps in this chapter, and the beadwork found at some of the sites mentioned by him.

Fuze (2013) continued that this history serves to illustrate his lineage as follows:

> Douglas Mduduzi Fuze, seen in figure 4.18; formerly with the surname Ngcobo; is the son of David Ngcobo; son of Joseph Ngcobo; son of David Ngcobo; son of Kadupi Ngcobo , son of Mazinyana Ngcobo, alias Nondela; son of Nkosi Gasela Ngcobo; son of Nkosi Mtumeni Goliath, referred to as Nkulunkulu, David, Steelman Ngcobo, son of Nkosi Mlilo or fire as misinterpreted by the American missionaries to mean Fuse, appropriated by Nguni speakers as being Fuze; who can be traced back to being related to Nkosi Suswayo of the Musi.



Figure 4.18: Mduduze Fuze sitting with Doctor Thelma T. Ngcobo, great granddaughter of former Chief Dikwayo, of the Mavela House of the Nyuswa.

Fuze's (2013) account speaks directly of the Dutch and the Zulu, under Dingane, as displacing the large polity across the province, which addresses the favoured assumption that *mfecane* under Shaka was the cause of this.

However, Wylie (1994) offers another perspective on the cause of the displaced polities, explaining that Julian Cobbing, who produced a series of reports attacking the common understanding of *mfecane*, noted that the Zulu were not the motor of violence in the early 1800's, nor were drought, trade, competition, or colonial pressures from the south. Rather, Cobbing acknowledges an uprise of aggression, and that the Zulu were involved, but points to the primary culprit as slavery by the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay, and mounted Griquas, from the west.

Wylie (1994:10) continues that investigations by Carolyn Hamilton and John Wright into Twentieth Century oral traditions inadvertently support Cobbing's position by highlighting that the Zulu state was considerably smaller than Fynn had alleged – approximately half of what King Zwelithini had claimed – and was nowhere near the national monolith broadly claimed. Rather it was the product of "a fragile palimpsest of some outright conquests, numerous marriage alliances and various undependable tributaries".

Fynn and Isaac's respective reports of Mfecane and Shaka, seem to have enjoyed acclaim and to have been perpetuated in various forms. Stevenson et. al (2000:15) speak of the "myth of the Zulu as a warrior nation, which was actively fostered both in the press and by London shows, featuring Zulu-speaking men wearing full ceremonial military dress". The authors (2000) point to early traders and missionaries who visited Shaka and his successor Dingane in the 1820s and 1830s being the origins of this myth. The myth was then later reinforced by the 1849 publication of *The Kafirs illustrated*, which "celebrated the exoticism of the Zulu speaking communities". This document, featured lengthy descriptions of military prowess and barbarism of the Zulu 'monarch' and his subjects". It is probably safe to assume that less dramatic approaches to the *mfecane* story might not have sold as many copies.

To entertain lengthy discussions of Shaka, his role in mfecane and his relationship to the Zulu seems at best, an infinite pursuit, given that most records either return to the accounts of the Farewell party or are reliant on oral tradition which as demonstrated varies between informants.

Further, all literature that I have encountered in this study directly or indirectly perpetuates the idea that Shaka was connected to the Zulu, and was a leader of the polity. It did come at some surprise to hear Fuze claim that Shaka was instead more closely related to the Nyuswa. Fuze explained that Mtumeni and Shaka were cousins. He claims that in 1824 Mtumeni tooks his 'masters', Farewell, Fynn and Caine to meet Shaka at KwaDukuza, Shaka was injured through battle. He claims that the popular story of party playing a role in Shaka's healing is accurate. It is also accurate that Shaka allocated land to the British at *Bohlongo,* a Suthu word, or as named by the British, Port Natal, demarcated as being from Mtumvuna River to Delagoa Bay. This land was later mortgaged to the Thompsons in Cape Town, British slave traders, for goods and money owed (Fuze showed me a copy of this mortgage agreement.). Fuze also explained that in September of 1824 that year, conflict within Shaka's family occurred resulting in the death of Shaka.

During informal conversation Fuze revealed that in his view it was more likely that the personality, who is said to have been responsible for some of the widespread war and hegemony across South East Africa was not Shaka, but Dingane, who was indeed Zulu.

It would appear that no certainty might ever be reached on these matters of Shaka. Instead what is apparent is that amidst these various versions of the Nyuswa legacy, those authors who speak specifically of the Nyuswa do so in a manner that places the polity firmly as preceding Zulu hegemony, thereby further dispelling the position that the Zulu identity is representative of a single 'primordial' group, as seems so often to have been historically inferred. Of these versions of the Nyuswa History, Fuze's oral record, recorded at his home in June 2013, which at appears at times, to draw on texts rather than on oral tradition but which however, has in this study, undergone a significant amount of scrutiny, and has in most cases been corroborated through other sources. In some cases I revisited

Fuze, to further interrogate various parts of the record, which he defended with the assistance of Church records, historic documents, and literature.

Further, the beadwork found at Umkomaas, Elandskop in Pietermaritzburg and at Msinga all seem to be distinctly different from the beadwork found in Zululand, of the Mandlakazi, Mahlabathini and Usuthu polities closest to the Zulu King, mentioned in the previous chapter. These examples of beadwork, from regions coinciding with Fuze's 2013 oral record as being places where the Nyuswa settled, bear striking similarities to each other.

However, as already indicated there is a general consensus that polities such as the Nyuswa are or 'should' be deemed amaZulu. Like Winston Churchill, Fuze in the 2013 interview puts it, "the history of KwaZulu-Natal has been written by the victors".

4.6 Ideological and theoretical impact on the Nyuswa Identity

It would seem apparent that the approximately 60-year campaign to perpetuate Zulu hegemony was hugely successful, resulting in the suppression of these visual identities in the public domain and in the minds of those directly linked to the Nyuswa or Ngcobo.



Figure 4.19: iModeni or isiModeni Style, the multicolour, homogenized visual system (Gatfield 2012)

Interviews conducted during 2012 and 2013, with some of the Qadi, Nyuswa and Mbo, point to a relatively complete acceptance of the Zulu identity as being of a single origin, or as being

unquestionably innate. Very little questioning of this identity was ever raised by those interviewed, over the six-month period of field interviews. Most described their beadwork convention as being Zulu, acknowledging the beadwork convention as being regional and merely as a consequence of personal taste and creativity. In addition those interviewed failed to distinguish the *isiModeni* style as being a homogenised 'Zulu' style, or a hybridized version comprised of regionalised or polity-based beadwork influences. Instead most of those interviewed, often mix the two styles together in their dress worn at ceremonial affairs.

In an interview, conducted at Mondini, on the western border of KwaNyuswa on 8th March 2013, with beadworker and Sangoma Zinhle Blose, an interesting position emerged. Blose is part of the omaBlose polity. When questioned about her identity she remarked:

> We live here in the land of the Blose, borrowed from the Nyuswa, but I am Zulu before I am Blose. I was born a Zulu, this is all I know, although my maiden name is Majola, I married into the Blose polity. Us Blose women get together and organize our beadwork and outfits, the Blose way. We know that we are a conquered people. If a tribe like the Zulu conquers your people then you must become Zulu. I accept that identity as my own. This is our way.



Figure 4.20: Omablose women: Evidence of negotiated, collective beadwork identity. (Gatfield 2012)

Similarly, most of those interviewed, in a manner indicative of dual identity, spoke of a secondary polity-based identity. They first acknowledged the existence of their respective traditional authorities and amakosi, then later affirmed their Zulu identity.

The general view was that traditional authority and the role of the Inkosi, was only to resolve petty grievances and to reside over traditional ceremonies. Zinhle Blose explained that, "the OmaBlose do not answer to an inkosi, but to a ward councillor". Broadly the consensus was that the amakosi no longer play a significant role in their society.

Further, as symptomatic of this communal resolve, it appeared that the significance of beadwork had been diminished to being viewed as merely a means from which to generate an income or as an optional inclusion at traditional ceremonies and that this beadwork was also 'Zulu'.

This broad position on polity identity and beadwork amongst those interviewed, pointed to a very powerful underpinning acculturation process. These responses have been a source of motivation, and as a basis for this study's enquiry into the range of possible influences that may have served to diminish, in those interviewed, a sense of identity and locality. Further, the aforementioned history of the Nyuswa serves to illustrate that the Nyuswa polity and all its offshoots,were not part of a cohesive/singular Zulu identity, but rather the victims of ideological agendas.

Stevenson et al (2000) explain that the British position during the late 1800s, regarding those within what is now KwaZulu-Natal, subscribed to explanations of barbarism as the basis for a 'civilization' process and as a means to rationalise white supremacy and a process of strategic essentialism and segregationism.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Natal's first Secretary for Native Affairs described the Zulu as, "despotic and arbitrary" Martens [60](2008:124) and he warned in 1846 that " the short-sighted and cruel policies of the amaZulu had forced thousands of refugees, 'wearied by turmoil and war' to flee to Natal for British protection", thus motivating that "it was therefore the responsibility of the colonial government to provide a counterpoint to Zulu despotism and to 'proceed at once with the worthy project of Christianising and civilising 100 000 degraded human beings".

Most of the women I interviewed were practicing Christians, either Roman Catholic or Lutheran, or belonged to separatist religions such as Shembe or Zionism. In his explanation of the Nyuswa in 2013, Fuze speaks very proudly of the Nyuswa being distinctively Christian, as indicative of a longstanding relationship with the British and their allies. He explained that some of the Nyuswa were referred to as the *amaKholwa*[61], a point seemingly relevant to the development of Nyuswa identity, or Nyuswaness , seemingly distinctive in its pursuit of modernity.

Fuze explained, in recounting the Nyuswa story, that Christianity and education served to cement a willingness amongst the Nyuswa to disenfranchise themselves from culturally orientated spiritual practice, and to also distance themselves from cultural law, allowing themselves instead to be governed by Christian/Western law.

In her book, *Magema Fuze: The Making of a Kholwa Intellectual* (2011:23) Mokena Hlonipha points out that the *amakholwa* served as, "intermediaries between traditional and colonial society. In this controversial position, the kholwa became a de facto comprador, class trafficking in the modernity of the political system while simultaneously speaking on behalf of and representing native opinion". As a culmination of this seemingly 'uncomfortable' political position, she details how in a petition,

[60] Jeremy Martens makes these notations in his chapter entitled, Enlightenment Theories of Civilisation and Savagery in *British Natal: The Colonial Origins of the (Zulu) African Barbarism Myth, as cited in Carton et.al* (2008)

[61] Mokoena (2009) notes that "the relative 'success' of the missionary endeavour appeared in the small and growing number of converts to Christianity who were literate and therefore no longer confined to an oral culture only. By the end of the nineteenth century, observers could identify an incipient 'class' of educated and literate Africans, amakholwa or 'believers'. Author, Magema Magwaza Fuze was one of these literati: an aspirant kholwa intellectual, he was a printer by profession and an assistant to the controversial John William Colenso, the Bishop of Natal".

addressed to the then governer of Natal, Sir Garnet Wolseley, “which demanded a clarification of the amakholwa’s status as British subjects” stating”

> Now here is our lament. If a white man goes to law with a black, we hear it is said that the case is tried by Kafir Law or Dutch Law. We fled from Zulu country because of fearing Kafir Law, and came to place ourselves under the Dutch Government, but their treatment to us was too bad. And when the English Government arrived, we placed ourselves under it, and the missionaries taught us so we rejoiced. But now the Government wishes to drive us back again by saying we ought to serve our old law which drove us from Zululand through fear, whereas we know now that the British are a light nation. We came here being young, and now we are grown older – here is our question: How can a man become to be of English? (Mokena 2011:22).

Although unclear as to the impact of this choice on individual conceptions of identity as being Nyuswa, what is clear is that early settlers and colonialists were dismissive of polity identities. These texts by Mokena appear to reinforce much of Mdu Fuze’s account, in offering a time marker of 1875, for these events, and in showing the dynamics, and tensions, between Nyuswa identity and the identities of multiple hegemonic forces. This account also speaks to the Nyuswa diaspora, as a history of subjugation and displacement.

As previously acknowledged by Stevenson et al (2000), the broad public position by settlers and consequently missionaries, who had no doubt been influenced by the constructed accounts of amaZulu history, firmly ignored the subtleties of kinship relationships, viewing all non-settlers as broadly Zulu. With this view in mind, one may begin to better understand the ideology, perspectives, strategies and the impact of the American and British Missionaries who came to Natal in serving the ends of the Shepstone administration.

Vilakazi (1965:118) points out in his study of the Qadi and the Nyuswa that during 1905,Robert Plant, an Inspector of African Schools in Natal, observed the difference between Zulu traditionalists and

Christian Zulu converts, in relation to the work of missionaries. Plant noted that, “whatever may be our personal estimate of the motives which actuate the individual missionary; the creed that any particular church may seek to teach; or the relative value of religion and business ability, the fact can neither be ignored nor disputed that the combined efforts of these missionaries have been a powerful influence in the formation of the character of a very large number of natives; a number not only constantly increasing but also adopting a special type of living; so that there are found existing side by side two very distinct classes….So wide is the distance that separates them (the Christians) intellectually, industrially and morally from original brethren, that it must be surely recognized that they ought to be judged by a different standard.”

The relationship between Christianity and labour seemed to be of particular interest to the missionary agenda. Vilakazi (1965:119) continues that, “all mission stations taught about the dignity of labour and condemned laziness as a positive sin. So strong is this that it has been passed on to and accepted by the Separatist Churches”. Among the Shembeites, a very strong religious group amongst the Qadi, “ ‘work’ has entered into the prayer book and the litany of the Church”.

Mdu Fuze explained that the Nyuswa who settled at Ndwedwe and Qineselani were immediately forced to convert to Christianity. Christian conversion, indentured labour and the control over chieftainships emerge as key themes of the British agenda.

Referring to the “barbaric nature of the ‘Zulu’ ”, Shepstone, in defense of the system of governance that he had implemented, noted that, “So long as the social condition of the natives is what it is chieftainship and tribalism are necessary. They are necessary to give us proper control of them, and proper control they must have. Their ancient institutions may be faulty, but they are efficient, and can be made so for the purposes of enlightened government…civilisation will undermine them by the gradual but sure process of enforcing the fitness of things” (Martens as cited in Carton 2008:122). The mechanics of such thinking, although astounding was seemingly very real for early colonialists who structured their intentions in four stages.

Martens (2008:123) speaks of Shepstone's position as being underpinned by Enlightenment theory in which all societies, situated on a scale between savagery and civilisation, "naturally passed through four economic stages. Each phase corresponds to a different mode of subsistence. Hunting communities gradually evolved into pastoral societies, which over time, developed agriculture. Eventually agricultural communities made the final progression to commercial society, the apogee of human organisation."

Martens (2008:126) notes that this theory was later practically manifested in a 1847 Natal Locations Commission Report in which Shepstone's native administration was outlined, pointing out that "the administration of the law involve chiefs and councillors" as a means to," avert anarchy and confusion… of savage societies suited to despotic rule". In this way indirect rule was implemented via the chieftainships. He continues that indirect rule was underpinned by a number of factors: Namely, " the strength of Nguni institutions, the unwillingness of the British to spend large sums of money on African administration, the pragmatic 'genius' of Shepstone and the practical necessity of cultivating indigenous allies to safeguard colonial security.

The decision to manage the Natal Colony, and those of the Nguni conquered in battle, through the chieftainships, marks a significant milestone in this chapter. Shepstone's pragmatic approach to cost-effectively managing the Nguni seems, ironically, to have preserved polity structures and notably their respective cultural practices and ethnic designations. As previously noted, and as an irony, these socio-political structures, or groups, were being referred to by British settlers as broadly Zulu, while those in power acknowledged the various ethnic designations.

Noteworthy is the role beadwork played in the context of ethnic designation. Stevenson et al. (2000:33) note that it is generally assumed that beadwork styles, "give expression to some or other aspect of group identity. The authors continue that this was particularly relevant during the 20th century when successive white governments relied on these ethnic distinctions to allocate land to various black communities.

Mdu Fuze confirmed in my interview with him in 2013 that the present day polities of the amaBaso, amaBhaca, amaNgwane, and Ngongoma are all originally of the Nyuswa, purposefully officiated as independent polities, as a strategy to disempower the large Nyuswa polity. The name 'Ngongoma', as indicated on Bryant's chieftainship descriptions (Figure 4.3) or *Imindeni* recording lineages of the Ngcobo polity, is merely the consequence of a misunderstanding between British officials querying the Nyuswa about their origins, based on the Nyuswa origins in 'Nongoma' in Zululand.

The assistant Curator, of Eshowe Fort Museum[62], who I interviewed in 2012, points to the Mabaso, Bhaca and Ngwane as all having their own distinct beadwork styles. However it should be noted that prior to British intervention in polity structure and the consequential development of new polity-based beadwork conventions, it would appear that Shaka also played a role in the development of beadwork identity. Stevenson et al. (2000:25-27) note that, according to Nathanial Isaacs, "the contrast between the use of beads by Shaka's subjects and those of the Zulu Royal family was immediately and intentionally apparent". Shaka had an aversion to commercial trade and made it very clear to traders that he would not be willing to tolerate any attempts to sell beads directly to his subjects. Beadwork seemed to be reserved for royal use. Dingane and Mpande also apparently made extensive personal use of beads.

The effects on the evolution of polity denotation of the Zulu royal family's and elites' control is not entirely clear except to note that in some areas, it was discovered that the need to actively assert a common identity, prior to the arrival of white settlers appears not to have been particularly pressing. Later, after the arrival of traders, the acquisition of beads, outside of the Zulu Kingdom, became commonplace. Numerous groups who had a long opposition to Shaka, and who were sometimes forced into tributary relations developed very distinctive styles of dress and personal adornment in an attempt to highlight their difference from their Zulu-speaking neighbours to the north. (Stevenson et al. 2000:35) This would most likely have been the scene that Shepstone encountered, during Mpande's reign.

[62] The interview was conducted with the Assistant Curator of the Eshowe Fort Museum, at Eshowe, in June 2012

Despite his disdain for Mpande, whom he referred to as ‘a capricious tyrant presiding over a land rife with murder and bloodshed’, Shepstonevalued the chiefs and their role in administrating patriarchal command, as they facilitated centralised governance and industry as a means to encourage “ a taste for the comforts and luxuries of civilised life” (Martens 2008:123). Shepstone’s administration consequently instituted a Hut tax in the Natal Colony, and later in 1888 in Zululand; and a marriage tax in 1869..In the wake of the death of Cetshwayo’s the last Zulu king to lead the regiments into battle during the Zulu War against the British from 1879 to 1882, a second, yet short-lived revolt followed (Martens 2008). This act of defiance seems to mark an important start to organised resistance. Although openly violent, it speaks to the growing dissent around the treatment of the indigenes, who had reorganised themselves to oppose these taxes.

The revolt, which was led by Chief Bambatha of a minor polity in Umvoti, came to be known as the Bambatha Rebellion, in which Dinizulu was implicated. Dinuzulu was later acquitted of having encouraged or participated in the rebellion, although he was convicted of having sheltered the family of Bambatha during the rebellion, as well as of owning unregistered firearms. Dinuzulu was imprisoned for four years, and subsequently banished from Natal; he died in exile in 1913 (Redding 2000:33). Redding (2000) describes this as a reluctant rebellion: Africans were not eager to rebel, but the history of colonialism, which culminated in the imposition of the poll tax, combined with the heavy-handed actions on the part of Natal officials in stamping out the early phases of the revolt, forced many Africans into revolt as a defensive measure. Land shortages resulting from white expropriation, and the increasingly widespread system of labor migration were undermining social and economic structures within the rural areas. The revolt "was the last armed resistance to proletarianisation by Africans, and a crucial moment in the consolidation and restructuring of colonial domination and settler accumulation in twentieth-century South Africa. Thus the rebellion was a defense of African social structures as well as of territory (Redding (2000:34).



Figure 4.21: The grave of Chief Sotobe Ngcobo ka Dikwayo ka Mkalewa ka Mavela. The isibongo or surname of Sotobe, articulated as the names of his forefathers, is indicative of the *umndeni* or lineage of the chieftainship of the Mavela House of the Nyuswa polity as confirmed by Vilakazi (1965) and Bryant (1964).

In June 2013 I visited the Mavela House of the Nyuswa Polity at which the members of the polity were acknowledging deceased Inkosi Sotobe Ngcobo, and Inkosi Dikwayo Ngcobo who according to Fuze detailing in 2013 that he had died:

> As a well respected man, having defied to participate in the so called Bambata Rebellion in 1906 and who used his influence amongst all his tribe and family members to such ends. This is why my great grandfather had also escaped arrest after this rebellion since he did not participate, under Sotobe's strict guidance. For his action the government rewarded him with more land.

Redding (ibid.) continues that, "for whites, the rebellion became an opportunity to crush not only the vestiges of the Zulu military state, but also the rural Zulu homestead which impeded the free flow of labourers out of the rural areas and onto white-owned farms and industries.

Resistance against 'white' dominance was then to become a permanent sub-theme in the history of South East Africa. Shepstone's use of the polity structures to serve his ends seem to have resulted in those very structures rallying in defense of the basic unit of living, the homestead, in which beadwork is made and culture is propagated.

However, in the context of this study the focus on the defense of the homestead, the pastoral way of life, land, culture and heritage, towards a focus on unified 'black' resistance against oppression and racism also marks another significant influence or shift, for those of the Nyuswa, towards seeing themselves as broadly 'black' or as African,- a racial distinction, or as Zulu - a political distinction. It is in this mode of resistance and later in a mode of regional solidarity among migrant workers, that polity identities such as that of the Nyuswamay well have taken a 'back seat'.

Wright (2008:39) explains that during the late 1800's it is not possible to say how far people were actively identifying themselves as Zulu. Some saw Dinizulu as paramount among chiefs and others were ambivalent or hostile in their attitudes. However the rapid growth in migrant labour from the rural areas of Natal and Zululand to towns such as Johannesburg from the 1890's onwards would have served to foster the development, particularly amongst younger men who constituted the bulk of migrants, of an overarching generic identity. It is likely that where they came into competition with men from other regions, for jobs, accommodation and access to women, they started to develop the beginnings of a regional solidarity and to take on the identity that white settlers, and probably Africans from other areas, had long conferred indiscriminately on black people from Natal and Zululand, that of Zulu.

Harries (1993:110) details that "although it seems unlikely that many people living south of the Tugela would have identified themselves as Zulu", which would likely include the Nyuswa, "migrant workers employed beyond the borders of the colony readily did so. "Zulu" was a classificatory label, used by both employers and workers in the diamond and gold fields, which could be exploited to the benefit of migrants arriving from Natal/Zululand. These men not only saw themselves reflected as a group in the eyes of their employers and peers; they also found a valuable source of community, respect, and

assistance in the title. "Zulus" were, from the 1870's onwards, highly visible as protagonists in the faction fighting that interrupted life on the railway works, as well as the diamond and gold fields of South Africa". Wright (2008) also points out that solidarity under the Zulu banner by those previously unsupporting of the royal house was propelled by concerns amongst those suffering increasing hardships and uncertainty under white domination. Most evident was an occasion at Eshowe in 1925 when 60 000 gathered to acclaim Solomon kaDinizulu as their king. Wright's views serve to depict the dynamic nature of identity as subject to influence and circumstance.

Stets and Burke (2000) speak of how in Identity Theory the self is reflexive, it can self-categorise, classify and name itself. In this way an identity is formed. Similarly in Social Identity theory, a social identity is a person's knowledge that he or she belongs to a social category or group. He speaks of the phenomenon of 'in-group' and 'out group' classification' – the us and them, as the result of emotional, evaluative correlation or as a process of social comparison.In the context of social identity theory it is not difficult to imagine that in the face of overwhelming adversity and hardship, language played an important role in facilitating in-group categorization and social identity formation, on the basis of commonalities of belief system, tradition and the behavioural norms of those from Zululand and KwaZulu-Natal. This Zulu identity groundswell, based on survival and circumstance may have then coincided with ideologists set on perpetuating ideals of Zulu Nationalism and an awareness of 'being black', as more than skin color. Harries (1993:109) speaks of this "identity as a resource" manipulated by an educated elite, in response to a "subordination of the interests of the black population to those governing whites".

Harries (1993:112) explains that, "language was not the only cultural marker uniting historically disparate peoples as Zulu. The Zulu king was perceived as a crucial symbol, linking the people north and south of the Tugela in a new, and yet historical, Zulu community. By portraying the king and the Zulu language as traditional symbols that bound Zulu-speakers within a new and expanded political space, the petty bourgeoisie[63] was able to unite disparate communities into the most powerful ethnic

[63] These were the mission-educated Kholwa, many of whom were descendants of refugees from the Zulu kingdom. These teachers, traders, and commercial farmers were members of a class whose vision of the world had long been marked by a wish to be accepted by European society. Their identity had been equally marked by an ardent desire to distance themselves from

alliance in South Africa. At a grassroots level this new concept of tribe provided people, uprooted and disoriented by colonialism, with a means of reasserting patriarchal and tribal controls that were more familiar than the popular radicalism of the period. What is equally clear is that, while Zulu symbolism was traditional, its content was decidedly modern. By looking at the imagery of the old Zulu kingdom, the petty bourgeoisie sought to unite traditionalists and modernizers; to reinforce the space that they had defined, they encouraged the belief in a shared past".

This reinvigoration of the Zulu Identity on the Johannesburg Goldfields, propelled by the realities of what Vilakazi (1965) describes as "a spiritual and cultural desert" served a need "for a messiah to lead them out of the desert" (Harries 1993:111), amongst those in KwaZulu-Natal in which western ways were being copied to the degree that Zulu society had become "social chaos".

4.7 Black Consciousness, Inkatha and Zuluness

Two significant ideologies emerged during the early 1970's, namely that of Black Consciousness and Zuluness, each led by what some might have deemed to be the necessary 'messiahs' of that time. Temkin (2000:140) in his book *Buthelezi: A Biography* speaks of Steve Biko's 1971 description of black consciousness as being, "the realization by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the course of their disaffection –the blackness of their skin…It seeks to infuse the black community with a new found pride in themselves, their value systems, their culture, their religion and their outlook on life".

The excepts by Temkin and Harries serve to highlight the collective interest in critical mass, the development of new identities and the reinvention of old ones with which to oppose the oppressor, during the 70's, possibly at the expense of 'lesser' identities.

The campaign for Black Consciousness was directed by Steve Biko. However, the most notable purveyor of Zulu Nationalism, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who served as Premier of KwaZulu-Natal, and

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what they perceived as the "barbarous" Zulu state north of the Tugela river. But their politics of gradualist assimilation was rapidly transformed when it became obvious that one of the cornerstones of the new Union of South Africa, founded in 1910, was the subordination of the interests of the black population to those of the governing whites (Harries 1993:110)

who continues to serve as traditional premier of the Zulu and leader of the IFP is quoted as saying that he “independently concluded, many years earlier, that new organisations had to be developed, in which a growing black identity could be used to promote self advancement and self determination”, purporting that that this was the real motivation for Inkatha (Temkin 2003:141). Buthelezi is credited with recreating Inkatha, in consultation with the ANC in 1973. (Klopper 1996, Harries 1993, Temkin 2003). Yet, Piper (2002:73) details that in, ”South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy the most virulent opposition to change came from Zulu nationalism”.

Zulu nationalism involved the representation of the Zulu, during the apartheid years, “in primordial terms, as a bounded group that historically has occupied both Natal and the old pre-colonial kingdom. The Bantustan of KwaZulu, delineated and defined by the policy of apartheid, was presented as the natural heir to the Zulu kingdom, and the Inkatha Freedom Party was portrayed as the guardian of the essence of Zuluness” (Piper 2002:105). In post-apartheid South Africa, however, Zulu nationalism appears to have largely diminished in value and relevance

This, Piper (2002:73) claims is because “Zulu nationalism was instrumentally invoked and jettisoned by the Inkatha Freedom Party. Beginning in 1975, Inkatha embraced a `third way' resistance politics between `acquiescence' in apartheid and `impossible' militant resistance. It was only later that Inkatha turned to Zuluness when it was out-competed by the ANC and allies, first over the leadership of resistance politics and secondly during the transition”.After 1994 the value of Zulu nationalism, as a means to garner support, significantly subsided. However, ‘land’ appears to have facilitated a basis for Zuluness, in physical and symbolic terms.

As previously detailed ‘land’ is a Zulu symbol, as in King Zwelithini’s 2013 speech at Hillcrest, ‘land’ is seemingly positioned as an intrinsic extension of being Zulu, and so apparently continues, to serve as a means of maintaining control of people, through its function as a cultural symbol. In this way the formation of the Zulu Bantustan state appears to have served to cement both Zulu positions and the idea of land as a right. This ‘formation’, was underpinned in 1924 by isiZulu speaking intellectuals or *amakholwa*, now restricted from buying land outside of scheduled reserves, enforced through the

1913 Natives Land Act; who joined with traditionalists, whom were both "increasingly active in propagating an ideology that projected the Zulu royal house as the leader by historical right of black people in Natal and Zululand" (Wright as cited in Carton et. al 2008:40).

Ferguson et al. (as cited in Inda 2005:105) speak of 'states' as powerful sites of symbolic and cultural production that are themselves always culturally represented and understood in particular ways. States, and not only nations, are imagined, constructed entities that are conceptualized and made socially effective through particular imaginative and symbolic devices. They suggest that this results in people experiencing the state or nation as an entity with certain special characteristics and properties. Inkatha's influence within the Zulu state is one example of Ferguson et al.'s position.

Harries (1993:106) argues that Inkatha's representation of the past served an immediate contemporary need and function. "The party imbued itself with a historical legitimacy by defining, in a manner that is at once spatial and temporal, a specific Zulu constituency. Symbols provide people with unifying cultural markers. Those that are believed to be historical and traditional are particularly powerful as they link people not only spatially, but also temporally. A shared symbolism holds people within a boundary of belief, while tradition provides a legitimating precedent".

Ironically, with reference to the position taken by Inkatha, Harries (1993:106) points out that,"it is often stressed that tradition is a resource and an instrument used by competing elite groups in their attempt to obtain a mass following. But this instrumentalist view needs to be qualified; traditions can be invented, but only in the sense that such inventions build upon a previous body of knowledge". Theoretically, the value in Harries comments appear to lie in the power of a 'resultant belief ', seemingly cultured over time, and the processes of which are 'hidden from the public argument' through a focus on the opposition's use of the very 'capital' upon which Zuluness was being 'manufactured'.

Harries (1993:107) continues that traditions, "are not created anew but are rather manufactured, or assembled, from an existing body of knowledge that, consciously and unconsciously, includes myth

and symbol. For tradition to be accepted as legitimate, it must bear a semblance of repetition. Perhaps more importantly, for an image to take on the sanctity of tradition, people must believe that it embodies an efficacy born of past experience. Traditions may be imposed from above but they will remain impuissant as long as they do not strike a resonant chord in the community. It is only when traditions fulfill a local need, and hence are accepted and adopted by the community, that they can be transformed by the elite from a resource into an instrument". These words seem pertinent to this study in not only revealing the mechanisms underpinning instigated acultutalisation but also explaining the effectivity of this process, through its long lasting effect on those living, in the context of this study, in KwaNyuswa.

Many of those interviewed in this study from the Nyuswa, Qadi and Blose polities, all of whom claim to be Zulu and who are now between the ages of 40 and 90, appear to have encountered Inkatha's campaign between 1973 and 1994 and given the economic and political climate of that period, may well have been likely targets for messages of Zuluness.

In an interview with Phindile Majola, on the 5th July 2013, the complexity of the effects of Zuluness were suggested. Majola explained:

> I am Zulu, but I am from a specific group within the Zulu, the Qadi. Being Zulu is something people told me about throughout my life. I was taught at school about being Zulu. We did not learn about being Shangase, where I am from, or Qadi, my husband's people, or Majola. I believe that I am not a Qadi, but a Zulu from MaQadini. I remember Buthelezi spoke to us about what it meant to be black, more than about being Zulu. He spoke about the Bengu, who cut their faces, we don't do that.

When asked in 2013 about the wearing of beadwork as signifying political allegiance Majola remarked:

> I remember that we were afraid to go to Johannesburg, dressed traditionally, for fear of being called IFP. But here, in KwaNyuswa, we were all ANC and we were Zulu, and we all spoke Zulu,

so we practiced our tradition freely. There was never much trouble here, but some of the boys wanted to fight. Boys are like that". She also added that "our beadwork is all Zulu, but is regionally influenced, it is easy to see when someone comes from Msinga and is Chunu.

As previously discussed, it is as if a dual identity is unconciously being acknowledged, but as an unequal weighting. I noted this through her acknowledgement of the polity distinction in her response as being 'the Chunu' and 'Bhengu'.

During the 2013 interview with Majola, the translator, a student of mine, interjected. He said that as an isiZulu speaker, he was having difficulty making the distinction between polity identity and geographic situation in this interview. Neither he nor Majola were able to make that distinction in isiZulu. However, he noted, that language could possibly also be acknowledged as being an identity-building factor in this study.

The role of language, in serving to demarcate and to further identity, resonates with Harries' (1993) comments above on language as being a unifying factor.. He argues further that this unification came out of "the language of the royal Zulu family being defined by drawing a boundary between Zulu and surrounding language forms that qualified as *tekeza* and *tefula*, and which were associated with non-Zulu peoples, pejoratively called Tonga and Lala" (Harries 1993:107), with the latter being Nyuswa According to Ngcobo (n.d.). "Hence the language of the royal family was adopted by conquered peoples because of its perceived status" Harries (1993:107).

The relationship between identity and language, as a substantiation of an individual's identity, as in, "I am Zulu because I speak Zulu" was not uncommon in many interviews made with the beadworkers. Majola clearly seems to align language with tradition and identity, and in turn aligns with beadwork with identity.

Harries (1993:112) argues that a new form of ethnic identity "emerged out of a purposeful social engineering", directed by Inkatha. The organization, at its inception, in 1924, began by calling for the recognition of Solomon kaDinizulu as paramount[64] chief of the Zulu, and erected a monument to Shaka in Stanger. The organization clearly understood that schools were the key to disseminating messaging, establishing a Zulu Society hosted by the Natal Bantu Teachers Association in 1937. Solomon established Shaka Day as a specific Zulu day of remembrance. Harries speaks of these ethnic markers as serving a regional support base for the Zulu elite's agenda, with people finding a new security in the Zulu Identity. By 1951 Cyprian was recognized by the National Party government as Paramount Chief of the Zulu.

Although Harries (1993) is unclear as to the reason for the establishment in 1970 of a single Zulu Territorial Authority, which later became the Bantustan of KwaZulu, he does point to the value of this new demarcation in geographically underpinning the 'new tribalism' or 'ethnicity' as being the 'homeland' of the Zulu. Inadvertantly, the Bantustan established as a means of racial division by the apartheid agenda seems to have served to further crystallise Zulu ethnicity, which was thus well positioned for the emergence of Inkatha in 1975 under the leadership of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Its membership reached 1.6 million by 1988 and two million by 1993. Buthelezi's speeches focused on rights for blacks and the release of Nelson Mandela. Harries explains that the Zulu leader was particular about constantly drawing parallels between the past and present, detailing, for example, the "need for unity today as compared with the need for unity in 1879" or a "proposed ANC march on the KwaZulu capital was compared to the British invasion of Cetswayo's kingdom" (Harries 1993:114).Harries (1993:115) argues that "Buthelezi regards history as a means of cultural liberation. That history, culture and identity are synonymous" and quotes Buthelezi as saying:

[64] It is assumed here that the use of the of the word 'paramount' is implying that immediately prior to this event , the positon of the monarchy had reached an all time low. Wright (as cited in Carton et.al 2008:37-39) explains that under Cetswayo in the 1870s, some autonomy from 'Zulu' control was still evident among certain heads, later important allegiances crumbled and he was later exiled; during the 1880's all semblance of the greater Zulu grouping had severely dissipated; the next in line, Dinuzulu ka Cetshwayo, for example, did not have the full support of the people, with some only seeing Dinuzulu as the paramount among the chiefs of the region "by virtue of his descent… others were ambivalent or hostile in their attitudes". This renewed effort to install the 'in the minds' of those living in KwaZulu-Natal, was quite possibly, based on the fact that Cetshwayo was the last king to be recognized by the British. During 1879 black people were even prepared to fight against the amaZulu. This move was also a likely response to the newly formed Inkatha movement in 1924. What is maybe of value here is also this public proclamation, or reference, as 'papramount', or 'supreme chief' as apposed to 'King'. A term which seems to have replaced the term paramount in more recent references.

> Your Zuluness, which is yours by history, is an essential quality of your South African status. It gives you the strength to wage the liberation struggle with me…Every part of KwaZulu is rich in the history of the nation. The people of this area walk tall as Zulus. We must work hard at keeping our cultural identity intact…our Zulu cultural heritage must be inculcated in our children. It is a golden thread which should run through every generation…[everyone must accept his or her Zulu responsibility to preserve a nation of warriors.

It would appear that Buthelezi's strategic approach included the use of the symbolic present and past kings, given his assertion that King Goodwill Zwelithini " is the living symbol of the unity of the people", and that Shaka is "Africa's greatest warrior. King Shaka did not conquer to subjugate and to turn into slaves…He did not conquer to make third class citizens. He conquered to make us equal, to unite us and to draw us into the great theme of history as people proud of their heritage and proud of their identity" (Harries 1993:118).

It very likely that those within KwaNyuswa would have received similar 'calls' via various 'black' media conduits. Most significant to this study is the *iLanga Newspaper*, which according to an article by Alison Gillwald (1988:28) entitled, *A Black Coup-Inkatha and the Sale of Ilanga,* who notes that in 1987,, "the largest vernacular newspaper in the country" became the only commercial publication in South Africa to be owned directly by a political party. The newspaper was bought from the giant publishing house, Argus, by Mandla Matla, as an Inkatha-owned company under the direction of its secretary-general at the time, Oscar Dhlomo, pointing to the acquisition of a significant 'mouthpiece' well positioned to influence public perception around a generic Zulu Identity.

In addition, Gillwald (1988:27) notes that *The Nation* Newspaper, distributed in Inkatha's stronghold and rural areas, was the organisation's first unofficial "sortie into mass media" which after state harassment and financial problems closed down in 1980. These movements to own media carriers, Gillwald surmised at the time, are "part of Inkatha's attempts to develop or secure its contested urban base" and to fundamentally establish "regional hegemony". She also indicated that the purchase of

the *Ilanga*, at the time, meant that the United Democratic Front (UDF) would be excluded from using the paper for political ends. Further, that particular political views would now be, “devoid of criticism”. What followed then is not surprising, Inkatha had made a significant move towards facilitating and controlling a significant part of the isiZulu speaking media, an investment that appeared to ‘pay dividends’.

According to an online article published by the IFP in 2013, Buthelezi points out that, in 1973, the South African Society of Journalists named him "Newsmaker of the Year". In 1985, the Pretoria Press Club likewise named him "Newsmaker of the Year". In 1986, the Financial Mail declared him "The Financial Mail's Man of the Year". Although it is not difficult to guess at the reason for these titles, given the sheer volume of material being published on Buthelezi during this period, the article is not clear in what context these titles were bestowed, but it does demonstrate the public presence and access to the media that the then Chief Minister enjoyed in delivering his various positions on the Zulu Identity.

Images of Buthelezi and the King at rallies or at traditional events, dressed in feathers, skins and beadwork, were commonplace in the press or on television. This appears not to be an coincidence, but instead an intentional attempt to retain political control of Zulu symbols. The following excerpt speaks to the nature of conflict within the Zulu fold.



Figure 4.22: LEFT. King Goodwill Zwelithini and Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in ceremonial dress. Noteworthy are the beaded bandoliers being worn by the Chief Minister, Chennels 2005

Figure 4.23: CENTRE: ‘Sonke’ Festival in KwaZulu-Natal, with ANC leader Nelson Mandela in the centre. To Mandela’s right, Chief Zibuse Mlaba, Klopper 1996.

Figure 4.24.: RIGHT: President of the ANC, and State President of South Africa, Jacob Zuma in traditional attire, Praag. 2013.

"A 'worried' Zulu who sent a letter, in February 1994, to the Sunday Times explained, that "there is a murky and ambiguous distinction between Inkatha and the KwaZulu government. The fact is, not all Zulus support Inkatha. Nor do all Zulus believe that the coming elections will spell doom for the Zulu Nation" (Klopper 1996: 55), comments no doubt aligned to a broader sentiment amongst Zulu ANC supporters. Klopper (1996) argues that following Mandela's release from prison in February 1990, the ANC made several concerted efforts to challenge Inkatha's attempts at controlling public perceptions of the political history of the Zulu royal house in the KwaZulu-Natal region. What ensued was a series of gatherings and articles that sought to gain political control of these Zulu 'instruments'. Figure 4.23 depicts a gathering at the *Sonke,* (meaning all of us) Festival in 1993 staged by the ANC to mark the 165th anniversary of Shaka's death. She adds that this event marked the ANC's self-professed aims of transforming popular perceptions not only of itself but also of Zulu History, reinforced through poet Mzwakhe Mbuli's excited accounts of the Battle of Islandlawana when Zulus defeated the British in Battle. In the lead-up to the election the organization made sure that rallies addressed by Mandela were also attended by Zulu dignitaries and amaKosi often adorned in a "spectacular array of furs and feathers" (Klopper 1996:55).

The fight, for the destruction of apartheid, seem to have also resulted in a fight for the symbols of a cultural identity. 20 years later, writings concerning the loss of beadwork identity and the marginalisation of polity histories and tradition still seem ill considered or rather appear to have been omitted, without explanation.

However, In a Report commissioned by the Minister of Higher Education and *Training (DHET)* for the *Charter for Humanities and Social Sciences* in June 2011, it is noted by Minister Blade Nzimande that, "today's social struggles are not as clear cut as they were when there was a single overarching aim: defeating apartheid….It is disturbing to note that the debate is so muted around the major problems that face our society", particularly amongst students and academics. Pointing to solutions, he adds

that that the need for "transformation in South Africa… can be different from a narrow BEE agenda. (DHET Charter for Humanities and Social Sciences 2011:5).

In the Preamble, to the *Charter for Humanities and Social Sciences* (2011:12), written as a personification of a 'model student' the document speaks to the value of knowing that one's "clans came from a long way back" and emerged after the decline of the "Great Zimbabwe and how people lived- who moved where, how her clans, their oral poetry and memory fit into the bigger picture…that 'she' would have a thirst for culture and a capacity to seek the roots of what has been a powerful contribution to a transatlantic African sense of the aesthetic and the sublime …it presupposes an African Renaissance". In my view, this excerpt speaks directly to the impetus of this chapter, to what appears to be 'uncovering itself' in this study.

However, such noble aspirations of developing this 'model student' may be overly ambitious, particularly in the face of looming globalisation, and the 'trappings' of western culture. Yet, as an educator, I find myself torn between wanting to help in some way – to find creative ways of revisiting what has been lost, or in taking stock of what is being lost, through events that unfolded in South Africa's past, regarding race, ethnicity and oppression and in simply 'stepping back' out of the 'fray'.

The question therefore emerges, if anything has been 'lost', for participants or those who might benefit from such an intervention, and if those pursuing the 'trappings' of westernisation, should not simply be left alone to 'get on with it', while simultaneously dispensing with symbols, intrinsic to culture, that for them may well represent the archaic, or memories of dominance, in some form or shape.

I through this study in Anthropology, have become increasingly aware of my own conditioned position as the 'willing benefactor' whom through my talents might 'simply devise a 'model' that could turn the tide on poverty. To this end, I have avoided establishing a workable model for this reason and have instead aimed for achieving a premise, from which willing development 'agents', more experienced than myself, might use this as a departure point for povery alleviation.

Instead I have come to realise, through the process of this study that a participants' agreement to participate in a study, might mean that they want to be alleviated of poverty, but does not necessarily mean that they want to be 'alleviated' of control of the outcome. I fear that the preassures of time, circumstance, and limited resources, together with my willingness to help, might have diminished the outcome of this study and my effectiveness in accommodating all the role players. The complexity of understanding 'good practice' regarding development still eludes me to some extent.

In reference to development thinking Arthuro Escobar defines development along three dimensions: "the forms of knowledge that refer to it and through which it comes into being . . . the system of power that regulates its practice . . . and the forms of subjectivity fostered by this discourse, and those through which people come to recognize themselves as developed or underdeveloped" (Peralta 1995:467).

Inspired by Escobar's thinking (Peralta 1995), notions of 'Third' versus 'First World' thinking may well be in the mind of the development agent. Equally in the context of my role in this study, I must acknowledge that my limited experience of poverty based on my privileged life as a white male, is likely to have played a role in clouding my true comprehension of the research site and the plights of participants.

When reflecting on Escobar's insights on development, it seems apparent that the excerpt from the *Charter for Humanities and Social Sciences* (2011:11), contains in it these tenets of development thinking.

These educational aspirations, detailed in the Charter, seem in my view difficult to realise, given the apparent agendas of senior South African political officials, in whose hands, the cultural 'baby' is being held.

4.8 Conclusion

I have attempted through this chapter to draw attention to the key factors and role players, which have served, throughout the history of KwaZulu-Natal, to directly or indirectly suppress or redress the Nyuswa identity. Mduduzi Fuze (2013) and Talal Asad's (Inda 2005:23) positions on the impact of the 'victor' or the 'state' in directing new realities, or as Asad puts it, "as the effect of dominant political power by which new possibilities are constructed and old ones destroyed", and which may through frequency and strategic delivery become 'reality'. Certainly it is apparent that in the minds of the women of Sigaba Ngezandala, Zamimpilo and Simunye, that to make beadwork is to be Zulu as all beadwork is Zulu. Equally it is worth acknowledging that it is plausible that to embrace the Zulu identity is to alleviate oneself of complex politicised pressure. The 'wearing' of identity and the negation of other identities is therefore quite possibly an elected choice.

As illustrated in this chapter, some South African history has involved the essentialising or legitimising of subjectivities, most notably history itself, tradition, cultural symbols, language, leaders and geography, as a means by which to further or to address various hegemonic endeavours. In response, this chapter is an attempt to present an alternative history of KwaZulu-Natal to those historic accounts perpetuated by South African historians. This endeavour to redress history is possibly best summarised by Harries (1993:105) who explains that, "as South Africans have spent much time scrambling for new ways to resolve crisis in their country, historians have simultaneously scrambled for new ways of looking at the society that gave birth to this crisis".

In this way the politics of representation, that have underpinned the Zulu and Nyuswa relationship, are discussed in this chapter through the tracking of the historical and political factors that have impacted on this relationship and how those within KwaNyuswa see themselves and the role of their beadwork in relation to these identities.

In turn, this discussion has served to address the broadly held view that the multicoloured beadwork sequence phatically surrounded by black beads, known by some as i*sijolovane* and as the beadwork denoting the amaNyuswa, can simply be studied by reducing it to a single geographical space. Instead

what appears to emerge, in this study, is that a means might exist through beadwork, to broaden epistemologies by validating oral records, as has been demonstrated, in this way, and with the assistance of historic and modern maps. The value of this approach to epistemology becomes particularly exciting when considering the evidently contradictory nature of documented versions of history, detailed in this and previous chapters.

Although certainty is unlikely ever to be reached about the validity of the records used in this chapter, and so they should not be regarded as 'truths', it does seem plausible to suggest that the story of the amaNyuswa has been illuminated though this study. In this way what emerges is a story of a diasporic people displaced through time and circumstance across the province. According to Mdu Fuze, who I also interviewed in 2014, this displacement has even extended to some of the Nyuswa settling in Swaziland.

What also seems to be emerge as a result of this chapter, through this apparent validation of oral records, is the heritage value and the visual currency which might be used as brand equity - based firstly on an apparently dire need for new and creative economic strategies to feasibly address poverty in KZN; and secondly, in serving a need to address how the amorphous nature of identity has been 'unravelled' to reveal a single identity requiring 'a voice'. In economic terms, these 'needs' in my view, translate as a need to address the apparent economically 'suffocating' nature of other hegemonic identities. Thirdly, in answering the 'call of The DOHT Charter (2001), towards acknowledging the value of rich histories linked to unusual, seemingly 'unseen' beadwork sequences that appear, in my view, to speak to an unexplored, yet residual potential, for education and also for brand equity. However, what is of concern is the climate in which equity, of this nature, might prosper or even survive, in branding and identity terms.

What seems to be an emergent reality in post-apartheid South Africa is that the impetus has shifted away from the battle for the Zulu identity, towards the control of state resources and the political high-ground. The role of anthropologies of modernity, as directly impacting the existence and value of polity identity, appears to be a most pertinent concern.

The publicly accepted 'truths' concerning the Nyuswa and Zulu identities in relation to beadwork, appear to be misinformed and inaccurate, relegated to being inconsequential within broader contexts. Instead what appears to remain, are merely the manifestations of modernity, such as globalization, capitalist consumerism, or more specifically, in the context of this study, the value of a commodified Zulu identity, seen largely as economic and political currency. In other words, the Zulu identity has become the Zulu brand, sold in a visually homogenized form, within the tourism and craft marketplace. One is sure to consistently encounter the sale or wearing of such artifact, deemed to be 'Zulu' in KwaZulu-Natal. Whether for preservation, for posterity, heritage, or for the alleviation of poverty, the concern remains that those in power appear to be in a state of incongruence regarding the role and ownership of cultural symbols in South Africa.

In my view, the impact of such sustained flux translates directly into the disappearance of beadwork identities. As indicated in the previous chapter, polity beadwork, or the proverbial 'baby' appears to be unconsciously or in some cases systematically 'thrown out with the bath water' in both a contest for the 'survival of the fittest' and as a result of what has become known, after Jacob Zuma's inauguration as president of the republic, and his consequential inclusion of those formerly sidelined during the Mbeki tenure as, "our turn to eat". The phrase has become popular within the ANC and physically apparent in KwaZulu-Natal.

Roussow (2012:160) explains that, "Zuma has made sure that KwaZulu-Natal has benefitted from the fact that their '100% Zulu Boy is now in the union buildings'. In August 2012 news broke that Zuma had plans to build a new town to the tune of R2 billion, situated only three kilometers from Nkandla, the village where he grew up. Zuma also built an elaborate compound for himself, his set of wives and his children - an exercise that cost the state more than R200 million". She continues that he also "made sure that his friends and relatives and former benefactors benefitted. Zuma filled his security cluster in cabinet with politicians from KwaZulu-Natal. Nathi Mthethwa in charge of police, Siyabonga Cwele of intelligence, while former Youth League president Malusi Gigaba, is now public enterprises minister".

These issues point to a distinct shift in Zulu power politics. Roussouw (2012:161) explains that, “the erstwhile enemy of the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)… is now a shadow of its former self” and few predict the party will play a meaningful role in the future governance of the province.

What remains appears as a new owner of the Zulu brand, with all it’s associations and constructed perceptions attached…as a sort of political 'bounty'. However, this is not to say that the KZN public has or is going to tolerate the manner of its seemingly intended use.

Piper (2002:86) points out that, “ the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal changed from denying the significance of Zuluness to affirming it, which implies that they thought it was a powerful discourse… Most Zulu people do see themselves as part of a Zulu people, an ethnic group, but they do not see themselves as part of a Zulu nation in the way the IFP put it, nor do they see themselves as part of a 'rainbow' nation in the way the KwaZulu-Natal ANC portrayed it. Rather, there exists a plurality of constructions of Zuluness, usually intertwined in complex ways with other identities such as African, black and South African, which complicate the invocation of any one sense of nationhood”.

In conclusion and in reference to the consequential cultural ‘losses’ incurred through critical mass campaigning in South Africa, based on skin colour, Amataika (1996:187) possibly says it best, noting that “ethnicity is an important factor, …because for some politicians it is a mobilizing strategy of considerable strength. Ethnicity as a social identity needs to be separated from political mobilization and the manipulation of ethnic sentiments. Traditional authorities must evolve into appropriate repositories of African culture which can co-exist with a rising democratic culture in South Africa in general, and in KwaZulu-Natal in particular”.

In the following Chapter, I discuss the value of beadwork as cultural identity and the disjuncture that exists between what remains of the Nyuswa beadwork, and *isimodeni* or the contemporary beadwork style deemed to be Zulu.

CHAPTER FIVE

BEADWORK AS CULTURAL IDENTITY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the acquisition of beads and the value of considering the bead itself as a means of gathering data. Further it discusses the role or semiotic construct of beadwork as creating meaning for those who wear it. It discusses how this role has shifted, with time, in style, colour sequence and design or visual construction. It also discusses how the specific colours and forms found in the beadwork of the Nyuswa, appear to facilitate an interplay between identity, social interaction and solidarity through ritual and ceremony, through various stages of female life, and in denoting the respective roles or positions of members within the polity. This chapter posits, based on respondents' perspectives on the relationship between cultural identity and beadwork, and the semiology of that beadwork as denoting identity, that the social construction of the Zulu identity has almost entirely obliterated any pre-Shakan notions of the Nyuswa beadwork visual construct. Through the experience of the respondents, I argue that in post-apartheid, post-liberation terms, that these rich visual systems continue to diminish in value at the 'hands' of modernity, globalization and political agenda, and should be re-evaluated as a means of salvaging and recovering these apparently dissipating identities.

To frame this study on beadwork, I suggest that this chapter is written bearing in mind that terms such as 'polity', *isizwe* or *isigodi* do not confine people as being compartmentalised into nations or sub nations in South Africa. Instead it acknowledges that modernity and democracy have served to reconstitute the socio-political geography and freedom of movement in this country. It is also mindful that terms such as 'tribe' or 'polity' or 'culture' or 'ethnic group' have been used, in the past, to manipulate the ideas of those living in South East Africa, in a manner that has aimed to determine, "those who are tribal and those who are not" (Boonzaier and Sharp 1988:68), based on an idea that people who are deemed to be 'members' of a polity share, "a common language, single social system, and an established customary law" (Boonzaier and Sharp 1988:68) and should be treated as unequal.

In contrast the aim of this study is merely an attempt to illustrate that such broad 'brush strokes' have served to only offer a single version of how beadwork has been used by those living in KwaZulu-Natal to create identities. Further, that it is not common knowledge, particularly amongst all in South Africa that the effects of Apartheid and Zuluness, seemingly continue to undermine attempts at national pluralism or multiculturalism.

It would also appear that any consequent efforts to promote 'Nyuswaness', in contestation of Zuluness, appear to have been effectively stifled. This apparent, sustained suppression, of Nyuswa identity and ideology, therefore conceptually underpins the enquiry in this chapter framed by the following key questions:

- Is there a Nyuswa beading convention and what are its visual signifiers?
- Is there a secondary or separate Qadi beading convention?
- How is meaning and identity created, through beadwork, inside and outside the polity?
- Why is this convention being perpetuated and what is behind its diminished use?

5.2 The Acquisition of Beads

Before directly addressing these questions, in order to contextualize this chapter on beadwork as a form of cultural identity, I felt it necessary to first point out how beadwork has been acquired over time. Further, that a 'unit' in the beadwork or 'bead' can serve to offer various denotative and leading information, a perspective which I view as meaningfully assisting an understanding of the emergent data in this chapter.

Most photographs of beadwork depict the large plastic beads nicknamed 'apartheid beads' by many whom I spoke to. In a 2013 interview with Yvonne Winters, Curator at UKZN's Killie Campbell she explained that during the Apartheid era, the supply of glass beads from the then Czechoslovakia had dwindled under the pressure of embargoes imposed on the regime. She explained that in response a company called Fouche and Coke, started to manufacture the first size 2 plastic beads. The company

later changed their name and established a factory as ‘Zoltek’ at Port Shepstone. It would appear that this company name then changed to Shanco.

In 2013, I briefly interviewed Sandra Fouché, granddaughter of Rex Fouche, the company founder, who explained that Shanco started in 1976 and is still in operation. She explained that Shanco is a family owned and managed business, and has grown from strength to strength. Throughout this growth, Shanco has remained under the guidance and ownership of founder, Rex Fouché (Shanco 2011).



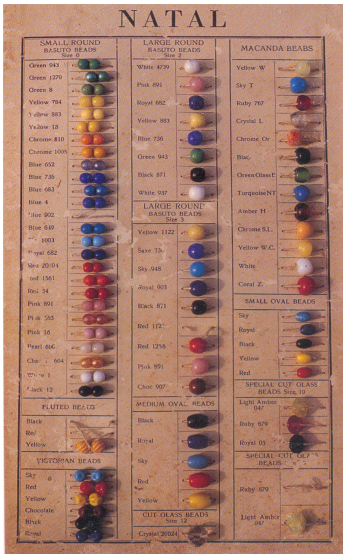


Figure 5.1 LEFT: Beadwork chart as currently supplied by Shanco. Shanco 2011.
Figure 5.2: RIGHT: Page from a bead catalogue provided for potential traders by bead manufacturers in Europe, c 1890 – 1920 (Morris and Preston-Whyte 1994:17)

It is interesting to note that the beadwork marked as ‘Mafunze’ at Natal Museum, which is unfortunately not dated, seen in figure 5.9, is entirely made of glass beads, which suggests that the isijolovane sequence precedes the supply of beads by Fouche and Coke.

Evidence presented by Morris and Preston-Whyte (1994:17) in the form of an image of a bead catalogue card, described as a “page from a bead catalogue provided for potential traders by bead manufacturers in Europe, c 1890 - 1920”, places the supply of large glass beads as far back as 1890. The card lists “cut glass beads” indicating that the beads, in the Manfunze beadwork, could have been manufactured during this 30 year period.

If Fuze's 2013 recount of the Nyuswa movements does in fact place the source of the Nyuswa as the Musi in Egypt, then their movements along the East Coast of Africa, might be plausibly tracked, through an examination of the acquisition of beads by the amNyuswa.

Saitowitz, Sharma, Reid and David (1996) indicate that "glass beads are found at most Iron Age sites in southern Africa from AD 800-900 onwards. Except for one type made locally from re-worked glass, all the beads were imported from glass-producing centres elswhere, widely believed to have been India and the Indian Ocean rim, with distribution through Arab traders in the Indian Ocean. However, plasma mass spectrometry was used to determine the rare earth element contents of some beads excavated in the former northern and eastern Transvaal and found that they are identical to beads produced in al-Fustat (now Old Cairo). The alkali agent used to make the glass is specific to seawater and its derivatives, as found on the desert coasts of Egypt. Specimens from two Indian manufacturing sites do not show the same seawater pattern. This casts a new light on maritime trade along the east coast of Africa a millennium ago, and the external influences which helped to launch significant political developments in southern Africa. The majority of the beads are small (2-4 mm), monochrome, oblate, 'seed' beads of various colours, made by the drawn technique - a method usually associated with mass production rather than individual working. The colours and method of manufacture of many of the beads are so similar that they are virtually indistinguishable from one another. …Some of the most likely primary glassmaking sites during the period AD 950-1250 were in Egypt, North Africa, Syria, Persia, and Mesopotamia, not India".

This evidence offered by Saitowitz, Sharma, Reid and David (1996) challenges the popular view that coloured beadwork sequences are a fairly modern introduction to KZN, fostered mainly through the supply of beads by British Colonists trading beads from Port Natal (Stevenson and Graham-Stewart 2000). Instead it points to the complexity of the beadwork debate and the need for carefully consideration of beadwork in socio-political terms.

5.3 Beadwork in socio-political terms

In attempting to answer the questions undepinning this chapter, my taxonomic pursuits around the

Nyuswa and their beadwork, fell short of expectations. I had anticipated clear-cut visually denotative distinctions between the various polities within the larger Ngcobo polity, in a manner similar to those seen so clearly in Msinga, such as the beadwork of the abaTembu, amaBaso and amaChunu.

However, through continual visits to KwaNyuswa and the beadwork repositories, throughout 2012 and 2013, it became clearer that it was the commonalities found in dress and beadwork style in regions, hundreds of kilometers apart, that have served to better rationalise that beadwork in this instance, is not simply regionalized, but rather directly linked to the diaspora or nomadic movements of the amaNyuswa, so named as the *amaFengu*[65], or the 'butterflies', by the *amaXhosa* from the former Transkei or Pondoland.

This rationale, concerning the link between beadwork and identity, seems to conflict with the seminal investigations into Zulu beadwork of Professor Frank Jolles' (1993), who conducted fieldwork in the Msinga region amongst various polities. He was able to clearly establish that 'styles', or combinations of colours and patterns, each characterized the beadwork of regions; and that 'pattern', or the distribution of colour over a surface, worked in tandem with 'colour schemes' or visual conventions, thereby constituting what could be deemed to be a style or styles. In this way Jolles seems to further cement the view that all beadwork is Zulu and merely stylistically different according to region, without polity identity or connotative meaning.

As discussed, however, limited empirical data, gained through visits to Msinga, pointed to the beadwork being directly based on polity identity. Although inconclusive, it also appears, through a fairly extensive process of visual analysis, that the beadwork of the Qadi and Nyuswa may be marginally different.

At first glance, the beadwork of KwaNyuswa presents one with possibly the most complex beadwork convention of any within KwaZulu-Natal. To the untrained eye, no single colour sequence, pattern or

[65] The reference to the amaNyuswa as *amaFengu*, is according to Mdu Fuze whom I interviewed in 2013, and was confirmed by Nkosi Samkelo Sigacawu, the Faku Chief at KwaNyuswa in the former Transkei or Pondoland in 2014, whom Fuze and I visited.

style is evident. Instead, the beadwork of KwaNyuswa appears to be a very random, unstructured disbursement of colour, distributed over the various surfaces of traditional attire, only phatically 'held together' by a predominance of black beads or in very few cases white.

Preliminary research conducted in 2012 in Mnamatha, Mabedlane and Mondini suggested that a beadwork convention particular to the Nyuswa polity might not exist. However, fieldwork, conducted primarily at iGode, and amaGatsha in the Qineselani MaNyuswa region, and also in the Shongweni, Inanda, Molwini, iPhephateni, Mnamatha, and Nkumba Nyuswa regions, between January to December 2013 revealed otherwise.

In order to discursively position this study in the context of what appears to be a Nyuswa beadwork convention, it was vital to first position the investigation within the broader body of knowledge on beadwork. Further, establishing if the Nyuswa were of Zulu origin was also critical. These respective positions, I offer, have been explored collectively in Chapter Four and Five of this study. Finding a means of distinguishing between descent groups was also valuable in serving a similar outcome. Oral records and primary sources, although clearly inconclusive, offered, to some extent, a means to ascertain that the Nyuswa and Qadi are ancestrally interlinked, but governed separately.



Figure 5.3: *Umemulo* of a married woman of the AmaKhuzwayo of the Embo polity at Shongweni (Gatfield 2012).

Most of the chiefs within the Nyuswa carry the *isibongo*, or surname, Ngcobo, Fuze of Mafunse. Understanding that the Nyuswa are firmly connected to the Qadi, and the other various polities within the Ngcobo fold, offered equal value in determining that these polities also exist sociopolitically as independent units, each led by an *inkosi*. This decentralized sociopolitical result is seemingly as a consequence of constant resettlement over an extended period of time and as a result of the third house of the third wife of Ngcobo, 'Qadi', rising to a position of power (Bryant 1964).

5.4 Isijolovane: The Nyuswa beadwork convention

Collectively, data gathered during this study began to highlight the socio-political remnantsof what seems to have been a single polity. Beadwork examples found in KwaNyuswa, Pietermaritzburg, Umkomaas and Msinga all seemed to present certain distinctive visual commonalities as a stand-

alone beadwork convention, determined also by significant differentiation from other beadwork in colour sequence and visual structure.

This visual distinction is definitively 'blurred', as appears to be the case in most modern observations of Zulu beadwork, given that fashion and influence are never static conditions. The impact of visual influence and appropriation is no doubt most difficult to limit to one single polity. This is possibly why many authors on beadwork have relegated themselves to descriptions of beadwork conventions as simply being regionalised styles. This chapter represents the exact opposite. Instead I offer the Nyuswa/Ngcobo collective beadwork that shows evidence of both visual commonality and denotative difference.

5.4.1 Denotative Visual Commonalities

In an interview conducted in 2013 Yvonne Winters, Curator of the Killie Campbell Museum, detailed the existence of a single 'style' particular to the Valley of a Thousand Hills region, known either as *isiyolovane* or *isijolovane* (figure 5.4) or which she explains has been as described by some as 'peas floating in soup'. She explained that:

> The term refers to the manner in which the beads are arranged - to appear as 'dots' of colour ' together with black or in fewer cases white, as a supporting or phatic addition. White beads are used in the beadwork of young girls, normally virgins. This multicoloured style can also be referred to *isilumbana,* viewed as a symbol of fertility.



Figure 5.4: The multicoloured 'pea soup' style known as *Isijolovani* or *isilumbana,* showing its phatic black background (Gatfield 2011).

The Isijolovane style is very distinct and is really, in my view, one of the more complex styles of

beadwork still found amongst the Zulu. This style is in contrast to better-known styles such as the *Isishunka* Style, an older style still shared by the amaChunu and abaTembu*;* the newer *Isitembu* Style of the abaTembu; and the newer *Umzansi* Style of the amaChunu (Wickler and Seibt 1989; Jolles 1993). At first, I found the *isijolovane* beadwork convention quite visually overwhelming, as if visually 'affronted' by a mass of multicoloured detail. This response, I would later realize, was to an 'affront' to the Western design sensibility I had been taught and which I had adopted as a designer 'lens'.

In the 2013 interview, Winters noted that on closer inspection one can detect various visual clues within the apparently random collection of colours. She explained that no single sequence of colours is ever the same, and although the makers are subscribing to a measure of denotative uniformity, the style also offers sufficient latitude for creativity. Winters described how beadworkers may also use collections of like-coloured beads in groups of five to form tiny crosses or to create multiple ovals or 'pools' of colours, thereby recreating the *isijolovane* style at a larger scale.



Figure 5.5: When magnified the complexity of creative expression, within the isijolovane style, becomes evident. (Gatfield 2012)

When enlarged, the level of complexity in terms of structural colour consistency and individual creativity, is quite unfathomable, if one considers the geographic distances between the makers.

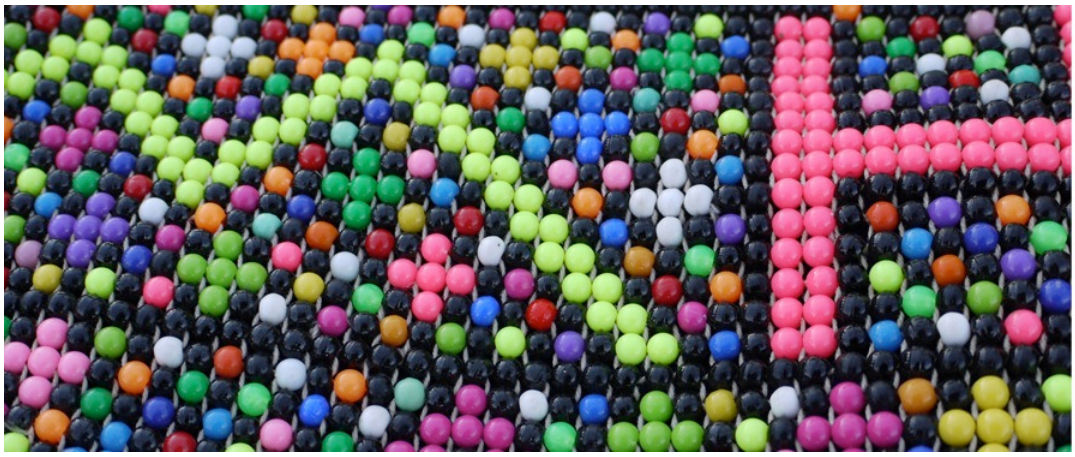


Figure 5.6: Isijolovane as a supporting visual device. Crosses are almost hidden in the detail (Gatfield 2012).

Throughout this study *isijolovane* became the primary visual signifier. Artifacts bearing the signifier or style offered various insights into both the denotative properties of beadwork, and as a means through which spiritual and ceremonial meaning was being realised. In this way *isijolovane* became a means, through difference, by which those wishing to communicate their identity, could visually distinguish themselves from others. An example of this was most applicable in the case of eNyokeni, or the Reed Dance, where numerous other identities were evident. Barnard (2005) speaks of this, in the context of Communication Theory as how a transmitted visual signal is being received amidst visual 'noise' to a predisposed audience. In other words the audience can only interpret, through cultural understanding, the visual signifiers or code being 'transmitted', in or to receive this 'transmission' as signifying identity. Naturally if any break in that 'learning; or acculturation' process occurs, then these signifiers are no longer of value as a means of representing the identities of those that wear them.



Figure 5.7: *Isijolovane* often serves as a background texture or pattern in support of other more dominant visual components. Gatfield 2012

Tenjiwe Majola is a beadworker, from the Mnamatha district, KwaNyuswa. She is a Shangase who married into the Qadi, and whom I interviewed at various intervals throughout this study. She explained:

> I see myself as a Zulu , but I am from a specific group within the Zulu – the Qadi. Being Zulu is what people told me, like my parents. We learnt about being Zulu, not Shangase. I am a Zulu that lives in KwaQadi or MaQadini, same thing. I don't really identify with the difference, between being Zulu or Qadi, I am Zulu. I don't know if *isijolovane* represents the Qadi. It is just something used in the beadwork of those living within a region, which stretches from KwaNgoza, and Nkumba-Nyuswa, the *indlukulu* or ancestral house of the Nyuswa in the east, near Ndwedwe, to Greytown in the Msinga region; into the west, at Ngongoma; and all the way to Shangase, in the North. I dont see any difference between the Qadi and Nyuswa beadwork we are all the same. We call these mixed colour beads *isijolovane* and also *isinyolovane.*

Winters added (2013),that *isijolovane* can also be found as far afield as Inkambatini at Cato Ridge and at Kwa Ximba, near KwaNyuswa.

When asked why she chose to perpetuate a single identity, Tenjiwe Majola (2013) replied:

> This is all I know, if I see something I like, I will just copy it. Even if I travel somewhere, like Nongoma, I can copy it. I once travelled to KwaZulu, at Nongoma, the people there were amazed by my beadwork. I felt very proud. They asked so many questions, especially where I was from.

A recurring contradiction was evident in the multiple responses from participants. Most favoured the Zulu identity, yet held on to words such as Nyuswa and Qadi to describe groups of people. Some dismissed these taxonomic distinctions as simply being the names of regions, never acknowledging

how such names were formed. Further, no evidence of Tengiwe Majola's beadwork design appropriation was found.

This multiplicity of identities might be described as a direct consequence of the sustained campaigning and advocacy of Zuluness, resulting in this 'glorification' of Zulu. Traditional attire therefore, irrespective of its denotative difference, appears to become irrevocably Zulu in the minds of the respondents. However, it is also possible that these 'choices' are not being seen as competiting with each other, or as the result of hegemony. Instead, 'traditional identity' could rather be viewed as symbiotic, as an 'elasticity of identity', extending and contracting with need and circumstance. This 'elasticity' might be compared, in the South African context, to the 'self' renegotiating labels of skin colour or cultural references, by holding on to these labels, while simultaneously embracing multiculturalism through the nationalised 'rainbow nation' label. In some ways I got the sense that in a patriarchal society these female respondents had finely tuned an unconscious ability to 'navigate' their identities in relation to the politics and cultural norms being encountered, often in support of or as enforced by their male counterparts.

Devine, Grummell and Lynch (2011) point to this 'elastic self' phenomenon in women as a crafting of one's identity by the individual, necessitated within stratified and gendered cultural circumstances. With reference to this phenomenon, Devine et al. (2011: 633) point to the "microphysics of power as central processes of identity formation and the ways in which identities are fashioned in line with 'regimes of truth' that signify, classify and govern". They continue that in this way an individual negotiates the identity of the 'self' through "external control and monitoring", and through "the complex interplay of agency" and resistance to 'other' processes of identity formation (Devine et. al 2011: 633). This 'elasticity' of the amaNyuswa is apparent through their diasporic engagements with the amaXhosa and amaPondo.

The place name *KwaNyuswa,* or related place names, are not only particular to the valley of a Thousand Hills. As previously noted in Chapter 5, and as a verification of Fuze's 2013 detailed account

of the amaNyuswa migration or flight from war, and of the *amaFengu* and *amaBhaca* namecalling, many place names appear to serve as a testament of this diapora, as seen in figure 5.8.

As previously indicated, Shaw and Warmelo (1998) Fengu as assimilating the material cultural traditions of the Xhosa, pointing to either to the adaptability of amaNyuswa, or to a necessity to submit to their 'hosts'.

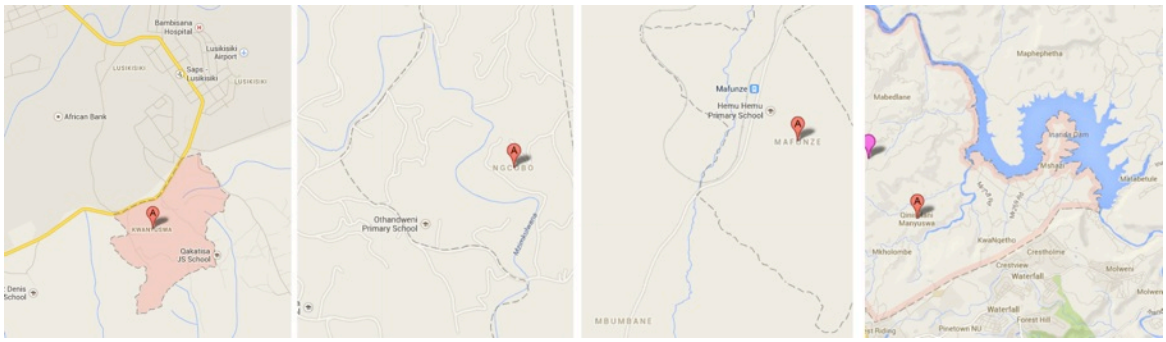


Figure 5.8: AmaNyuswa locations from left to right: KwaNyuswa at Lusikisiki, in the former Transkei; Ngcobo near Ifafa Beach, KZN South Coast; Mafunze at Pietermaritzburg; Qiniselani MaNyuswa at KwaNyuswa near Durban. Google Maps 2013

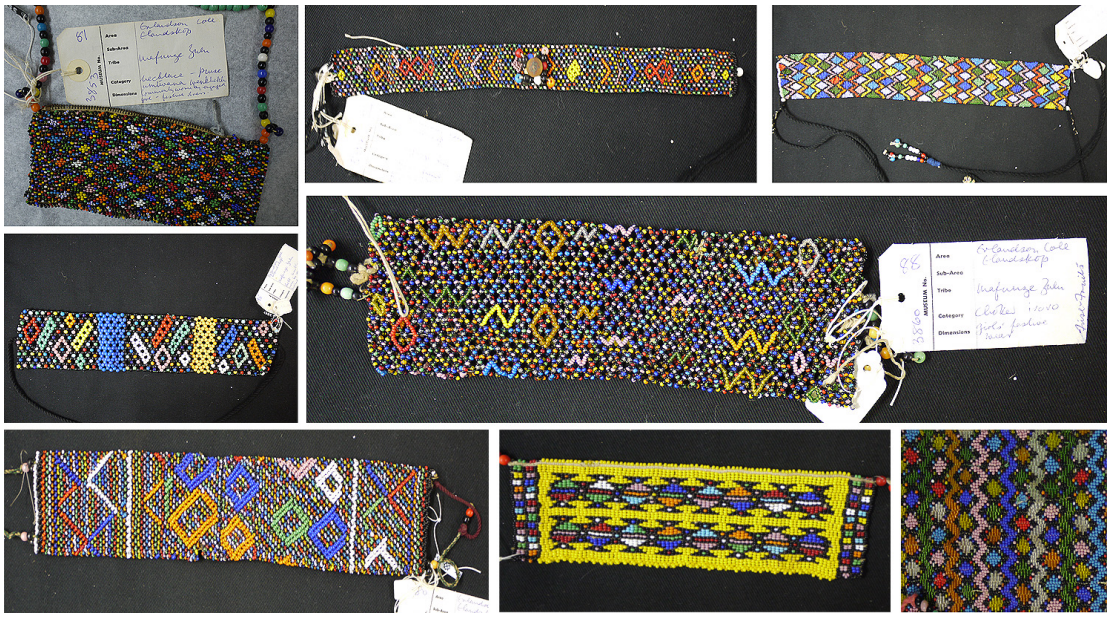


Figure 5.9: Beadwork marked as Mafunze at the Natal Museum, from the Erlandson Collection. Gatfield 2012.

As I travelled across KwaNyuswa interviewing those who claimed to be Qadi or Nyuswa, Blose or Shangase, *isijolovane* constructed in a manner very similar to the Mafunze beadwork, found at Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg, seen in figure 5.9, was consistently evident in their beadwork, seen in Figure 5.11. These are examples of *isibamba*, traditionally worn belts, which I encountered in various regions, across KwaNyuswa. The geographic evidence which emerged in this study, together with these various examples of beadwork, began to clearly point to a basis for considering a multi-sited ethnographic cohesion or social affinity.



Figure 5.11: *Amabamba*, belts featuring both the *isijolovane* signifier and other symbols and shapes (Gatfield 2012).



Figure 5.12: Beadwork of the Khuzwayo, noted for its use of 'neon' colours, bearing the *isijolovane* convention. Shongweni region (Gatfield 2013).



Figure 5.13: Beadwork of the Khuzwayo, noted for its use of 'neon' colours, bearing both the *isijolovane* convention and the inverted 'U' and 'U' (top) symbol which appears to be a consistent Embo beadwork signifier. Shongweni region (Gatfield 2013).

I also discovered *isijolovane* at a *umemulo,* a coming of age ceremony amongst the Khuzwayo and Shozi polities at Shongweni, in the South(see Figure 5.13). Mkhize[66] whom I interviewed at this event, explained that:

These people, the Khuzwayo, (Fig. 5.12) are linked to the abaMbo - Mkhize polity, situated at eMbo, in the far south. The abaMbo, during Shaka's time, were under Inkosi Zihlandlo during the early 1800's, together with the Nyuswa.

As discussed in this study, the nature of the relationship between the Nysuwa and the AbaMbo is disputed. However, what is determinable is that the abaMbo and the Nyuswa share *isijolovane* in their beadwork, a possible visual testament of old allegiances.

[66] Siyabonga Mkhize pointed out in the interview, which I conducted with him in 2013 at Killie Campbell Museum, that he is both a religious leader, deemed by his followers to be a 'prophet', and is also an independent researcher and author of *Uhlanga Lwas'eMbo* or the History of eMbo People, published in 2007. I later interviewed him for a second time in Durban in 2013 in my office at DUT.



Figure 5.14: Hlophe beadwork of the Mbo polity bearing the 'C' and 'U' shapes which apper to be a denotative signifier of Mbo, Mnamatha region (Gatfield 2013).



Figure 5.15: Hlophe beadwork of the Mbo polity, bearing *isijolovane*. Mnamatha region (Gatfield 2013).



Figure 5.16: Isijolovane as evident FROM LEFT TO RIGHT, TOP TO BOTTOM, in the Hlophe at Mnamatha, KwaNyuswa: Nyuswa at Qinisilane MaNyuswa, KwaNyuswa; Blose at iGode, KwaNyuswa, Qadi at Mnamatha, KwaNyuswa:, emGangeni at Umkomaas (two images at bottom left) and Camperdown (two images on right).

In addition, I encountered evidence of *isijolovane* from a Hlophe individual, seen in figure 5.14, amongst the abaMbo within Qineselani MaNyuswa; amongst an Ngcobo polity at Umkomaas, on the KZN South Coast, and amongst the Mafunze in Pietermaritzburg, the *indlukulu*[67] of the Mafunze; and at Msinga. A large Hlophe polity does appear on the Traditional Authorities map in KwaNyuswa, seen in the map on page XXIV, however I was unable to establish any historic connection between the Hlophe and the Nyuswa.

Based on data gained from the COGTA (2012) website, and the interviews with Mdu Fuze, with Tenjiwe Majola, and with Siyabonga Mkhize, all in 2013, I offer that the traditional authorities that do exist, as formerly or presently aligned to the Ngcobo polity and leadership are as follows:

[67] The Indlukulu is the main'house' or 'palace' of a polity, where the inkosi yezwe, chief of the isizwe or nation would reside. It is also sometimes used to describe the household from whence the heir is derived, namely the house of the first wife.

The abaNyuswa –

at Nkumba-Nyuswa in Ndwedwe Municipality,

at Qineselani MaNyuswa,

at KwaNyuswa, within the eThekwini Municipality,

at Qineselani MaNyuswa within the Ezinqoleni Municipality,

at Qineselani MaNyuswa within the Umuziwabantu Municipality,

at Ndunduma in the uBuhlebezwe Municipality,

at Mavela in Ndwedwe Municiplity;

the abaShangase in Ndwedwe Municipality;

the Ngongoma, at Ngongoma;

the amaQadi – in Ndwedwe Municipality,

at Maphumulo in the Maphumulo Municipality,

at Osindisweni between the municipalities of eThekwini and Ndwedwe,

at Mnamatha in the eThekwini Municipality,

at Umhlongonek in the Ingwe Municipality Mabedlane (unofficially);

the abaFunze in Pietermaritzburg and at Munywini in the Msunduzi Municipality;

the abaFuze in the KwaDukuza Municipality;

the amaGangeni at iXopo,

the amaGangeni at Umkomaas,

the amaFengu or Pondomisa in the Eastern Cape,

the amaBhaca at Highflats,

the amaNgwane at Bergville, and

the amaNgwe at Msinga.

5.5 Beadwork and Attire as Ceremonial Meaning

With reference to the use of beadwork at various ceremonies, according to Majola (2013), who is well versed in the *isijolovane* convention, this denotative tradition is declining in use and manufacture. She noted that:

Isijolovane and the Qadi and Nyuswa beadwork, is being replaced by the 'new one', (referring to *isimodeni)*. You know the young girls they like that new fashion. Even at *Umkosi woMhlanga*[68]; at *Imbeleko*[69]; at *umchambuzo*[70], *umemulo*[71], *ukucelwa*[72], *isikwehlela*[73], *umabo*[74], *isipho* [75] and *umshado*[76], you will see them wearing *isimodeni*[77]. But things change, what can you do.

[68] The Reed Dance

[69] A ceremony to thank the *amadlozi,* or ancestors*,* for successfully 'bringing' a child, as revealed in an interview with Lucky Nduli in 2013

[70] A ceremony, in which a goat is slaughtered, *ibayi* and beadwork are 'offered' here. This ceremony represents a coming of age and also serves as an indication to the *amadlozi* that the individual can court or date. Gifts of beads, (from whence the notion of the 'love letter is derived') or often a simple necklace are given to a boyfriend as an expression of love.

[71] A coming of age ceremony, conducted by the parents, for their daughter. Girls from the *Izigodi* will sing and dance at this event, dressed in beadwork, while walking through the neighbourhood and collecting gifts. Here the girl celebrating *umemulo* will wear *isidwaba*, a pleated leather or fabric skirt, a distinct symbol of fidelity or in this case the intention for marriage. The girl will wear a necklace bearing a beaded word, beaded panels or *amadavathi*, across the breast and shoulder area, and a tassled necklace called *intshebe. Icilongo* or Bugles are used to announce the ceremony a week beforehand and on commencement of the ceremony. During the ceremony she is required to be draped in the stomach lining of a freshly slaughtered cow. Well wishers will offer blankets and pin money in her hair.

[72] Proposal to marry in which *abakhongi* or representatives will perform *ukukhuleka*, an explanation of the *isibongo*, the proposer's surname, and *izithakazelo*, the praise names of his family.

[73] A ceremony where the family of the girl will compile a list of goods to be supplied by the groom's family. Often a sheep is slaughtered here.

[74] A ceremony in which the family of the girl brings gifts to the groom's family home. Here the girl will were the beads of the Izigodi.

[75] *Isipho* is a ceremony that involves gift giving by the groom and his family to the bride and her family in accordance with their requisites.

[76] The wedding ceremony, at which cows are slaughtered. Here the bride will most often hire beads.

[77] It is noteworthy that *isimodeni* or the modern sequence is broadly referred to as being 'Zulu', identifiable by its simple colourful aesthetic, or by the use of contemporary secondary colours, composed in hues. Sometimes beads may be translucent and shiny. A longer bead is also an indicator.



Figure 5.17: Gifts are carried to the groom's house at an *umabo* event (Gatfield 2013).



Figure 5.18: Examples of *isimodeni* at ceremonies. (Gatfield 2013).



Figure 5.19: A Qadi bride at *umshado*, wearing hired beadwork in MaQadini, KwaNyuswa (Gatfield 2013).

During this study I attended an *umembeso; isikwehlela; umemulo;* and *umshado,* the latter depicted in Figure 5.16. These images are examples of traditional Qadi beadwork, parts of which were hired from Majola, which appear to consistently contain letterforms, together with a phatically employed *isijolovane* sequence. Further the image represents how the beadwork is worn in conjunction with other visual signifiers particular to the Qadi and Nyuswa.

I spoke to Zinhle Phewa at Mnamatha, on the 22 March 2012, about the role of beadwork in the stages of life, or as used in the relevant ceremonies, amongst the Qadi. She explained:

Between the ages of 2-6 we might tie a small string around the child's waist or sometimes we also use a woolen *isigege,* or tassled skirt. Later, at around 7-11, we will put on a beaded isigege skirt or the pleated skirt. The young girls will wear a black, yellow, or red skirt.



Figure 5.20: Attendees from Camperdown display a rarely seen example of isijolovane combined with white, seen on *isigege* skirt (Gatfield 2011).



Figure 5.21: 2011 Reed Dance: LEFT: Isijolovane ibande, or belt; CENTRE: Isijolovane ibande and ibayi, the red often printed skirt; RIGHT: Isijolovane in *isigege, the tassledf skirt and Wiyica,* the beaded skirt. (Gatfield 2011).

Then, when we send them to *eNyokeni*, at the Reed Dance, (see Figure 5.21) they are about sixteen, but they must be virgins. Then we will give them *ibayi,* the printed fabric wrap, to wear together with the Qadi beads on their heads and neck and *ibande*, or belt around their waist. In the old days, when a girl would first menstruate they would also put a white string around the waist. I wore this.

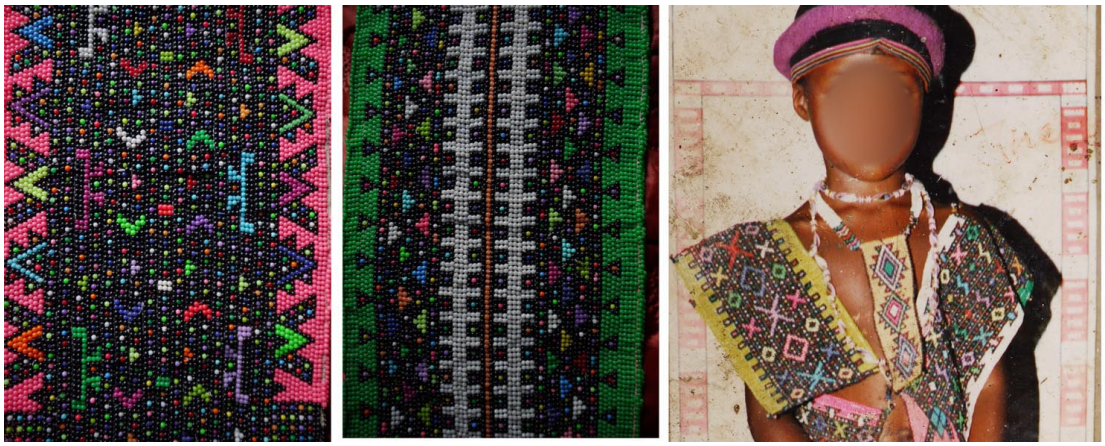


Figure 5.22: LEFT AND CENTRE: Amadavathi, worn in the KwaNyuswa region as lapels.
RIGHT: Child wearing amadavathi 2013. (Gatfield 2013)

When asked about the role of beadwork in the *iLobolo*[78] negotiations she replied:

> No there's none. Simply, when the cows are paid it is marriage time. Then you will see the beadwork at *umembeso*, *isipho* and *umshado.* Before, couples used to go to court, at Ndwedwe, in full beads to be registered, but this is no longer practiced. That time the brides wore beaded *inkehle*[79] *and amadavathi*[80]*,* on their shoulders, the latter can be seen on the shoulders of the child in figure 5.22, and they would wear *isigqizo,* on their legs, seen in figure 5.23.

[78] iLobolo is a bride wealth payment. The practice which continues today, was, in the past, viewed as compensation for the loss of potential fertility to the wife's family group. To this end an infertile wife could be returned to the brides family or a surrogate mother could be provided. Ordinarily paid in cattle and other goods as agreed upon between both parties (Mountain 1999).

[79] Originally made from hair matted with red clay, today inkehle is made from a thick woven string. It is the sign of the married women. The Nyuswa and Qadi seem to decorate these with beaded brooches in a manner that can be quite visually spectacular. Seen in figures

[80] Beaded Shoulder panels or epaulettes.



Figure 5.23: TOP ROW – Left to right – Tenjiwe Majola and her sister during the 70's (Majola 2013).
BOTTOM ROW: As displayed in Killie Campbell Museum, UKZN in 2013. Images are labled "Studio Photographs of married women from Ndwedwe 1970'S. From Kitty Studios, Pietermaritzburg". Noteworthy are the use of headdresses, larger beaded shawls, belts and aprons. The size of which seems to have reduced. The use of *amadavathi* or lapels and *igqizo* the wrapped anklets is still consistent with contemporary examples.

Noteworthy is that evidence of Zinhle Phewa's account was clearly evident in the various images of beadwork in this chapter. The interview began to point to a longstanding tradition of *isijolovane*, as worn by those within the Ngcobo fold, which had been in use for a 40-50 year period.

This tradition was most apparent in an interview with 84 year old Qambani Phewa in March of 2013 at Ngode *izigodi* in KwaNyuswa. She explained:

> I grew up here and have been here since 1929, but I am doing *ugyaza* now, im in mourning for my husband. I'm a widow. I am Nyuswa, I'm not Zulu. The Nyuswa and Qadi we are the same we both wear the same beads. But the Nyuswa we have our own *nkosi* and the Qadi they have

their own *nkosi*. We use a lot of black because it brings out the colours, no other reason. My mother taught me this beadwork and I taught it to my daughter.

This interview with Qambani Phewa places the Nyuswa identity as at least 84 years old. When comparing Qambani Phewa's design style with that of the Mafunze beadwork found in Pietermaritzburg, a fairly reasonable similarity does seem apparent, as seen in figure 5.25. Qambani was the oldest respondent in the sample and also the only respondent to be unaccepting of the Zulu identity.

It was during this period of research that I also began to document, as seen in figure 5.24, the components of a Nyuswa woman's traditional outfit, with the view of understanding how the various beaded artifacts were worn as a single outfit, and if this line of enquiry might illuminate thinking on denotative commonalities and inter-subpolity denotative difference, in dress and beadwork.



Figure 5.24: As representing the components of tradition dress of an *omakoti* or married woman, compiled from various respondents. From LEFT TO RIGHT, TOP TO BOTTOM: Unfinished *isidwaba*, the marriage skirt made of panels of goat skin sewn together to resemble pleats; *Ilema*, fabric beaded apron worn at the back, over *isidwaba; umqulu or Mgunqulu*, rolled fabric or grass in stocking tied around buttocks. This is covered by *Ilema* It is said to have derived from an emulation by Nguni women of female Victorian visitors wearing corsetry, during the 1800's. The intention is to accentuate the buttocks; rolled up *isidwaba*: the black colour is achieved by rubbing animal fat and soot, into the leather; *umtakelo*, a skirt made by either sewing on binding or by placing layer upon layer of fabric on top of each other, particular to the Nyuswa and Qadi dress, with safety pins and beaded broached

sometimes added; *ipinifa* with *amaphovela*- pinafore or breast piece with pom poms; referred to as *uWuyici*, featuring block capital letterforms, most particular to the Qadi dress; *uTshodo* – shawl worn over shoulders; *iziqhezu* or *izigqizo*, beaded 'chain' wrapped around legs, particular to the Nyuswa and Qadi dress.; *isicholo* or *inkehle* inside view with *isipelethi* or pinned beaded broaches: some look like butterflies called *imvemvane*, particular to the Nyuswa and Qadi dress; *inkehle* top view beaded strips also a noteworthy signifier of the Nyuswa; FROM TOP TO BOTTOM: *Amaphovela*, worn around the top of *inkehle*, thin headband worn over *umncwazi*, note the 'military styled buttons' said to originally have been cut off dead British soldiers; *umncwazi* or headband; *iThawula*, a particular design of towel such as this is most common, sometimes rolled to emulate the extended buttock or also worn as a shawl tied at the front.



Figure 5.25: TOP: Qambani Phewa's beadwork. Image on TOP bears an interesting similarity to that of the Mafunze pieces found at Natal Museum (Gatfield 2013).

Establishing a reasonable grasp of the socio-political 'strands' of multi-site commonality 'sewn' into the beadwork, if I can put it that way, began to offer some clarity on how an identity can offer individuals a sense of identity often through the 'difference' it offers.

During this study, interviews were also structured in a manner that might reveal difference, however subtle, between the sub-polities of the Ngcobo, particularly between the two most dominant of these, the Nyuswa and Qadi.

5.6 Denotative differences and consistencies in sub-polity beadwork

Certainly two separate sub-polities do exist, each at multiple geographically dispersed sites and as subscribing to *indunas* or headmen, and *amakosi*, or in some cases ward councillors (COGTA 2013).

The following interviews and examples serve, in my view, to illustrate that beadwork is unconsciously denotative, through the consistency of multi-site visual examples; and consciously, on the part of those interviewed by myself or by staff of Killie Campbell Museum, are open to various connotative explanations of the beadwork. These latter interviews appear to bear little consistency.

During this study I visited two Qadi sites in KwaNyuswa, namely MaQadini at Mnamatha, on the most southern point of peri-urban KwaNyuswa, and MaQadini at Mabedlane approximately 50 kilometers away, in what might be deemed as a 'rural' area. I later learnt of another Qadi polity at ePhepatini in the Ndwedwe Municipality, also about 50km away from Mnamatha. I did not visit this polity.

Inspired by my interview with Tenjiwe Majola, in which some difference between the Nyuswa and Qadi had been intimated, I interviewed Tembi Magwaza at Mabelane, on the 15 March 2013. It should be noted that her home is not easily accessible. Mabelane is at the most northern region of KwaNyuswa, and bordered by an undeveloped green belt.

Part of the journey, to her home, was made by foot, and was preceded by an hour drive through difficult and hilly dirt roads. On reaching her home, my guide's proficiency was apparent. He had called her, warning her of the visit. As I entered the mud structure, I was presented with a display of beadwork laid out on the floor, as seen in figure 5.26. I was immediately struck by a series of commonalities in the beadwork of Tenjiwe Majola at MaQadini at Mnamatha.



Figure 5.26: Beadwork displayed during an interview conducted in a Qadi area at Mabelane, KwaNyuswa (Gatfield 2013).

The visual consistency of the multi-coloured, block capitals constructed together with *isijolovane* was most obvious. This was also consistent with beadwork on display at the Killie Campbell Museum from ePhephatini. I asked her about this beadwork. She responded by saying:

> My husband is Qadi, but I was born here at Mabelane, but I see myself as Zulu, Qadi is a place. All women of the Qadi use the letters like this. When I made this it was a message to my parents, to show them that I could make letters like those at school. Well its not words just letters. I was trying to say that I wanted to go to school, but they didn't send me. I wanted to show them that I would be brilliant.



Figure 5.27: *Ilema* of Tembi Magwaza, containing letterforms and star symbol. (Gatfield 2013)

In another piece, an *Ilema* or apron worn at the rear, a second commonalty, the star, was identified as consistent with pieces found at Mnamatha in KwaNyuswa, ePhephatini and Emkhambathini, respectively in the Ndwedwe region, seen in figure 5.27. I asked her about this 'star' symbol, as being a Qadi signifier. She replied:

> No, this is just to say I was trying to be a star or that I was a star because I had stayed a virgin. I was proud of this.

I asked about the other symbol, seen in red, comprised of a vertical line and triangle.
She replied:

> Oh that was based on a mathematical sign. It was part of me showing I could be a scholar. It was a shape I copied from a piece of paper I found.

The third consistency was the use of the cross or in this case repeated crosses again seen at Mnamatha and at ePhephatini. I asked about their symbolism. She responded:

> Well I am part of the Lutheran Church, so this is to say I am a Christian. But my life has been hard even though I pray. I lost my husband, I lost my four children too. Two of them died at an early age and the third's died at childbirth, the fourth child's intestines twisted and died. You can see my house is falling down too.Still I stay a Christian, it helps me. I think the Christian

religion has also changed things for the worse. People don't buy this traditional beadwork anymore. Now we sell this *isimodeni* beadwork to the Whites,(pointing a collection of modern necklaces). I would love to bring back the old Zulu designs. This modern stuff is too shiny.



Figure 5.28: Beadwork of Zamuntu Phewa from KwaNcgolisi a Nyuswa area. (Gatfield 2013)

The reference to the crosses and the structure of the beadwork was almost identical to a Nyuswa respondent, Zamuntu Phewa, interviewed on 15 March 2013 at Ncolosi who explained that this piece, made in 1940, was a visual reference to being of the Roman Catholic Church.

These various visual elements - the alphabets, mathematical symbol and the Christian crosses, point to the social dynamics of identity formation amongst the Nyuswa. However, the reference to, and apparent disdain for, *isimodeni* by Tembi Magwaza, appears to offer an apparent contradiction.

The *isimodeni* beadwork sequence emerges as symbolising 'modernisation', yet conversely the inclusion of alphabets and mathematical symbols in Magwaza's beadwork also speaks to the culture or nature of 'Nyuswaness' as aspiring to the qualities of the West. The use of alphabets then also emerges as both a signifier of sub-polity denotation, but also as an intentional engagement with the West. This position, as revealed in the various interviews in this chapter, can then seemingly be extrapolated to the use of Christian crosses as public declarations of the shift in belief from a traditional belief system to Christianity, brought by Westerners, and through the inclusion of the Christian cross with the phatic *isijolovane* pattern as denoting a simultaneous association to being of amaQadi or amaNyuswa. These various expressions connected to modernization, point seemingly to

the *isimodeni* sequence as less significantly denoting modernization in the minds of respondents, and as more broadly denoting being Zulu.

It was also interesting to note the similarity, in the use of *isijolovane*, and in some cases star-like shapes sometimes also combined with diamond shapes, in Tembi Magwaza's beadwork (figure 5.27) and Zamuntu Phewa's beadwork (Figure 5.29), both of whom aligned themselves with the Nyuswa polity, and that of Tenjiwe Majola (seen in bottom of figure 5.32), and that from the Killie Campbell Museum (seen in figure 5.32 TOP and CENTRE).

However a distinct departure from the amaQadi alphabetical forms, is most probably seen in the combined use of the cross, star and tree, seen in the images in figure 5.32, as almost identical in structure, although from various sources.

As introduced earlier, I interviewed Selephi Blose of the Omablose at Modini TA while conducting a purposive sample concerning the use of the 'pine tree-like' motif also seen in examples of *amaTshodo* encountered at Killie Campbell museum (TOP in figure 5.32) and African Arts Centre (BOTTOM THREE ROWS in figure 5.31). It is noteworthy that the tree motif, when turned on its side, might be misconstrued as an aeroplane.

Selephi, a part-time beadworker and practicing Sangoma, acknowledges that the OmaBlose live on Nyuswa land but explains that they are not Nyuswa.



Figure 5.29: Beadwork of Zamuntu Phewa. (Gatfield 2013)

When asked if the tree-like form denotes the Nyuswa she replied:

> Oh no, you must understand we base our beadwork on what we see, we draw from our environment. If we see a tree that we like we will copy it. (I never did see a fir or pine tree in the area). I include letters and trees in my designs. I see beadwork as dictated more by the stitch. None of these symbols have any meaning. When a group of the Omablose get together, we will buy some mixed beads and then we will make what we we all decide. For us we just mix colours it purely creative. It does describe being Nyuswa or that you are from KwaNyuswa. Now, if I look at the Mkhizane TA, I can identify them by their beads. We are not like that, we use mixed colours with black like the Qadi because they are dominant here.



Figure 5.30: Beadwork bearing strong resemblance to the Qadi visual system. RIGHT: Selephi dressed in a very similiar manner to that of those of the Qadi (Gatfield 2013).

Selephi's 2013 interview was, in my view, full of contradictions and double statements. Selephi and I discussed at length the notion of being a conquered people of the Zulu and her willingness to remain a Zulu subject. Most noteworthy in this interview is her dismissal of any denotative system: instead, like most other respondents, she turns to explaining away a clearly apparent visual sequence and design construct as creative expression, the appropriation of external influences, the availability of beads or beading stitches, as the sequential configuration of lines of beads. Like most interviewees, she inadvertently or unknowingly acknowledged a dual identity, as that of Blose and Zulu, and also inadvertently acknowledges the existent visual systems of the Qadi and Mkhizane, after unconsciously dismissing the value of beadwork as a form of denotation.

However, as acknowledged previously, beadwork is open to creative expression, creative interpretation and explanation, bead availability, fashion and influence, but beadwork sequencing most often seems to occur unknowingly and unconsciously, and within the confines of a visual system or formula.

What emerges is how humans, throughout history, even if unschooled in the art of maintaining a visual formula or visual consistency of colour palette, symbol and pattern, have through a willingness or necessity to subscribe to broader identities, creatively negotiated sub-polity identities for themselves. In this 'creative negotiation' process I include political agenda and spiritual preference. This process, it appears, is not necessarily intentional and is very often simply a manifestation of creativity and resourcefulness. By this I am referring to an apparent parallel that might be struck between the beadwork denotation of the Nyuswa and others within the Zulu fold, who make use of material culture through phatic and metalinguistic means. A similar creative expression is manifested through the heraldry (Neubecker 1976) and tartans (Hageney 1987) of early socio-political groups in Europe and in Great Britain, who were faced with demonstrating allegiance through a visual communication of commonality and difference.

In almost every interview that I conducted, the connotative descriptions offered seemed to be constructed as if to serve an expected or an anticipated connotative explanation. I began to wonder if this in itself was not some kind of cultural nuance. An example of this, in reference and in contrast to the consistency of existent denotative mark-making, I suggest is best demonstrated in a display at the Killie Campbell Museum. The caption for the display at Killie Campbell Museum (Figure 5.32 TOP image) reads:

> BRIDAL CAPES. BEADWORK 'TELLING' THE BRIDE'S PERSONAL STORY...
> This is MaMgwamanda Mdluli's beaded cape (*utshodo*), She was a 3rd wife from Emkhambathini, Ndwedwe. The beadwork style of her cape is typical of the contemporary dress and beadwork from the area, a style known locally as *Umkhambathi*, indicating the origins of the wearer, its multiple colours referring to the fertility of both area and women. MaMgwamanda has worked into the motifs and colours of the upper section of her cape the following communication or statement about herself:

The central pink star-shape declares, '*ngiyikhanyezi yomuzi*' (I am the star of the home). The two tree-shapes are to be read as one, *'ngiyisihlahla esiluhlazana* (I am a green tree) and '*ngiyindoni yamanzi'* (I am the fruit of the umdoni tree). The blue cross indicates, '*ungenzele isiphambano solwandle'* (he (husband) is making the cross of the sea), while the yellow cross is there merely to balance the design, a process described as '*ngigcwalisela ukuhlobisa'* (I am adding (a motif/ pattern or colour) for decoration). The series of square-edged triangles are *'ucezu Iwenyanga'* (half-moons). The other isolated motifs and the base pattern were not read1 and are to be taken in their form QS regional identifiers. For the interpretation of her lower cape section the maker declared: The alphabetical patterning is meant as writing, 'Ohe zenda zangishiya ezangakithi ' (Oh poor me, all the girls of my age went to get married and left me (behind). MaMgwamanda is illiterate and the individual alphabetical letters stand for whole words, thus 'E hh E' means *'Ehe*l' (Oh poor me…). Z stands for *'zenda'* (getting married), g K T H stands for 'ezanga kithi' (girls of my village). The double '8' shapes and 'H' shapes on the ends were said to act to, "complete the pattern" thus it is not important for them to be interpreted.



Figure 5.31: A*matTshodo* or capes (African Arts Centre 2012).
These images show the consistent use of the arrow, which could be seen as an aeroplane, and which when duplicated also could be seen as tree form.



Figure 5.32: A*matTshodo* or capes. Visual devices consistently used by the Qadi: the tree, the star and block type. TOP: From Emkhambathini, Ndwedwe, belonging to MaMgwamanda Mdluli (Killie Campbell Museum 2013). MIDDLE : Unknown maker, ePhephatini, near Ndwedwe (Killie Campbell Museum 2013).BOTTOM: Piece made this year by Tenjiwe Majola from Mnamatha.

Like the interviews that precede this description of the Killie Campbell *utshodo* display, I find it difficult to fully reconcile that such definitive description and explanation is to be taken as an objective translation of the Nyuswa or Qadi beadwork. If anything, it is clear that the creation of the piece was most likely the product of assimilation and appropriation or a negotiated outcome amongst peers.

However this is not to imply that each individual beadmaker is not, during her own creative process, attaching complex meaning to each piece through colour selection, placement and design. Rather the converse is most likely a normative practice if one considers the context of the society in which it is created.

Wells et. al (2004:76) explain that an enduring cultural taboo within Zulu society " forbids the discussion of matters of personal intimacy, love, and sexuality, which often is still strictly applied. In the rural communities of KwaZulu-Natal, the anthropological imperative for the expression of matters of intimacy has resulted traditionally in beadwork as the mode of conveying the innermost feelings of love and devotion, jealousy, and pique. While knowledge is traditionally imparted primarily through the performed media of song and dance, storytelling, and proverbs, taboo topics are expressed in the mediated form of beadwork, an intricate and detailed system of fixed communication describing, communicating, and facilitating ideas of an intimate nature". In the context of beadwork as a means of connotative or metaphorical communication, it would appear that MaMgwamanda Mdluli is making use of a denotative visual system to make particular, heart-felt social comments.

However, what is most consistent in the explanations of the pieces, by the makers throughout this study, is the relative inconsistency in connotative interpretations being offered, driving the conclusion that each description is innately subjective.

The use of what might be deemed as an ostensibly denotative visual system, also employed to deliver metaphorical messaging, or in serving creative expression, certainly offers another dimension to understanding the material culture of the Nyuswa and Qadi. Collectively both denotative and connotative messaging serves, in some cases, as a means of literally, 'wearing one's heart on one's

sleeve', while being simultaneously the beadwork being imbued with messages of locality, solidarity and socio-political affiliation.

Mduduzi Fuze, whom I interviewed again at KwaNyuswa Lusikisiki during a joint research trip to the area in 2014, offered a slightly different interpretation of the tree, star and letterform motifs, to that offered by the Nyuswa and Qadi beadworkers at KwaNyuswa in KZN. He explains that the star may have deeper significance in representing the Nyuswa legacy as follows:

> According to records generated by British officials in the Sudan, which I accessed while serving in the African Union in Sudan, the Nubian people or the Musi were already Christianised during the era of Pope Francis I. Conflict between the Roman Empire and the Arab forces culminated in the Battle of Zama, at Egyptian city of Alexandria, where the Musi were settled. This resulted in the Musi retreating from the Arab conquerors, moving South for safer, 'greener pastures'. As is most often recounted in nativity presentations, a bright star served to navigate various individuals to Christ's place of birth. Similiarly the Musi, followed the Southern Star south wards, clinging to the coast, as dense forests and marshland prohibited their progress through the interior. It must also be remembered that the Musi spent time in Ethiopia where the star can be found in their Coptic crosses.[81]

[81] It would appear that while attempting to verify Fuze's overall account, as detailed in this chapter, of the Nyuswa history, much of this does appear, as is later demonstrated in this chapter, to be plausible. However, in the previous text detailing the movements and activities of the Musi or Nubian people, some parts of this account appear valid, and yet, discrepancies do appear to emerge. By protraction and interpretation, it does seem possible to envisage some misunderstanding or misinterpretation of these British records, by Fuze, is his recount of events.

Given that the Battle of Zama is the only significant timemarker, in the aforementioned section of his account, it might appear that this seemingly disjointed record is of no relevance. Instead, as emerges through an analysis of this text, it would appear, if the Nubian or Musi did leave Egypt, that they did so in the latter part of the 1800's. Conversely, although unlikely, another possibility, is that this account represents a very gradual social displacement of the Nubian out of Egypt over a period of some 2000 years.

As a form of validation, of this portion (of the Musi) account, it does appear that a place called Nubia, situated below Egypt, in the south did exist, in 200BC, and that a largely Hellenistic ruling class presided in Egypt, during that period. However, Alexandria, the largest and wealthiest city, is situated on the very opposite, northly coast, of Egypt (Time Maps History Atlas 2014). Nubians and Greeks can still be found in Alexandria today together with a large population of Muslims (Sedsky 1995). However, the City is thousands of kilometres from where the Battle of Zama took place. This battle was the culmination of a "one hundred year struggle between Rome and Carthage for the mastery of the Mediterranean". This battle was fought between forces led by Scipio, the Roman General, and Hannibal of the Carthaginians, in 202 B.C., and was not a war between the Romans and the Arabs, as indicated by Fuze.

The exact site of the battle is contested, however it is accepted that the battle took place in what is now modern Tunisia, situated on the southern coast of the Mediterranean, directly opposite to Italy, home to the Romans. Carthage was a

Lamp (2012:113) offers that, “Ethiopia holds a unique place among the African cultures south of the Sahara as an early Christian civilization, derived from the Church of Alexandria.

Hellenistic kingdom. It is also posited that the battle might have taken place at Zama Regia, the royal capital of a native or Berber people called the Numidians (Russell 1970). It is not clear, therefore, whether Fuze might be referring to the Numidians, from Zama Regia near Carthage, or the Nubians, from Nubia near Egypt.

Given the Hellenistic connection between Egypt and Carthage, the plausibility of the Nubians having been in the Battle of Zama, would not seem implausible, given the possibility of travel over sea, from Alexandria. Russell (1970) points out that this battle was won by Scipio, pointing to plausibility of Roman victors, moving in a northeasterly direction, towards Alexandria, in Egypt.

Fuze’s mention of the Roman presence in Egypt also appears accurate. (Bell 1927:178) offers, that “by the first century B.C. Egypt had become little better than a protectorate of Rome”.

Regarding Fuze’s positioning of his account, in relation to Christianity’s inception in Egypt, it emerges that, St Mark, a native of Libya, is said to have brought Christianity to Alexandria in 48AD, with the Coptic Church remaining in existence in Egypt today. However, this Church appears to have never installed a Pope Francis I (Coptic Orthodox Church Network 1998).
Fuze did not clarify which Church or religious system he is referring to, regarding the papacy, however, Pope Francis I, of the Catholic Church was only installed in 2013 (Vatican Radio 2013). Again this points, some of Fuze’s account being innacurate, and to some of it pointing to the validity of the Nubians being Christianised. However, what also comes into question is the time period he is referring to.

By the fifth century, the Treaty of Babylon resulted in the Romans surrendering the greater part of Egypt to the Arabs, including Alexandria. In 642 AD the Roman army sailed out of Alexandria harbor, and the Arab army marched in (Bell 1927). This points to a measure of validity in Fuze’s claim of the conflict in Egypt. The Nubian enslavement is also a consideration, at this point in this analysis, detailed later in Fuze’s account, wheres he points to the Musi being enslaved.

Steele (1996:560) speaks of the Nubian’s displacement as a “military slave community” from the Upper Nile region to Uganda, confirming as Fuze indicates that the Nubian’s did leave Egypt, to the move in a southerly direction via Ethiopia, along the eastern part of Africa. Steele (1996:560) points out that the Nubians in Uganda, retain “a feeling of distinctiveness” which can best be explained by their origins of military slavery in service of colonialists, with its inception, in the Nile region, in around 1882. This dating, of the inception of slavery in the Upper Nile region, places the Nubians as leaving Egypt much later than what Fuze appears to indicate.

Fuze’s reference to the ‘Musi’might have some connection to the ‘Mursi’, “who are still actively a polity “in the far southwest of Ethiopia, about 100 km from the Kenyan border”, encountered by an early Italian Geographic Society contingent in 1896 (Turton 2004:3).

Although merely conjecture, Christian Nubians may have remained amongst the Mursi, given their contact with Christianity in Alexandria (Bell 1927), and some may have parted ways to settle in Uganda. Steele (1996) indicates that many of the Nubians in Uganda, had Muslim origins.

However those moving into Ethiopia seemed, as Fuze indicates to be ‘lead by the stars’. As implausible as this may sound, a paper based on studies of the Mursi conducted by anthropologists and archeoastronomers, point to the Mursi’s “use of the successive disappearance of four stars to demarcate the flood season”. These observations appear to offer some plausibility to Fuze’s reference to the Musi “following the Southern Star” or Southern Cross, well known to appear, with the naked eye, as being comprised of four stars, to which he relates as being the inspiration of the Coptic crosses of Ethiopia.



LEFT: Figure 5.33. Christian Processional Cross, Ethiopian Orthodox Tawahido Church, Ethiopia, 1260—1300 a.d. Brass, Yale University Art Gallery (Lamp 2012).

MIDDLE: Figure 5.34. Bronze, Processional cross from Aksu, Ethiopia, dated as 14th or 15th century (Cornell University 2014).

RIGHT: Figure 5.35. Ethiopian Orthodox Cross (Coolchaser 2014).

In this way the star becomes a symbol upon which these Musi Christians may have placed some significance in their move southward from Ethiopia. Fuze explained thats this was due to the Southern Cross's role in their escape from Arab forces who had captured many of the Nyuswa who they made into slaves. . Again it is also possible that Fuze is referring to Arab slave traders, in the eastern coastal areas near the Sudan (Kusimba 2004).

With reference to the tree motif, Fuze offers that this might have been adopted for cultural reasons, explaining that:

> The head of the Nyuswa people was called the *umtimkulu* or the 'seed holder' also referred to as the 'big tree'. Chiefs were referred to in this way. Chiefs would build their house on the top of hills, as the last place to be attacked. Villagers would protect this house in times of war. If it 'fell' so too would the people. In another way a large tree, large enough to accommodate the

community in its shade, was selected by the chief as a 'sitting court' where he would preside. This is also referred to as the *umtimkulu or umkhula.*

Mdu Fuze's explanation of the letterforms used by the Qadi in their beadwork also seems plausible, when viewed in the context of their past. He explains:

> The use of letters may be an expression of scholarly pride, attributed to the influence of Reverend Daniel Lindley, who had a close relationship with chief Mqawe of the Qadi.Reverend Daniel Lindley was an American Missionary who travelled to South Africa with his wife in 1837. He and his wife, Lucy Allen, founded the Inanda Seminary School for Girls in 1869 (Global Ministeries 2012). He was later made Bishop of the same area in which Mqawe governed, which initially presented some tension, but he assisted Mqawe, who also attended Sunday Services at the Bishop's chapel, along with the Qadi people, acquiring ploughs, horses and a wagon. The mission school began as an all-girls boarding school where girls were taught arithmetic, geography, Bible study and sewing. Later the Bishop and a colleague were named *amaQadi omahlophe*, the white Qadi. This was also the site where the father of John Dube, founding President of the ANC, James Dube, who married Elizabeth Shangase, was ordained as Priest. This event followed the ordaining of a Nyuswa individual Umsingaphansi Nyuswa, who was ordained at Imfume on the South Coast. The ordaining of James Dube was attended by many of the Nyuswa (Hughes 2011).

The influence of Bishop Lindley and his wife on young Qadi girls, together with the ordaining of James Dube, a member of the amaQadi is therefore significant in tying Christianity and scholarship to the material culture of the Qadi. It is also therefore plausible that meaning was created, through these influences, for these young girls, which then became imbued into beadwork as a form of identity denotation.

As seen in figure 5.26 and at the top of figure 5.36 the amaQadi appear to use the alphabet 'pattern', combined with isijolovane, as a means to denote difference from their Nyuswa counterparts. The

influence of early Christian Missionaries and Tembi Magwaza's motivation for making the alphabet sequence, point to the power of political agendas in permeating identity expression. In my view, this manifestation of modernity in their beadwork also points to a basis for the suspicion, posited in this study, that the *isimodeni* sequence represents an encroachment underpinned by political agendas on the amaNyuswa's way of life.



Figure 5.36: These images appear to underpin the notion that polity identity is still being manifested with some of these images being as little at five years old. FROM TOP TO BOTTOM LEFT TO RIGHT: Women from the Qadi at Mbedlane; Women of Qadi at Mnamatha (the consistent use of type or letterforms within the Qadi is noteworthy); women of the Khuzwayo at Shongweni; and women of the Blose at Molweni.

A fitting description of the negotiated balance between denotative and connotative creation of meaning emerged in an interview with Selephi Blose, in 2013 at Modini, KwaNyuswa. She explained that:

> With each ceremony we OmaBlose women have a meeting and discuss the collective approach to the outfit. We decide, over two days, how two different oufits for two consecutive ceremonies that will be worn. We pool our money and we buy the necessary equipment and materials. We will often sit together and make these garments. That way we can often see what each other is doing.

In the case of the Omablose image (at the bottom of figure 5.36), the level of consistency and individual creativity that is being negotiated within the constraints of a common visual denotative purpose is significant. It was interesting to also note that the omaBlose elected in this case, to wear green *isigqizo* or chain-like legging wraps, in contrast to the Qadi, who always seem to wear white *isigqizo*. The use of handbags and umbrella is noteworthy: these are also very similar to each other, yet uniquely different also. The use of *amaphovela* or pom-poms, a Qadi and Nyuswa tradition, is also of interest, pointing to interpolity visual assimilation.

Evidence of such visual consistency was a phenomenon also seen, in figure 5.36, of the AmaQadi at Mabedlane (TOP), the amaQadi at Mnamatha (MIDDLE LEFT); and the amaKhuzwayo at Shongweni (MIDDLE RIGHT).

What emerges as a recurring theme is the action of beadmaking as offering meaning, however much this is verbally unjustified in interview responses. In ontological terms, the outfits and the beadwork appear to offer status, a sense of femininity and vibrancy in an otherwise visually dull and patriarchal environment. The outfits appear to offer a means of recognition through the creation of both denotative and connotative meaning, with the latter being negotiated through very personal expression and interpretation, within the formula provided. In this way, material culture appears to serve simultaneously as the basis for individual and group identity, through visual commonality and through difference.

5.7 Material culture as identity

In reference to the relationship between ethnicities and borders, Barth (as cited in Swift 2013: 299) describes ethnicities as fundamentally a matter of boundaries between groups, which are relatively stable.

It was estimated by Mdu Fuze that the Nyuswa and the Qadi have lived side by side, in KwaNyuswa, since the latter part of the 18th Century as traditionally independent socio-political entities, both subscribing to the Ngcobo or Fuze 'house'. To this end and based on the data presented in this chapter, it appears plausible that two slightly separate beadwork conventions may have formed.

Barth (ibid) continues: "ethnic boundaries are permeable and individuals cross them and thus change ethnicities", reinforcing the idea that identities are dynamic and ever shifting. However Barth (ibid) emphasizes individual agency, where individuals perform identities and are judged on their performance by members of the in-group as well as by others.

This was a theme that seemed constant throughout most interviews conducted in the sample of beadwork owners or makers. Respondents all indicated that beadwork offered a means of inter-polity evaluation, based on the level of design and workmanship, and a means of identification.

Again, Barth (ibid) explains that " one may face negative sanctions for performing an identity poorly, and which identity one performs may depend on how others are likely to judge the performance, the relative benefits of different identities and other factors. In addition Swift (2013: 299) points out, that "it is widely accepted that ethnic and social identities are socially constructed through a process of negotiation between the individual and others, and between groups". He continues that while people can change ethnic identities, their options are also constrained.

Swift's (2013) references to the dynamics of social identity offer some insight into why and how the Nyuswa identity may have retained its integrity for some years. It points to the power of the 'group' in negotiating and maintaining systems of design and dress codes, while facilitating individual creativity. Swift's words also point to a propensity for an in-group to transform into an out-group, a notion that

describes why the Nyuswa and Qadi beadwork identity appears to be 'under threat', when juxtaposed with *isimodeni*.

Individuals charged, either directly or through social construction, with maintaining the Nyuswa and Qadi identities seem more pressingly subjected to the Zulu identity, or to a broader national identity as represented through *isimodeni,* a product of the tourism economy and a 'symbol' representative of modernity facilitated through a new democracy with complete access and exposure to the influences of the West. In travelling to the Cape, Gauteng and Pretoria I have noted the sale and use of *isimodeni* apparently transforming into a national 'traditional' costume component.

In reference to this change in Zulu society, Wells, Sienaert and Conolly (2004) explain that in rural Zulu communities, *ukuhlonipha,* a series of politeness conventions have, up until recently, dictated the proper behavior, topics, and modes of discussion for women, to practice. They include the way that a young bride, or *makoti,* will relate to her groom's family. Traditionally, such behavior would include a demonstration of commitment to the new family through the execution of specific duties. These include being a lifetime partner to her husband, bearing children, and providing services to the groom's family in the form of tasks as specialized as brewing Zulu beer, *umqombothi,* collecting water and firewood, mending thatch and scrubbing floors, and cooking and washing. In many instances, she will be restricted from going to the movies,(*angawahambi amabhayisikobho),* or visiting hotels (*angawahambi amahhotela).* These practices are changing.

Similiarly, in my experiences, most households I visited in KwaNyuswa, seem to have a cellphone, television or radio, or all three, offering inhabitants direct access to Western influence. Often I would enter a home made of mud, with a single light bulb hanging from a thatch roof, in which children would be singing the lyrics, verbatim, to the songs of Justin Beber or Khanye West, playing on a radio or on TV.



Figure 5.73: Photographs of 'The Festival of Beads Street Carnival', labelled as, "an empowerment initiative between Darkchild Bandz, CoGTA and the UMgungundlovu District Municipality" in which topless, scantily clad 'models' in high heels wearing what resembles traditional *isigege* and collar pieces, paraded through the streets of Pietermaritzburg. This 'display' included a parade of married women of the Mapumulo polity, (as identified by their beadwork) TOP RIGHT and of the Ngcobo polity or neighbouring region BOTTOM RIGHT wearing *isijolovane* (The New South Africa- Rainbow Nation 2013).

In an unusual hybridisation of fashion style, popular culture and traditional practice, an example of the move away from using primary and secondary colour compositions of beadwork towards a more direct assimilating of the Western use of 'warm' and 'cool' hues, together with white, black or gold, and silver beads, was evident in the 2013 Festival of Beads Parade, a precursor of the Mandela Marathon Week. The event, publicised online and in *Isolezwe Newspaper* on 19th August 2013, was detailed as, "an empowerment initiative between Darkchild Bandz, CoGTA and the UMgungundlovu District Municipality" (Ngubane 2013).

This endorsement by Government agencies of beadwork presented in this manner, speaks to an already positioned inertia regarding the promotion of *isimodeni,* and the diminishing role of polity beadwork conventions, as directly representing culture in the province.

Swift (2013:299) continues, that "while people can change ethnic identities, their options are constrained … by what others allow them to claim…. Identity categories are socially defined; individuals may have some flexibility in choosing how to identify themselves within these categories or may have little or no choice…. The State sometimes exercises the power of classification and plays a

significant role in determining which 'categories' are available and who is a member of which". He continues that like other identities, ethnic identities are historical and contextual, not absolute, and an individual can perform different identities for different audiences.

5.6 Conclusion

The role of the individual in serving the repositioning of identities, as directed by the state or by political proponents within society, seems evident in this chapter. As Swift (2013) indicates, such forces have the ability to disempower, or to reify selected parts of history and heritage.

During this research process, I became increasingly aware of the various factors and forces that appear to underpin what would otherwise be viewed as very superficial and predictable answers. I became increasingly aware of how sentences were being constructed to 'skirt' my pressing questions or to seemingly appease my enquiries. To this end it became apparent that some respondents felt that, as a matter of good hospitality I should be entertained with flamboyant descriptions of the beadwork's semiology or purpose.

In the case of Ntombi Magwaza, who I interviewed at Mabeldane in 2013, her position on the semiology of primary visual forms found in beadwork co-incided with that of MaMgwamanda Mdluli, as displayed at Killie Campbell Museum.

Both Ntombi Magwaza and MaMgwamanda Mdluli, both claimed that the star symbol was simply a symbol for wanting "to be a star" or to be "seen as a star", despite the overarching evidence that this symbol in the common 'three star' arrangement is used consistently by the Nyuswa and Qadi, a phenomenon verified through my personal observations, and not occurring in the beadwork of any other polity. The same appears to be true for the tree-like form, fairly consistent in examples of beadwork from KwaNyuswa and neighbouring regions. Finally, despite the block capital typography, used with *isijolovane*, being so prolifically employed by those living in Qadi areas, this phenomenon was dismissed, by Magwaza in 2013, as simply a need to communicate to her parents, that she had an ability for scholarship. By this, I do not imply an intentional dismissal: I view such responses as real

motivations for actions, but also as an unconscious 'assimilation' of culturally charged, and historically adopted denotative beadwork system.

The use of the cross symbol, as being semiotically representative of being Christianity, does however seem to be plausibly linked to the historic position of the Nyuswa as *amakolwa* or as being Christian converts (Mokoena 2011).

To a large extent, then, this study transformed into assessing data based on what was not being said, rather that was was actually being spoken.

Many of the responses offered during interviews, which I have elected not to highlight, were simply too 'thin' in data. As demonstrated during a process in which I asked ten respondents, who all claimed to be Nyuswa, to independently identify or explain photographs of beadwork much like those shown in this chapter, the response was a unanimous, "i'm sorry, I don't know". I acknowledge these responses as quite possibly truthful, but also as a product of political interference or as a consequence of the individuals being well aware that older identities held no currency. However, the responses also influenced my distrust of the primary data being collected.

With this caution in mind, I became aware of the numerous factors that impacted Zulu respondents. These include the system of *ukuhlonipha*; polygamy and HIV/AIDS contraction; modernity, as comprised of western culture, fashion, technology and religion, and the increased access to the city via taxi services. The propaganda released during the 'struggle' by various political forces also appears to continue to translate as various forms of hegemony.

Further, I became aware that 'beneath' answers lay the issue of allegiances. These included a continued or waning, allegiance to the Zulu Monarch. It was made clear that KwaNyuswa is and was always an ANC stronghold, and that the division between the King and Chief Buthelezi is a really a fairly recent division and so loyalties to the king are still intact, but 'thinly' so. In addition, I noted tensions over the positions of *induna's,* who many openly dismissed as leading *izigodi* unscrupulously; and over the social and political value of *amakosi* and the role of the former *isizwe* or now polity

system, as being of little real significance. Responses such as, “I’ve never even seen the chief, why doesn’t he come here and speak to us” or “today chiefs are just in it for the money, so we don’t respect them”, were common themes in interviews.

Conversely, I also questioned whether I might be imposing a construction on the identity debate, as a tension between ‘being Zulu’ and ‘being Nyuswa or Qadi’, through the phrasing of questions. Shifts in how I presented the questions, were lead by the data being concurrently gained through my investigations into the historic record. Interpretivistically, over time, thiese respective forms of data began to point to a real basis for suspicions that the Nyuswa were in fact separate from the Zulu prior to Shaka’s or Dingane’s reign, as indicated by Mdu Fuze in 2013, and corroborated by other documented oral records. A strong plausibility emerged that beadwork was very much a denotative device used to specifically communicate polity identity.

I must also acknowledge that the language barrier played a huge role in interrupting the fluidity of responses. In this way, I believe that I did not notice many subtle nuances.

In conclusion, what emerges in this chapter is the question of what is being lost - as the state and South African society grapple with levelling the economic playing field by embracing modernity and globalisation, and while simultaneously ensuring political security for themselves.

Rogerson (2000:397) indicates that, “since 1994 South Africa's macroeconomic strategy has sought to accommodate the forces of globalisation and ensure the country's re-entry into the global economy after two decades (1970-90) of relative international economic isolation. Haviland, Prins, Walrath and McBride (2010:337) similarly express their concern regarding the impact of globalization on developing countries and how these might be “transformed, disrupted, or damaged beyond repair”. They continue, that “when traditional communities are exposed to intense contact with technologically empowered groups their cultures typically change with unprecedented speed, often for the worse, disintegrating and losing support systems”. The authors continue that the course of

globalization seems unstoppable. The question then emerges as to how thousands of different societies, having existed for centuries, if not millennia, can maintain their distinctive cultural identities.

During this study, I became aware that those being interviewed, mostly over the age of forty, who might have believed that they might directly benefit, in terms of quality of life, from the fall of Apartheid, have not significantly done so. There were most certainly examples, in KwaNyuswa, of infrastructural intervention by the state - roads had been resurfaced, bus stops and taxi rank shelters built, and improved sanitation and water installed. However, the economic divide between those living in the neighbouring suburbs of Kloof, Hillcrest and Botha's Hill is still vast, despite attempts by the state to bridge the divide.

Despite attempts by NGO's such as the Hillcrest AIDS Centre Trust and Embocraft to support the craft and beadwork economy, policy efforts in 2012 by the Department of Tourism in the form of the *National Responsible Tourism Strategy* and the *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy* seem not to be translating into supporting those who want to assist. I spoke informally to representatives from both organisations who collectively indicated that most of their funding came from private sector sources.

Part of the re-entry of South Africa into the global economy has, as demonstrated, included the commodification of Zulu identity in serving the tourism sector. Eight years ago, in reference to the Zulu identity, Boram-Hayes wrote that, "within this unified identity there are multiple socio-economic, political, cultural, and religious divisions that are also important to the identity of the individual and speak of the variety of characteristics embraced by Zulu society as a whole". She continues that, "beadwork is used to communicate the location and historical moment in which an individual exists as well as his or her region of origin, generation, gender, age grade, social status, political affiliation, and religious orientation. Artists have over the years modified beadwork to adapt to new social, political, economic, and religious conditions and have used it to help individuals negotiate their places within these changeable realities" (Boram-Hayes 2005:49). As Boram-Hayes discusses the dual identities so evident in this chapter, her prose also serves to fittingly highlight the complex role of beadwork in bringing meaning to society.

This chapter has been an attempt to illustrate the beauty and complexity of what is being lost, and through that endeavour appears to have inadvertently revealed that a measure of complacency, or indifference, exists within the hearts and minds of those exhausted by poverty, who seem well disposed to simply discard old identities so as to be included in a new democratic South African society, seemingly restructured to facilitate economic equality.

As Boram Hayes (2005) indicates, beadwork is dynamic, and its makers are constantly adapting to their environment. As emergent in this chapter, 'change' seems to have followed an uncontested process of visual homogenization of 'First' with 'Third World' identities.

In the following chapter I examine the possibility of reconstituting those beadwork identities currently being discarded, in a manner that might meet with approval in international markets through the 'language' of branding and marketing.

CHAPTER SIX

EXPLORING THE ROLE OF BEADWORK IN RESPONSIBLE TOURISM ECONOMIES THROUGH APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY.

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focusses on the entrepreneurial activities of beadworkers and informal traders living and working in KwaNyuswa, in the Botha's Hill region and in Durban. It discusses the development of *isimodeni*, the beadwork style that appears to be synonymous with the Zulu identity. Further it discusses the basis for a differentiation brand strategy, based on emergent anthropological visual data, with the aim of serving new tourism related economies and reinvigorating existing ones. This chapter details two design intervention tests that investigate a basis for a commodification and brand development process, based on the epistemologies surrounding the Nyuswa identity and its related beadwork convention. These interventions are also based on an identified interest in beadwork and artefact evident, in international purchasing patterns, by visitors to South Africa, in pursuit of the seemingly 'authentic' and the exotic so often associated with the amaZulu, In this way the premise that beadwork might be used as brand equity in alleviating poverty is explored. This process is also detailed in reference to various other polity or regional identities, and related beadwork conventions, found in KwaZulu-Natal. To this end, it details the development of the Ntombi Handbag Project and the Durban Rickshaw Renovation Project, established to explore if poverty alleviation might be achieved, based on polity identity, within tourism economies.

6.2 Strategic approaches to Tourism in Durban and Cape Town

"Tourism is a priority sector for economic growth in South Africa, as in the majority of southern African countries. International tourism arrivals to South Africa have grown significantly since the advent of democracy, reaching 8.1 million arrivals in 2010 compared to just 3 million in 1992. Continued growth in international, regional and domestic tourism is projected through to 2020, when,

according to the country's National Tourism Sector Strategy (NTSS), South Africa aspires to be ranked amongst the world's top 20 destinations with 15 million international arrivals" (Department of Tourism 2012:2). Such aspirations seems encouraging but the reality of delivering on these aspirations seems an entirely different matter.

Seekings (2007:1) explains that, "democratic South Africa was born amidst high hopes for the reduction of poverty and inequality… under apartheid. The reality has been disappointing: despite steady economic growth, poverty probably rose in the late 1990s before a muted decline in the early 2000s, income inequality has probably grown, and life expectancy has declined". It's now commonly accepted that low life expectancy and the HIV pandemic are also intrinsically linked with poverty, aggravated, in part, by the effects of apartheid.

During August 1994, *the Daily News* newspaper featured an article on tourism, in which the then KZN provincial Minister of Tourism, Jacob Zuma, was cited as insisting that,"black people need to be involved in the tourism industry, as tourists, and in terms of employment. (as cited in Maharaj, Sucheran and Pillay 2006), pointing directly to an ill resolved tourism industry and residual racial inequalities.

The economic disjuncture created through apartheid is central to this PhD study. Twenty years later, 'responsible' broadening of access to local and international markets, to encompass the poor, as opposed to only favouring a racially orientated minority and the newly 'rich', seems to be slow in developing. This observation is largely based on feedback from those in the informal sector who service a relatively prosperous tourism industry.

"Tourism is a major economic activity in the city of Durban, or *eThekwini*[82] as it is known in the post-apartheid era, situated on the east coast of South Africa in the province of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). Durban is bounded by the Indian Ocean and the warm Mozambique current on the South African east

[82] Adrian Koopman (2002:157) suggests that, " the name eThekwini, may not be Zulu". Instead he explains that the word is probably of Lala origin, and is popularly taken to mean 'lagoon', or 'estuary', the body of water converted into Durban harbor. He continues that the word Thekweni can also refer to the, "one testicled one", referring to the shape of the bay.

coast. This sea current contributes to its pleasant climate, especially during winter. Durban has a subtropical climate with temperature ranging from 16°C to 25°C during winter, and between 25°C and 32°C during summer. Durban is fortunate to be one of the three most significant cities in South Africa, particularly because its spatial characteristics have always placed it in a favourable position and the local economy has benefited tremendously from the development of the port. Durban has long earned its prime position as one of South Africa's most popular year-round tourist destinations due to its expansive beaches, warm ocean, sunny climate and rich and diverse cultural heritage"
(Maharaj et. al 2006:264).

The authors (2006:272) continue that aside from the benefits of its seaside locality and weather, conference facilities, and sport economy, "there has been an increasing focus on eco-tourism and cultural tourism in Durban. The promotion of arts and culture serve not only to attract visitors but also to cater for the local population. The reason for the change in trends is two-fold. Firstly, the rise of Cape Town as a result of the waterfront development, the increasing number of timeshare resorts that have been established (an industry that was not available 15 years ago) has left tourists with many more options. Durban's market share is now significantly smaller, even more so with South Africa's tourism industry opening up to the rest of the world. Competition with other localities has made Durban the fourth choice of international tourists, after Johannesburg, Cape Town and the Kruger National Park. Furthermore, the city only attracts 9 percent of international tourists. However, the key to the city's success lies in its ability to promote attractions that are unique to Durban. Hence, Durban is now portrayed as a multicultural city - South Africa's true African city, in contrast to Cape Town, which is perceived as being cosmopolitan". However, what emerges, is if Durban is truly multicultural in its approach to suitably including the poor in its local Tourism development strategies; and if Durban's cultural uniquness is being suitably considered, as a means of serving such strategies and strategies outlined by the South African Department of Tourism.

Marschall (2002:734) points out that "pro-poor outcomes do not automatically arise from rapid growth of the tourism sector: the success of such initiatives is heavily dependent on a government's

willingness to provide a facilitating policy environment specifically targeting the poor, and establishing policy frameworks and institutions that ensure ongoing support.

It would seem that the South African Department of Tourism has been active by recognising the need for more inclusive policy and so drafted a five year plan in 2012, in the form of a *National Responsible Tourism Strategy* aimed at promoting sustainable development, growth and the promotion of tourism in South Africa. The document details that "Responsible Tourism (RT) is gaining ground as a newly emerging and growing global trend worldwide. It offers opportunities to develop products that can contribute to national socio-economic objectives by providing livelihoods for local economies and contributing value to the maintenance of local heritage, culture and traditions… The specific characteristics of RT were defined in the Cape Town Declaration, an outcome of the first international conference on RT in Destinations held at Cape Town in 2002 " (Department of Tourism 2012:4).

Beyond Cape Town's Waterfront and Timeshare offering, the City appears to also have put other measures in place that appear to be 'paying dividends', through its inclusive approach to Tourism. Cape Town therefore emerges as a valuble example in its approach to what it calls 'responsible tourism'.

A *Responsible Tourism Policy for Cape Town City* (2009:3) was developed to specifically set out to achieve what it viewed as, " the three principal outcomes of sustainable development, i.e. economic growth, environmental integrity and social justice". This policy appears to be most pointedly addressing the latter of the three principles. As a response to the 1996 White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa, 'responsible tourism' is described as "a positive approach by tourism industry partners to develop, market, and manage the tourism industry in a responsible manner, to create competitive advantage" . It is also noted in this policy document that, "Responsible Tourism and the Tourism Sector Codes are closely linked. The scorecard related to the 2009 Tourism Sector Codes has seven pillars, each allocated specific targets and weights. At least 4 of the 7 key indicators on the scorecard - skills development, preferential procurement & enterprise development and social involvement - are also central elements of Responsible Tourism. By adopting

responsible tourism policies and practices, tourism business in Cape Town will make significant progress towards compliance with the Tourism Sector Codes" (Responsible Tourism Policy for Cape Town City 2006:3). Significantly, the City's effort in achieving 'responsible' tourism is framed in the 2009 policy document as a 'competitive advantage'.

The policy details that, " a significant, and growing, number of tourists… are looking for a better experience, a better quality product. They are looking for experiences that enable them to get closer to the "real" living culture of countries and to experience our diverse natural and cultural heritage. This is a global trend in the established markets as consumer expectations of their holidays change, people are taking more, shorter trips, and they expect to get more from them" (Responsible Tourism Policy for Cape Town City 2006:3). In addition a significant shift in the consumer behaviour of these visitors to the City is also noted as shifting towards greater ethical and moral concern for what underpins their experiences.

It is highlighted that these international trends, include the position taken by "increasing numbers of consumers who are looking at the reputation and responsibility of the companies they buy from; they want to have 'guilt free' holidays. This affects their direct purchases from companies in Cape Town and South Africa and it influences the choices of source market companies too. UK and other European and Australian companies and increasingly American companies are asking about the responsibility of their suppliers and introducing check lists which rate the sustainability of their practices. Commercial market research in key source markets has demonstrated increasing consumer preference for companies and destinations with demonstrated responsible tourism practices" (Responsible Tourism Policy for Cape Town City 2006:3).

Four years after the release of the Policy Document, it is not surprising that in an online press release, presented by to the media on 31 October 2013, it is detailed that the City had been appointed 'World Design Capital' for 2014. She noted that, "the diversity of the final projects reflects the general determination of all Capetonians to position Cape Town as the design and creative hub of the continent. In addition to the 450 projects, the overall programme for the World Design Capital 2014

will also include a design project initiated by the community in each of the City's 111 wards". Clearly the City has benefitted from its regime to ensure social inclusion, but appears to have also benefitted from an emphasis on design. During 2014, the World Design Capital will be facilitating various design and community based interactions around the theme of 'African Innovation. Global Conversation' (World Design Capital 2014). Clearly the City has built its reputation through is consistent and successful hosting capability of international events, an approach that has afforded it this prestigious award.

This designation of the City as the World Design Capital is also detailed, in an online article, as being as a result of its hosting the international event the 'Design Indaba'. "Established in 1995 with its flagship conference, the annual Design Indaba Festival now includes the globally acclaimed annual Design Indaba Conference, Simulcast, Expo, Film Fest and Music Circuit. In addition to these, Design Indaba plays host to an array of community initiatives (Design Indaba: About Us 2013). In synergy with the 2009 *Responsible Tourism policy document*, the Cape is also host to the British fairtrade company Adila (Just & Fair), which enjoys links with Design Indaba (Design Indaba 2008), a seemingly strategic inclusion to the 'arsenal' of socially topical issues being addressed by the City..

Fairtrade certification is part of a larger transnational movement aiming to facilitate "a fair price, fair labour conditions, direct relationships with buyers, and democracy within their organizations. In democratic South Africa, Fairtrade is linked to government-incentivized Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) initiatives (Linton 2012:725). Fair Trade Africa (2013) claims that, "in 2012 the sale of Fairtrade products in South Africa reached a record high of R234 million". It is clear from the article that the wine industry in the Cape has vigorously adopted fairtrade principles. However the article only points to agriculture and food products and does not acknowledge that the fairtrade practice is not yet installed within direct or extended forms of Tourism, particularly in the informal trade sector, where the divide between seller and purchaser appears evident.

Linton (2012) comments that, "the Fair Trade concept is rooted in three beliefs: Consumers have the power to express solidarity with producers, existing world trade practices affect underdevelopment

and the unjust distribution of wealth among nations, and the payment to producers in less-developed countries is at a fair price". These now internationally recognized principles of fair trade appear to have not yet reached Durban's shores and neighbouring KwaNyuswa, despite very apparent economic propensities and well-intentioned policy. An example of well-intentioned policy might also be identified in the *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy*, also developed by the South African Department of Tourism alongside the *National Responsible Tourism Strategy*, both in 2012.

The *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy* is particularly relevant to this study in that it highlights the important shifts in Government towards recognising the need to enforce measures aimed at protecting, cultural tradition; oral history; performance; ritual; popular memory; skills and techniques; and holistic approaches to nature, society and social relationships (Department of Tourism: Tourism Growth 2012). In a similar vein to that of the *National RT Strategy*, the document is aimed at unlocking "the economic potential of heritage and cultural resources through responsible and sustainable tourism development" but also to "raise awareness of the ability of heritage and cultural tourism to continue towards social cohesion". The document also acknowledges two vital considerations regarding heritage and cultural tourism, noting that, "the value and impact of this segment of tourism has not been fully realised, particularly the economic potential of heritage and cultural tourism products". Further that "there is poor alignment and integration of heritage and cultural resources into mainstream tourism" (Department of Tourism: Tourism Growth 2012).
It would appear that the City of Durban may be grappling with how to realise the call of Government, in address the 'misalignment' being highlighted in the 2012 *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy.*

6.2.1 Tourism Economies in Durban and KwaNyuswa

In 2013 eThekwini Municipality's *EDGE Magazine* featured that the City launched a comprehensive Visitor Strategy during November 2013 to position Durban as a global tourism destination with the aim of targeting five million tourists annually and in so doing, creating 74000 jobs. This goal was based on the fact that Durban had experienced 2 million tourist visitors with a spend of an approxiamate R14

billion in 2012. What is not clear from the article is how much of this reached 'the pockets' of informal traders.

In 2001 the City of Durban responded to a call by Government by formalizing policy in an attempt to address imbalances in the informal trade sector. A *Durban Informal Economy Policy (2001:1)* for eThekwini Unicity Municipality was published noting, that "the rapid deregulation at the beginning of the 1990s, as well as the transition in local government, led to a changed policy environment. Durban has committed itself to promoting economic development, but has had no comprehensive, written policy as a guide for the management and support of workers in the informal economy".

It would appear that this policy document was therefore developed as a means to address this shortfall in governance, given that, "the informal economy makes an important contribution to the economic and social life of Durban. In the past, there were strict rules controlling street trading and the establishment of built markets. Home based work was largely not in the domain of local government" (Durban Informal Economy Policy 2001:1). The document acknowledges however that, "all work, whether in the more formal or more informal ends of the continuum, is to be valued, and especially when unemployment is so high, and when there is a high link between unemployment and crime. The HIV/ AIDS epidemic is likely to increase the numbers of people relying on the informal economy for work…The informal economy in Durban makes an important contribution to job creation. In 1996, there were about 20000 street traders in the DMA area. About 60% of these were women. Thousands more people work from their houses" (Durban Informal Economy Policy 2001:2). More recently

The *Durban Informal Economy Policy (2001)* certainly does appear to point to a renewed focus on transformation, but is also clearly framed as a document of accountability, and evidence of past investments or monies set aside for the facilitation of informal trade. However the roll-out of the policy in promoting inclusion seems less apparent in the actions of authorities.

Nine years after the publication of the *Durban Informal Economy Policy (2001),* in a somewhat scathing commentary, Desai (2010:423) details how city manager Mike Sutcliffe had publicly announced that, "

the city is committed to creating an inclusive, well-governed, caring and democratic city", while simultaneously failing to acknowledge the "contestations from below". Desai (2010:424) continues that a case in point is the "ongoing battle between traders and the city authorities at the Warwick Junction who desire to destroy the existing market, and build a shopping mall in its place". He continues that "participation in the process to discuss the future of the traders was clearly predicated on an acceptance that the traders would have to move and the market, a historic heritage site, would be destroyed…. City manager Mike Sutcliffe has been quick to use a number of arguments to justify the decision to push out traders". These include an 'ailing environment' and shortage of amenities in the area.

Desai (2010:423) points out that, "Sutcliffe failed to acknowledge, in these comments, hat it was under his watch that this state of affairs has been allowed to prevail and get progressively worse." He continues that instead, "Sutcliffe implies that it is the fault of the traders in the area. While he bemoans the lack of finance to develop this critical part of the city, money does not appear to have been an issue for the development of what one writer to the local newspaper called 'white elephants' scattered through the city – an over budget stadium, uShaka, and the Point Development" (Desai 2010:423). This example of the Warwick Market case, points to the pace of transformation in Durban. This article by Desai (2010), which also points to the alienation of the poor through the Ushaka development, demonstrates that the actions of authorities, planners and developers may not be in alignment with the claims and promises made in the *Durban Informal Economy Policy (2001).*

Similarly, responses to the call for the meaningful inclusion of those being 'tapped', as part of the strategy to offer an 'authentic' Zulu experience, made to local tourism authorities and private vendors by Government (Maharaj et al. 2006), appears through observations 'on the ground', to be sporadic and still largely philanthropic. Instead, what seems most apparent, is that unlike Cape Town City, there seems to be proportionately few instances where entirely new strategic approaches to 'inclusion' by authorities, are being explored to broaden how the Zulu are 'experienced, directly or through tourism related economies.It is therefore unsurprising that "popular support for tourism policies was, during the early 2000's replaced, "with some doubt" about the success of government policies and

programmes to realise promised outcomes" (Hall and Jenkins, as cited in Maharaj et al. 2006:262). Despite this evident dip in public sentiment regarding policy, the potential for economic growth in the tourism sector in Durban appears evident, particularly with regard to its value in terms of employment.

Tourism remains a primary source of income for Durban and so constitutes an important source for poverty alleviation. As a service industry, it is generally argued that tourism is labour-intensive and that one of the major impacts of tourism development is job creation (Maharaj et al. 2006).This position seems largely based on the premise of the employers holding the 'purse strings', as opposed to strategists employing a 'self employment' tactic. In other words, the economic inequalities in the tourism industry, might be as a result of the lack of meaningful economic inclusion of local inhabitants, mostly living below the 'bread line'. This then appears to simply perpetuate unemployment, poverty and high levels of crime, the symptoms of an unresolved and unequal society.

Maharaj et al. (2006) comment, that "tourism policies have been criticised for not giving sufficient attention to the involvement of local residents in planning strategies. The case of the Warwick Market, a popular tourist site, highlighted by Desai (2006) is a testament to this. Such omissions in policy are maybe most pertinent in the informal sector, where creative strategic poverty alleviation strategies are most needed.

However, the 2001 *Durban Informal Economy Policy document does* significantly acknowledge that "home based work is noted as a valuable means of combatting poverty" and is deemed by municipal authorities as, "convenient for many women and men, and has increased rapidly in recent years. While most of this work remains invisible, and often generates small incomes, many women find it convenient to be able to combine work and child-caring, and caring for the home". The choice of the word 'invisible' possibly speaks to an acknowledgement by the municipality that research concerning the potential of creative micro-economies is still somewhat unexplored, despite a clear acknowledgement of indigenous culture and knowledge systems as an economic foothold for change.

Maharaj et al. (2006:273) offer that, “art and culture is an integral part of the tourist product and has the ability to boost the local economy. With six of the country’s best museums, an Art Centre and the Playhouse performances, Durban has a unique cultural mix. In addition, the city has Zulu villages, battlefields, temples and arts and crafts routes. Guided tours through the townships and to shebeens and cultural villages have gained significant interest in recent years. Zulu heritage is the single largest draw card for Durban and the province at large has provided a clearly identifiable marketing strategy”. This ‘draw card’ appears to have been a strong impetus in efforts to bolster Durban’s economy.

In an online article entitled *Zulu Kingdom. Exceptional*: *About KZN Tourism* (2012), it is explained that the post 1994 decentralisation of national tourism marketing saw the establishment of the ‘Zulu Kingdom’ strategic positioning and tag line by the Tourism KwaZulu-Natal authority. This new strategic intention aimed to “position the province of KwaZulu-Natal as Africa’s leading tourism destination”. This strategic approach points to an entrenched position on the use of the ‘Zulu brand’ to represent those in the province, within the context of tourism.

Naidu (2011:30) explains that, ”so-called cultural villages, depicting ‘Zulu’ culture, in KwaZulu Natal have a long genealogy, KwaBhekithunga in 1960s, followed by Thandanai, Simunye, Phezulu[83], Dumazulu, Izintaba and, and the Zulu resort/theme park Shakaland. Shakaland is popular with tourists who opt for the longer ‘Zulu cultural experience’ and possibly an overnight stay in the ‘bush’ themed Protea Hotel. However, for the large number of tourists who are on a classic tour, …the cultural village of Phezulu in the picturesque Valley of a Thousand Hills is the main point of call”.

6.2.2 PheZulu Safari Park and the ‘Tourist Gaze’

PheZulu Safari Park, on the outskirts of KwaNyuswa, situated 33 kilometres by road from Durban’s city centre, seems to have been created as a direct consequence of tourist interest in the Zulu. After six visits to PheZulu it was apparent that numerous coachloads of foreign tourists were being directed to

[83] Zulu means ‘sky or heaven’, pheZulu means ‘on top’ or ‘upwards’ and is the name of the tourist park near Botha’s Hill, situated in a very elevated geographic location. PheZulu is comprised of a Safari Park, crocodile and Snake Park, restaurant, cultural village and gift shop.

the tourist site. Clearly the value of what is on offer at the Park is suitably fulfilling the requirements of those promoting and 'packaging' the tours.

PheZulu's Safari Park (2013) website details that:

> At Phezulu village, the world famous Gasa clan has over the last 30 years, allowed visitors to Phezulu the opportunity to savour the taste and feel the rhythm of Africa. Visitors are taken into traditional beehive shaped thatched huts, where the various artifacts, beliefs and rituals are explained, giving foreigners an insight into the fascinating Zulu culture. The Zulu dancing show is impressive with the dancers in their traditional garb, showing off their skills with grace, agility and humour, a truly unforgettable experience!

On the surface, it might be assumed that the result of tour operators busing in tourists to this well organised attraction directly translates as some kind of egalitarianism and distribution of wealth for the surrounding community. However, an anonymous informant who runs a charity craft business in neighbouring Botha's Hill, which relies on passing trade and whose activities directly benefit rural women living in KwaNyuswa, indicated in an interview in 2012 that "all requests for the buses to stop lower down the hill" had failed, pointing to a much 'smaller circle' of economic benefit emanating from the PheZulu tour offering.

Marshall[84] (2003:112) explains: "PheZulu Safari Park, is a privately owned establishment founded more than thirty years ago… The establishment was originally founded as a snake and crocodile park, and in 1988 a Zulu cultural display was added… PheZulu is a highly commercialised establishment. It offers a convenient service for tourists, mostly foreign, who arrive by bus and want a brief, entertaining experience of Zulu culture without having to venture into the rural areas where, in the popular mind, such culture exists. The visit consists of a self-guided tour through the reptile park and a one-hour guided tour and performance at

[84] This excerpt by Professor Sabine Marschall, a Senior Lecturer at the Cultural and Heritage Tourism Programme, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal is part of a comparative analysis of Zulu cultural villages in KwaZulu-Natal.



Figure 6.1: Photographs taken during the show at PheZulu (Gatfield 2011).

the cultural village. These are offered several times daily, according to a fixed schedule. Other tourist conveniences include a large curio shop, a restaurant, cottage and campsite accommodation, and bush drives into the Valley of a Thousand Hills. Almost all the Zulu at PheZulu belong to one family, which

originally lived on the site of the cultural village. They are now employed as performers and live nearby in the valley. They report daily for duty to act out various Zulu cultural practices in front of tourists seated in the half-open auditorium.



Figure 6.2 : The PheZulu Safari Park gift shop, which sells articles made by local craftspeople, alongside many other artifacts from outside of South Africa (kimssouthafrica 2010).

An anonymous Zulu informant, interviewed in 2011, employed at the Park explained:

> We don't know much about our beadwork, I can tell you no one here really knows, and the owners don't seem to care. You see, some of the dancers also make beadwork for the owners, but we are not allowed to make our own beads. They just say “you make it this way, in these colours, or we don't pay you”, what can we do we need the money and they are our bosses.”

I attended the show, seen in figure 6.1. Throughout the show very little was said about the origins of the Nyuswa or the beadwork as representative of that polity. Instead the Zulu identity was presented as largely overarching. In this way the presuppositions of foreign visitors, through the dissemination and perpetuation of the Zulu identity and legacy, were apparently being served.

During my attendance at the show, it was announced that, “Zulu dancers would perform”, and that, “the 'Zulu have historically lived in ‘Zulu beehive’ huts”, that “the *amadlozi,* or ancestors are accessed by a traditional ‘Zulu’ diviner called a Sangoma” and that all those in the show were wearing “Zulu beads”, as a seemingly unchallenged perpetuation of the Zulu identity, as if speaking directly to commonly held public concepts of those indigenous to KZN.

Marshall (2003:111) points out that “cultural villages, such as PheZulu, reduce individuals and communities to consumable commodities” and that such offerings to tourists represent “myths instead of culture, presenting cultural practices in a superficial and ahistorical manner, frozen in time, thereby reproducing highly stereotyped images, generated by the West’s desire for exoticism and imagination of the primitive. Other than that tourists are for the most part uncritical, passive consumers who enjoy such representations because they confirm their preconceived stereotypes”. The danger of such forms of sterotyping is also highlighted in her criticism of the ‘capital’ being made on the ‘back of’ the constructed predisposed perceptions of tourists seemingly hungry for the exotic.

She continues that, “one of the key criticisms levied at cultural villages is that they present culture in a stereotyped manner and exploit common, predetermined conceptions, or misconceptions, about

supposedly exotic cultures. When the marketing brochures of many Zulu cultural villages promise the visitor an 'authentic experience' of Zulu culture, it often means that tourists can expect to see Africa as they have always imagined it. Many tourists want, and pay, to see preconceived stereotypes confirmed" (Marshall 2003:111). An online review of PheZulu by Fodor's Travel (2013) describes the experience as:

> Popular with the big tour buses, PheZulu is the equivalent of fast-food tourism, good for people who want a quick-fix African experience. A tour of the cultural village with its traditional beehive huts gives some insight into African traditions, and there are performances of traditional Zulu dancing, but the operation is not as vibrant or professional as the cultural villages up north in Zululand. The curio shop is enormous, you can probably get just about any type of African memento or booklet imaginable.

This description by the Travel Agency, speaks volumes of the superficial nature of tourist expectations, served in turn by a seemingly superficial delivery on those expectations by the Agent. Although it is acknowledged that there is a necessary balance between the economics and logistics of tour operating, it does seem apparent both from my experience of PheZulu and through Marschall's position of stereotyping at this, and similar sites, that no significant level of understanding and appreciation of a culture, by the tourist, can be achieved through a 'quick African experience', which can be summed up in an hour with time to pick up a momento at the gift shop.

Such forms of 'superficial tourism' seem not only restricted to South Africa. On a personal trip to Bali as part of the 'travel package' I was, to my dismay, bused between five different tourist sights in one day, and 'pressed' in front of an assortment of 'cultural presentations', based on the assumption that I was not looking for an engagement of any substance, in which the broader contexts of these representations were critically offered, or in which human displays of stereotyping were not the source of the 'consumable' on offer.

6.2.3 Perceived Authenticity

Marshall (2003:114) continues that, "with its combination of Zulu culture and dangerous reptiles, PheZulu caters primarily to the uncritical foreign mass tourist, who is steeped in myths about Africa as a place of savage animals and primitive peoples. It provides a fast and convenient way of experiencing the Exotic". The pursuit of the Exotic through predetermined conceptions of what is 'authentically Zulu or African' are then fundamentally fulfilled through this form of 'entertainment' apparently serving what might be deemed to be a 'Tourist Gaze'.

This 'gaze' is seemingly also catered to in the PheZulu gift shop. The store, seen in figure 6.2, is stocked with artifacts decorated in various African animal prints, carved and cast metal statuettes modelled around the 'Big Five' group of African animals; batiked fabrics; and carved masks. In this way, tourists are well disposed to leave with a memento of their 'Zulu experience' in Africa. It is not clear, unless one questions the matter, which of the artifacts including the beaded tin mugs and salt and pepper sets, are authentically Zulu or South African.

Spooner (1986), points out that, "authenticity is assessed based on our own cultural concepts. We see authenticity as a measure of quality and that true authenticity requires special knowledge to recognise. We see value in the relationship between the producer and the product despite the fact that, in some cases, the producer is no longer a part of the commodity's 'life-cycle'. Most importantly we are drawn to what is handmade and we are drawn to what is different." In this way, the 'Tourist Gaze' appears to be the constructed 'lens' through which what is suitably exotic, different or authentic, is assessed and sub consciously verified, based so often on what is read or seen in films and television (Barry 2002).

Hamilton (1992:7) suggests that there are those tourists who seek out goods that are the 'real thing'. She speaks of such apparently authentic products sold at what is publicized as being a 'traditional Zulu Market'. Hamilton continues that this market caters to those who "seek mementos of their visit to a

particular region", on the assumption that the Zulu speaking women tending the stores, have made the products being sold.

The relationship between what is assumed to be the authentic artifact, sold by what are assumed to be traditional craftswomen, within or alongside facilities borrowing from what is assumed to be authentic heritage, offers an interesting paradox and points to the depth of orchestration at play. Halewood and Hannam (2001:567) suggest that authenticity is often consciously invoked as a marketing strategy". This appears to be a phenomenon that plays out at cultural retail sites within KwaZulu-Natal.

Hamilton (1992:8) speaks of "an inter-play between the craft retailer and purchaser in paradoxically selling products, purchased externally, to tourists, while pandering to their pursuits for authenticity by, "orchestrating a vision of, 'tribal Zululand' which is given concrete form in the curios which the tourists take home", some of which originate in Taiwan". My visits to Shakaland, PheZulu and the Durban Beachfront confirmed this, with sellers very easily suggesting that the product being purchased was authentically of Zulu origin.

As Maharaj et al. (2006) point out, these various forms of securing incomes through ethnic tourism channels have until now proved to be fairly successful for those holding the economic 'reigns'. However, an emergent shift in attitude amongst tourists, concerning how they engage more responsibly in various forms of tourism seems apparent.

As stated in the 2009 Responsible Tourism Policy for Cape Town City, tourists are, "looking for experiences which enable them to get closer to the "real" living culture of countries"in a "guilt free" manner. This trend may not be entirely realised, given that apparently unending array of tour coaches of somewhat older foreign visitors at PheZulu.

However, Naidu (2011:29) does note that, "markets of constructed cultural 'heritage' … rooted in specific 'localness', … increasingly catered for within global cultural flows and transnational

movements of tourists, with cultural commodities", which are, "positioned to meet tourist expectations… are in turn perceived as having particular implications for both the indigenous heritage, as well as people being consumed". What is of concern is whether the women in KwaNyuswa are able to economically sustain themselves amidst conditions of dire poverty, whilst these new shifts in policy and moral positions on tourism translate into meaningful economic benefit. To contextualise this statement, those in the KwaNyuswa region have not necessarily had a fair deal, since British traders and hunters were established in Natal as early as 1824 (Laband 2008:173).

6.2.4 Informal Trade: From KwaNyuswa to Durban

Prior to those in KwaNyuswa directly participating in tourism at parks such as PheZulu, within the region it is assumed that any beadworker wishing to sell products would, most likely, have had to resort to peddling or what is more readily referred to as 'hawking', through 'door to door' selling in the neighbouring suburbs of Inchanga, Drummond, Botha's Hill and Hillcrest.

It would also seem plausible, that such transactions may have included sales made to tourists in local hotels such as the Inchanga Hotel, now converted into a hospital, built in the early 1900's; the Traffic Hotel, later rebuilt as the current 1000 Hills Hotel in Drummond (Harrison 1903, Baird 2013); the Rob Roy Hotel[85], which opened in 1935 (Botha's Hill Community Forum 2008); and Chantecler Hotel, built in the 1940s (Chantecler Hotel 2013). However, this approach to sales may have proved to be of limited value to rural hawkers, given that access to hotels would have been limited based on the racially framed, social climate of the day. Durban and Pietermaritzburg were then the next likely options for selling, with Durban a mere 30 kilometres away.

In terms of the Group Areas Act (1950) and the Separate Amenities Act (1953), the best beaches, hotels, tourist attractions were reserved for the exclusive use of whites. Hence, apartheid laws ensured that tourism and the related product offerings along Durban's beachfront were almost exclusively geared for this market. Between 1950 to 1970 investment in the Durban area went through a process geared to serving both local and international 'white' tourists (Maharaj et al. 2006).

[85] Rob Roy Hotel burned to the ground in December 1962 and was rebuilt by Rolf Paeper, a well-known resident of Botha's Hill (Botha's Hill Community Forum 2008).

With the introduction of the steam train in the 1860's (Harrison 1903), and the later introduction of the South African Railway's Motor Transport Pullman bus, between Pietermaritzburg, stopping at Camperdown (Harrison 1903) , Inchanga Station, built in 1895 (Martin and Cottrell 2013), and Botha's Hill Station, built in 1879 (Harrison 1903; Martin and Cottrell 2013), travel to Durban or Pietermaritzburg was made easier for those living in the surrounding rural areas (Harrison 1903).

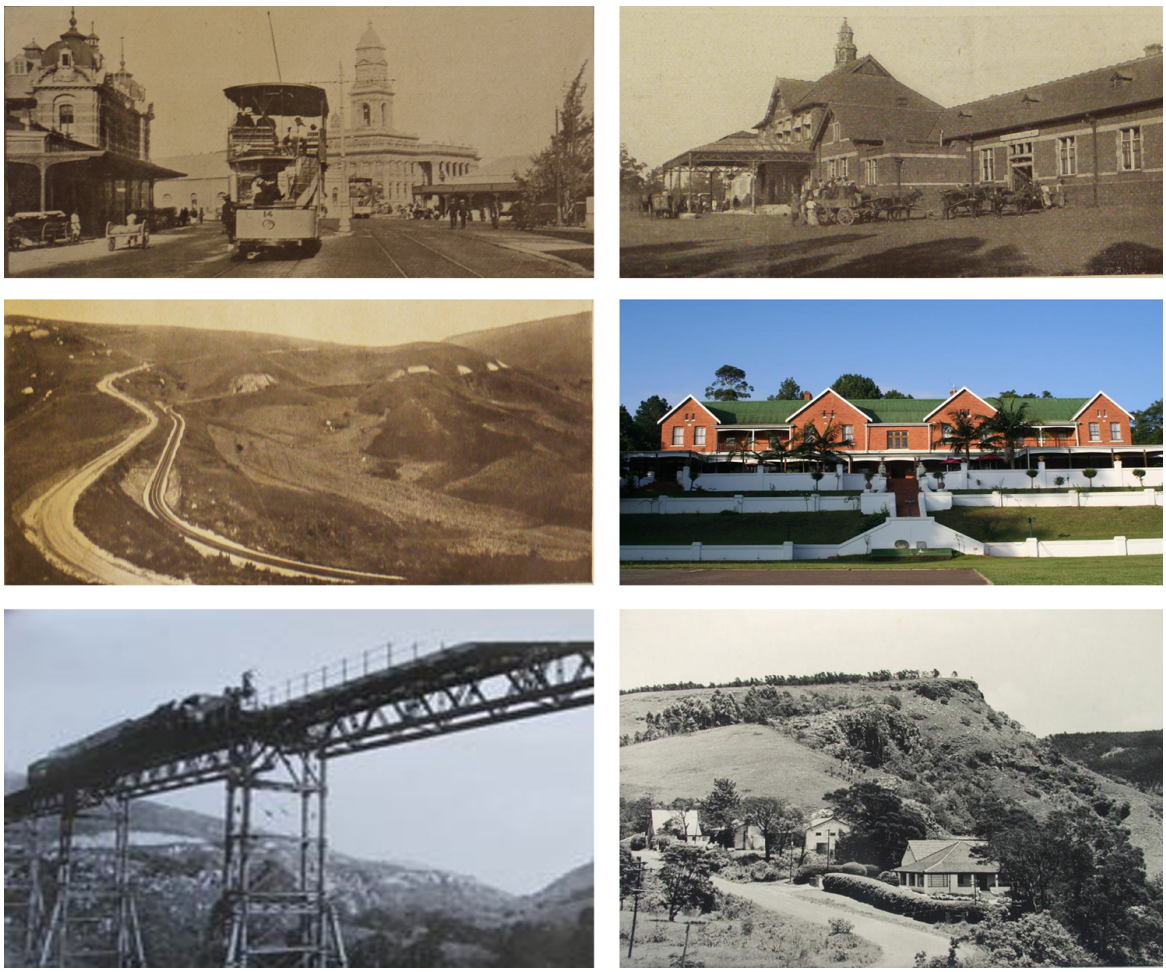


Figure 6.3: TOP TO BOTTOM, LEFT TO RIGHT: Durban Station, with tram (Harrison 1903); Pietermaritzburg Station (Harrison 1903); The rail and road, near Botha's Hill (Harrison 1903); Figure 6.4: The Inchanga Hotel (Facts about Durban 2013); Figure 6.5: The steam train introduced in 1860 (Facts about Durban 2013); Figure 6.6: Drummond Village near to the Traffic Hotel, later rebuilt as the current 1000 Hills Hotel (Facts about Durban 2013).



Figure 6.7**:** The only photographs in this study of early (1900's) community living in the Botha's Hill region, very likely KwaNyuswa. The caption reads " Group of Natives" (Harrison 1903).

Despite these various forms of access to Durban, racial segregation laws and laws on hawking must have presented challenges to women arriving in the City during the early 1900's. Primary data gained on Durban's beachfront, and in texts on 'early' Durban (Harrison 1903; Chari 2010), point to informal traders being consistently hampered by authorities up until the late 1960s.

In reference to the process behind segregation during the 1900's in Durban, Chari (2010:36-38) notes that "until the early 1920s, the colonial norm of structured neglect of the majority was only questioned in theory….. as cities initially focused primarily on means of exclusion…. Town planning within the postwar reconstruction of certain cities served to exclude Africans, and only then gradually to entrench white privileges, a process with lasting implications for the possibility of bio-political intervention in the lives of white proletarians…Durban championed a colonial urbanism that perceived itself as essentially modern and white, while it tried to contend with various 'non-whites' as different kinds of temporary residents. With Africans relegated to 'locations' and shack settlements outside city limits, early segregation was aimed at Indians", with African mobility controlled". Women from KwaNyuswa, wishing to sell their craft would, no doubt, have swiftly encountered the 'forces of the law' intent on facilitating the emergent 'vision' for Durban on 'white tourism'.

Sidzatane and Maharaj (2012:377) have documented that municipal authorities in Durban have a history of forcing street entrepreneurs off the streets. In 1914 a Durban Licensing Officer admitted that his department did not encourage street trading and made every effort to minimise the number of licences issued to hawkers and peddlers. Further, that the continued imposition of municipal rules and regulations that began during the colonial era, are "retrogressively positioned towards small local enterprises", and that street traders generally are regarded as a problematic component of society instead of being regarded as, "production units, instrumental in boosting the economy".



Figure 6.8: Fully suited individual on Durban Beach. Bluff can be seen in the background. It does appear that non-Whites are sitting on the beach too, evidence that hawking may have begun on the beach around that time (Harrison 1903).

"The marketing of Durban, as a tourist destination, was essentially initiated by the formation of the Beach and Entertainments Committee, comprising of the Durban Retailers' Council, Durban Chamber of Commerce and Messrs. Thomas Cook and Sons in conjunction with the Railway Administration in 1914. A more intensive marketing campaign was to follow, resulting in the formation of the Durban Publicity Association (DPA) in 1923, funded by the Town Council and the Railway Administration, as means to stimulate the industry" (Maharaj et al. 2006:264) which would by the 1950's have adopted the Rickshaw as their logo (Posel 1996).

6.2.5 The Durban Rickshaws: The role of material culture in serving informal trade.

The rickshaws, still active today, are significant in this study as they represent the introduction of beadwork identity to tourists and the White populace of Durban, in the late 1800's to early 1900's', and also represent the first form of informal trade 'tolerated' in early Durban (Posel 1996).

The following account, which includes qualitative data gained through enquiries into the rickshaw activity amongst 25 active 'Pullers', serves in part to indirectly position this study in the historic and visual contexts of the informal trade of the Nyuswa women in Durban:



Figure 6.9: LEFT: Whites only beach, during the 1950's. RIGHT: White tourists are exposed to beadwork through the Rickshaws (Stark 1960).



Figure 6.9.1: A colourful rickshaw, alongside very colourful Durban beachfront surroundings (Apogee 1995)

Brown (1989) explains that, the first Rickshas, also spelled 'Rickshaws', were imported into the then Natal Province by Natal Sugar Baron, Sir Marshall Campbell, from Japan in 1892. An online article details that the word 'Ricksha' is said to have derived from the Japanese word Jinrikisha - 'Jin' meaning 'man', 'riki' meaning power and 'sha' meaning 'carriage' (Ezakwantu Gallery 2012).

Locally manufactured rickshaws were sold to white entrepreneurs who then rented the vehicles to pullers on a weekly basis. (Brown 1989) Most noteworthy of these entrepreneurial agents were Durban Rickshaws Ltd. and Patent Rickshaws. In this way the Rickshaw pullers occupied an anomalous position within Durban's labour market, not being employed by rickshaw owners, business entities or the Durban Corporation. This meant that they were 'freelance' operators. This offered certain advantages over other forms of labour. Further, up until the implementation of the Group Areas Act, owners of the Rickshaw vehicles were obliged to provide adequate and suitable accommodation and food for the puller and the vehicle. This obligation was not always realised. A Durban police report claimed that most pullers only worked two to three months at a time, citing pneumonia as one of the reason for these short periods of service. Many pullers lived in hovels, which afforded them little protection from the cold and wet and often had only pails for sewage disposal
(Posel 1999; Brown 1996).

However the resilience and creativity of the Rickshaw Pullers in Durban during these formative years, speaks of a group of men intent on survival despite the odds.

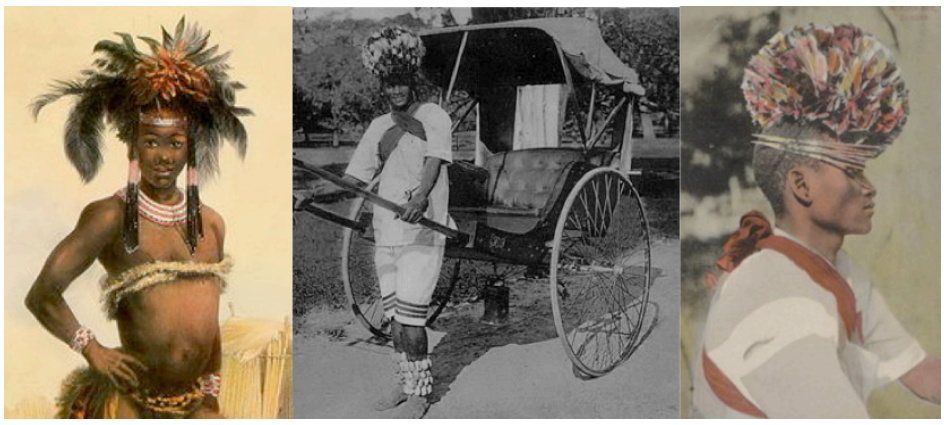


Figure 6.10: CENTRE AND RIGHT: The pullers dressed themselves with culturally inspired headdresses. LEFT: Example of Traditional headdresses of that time. (Ezakwantu Gallery 2012)

By 1899 it was established that 3400 people spent an average of 9d, nine pence, on daily rickshaw travel (Posel 1996). Soon each rickshaw puller was required, by the city authorities to be registered and to wear a license badge and a uniform. The 'uniform', seen in figure 6.10, consisted of a two piece garment which would come to be known as the 'kitchen boy suit', worn by many African workers (Brown 1989).

In the same year of 1899, 11 445 men registered as pullers and about 740 rickshaws were in daily use. By 1902 an astonishing 2170 rickshaws thronged the streets with 24020 men registering as pullers. The pullers' marginal position in the Durban class structure meant that they were vulnerable to exploitation by owners intent on maximum profit margins (Posel 1996). Despite the impositions of colonial rule, these men influenced by their own culture, and began to adorn themselves in various forms (Ezakwantu Gallery 2012).

This point in rickshaw history appears to represent an important shift in the approach to informal trade by the pullers. Rickshaws were up to this point tolerated for their ability to serve as forms of transport, a 'service' largely comprised of Mpondo men, a polity from the former Pondoland.

In an informal conversation in 2012, the Curator of Collections at Natal Museum, who had overseen the restoration of a rickshaw outfit, explained that "many from Zululand elected instead to work mostly along the Durban beachfront, servicing the tourist trade". This shift, to working along the shoreline was later confirmed by Brown (1989). These men appear to have been resourceful and creative, in these times of hardship and constraint, initiating new forms of visual expression in their rickshaw carts and in their attire, seemingly based on their material culture.

Pullers began to modify the 'suit', sewing in extra rows of braid around the knee of the trouser (Brown 1989). Pullers were allowed to dress their hair in a traditional manner and walked barefoot (Ezakwantu Gallery 2012). The men would paint their legs with whitewash in a manner that imitated the knitted patterns of white school socks worn by local schoolgirls (Brown 1989). Tufts of feathers, seen in figure 6.10, were called '*Isiyaya*'. *'Yaya '* or *'Isidlukula'* - ostrich feathers were worn on the

head. Later, pullers individualised their new attire by adding extra braids and wearing bangles of plaited reeds, with seeds, which rattled upon their white washed lower legs. Fierce competition developed among the pullers to design the most original and elaborate costumes (Ezakwantu Gallery 2012).

Lawrence Khoza, a third generation rickshaw puller whom I interviewed in 2012, explained that his understanding is that the tradition of wearing headdresses and decorating oneself and ones rickshaw, although inspired by Zulu culture, is in no way a specific representation of Zulu culture but was, and still is, a means to attract customers.

According to William Sibiya, a rickshaw driver who I interviewed in 2012, and who is currently working outside uShaka Marine World on Durban's beachfront, those pullers who still offer their services in the tourist trade are the descendants of the first rickshaws to work on the beachfront and are all from the Mandlakazi and the Usuthu polities. Sibiya explained that these 'pullers' originate from, and still return to KwaNongoma, a region situated in central Zululand, in Northern KwaZulu-Natal. The rickshaws therefore represent an important point of 'contact' in history between colonial society and the material culture of the polities from KwaZulu.



Figure 6.11: LEFT: The men began to use Porcupine quills, and horns and feathers became a part of the rickshaw pullers attire. A traditional Zulu beaded sash was added to the man's chest. Both men wear *isiqaza* – traditional Zulu earplugs (Ezakwantu Gallery 2012).

Figure 6.12: RIGHT: By 1900, Durban had become well known as a city that could be traversed on a Rickshaw. Soldiers involved in the Boer War were some of the first to have 'tourist' photographs taken. Above, Private

Arthur Grevell of the 6th Queensland Imperial Bushman, with his Lee-Metford rifle, its bayonet tucked into his left leg (Ezakwantu Gallery 2012).

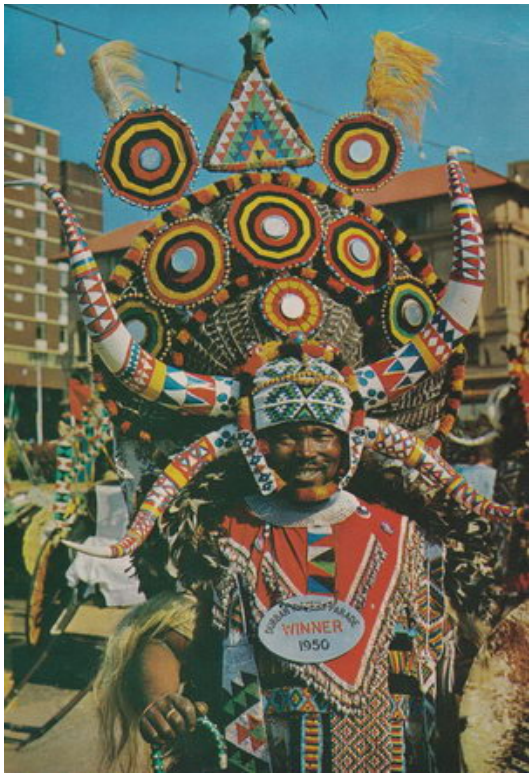


Figure: 6.13: Participant and winner in a 1950 Durban Parade seen wearing the beadwork of various polities or regions.

From the 1950's, the rickshaw's presence in the tourist trade became an enterprise in its own right. The beachfront pullers adorned themselves entirely with beaded vests, skirts, aprons, belts, sheepskin anklets and other accessories, that virtually covered their entire body, seen in figure 6.13 (Ezakwantu Gallery 2012). This image represents how multiple beadwork sequences were being mixed together on one outfit. In this image, the beadwork of the Mandlakazi, Mahlabatini, Mapumulo, Ceza and Phongola regions in KwaZulu are evident. In my view, this image is significant in that it demonstrates that an active visual hybridisation and cultural homogenization[86] process was underway during the 1950's.

[86] By this I infer that the perceptions of tourists and beadworkers were being subjected, both through numerous socio-political factors surrounding tourism of the Durban beachfront, and a simultaneous cultural homogenization process, which appears to have culminated as a cultural representation of beadwork artifact as being 'Zulu'.

Today 25 rickshaws remain. Many of these are original carts, and are stored at a small facility managed by the Business Support, Tourism and Markets Unit of eThekwini Municipality, in Marine Parade, Durban.

6.2.6 Informal Trade on Durban Beachfront

At the beginning of 2011, primary research was conducted through observations and a series of in-depth unstructured interviews, with 15 female bead workers and the 25 Rickshaw Pullers, on Durban Beachfront. Empirical data gained through interviews with the rickshaw pullers and the street vendors established that both parties are fairly destitute.

It is estimated that around 100 individuals support themselves financially through the Beachfront street retail trade. Based on these interviews it is estimated that 30% of these live in KwaNyuswa or the neighbouring Inanda region. The other 70% consists of foreign nationals from countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Malawi, and individuals from other areas within Kwazulu-Natal. This includes individuals from Empangeni, Umkomaas and Wartburg. Further secondary trade also occurs between these licensed retailers and informal traders coming from areas outside Durban and from outside South Africa.

I spoke to 48 year old Sindy Phewa, a store holder on the Durban Beachfront, who explained:

My grandmother came here in 1968. That time there were 20 women who arrived in Durban. 5 were from KwaNyuswa, 5 from Ndwedwe near Inanda, 3 from the KwaMashu Township and 3 from Hammersdale. They would sleep on the streets at night, in the Point Road area, wrapped in plastic bags, and would return each morning to the Beachfront. After some time, they were chased by the police and the Dog Unit. But a British woman who was visiting the beachfront, contacted the Rotary Club, saying that she, and many of her friends, had bought a lot of stuff from the street sellers and that this was valuable. So they put pressure on the Durban Municipality to issue trading licences to the women.Those women used to make the beaded dolls, beaded nets for putting over the tables to stop

flys; ponchos, and straps for glasses. Later they thought that maybe they could sell their traditional beads, like *ibande*[87] and *ibhamba*[88], and made some bracelets.



Figure 6.14: Street Vendors on Durban's 'Golden Mile' (Gatfield 2013)

Independently run 'Taxi combis', were introduced to Durban and KwaNyuswa, in the last forty years (Barret 2003). These offer services from difficult to reach areas, such as Mabelane in KwaNyuswa, facilitating the movement of merchandise to and from Durban and Pietermaritzburg

Barret (2003:6) explains that , "the kombi taxi in South Africa has a history that is closely linked to the history of apartheid. A feature of apartheid and the institutionalized racism it introduced in the early 1960s, was that Black, and particularly African, people had very limited legal access to business opportunities. From the early 1960s. …Public transport became increasingly expensive for commuters (and also for the State to provide the subsidies required). Increasingly buses and trains operated at peak times only, and routes became less and less flexible. The growth of the kombi taxi industry in the late 1970s was in large part a response to this". This new form of transport would have coincided with Phewa's claim that licenses were issued in 1968, given that the women were by that time able to make the commute from KwaNyuswa to Durban with relative ease.

[87] A cylindrically shaped belt, made by wrapping a string of beads around rolled fabric

[88] A flat belt made of woven grass, covered by a beaded fabric, on one side.

The 2011 interview with Sindy Phewa represents a valuable 'timeline marker' by which to establish at what point the women had been officially recognised as legal traders. I personally remember seeing the women sleeping on the streets and even at the beachfront during the 1980's. The women at that time appeared to have little infrastructural support or shelter from the elements. The extent of disregard for these informal vendors was most evident.



Figure 6.15: Damaged and worn carts and outfits of the Durban Rickshaws (Gatfield 2011).

Both the rickshaw service and the retail of beadwork are ostensibly reliant on foreign tourism and those visiting the province from elsewhere in the country. Interviews with these vendors revealed that little support from local 'Durbanites' was being enjoyed. In addition, non-white visitors who form a large body of visitors to the Durban Beachfront over the December peak season, were described as "showing little interest in our things for sale".

Further, research revealed that street vendors, working alongside the Rickshaws, were producing beaded products ostensibly based on the imitation and appropriation of stock being made by peers and on serving the tastes and demands of customers.

Vendors, who work alongside each other everyday, each sell very similar *isimodeni* beadwork and various other trinkets, and appear to be no longer specifically drawing inspiration from the visual forms and colour conventions of polity-based visual traditions, found in rural KwaZulu-Natal. Despite this, these bead-workers seemed to consciously vocalize, as a 'sales pitch', that the products are uniquely 'Zulu'. I questioned the women, at length, about the reasons for the *isimodeni* style. Sindy Shezi explained:

> It is all about demand. Those days when a lot of whites, in 1985 were here, they just wanted the bright colours. They never told us what colours to choose or how to make it, but we would watch what they bought, and then make it. Look at this headband that I made, it's ANC (see Figure 6.16). Now people come here and they want ANC, IFP or NFP colours (as seen in Figure 6.17.) People also ask for traditional skirts, *inkehle*[89] and *imiblaselo,*[90] so we make them, it's the fashion now.



Figure 6.16: LEFT: Headband made in ANC Colours (Gatfield 2014)
Figure 6.17: RIGHT: Beaded wooden assegai in IFP colours (Natal Museum 2012)



[89] Inkehle is a tradition hat, conventionally worn as a sign of marraige

[90] Imiblaselo is a style clothing made by sewing patches of fabric and tasselling onto existing garments.

Figure 6.18: LEFT : Colourful *isimodeni* beadwork for sale (Gatfield 2014).

Figure 6.19: RIGHT : The Holiday Gaze, Colourful umbrellas and costumes (Skyscrapercity 2012).

In branding terms, the consequence of this homogenization process is a marketplace saturated with artifacts reliant on a single visual formula and identity, marketed as being solely 'Zulu'.

Respondents on Durban Beachfront indicated that tourists seem well aware of the 'Zulu' brand and in many cases aim to return to their respective countries with authentic 'Zulu' artifacts. As evidenced in previous chapters the historic popularisation and public perpetuation of the term ' Zulu' has contributed to this dominant identity.

Directly alongside these street vendors is the decorative beadwork of the Durban rickshaws, described by the rickshaw pullers as being particular to either the Mandlakazi or uSuthu Clans. Figure 6.20 depicts rickshaw artifacts from the uSuthu Clan and the Mandlakazi Clan as denoted by the addition of blue, both situated in the Nongoma region. This display of rickshaw paraphernalia is currently on display at Phansi Museum in Glenwood, Durban. These beadwork identities were confirmed whilst visiting the museum.



Figure 6.20: Nongoma style Rickshaw, in Phansi Museum Durban 2011, reflecting both the Mandlakazi (LEFT) and Usuthu (RIGHT) beadwork conventions (Gatfield 2011).



Figure 6.21: An example of beadwork specially produced for sale to tourists at Umgababa Craft Market on the South Coast of Durban and on the Durban Beachfront (Gatfield 2011).

Throughout this study, it has been apparent that beadworkers are unopposed to appropriating visual source material. Interviews conducted in KwaNyuswa also pointed to this phenomenon. Similiarly, the prolific manufacture and consumption of goods based on *isimodeni* speaks to a widespread assimilation process.

Although merely a hypothesis, it does seem likely that beadworkers from KwaNyuswa and Inanda, plying their trade alongside the Rickshaws for an estimated 60 years, might well have been influenced by the strong triangular forms of the Mandlakazi and Usuthu beadwork conventions. This would have resulted in the hybridisation of the multi-coloured isijolovane sequence, very particular to the Valley of a 1000 Hills region (detailed in the previous chapter) with each color phatically 'bordered' by black, together with the triangular shapes of the Nongoma beadwork conventions, as seen in Figure 6.20.



Figure 6.22: Image taken at Durban Beachfront in 1970, two years after the first issue of licensing, showing the still slightly unrefined system of triangular/isijolovane combination now referred to as isimodeni (Morris and Preston-Whyte 1994:18).

The result, in my view, of this visual homogenization is the hybridised modern beadwork known as *isimodeni*, (seen in Figure 6.22), which includes the triangular shapes, an emphasis on bright primary colours, and a diminished percentage of black, used to border the colours. This image (Figure 6.22), taken in the 1970's, represents an intermediate phase in the development of *isimodeni,* with larger proportions of black still evident, as compared with the photograph taken in 2011 of *isimodeni* in Figure 6.21).

Further to this hypothesis, is that demand for the very colourful combinations may have been initiated through an interest in *isijolovane* artefacts, still apparent in beaded 'collar' pieces, still sold on the beachfront. I actually was present during an interview in 2014, when a women from Umkomaas from a Nyuswa polity at eMgangeni arrived to sell a bag full of collars made only in the isijolovane sequence.

What emerges is the possibility that a 'tourist gaze' based on the experience of being surrounded by a very colourful environment, seen in beachfront rides, towels and umbrellas, so often associated with holidays, may have served to precipitate a subconscious impulse, manifested through buying behaviour.

Bagchi and Marcheema (2012:947) offer that, "colors play an important role in affecting our perceptions. They form an omnipresent part of our daily lives, influencing our interactions with other individuals and with inanimate objects. Colors are ubiquitous in consumer contexts... Colors have a significant effect on emotions. Brighter colors (e.g., white, pink, red, blue) elicit more positive reactions (e.g., happy, excited) than do darker colors (e.g., brown, black)."

In the context of the effects of colour on consumers, it is not difficult to posit that tourists visiting Durban during the Easter, June or December breaks, were present in the area for extended periods of time, and that during this time, might have 'made' subconscious, emotional and perceptual 'links' (the tourist gaze), with the colourful 'holiday environment'. This link, manifested in holidaymakers as a buying preference, might then have prescribed beadworkers' production through their buying behavior.

Urry and Bruner (as cited in Naidu 2011:30) suggest, that "tourists signal their motivations and behaviour through how they opt to spend their currency, which the industry has been quick to catalogue". Tourists also pursue the exotic and the seemingly authentic. In the instance of cultural villages it is offered that they present culture in a stereotyped manner and exploit common, predetermined conceptions (or misconceptions) about supposedly exotic cultures. When the marketing brochures of many Zulu cultural villages promise the visitor an 'authentic experience' of Zulu culture, it often means that tourists can expect to see Africa as they have always imagined it. Many tourists want (and pay) to have preconceived stereotypes confirmed (Marschall 2003:110).

In this way, change has been negotiated between producer and consumer within the contexts of colour, the 'gaze' of tourists in a 'holiday' mindset, predetermined cultural misconceptions about identity, and through the pursuit of authenticity, culminating as impulse driven purchases.

Similiarly, fuelled by poverty and this tourist buying behavior, it seems plausible that the close proximity and influence of the rickshaw pullers, who were by the 1950's decorating their outfits and carts with a mix of beadwork sequences from Northern KwaZulu-Natal, served to slowly manifest as the *isimodeni* style during the early to mid 1960's. This mixing of identities by the rickshaw pullers also speaks of their possible response to tourist's choices of decorated rickshaw cart and puller outfit, when electing to pay for a ride. This time range, of the *isimodeni* style's emergence, is quite possibly based on trading licenses only being issued, according to informants, in 1968.

6.3 Perception and a Saturated Marketplace

What emerged as a strong theme in interviews conducted on Durban Beachfront, in Kwanyuswa, and empirically, is that the perception of beadwork as being something of value in the tourism context, appears to have declined significantly since the 1994 election period, and later the 2010 Soccer World Cup events,during which the country seemed to display a heightened national pride.



Figure 6.23 Isimodeni beadwork being sold in Lusikisiki (Gatfield 2014).



Figure 6.24: Image online described surprisingly as “Xhosa Beadwork in East London” (Pearl Harris 1984).

This general decline in sales appears to be widespread at tourism related retail sites. Conversely, it is noted that the adoption of *isimodeni,* as traditional attire by those inside and outside of the province, is widespread. *Isimodeni* was even referred to by a respondent as being ‘the South African traditional identity’. Visits to the Eastern Cape, Cape Town and to Tswane during 2013 confirmed the widespread retail of *isimodeni.*

However, this emergent market, defined by its interest in *isimodeni*, is being serviced by a heavily populated micro-economic manufacturing sector, all fundamentally producing the same product. This market saturation phenomenon does appear to point to the lack of copyright policy, designed to address product imitation. Yet, given that *isimodeni* currently represents a significant means of poverty alleviation, through beadwork craft, such forms of regulation seem unlikely to be implemented.

The saturation of the beadwork market with *isimodeni* is most evident in KwaZulu-Natal. Given the manner in which beadwork is largely sold, and is prolifically available - on the streets and pitched at a

very low price point, the reason for the diminished perception of beadwork is not too difficult to comprehend.

Empirically, it emerges that beadwork is so commonly available in KwaZulu-Natal that most seem 'immune' to its 'charms'. Beadwork is virtually sold on every street corner in Durban's busy urban centres, where it is often poorly presented for sale, largely sold unpackaged, or marketed only as Zulu.

Lee and Zhou (2012:2) speak to the issue of imitation. They explain that imitation results in negative growth and return on assets. In addition, those in positions of power often view imitation negatively. They offer that in the US, "attitudes toward imitation tend to reflect a pronounced cultural bias in this regard…. Copying is less estimable than inventing: imitation is less honorable than innovation…..The result is that imitation is done in the dark without the strategic and operational attention it deserves". Although written with relevance to the corporate sector, Lee and Zhou's views on imitation still seem pertinent to informal trade and manufacture, particularly regarding the various perceptions of 'the imitation'. Price, practicality (as in transport, location, access to retail conduits), quality and perception emerge as factors for consideration in this debate.

Zeithami (1998) speaks of consumer perceptions of price, quality, and value as being considered as pivotal determinants of shopping behavior and product choice. Some beadworker participants in this study spoke very negatively of the imitation of their work by others, expressing pride at being artists. However most were fairly open about copying their 'neighbour'. Particularly on Durban Beachfront, it is evident that marginal forms of individual creativity are being displayed in the beadwork. As a result it appears that perceptions of this beadwork and 'Zulu' beadwork, at large, have diminished, based on a sort of moral judgement of imitations (Zeithami 1998). It is possibly also the idea that with imitation comes a value perception, that the product is viewed as that much less authentic through the Zulu brand association. Equally, low price may affect perceptions.

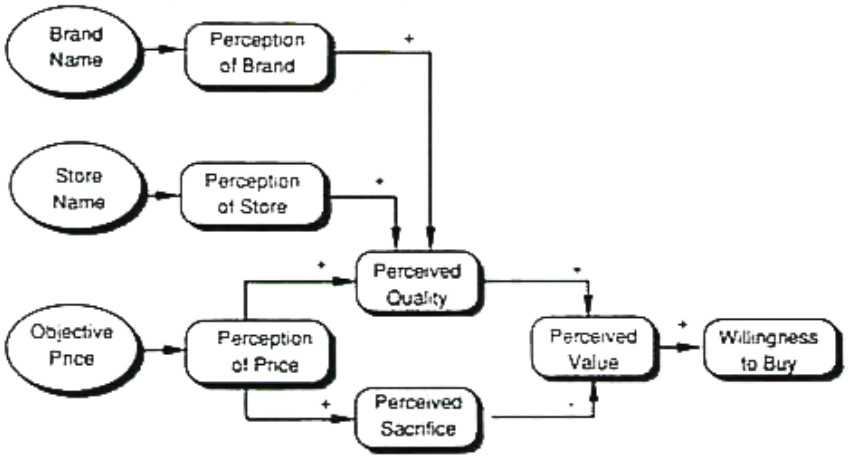


Figure 6.25: Monroe and Krishnan's (1985) model using Monroe's (1979) conceptualization model of perceived value (Dodds, Monroe, and Grewal 1991).

Dodds, Monroe, and Grewal (1991:308), describe that,"the link between perceived quality, evaluation, and choice can be explained, in part, by the acceptable price range concept. Buyers generally have a set of prices that are acceptable to pay for a considered purchase, rather than a single price. Therefore, people not only may refrain from purchasing a product when they consider the price too high, but also may be suspicious of the quality of a product if its price is too much below what they consider acceptable. Finally, if a price is unacceptable to pay, the inference is that the offer must have little or no net perceived value. The perception of value in turn directly influences willingness to buy".

This phenomenon seems to be integral to the strategy of Woolworths South Africa. In an online article entitled, "Woolworths South Africa: Right Stock, Right Store, Right Time", (Masha, 2010) it is detailed that the clothing and food retail chain is, "known affectionately to generations of shoppers as 'Woolies', Woolworths is one of the most familiar and well-regarded retail brands in South Africa. Unrelated to the lower-end Woolworths brands in Australia and (until recently) in the United Kingdom, Woolworths South Africa is an upscale mass-market retailer that sells clothing, beauty supplies, homewares, food and financial services in South Africa, other African countries and the Middle East.". During 2010 the company underwent " a challenging transition from local to global sourcing. Traditionally, Woolworths purchased between 80 percent to 90 percent of goods from local suppliers, many of which it had dealt with for decades; its goal is to reverse that ratio and purchase most goods from offshore suppliers, primarily in Asia (Masha 2010).

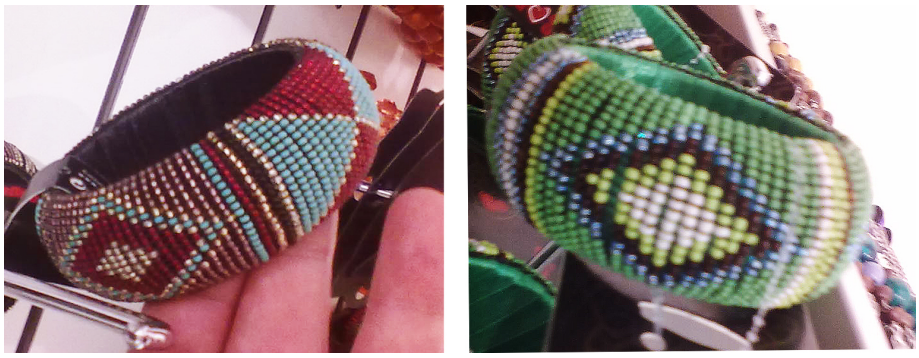


Figure 6.26: Beaded bracelets made in India to seemingly resemble Zulu beadwork (Gatfield 2011).

During a review process of beadwork retail sites, I visited a Woolworths Fashion Store. There I purchased a beaded bracelet, closely resembling the kind of locally made artifact, made with modern looking beads, structured into triangular shapes in different colours. This bracelet is the kind of product one might find for sale at boutiques or in the African Art Centre store. The bracelet was very well beaded, constructed and lined, unlike much of the stock available on the beachfront. The cardboard label attached to the bracelet read 'made in India'.

The question that emerges is why a South African company, detailed as 7th on the list of top brands in the country (Brand South Africa 2014) is electing to purchase beadwork from Asia, made to resemble Zulu artifacts, to sell to South African consumers, many of whom see themselves as Zulu. The bracelet was marked at R99.95, roughly five times times what is very often charged for a similar product on Durban Beachfront.

It would appear, like the case of the bracelet made in India, that the sales of Woolworths' products are genuinely based on the quality. This is no doubt achieved through the sourcing of willing cost efficient suppliers locally and abroad. However, the perception of Woolworths as the quality, up market store appears also to be the result of a carefully constructed 'value perception'.

Although the company began in the Cape in 1931, its presence in Durban has become significant more recently. Woolworths offers that its vision is, "to be a world leader in retail brands that appeals to

people who care about quality, innovation and sustainability" (Woolworths Holdings Limited 2013 Good Business Journey Report).

In reference to the model, in figure 6.25, offered by Dodds, Monroe, and Grewal (1991), Woolworths' success might be based on the fact that the brand is recognized for its 'value for money' through its careful consideration of these key sales determinants.

The strategic focus of Woolworths aims to ensure that quality is offered, but pricing appears to be carefully positioned so as to be deemed expensive, (Mack 2013), but worth the financial sacrifice for the quality on offer. Products are sold in carefully designed, modern, contemporary looking packaging, positioned for sale in similarly-designed stores, filled with other very innovative and fashionable products. It would appear therefore that perceptions of Woolworths is formed through price, quality and aesthetic appeal, in a manner that fulfill a need in consumers for a sense of 'position' or status.

In reference to Woolworth's products, Beneke (2010: 203) details that, " attractively packaged items are, arguably, addressing consumer needs of esteem and status. According to the retailer, it aims to make its brand synonymous with innovation, excellence and value for money, pitching it as being of the highest quality, equivalent to (if not better than) the category leaders.

Woolworths also promotes the fact that the company is engaged in serving sustainability (Mack 2013). "Organizations can potentially obtain several benefits by implementing proactive environmental strategies and initiatives; they can enhance their brand reputation, and gain credibility from their stakeholders"(Atzori, Melis and Giudici 2012:15). Evidence of the value Woolworths places in such benefits is evident in a *Woolworths Holdings Limited 2013 Good Business Journey Report.*It is detailed in this report that to Woolworths', "sustainability is becoming ever more important. This applies to both the community around us and to the environment that serves us all". (Woolworths Holdings Limited Good Business Journey Report 2013:1). In acknowledgement of this emphasis, it is further detailed in the same report that, "Woolworths was named the 2012 international 'Responsible

Retailer of the Year' at the World Retail Congress in London" (Woolworths Holdings Limited Good Business Journey Report 2013:8)..

It might be concluded that the public use of the word 'sustainability' by Woolworths not only contributes to value perceptions, but also offers some moral reprieve to customers, as if somehow built into the price. This value strategy would certainly align with the international 'guilt free' trend noted in the 2009 *Responsible Tourism Policy for Cape Town City.*

In the case of the bracelet made in India, it appears unnecessary for Woolworths to even consider branding the product as 'Zulu' given the product's merchandising context and its association with the strong Woolworths brand and value perception. This relationship, appears to reconstitute the value for beadwork, by distancing the product from perceptions of 'Zulu branded' merchandise viewed as being 'cheap' and of poor quality.

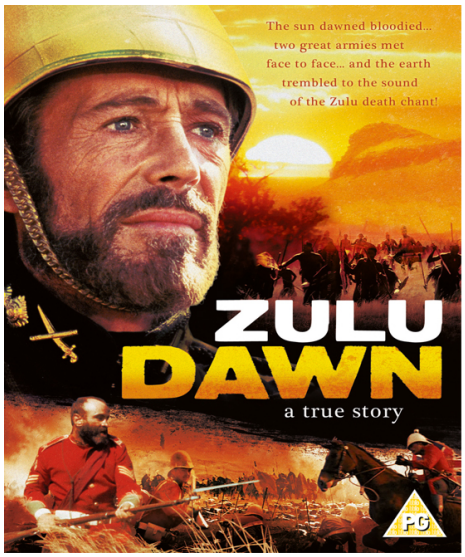
Szybillo and Jacoby (as cited in Dodds, Monroe, and Grewal 1991) suggest that value for money has a stronger relationship to perceived likelihood of purchase than perceived quality. Hence, perceptions of value increase as price increases from below the buyers' lower acceptable price limit to some price within their acceptable price range. However, as price increases beyond the acceptable range, it might be assumed that perceptions of value would decline. However, "price, as an external cue, is perceived differently than its 'objective' characteristic". The authors note that "buyers are likely to use similar perceptual processes for brand names". A brand name can influence perceptions of product quality and value, and hence a willingness to buy. Further, a more positive effect for price is achieved, "when brand information is present than when it is absent" Szybillo and Jacoby
(as cited in Dodds, Monroe, and Grewal 1991:308). The implication of their findings is not that brand name dominates as the single source of the sale, but rather that brand name, in this instance the Woolworths brand, enhances the influence of price based on quality perceptions. Dodds, Monroe, and Grewal's (1991) articulation of this model on the perceived value concept, serves to demonstrate that a brand can reposition how a willingness to purchase can be facilitated. Conversely, the model also serves to illustrate how a brand, in this instance the Zulu brand and its association with *isimodeni*,

if incorrectly managed can serve to diminish perceived value of a product based on a failure to manage a suitable balance between the various key determinants of the model.

6.4 Beadwork as Brand Equity in alleviating Poverty

6.4.1 'Zulu' Brand Equity

It is noteworthy that the Zulu brand is not exclusively used in Zulu cultural contexts, beadwork and tourism. The equity surrounding the brand appears to also be benefitting others within various industries in Durban and internationally.



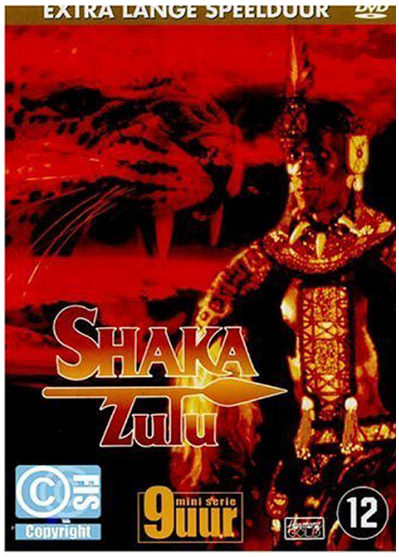


Figure 6.27: LEFT: Poster for the 1979 movie Zulu Dawn, directed by Douglas Hickox (Samarkand 1979).

Figure 6.28: RIGHT: Shaka Zulu DVD distributed internationally, by William Faure. (Harmony Gold 1986)



Figure 6.29: Shift in Tourism KwaZulu-Natal's marketing effort, representing an alignment with the South African Brand and an apparently dimished emphasis on the 'Zulu branding (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal 2013).

To reiterate, the Zulu identity is an internationally recognised phenomenon, made popular through a lengthy period of exoticism (Hamilton 1992; Marshall 2003; Maharaj, Sucheran and Pillay 2006; Carton 2008).

In an online article, entitled *Shaka Zulu as an Intervention in contemporary Political Discourse*, (1992), Tomaselli indicates that public awareness of the Zulu identity reached new heights through the making of the 1979 film *Zulu Dawn* and through the internationally distributed 1986 television series *Shaka Zulu*. "Shaka Zulu, made in Natal, South Africa, in the mid-1980s, has been the most repeatedly screened mini-series ever shown on syndicated television in the United States… Shaka Zulu was aimed at an international audience, which knew very little about the man. The only image the American public had of the Zulu, after Shaka, was to be found in films like Zulu (1964) and Zulu Dawn (1979) about the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879. It should be noted that reactions to the films were not always positive, much critique was aimed at the agendas, particularly in the film Shaka Zulu, in serving as a justification for Apartheid". .However it would appear plausible that any media coverage, positive or negative, would have served to raise public awareness of the Zulu identity. These films are still available internationally on the website *YouTube.*

The Zulu identity appears to continue to enjoy a public audience through the 'South Africa, KwaZulu-Natal, Zulu Kingdom. Exceptional' marketing effort, flighted internationally by Durban Tourism. It is also internationally evident through President Zuma's presence in the international press, as a publicized member of the Zulu, most recently, witnessed as the presiding South African presidential head, at the internationally televised, funeral of former President Nelson Mandela, and infamously through the nationally and internationally featured story, regarding his apparent involvement in the building of his new home in Nkandla, KwaZulu-Natal.



Figure 6.30: Various logos of companies, and other entities, which have appropriated the Zulu Brand equity (See list of figures for detailed citing).

As seen in figure 6.30, various commercial and government entities have appropriated the use of the Zulu identity, for commercial purposes. Examples of its use include, from left to right, top to bottom:

An early 'Zulu Kingdom' logo for Tourism KwaZulu-Natal (TKZN), a later reworked 'Kingdom of the Zulu' logo for TKZN, a logo for Zulu Graphix, a marketing and design company, situated in the United Kingdom (Zulu Graphix 2013); a logo for the internationally renowned brand 'Universal Zulu Nation' an international hip hop awareness group formed and headed by hip hop pioneer AfrikaBambaataa from New York, USA (Universal Zulu Nation 2014); a Logo for 'Zulu Labs', who purport that the company produces, "Software for business warriors" (Zulu Labs 2013); a logo for 'Zulu Tattoos', a tattoo concern in Los Angeles, and in Austin in the USA, where one is "Welcome to the Tribe" (Zulu Tattoo 2011); a "ready-made logo" for sale online at a website called Brand Crowd, which includes the image of a central African styled mask combined with the word Zulu ; a logo for Taco Zulu, a Mexican grill and cocktail bar, situated in Durban's popular night 'spot' Florida Road ; a logo for 'pheZulu Estate', or Phezulu Game Estate, to which visitors at PheZulu Safari Park are directed. This fairly new 54 unit sectional title Village, appears to also share the use of the Zulu brand (PheZulu Safari Park and Estate

2012); a logo for a Peri Peri Chili Pepper Hot Sauce called 'Zulu Zulu' made in Atlanta, USA. (ZuluZulu African Hot Sauces 2013); and logo for a company called 'Zulu Marketing'.

An online article publicizing 'Zulu Marketing', details that the company, which operates out of the city of Utah that, "specializes in selling products and services through cost-per-acquisition marketing channels including online affiliates and live seminars. When explaining their business to their mothers they say, "We sell stuff online." This year Zulu's products resulted in over $6,000,000 dollars in revenue for their partners. … Zulu Marketing expects to make a bazillion dollars next year with which they will buy a private jet to whisk them away to exotic locations all over the world and Utah" (Zulu Marketing 2013).

What emerges as a theme in this study, is the extensive value of the Zulu identity as a brand,and that the Zulu brand is largely viewed as an open resource or commodity for public consumption.

However, *General Notice 552 of 2008* issued by the South African Minister of Trade and Industry, entitled *Policy Framework for the Protection of Indigenous Traditional Knowledge through Intellectual Property System and Intellectual Property Laws Amendment Bill* (Department of Trade and Industry 2008:25), details that amendments to the Performers' Protection Act, to the Copyright Act of 1978, to the Designs Act of 1993 and to the Bill, will serve to:

Provide for the recognition and protection of traditional performances having an indigenous origin and traditional character; to provide for the payment of royalty in respect of such performances. ...provide for the recognition and protection of copyright works of a traditional character;...provide for the recognition of terms of expressions of indigenous origin and for the registration of such terms and expressions; ...to provide for the registration of traditional designs of indigenous origin; ...to provide for the recordal of traditional designs and to provide for matters incidental thereto.

Like the policy on responsible tourism and the policy on informal trade in Durban, this Policy Framework, developed to protect indigenous traditional knowledge, points a concerted effort by Government to 'reign in' access to indigenous resources or to at least to 'level' the economic 'playing

fields' for home-based economies. Mugabe (as cited in Masango 2010:74), details that:

> Indigenous knowledge (IK) 'is that knowledge that is held and used by a people who identify themselves as indigenous of a place based on a combination of cultural distinctiveness and prior territorial occupancy relative to a more recently-arrived population with its own distinct and subsequently dominant culture'. Traditional knowledge (TK) is 'the totality of all knowledge and practices, whether explicit or implicit. This knowledge is established on past experiences and observation. …Following the definitions of indigenous knowledge and traditional knowledge, one can state that indigenous traditional knowledge is the totality of all knowledge and practices established on past experiences and observation that is held and used by a people. Intellectual property (IP) is 'generally synonymous with Intellectual work, but carrying a clear emphasis on the value of the work as an asset in a financial sense.

In reference to this Policy Framework on IKS, Masango (2010:74) explains that, "one of the possible reasons for the protection of indigenous traditional knowledge is to prevent the knowledge from being exploited by appropriation for financial gains 'by third parties'".

Qualitative data shows that many of the beadworkers in KwaNyuswa have had little option but to deal with 'third parties' and 'middlemen'. The women explained that their biggest concern is their inability to directly access the 'end user' or customer. This lack of access to the end user, in the "tourism value chain" (Sidonia and Iorgulescu 2013:815) seems, based on my conversations with the beadworkers and various intermediaries, to be as a result of numerous factors.

Failed attempts by the women to directly access retailers, , appear to reveal that they lack the design and technical knowledge to respond to complex customer requests. Further, that the women don't have financial capital or the financial resources to organize themselves in a manner that would allow them to retail their products within an affluent boutique market, either locally

or abroad, thereby circumventing street level trade. It is possibly worth highlighting that the local market appears to have become attuned to the failure of beadworkers to innovate and to achieve certain quality requisites, and so have become unwilling to directly engage the women.

Most significantly, market accessibility to the beadworkers appear to be restricted due to their lack of mobility, with few owning personal vehicles; their lack of business acumen; through the language barrier, with many of women only speaking isiZulu; and as a result of a lack of understanding western fashion sensibilities. Historically, even with costly translators, customers who may have been initially willing to spend time and patience traversing language, production and financial issues, have grown tired of this approach or are unable to financially sustain what might be otherwise viewed as corporate social responsibility. In this way trained intermediaries, well versed in the needs of their largely 'western fashion' markets offer a valuable service to retailers, still willing to maintain their involvement with corporate responsibility programs, but unwilling to be 'directly involved'.

Many of these intermediaries seem to have a good grasp of trends and are able to spend time and energy finding ways of resolving various design, production and transation issues. This includes financing visits to international marketplaces to establish business links. In this way, these intermediaries facilitate trade where it might have otherwise 'dried up'. However, what is of concern is the manner in which these various transactions appear to favour those in direct contact with the consumer or retailer.

6.4.2'Third Party' Economies

Other options for tourists intent on purchasing 'Zulu' beaded artifacts in the area of PheZulu Safari Park include the 1000 Hills Arts and Crafts Village, the Heritage Market in Hillcrest, Embo Craft and the Hillcrest AIDS Centre Trust.

Most of the women in the sample, noted these sites and said that they had, over the years, engaged with them in some way. They also spoke of intermediaries, or 'middlemen', usually White or Indian, who would purchase from them and then sell to boutiques or foreign markets. Many respondents spoke of individuals who lived in Botha's Hill or Hillcrest and who pressed them to reduce their prices. In addition, it was explained that the frequency of orders from the neighbouring suburbs were waning. The women explained that post 1994, a renewed interest in beadwork had occurred. This interest 'peaked' during the 2010 Soccer World Cup, partly hosted in Durban, but has consequently subsided.

Interviews revealed that the women sell their beadwork to retailers on Durban Beachfront.Many also spoke of Sbayeni Fish Market, in Durban, at which sales are almost non-existent. The women explained that they would often meet beadworkers from Ndwedwe at the Market, where customers seeking to purchase traditional attire for themselves, might be found. Other sites include the African Art Centre, UShaka Shopping Complex, The Heritage Market in Hillcrest, the BAT Centre, and various fleamarket sites in Essenwood Park, the Durban Exhibition Centre parking lot, the Durban Beachfront Amphi-Theatre, Shongweni Farmers Market, and Inchanga Market.

Further to these sites, the beadwork industry in the greater Durban area, is also populated by very organised commercial concerns geared towards serving local discerning buyers who purchase beadwork specifically based on contemporary fashion trends and Western colour sensibilities. These commercial concerns also focus on international markets. Most confirmed that during transactions with agents at these various sites, prices were never simply paid but always negotiated, with the women, poorly versed in the art of persuasion, most often failing to gain 'the upper hand'.

Clearly buyers who are well aware that the 'isimodeni market' is 'flooded'with product offering, know that this gives them bargaining power, and so can 'drive' prices down, resulting in women earning and an estimated average 30% profit margin to the 'middleman's' 200%. This is by no means a constant, with more ethically minded 'middlemen' appreciating the value of longstanding reciprocal relationships. The women are also most often required to pay the R50.00 taxi fee to Durban to deliver the goods.

In response to the unwillingness by customers to pay the price for quality beadwork, some respondents retorted that “quality comes at a price”, and so is not a viable pursuit. A respondent indicated that, “beads are actually a lot more expensive than customers realise, particularly the glass beads from Czechoslovakia”. These are favoured for the range of colours available and the consistency of shape.

Wells (2007:182) notes that, “unfortunately the preferred, stranded Czech Republic glass beads come at a higher cost than their eastern counterparts, and are duly too expensive for most beadworkers in their daily activities. The glass beads on offer in Durban are all imported through a small outlet in the downtown city precinct situated in the picturesque and multicultural Ajmeri Arcade, and it has been this source that has provided most of the glass beads for almost all of the beadworkers in the region. This single outlet has developed a monopoly over the years as one of the few major appointed distributors of Czech Republic glass beads in South Africa and with this has very tight control over price and availability”. The author continues that the Joblonex factory in Jablonec nad Nisou, Czech Republic, is the major supplier to South Africa (Wells 2007:184).

From my personal experience while facilitating various beadwork interventions, glass beads from elsewhere, such as China, are often very inconsistent in shape and size and result in uneven beaded ‘fabric’ surfaces. The outer surface of Chinese beads also chips or peels revealing another colour underneath the surface. Plastic beads, manufactured locally are cheaper, but are not always favoured by customers, with some seeing these as ‘cheap’. These beads, particularly the smaller sized beads, apparently fade.

Further, participants indicated that beadwork is labour intensive, with most of those interested in purchasing beadwork, who I spoke to regarding the value of beadwork, unaware of the length of time taken to produce it.

Clearly those in Government recognize the need to protect the poor from third party abuse and from the misappropriation of indigenous design source and skills. However such legislation, in isolation, seems insufficient if the true goal is poverty alleviation. What emerges is the need for a means by which to reposition how the Zulu brand is accessed, by both those, deemed to be 'indigenous' in the 'eyes' of the Law, and those in pursuit of the 'exotic' or perceived 'authenticity'. The most logical approach, in my view, is to work with the available resources and identities already intrinsically linked to rural craftswomen.

6.4.3 Branding as the Visual Language of Globalisation

If the Zulu is perceived as 'exotic', 'tribal' and as an 'authentic representation of South Africa or Africa' then what emerges, is how to extend this current offering beyond the tourism sector, in a manner that sensitively continues to capitalise on this perception, while serving to address the inertia surrounding the Zulu brand.

Freund (as cited in Carton 2008:606) explains, that "identity is a shifting, multifaceted concept. …While Zulu identity in the popular mind may be associated with an internally created, primordial structure, in fact it is shaped more by external processes". He continues that, "the future of the Zulu identity in today's South Africa depends on an array of determining forces." These include globalization, which "entails the intensification of worldwide economic linkages through the use of technologies that facilitate real time communications and financial integration. Globalization goes together with the promotion of an international business culture and milieu that dominate corporate media and promote the interests of multinational corporations". In reference to its effect on South Africa, Globalisation as an idea is posited by Freund as being, "on qualitatively new levels of economic penetration, spurring an unprecedented glorification of consumerism, on the one hand, and the denigration of marginalized local culture, on the other hand".

This PhD study speaks directly to this marginalisation, by intrinsically questioning if current poverty alleviation strategies can be sustained if continuing to solely 'hinge' on waning perceptions, of this "

primordial structure" noted by Freund (as cited in Carton 2008:606), and on what Dlamini (2008:477) refers to as a "well-worn script".

It would appear that the use of the Zulu brand is still drawing tourists to South Africa. However, the Government's emphasis on growing employment through existing privately owned tourist channels still places control of the tourist economy in the hands of agents, who seem unchallenged in their unwillingness to facilitate meaningful participation. This trajectory, by government, will no doubt require the on-going monitoring of the tourism industry, which will require human resources, and investment. What is unclear is if this strategy significantly benefits the poorest of the poor, who have little infrastructure, resources and insufficient capital to rise above their circumstances.

However, in a study exploring the Gambian tourist value chain and the prospects for pro-poor tourism, Mitchell and Faal (2008:4) point to number of advantages of a pro-poor tourism strategy, noting that "tourism provides opportunities for off-farm diversification, particularly in areas that do not attract other types of development options, …tourism can provide poor countries with significant export opportunities where few other options are viable; …it may create initial demand for a good or service that can itself develop into a growth sector; and that tourism products can generate demand for assets such as natural resources and culture, to which the poor often have access." Most of these advantages seem to speak to various possibilities for poverty alleviation in KwaNyuswa. However, it is also possibly prudent to take stock of those authors who offer caution around such approaches, particularly where 'culture' is viewed as capital, both in terms of the abuse that might be derived in this way or in terms of the reification of identity.

As with the considerations noted by Marschall and Naidu, this investigation of the Nyuswa proceeds mindful that in moral and ethical terms the "consumption of people as items of local heritage and indigeneity for consumption within globalised tourism" (Naidu 2011) seems fundamentally flawed, and appears largely based on the stereotyping and misrepresentation of those on whom it capitalises.

In the context of inclusive tourism economies, surely the failure to perpetuate the Zulu identity without acknowledging the numerous proponent identities such as the Nyuswa, is ethically and morally wrong. More importantly, the Nyuswa history and heritage attached to a beadwork identity serve as an example of how one might widen foreign tourist's engagement with proponents of the Zulu legacy. In this way other forms of 'authenticity' might be promoted and accessed.

This chapter pragmatically acknowledges the value of the Zulu legacy in drawing visitors to South Africa, while purposefully distancing the text from the debate on the "consumption of people" as 'actors' at sites such as cultural villages, in physically serving the 'tourist gaze'. Instead, I have attempted to investigate a basis for repositioning how artifacts might be reconstituted to be inclusive, while addressing poverty in rural areas.

In reference to a study conducted around cultural heritage tourism and globalisation, Echtner and Prasad (as cited in Naidu 2011:33) explain that "the primary targets of marketing efforts are located in the First World, as the developed countries are the main generators or producers of tourists. 'Zulu' and 'Zulu heritage' and particularly the Zulu dance, emerge as products that have found a demand in global markets. Most foreign tourists that were approached confirmed in conversations that they were attracted to images of 'Shaka Zulu' and the iconic image of the 'Zulu Warrior' in South Africa, and that they felt a sense of visual familiarity with 'the Zulu'. Within the province of KwaZulu Natal and in the context of African cultural heritage, it appears that the Zulu and Zulu heritage is the indigenous African identity and heritage that is privileged in tourism, and as the African cultural tourism product. Historically, both popular media and political constructions of 'Zulu' and around 'Zulu' and 'Zulu people' have identified with indigenous locale as KwaZulu-Natal, as the largest concentration of people who identify themselves as being Zulu, live in the province. However, the privileging of these particular indigenous identities and cultural heritage has perhaps more to do with commercial and economic transactions and less about the people".

An anonymous informant explained to me that the suppression of other identities inside the Zulu fold has a lot to do with " who is on whose payroll". Moves to privilege smaller polities, publicly, could be viewed by some as seditious. This does present a difficult ethical dichotomy in this study. However, I

have attempted to communicate that this study is focused on 'essentialising' identities, only as a means of serving poverty alleviation, and not as any direct political reaction to Zulu agendas.

Although situated as a debate on sustained Zuluness, Freund (as cited in Carton 2008:610) does point out that the Zuluness 'campaign' seems likely to reach its demise, given that, "black youths have many more opportunities to embrace variants of international consumerism, tailored for black people through the marketing of politically neutralized African- American icons".

Most pertinent to the formation of a strategic approach in this study, has been in taking cognisance of the 'visual language' of Globalisation, namely mass media communication and consumerism. In reference to how visual communication is received perceptually, Barry (2002:94) explains, that "the process of perception, particularly the sense of the present moment unfolding in front of us, begins not in the 'now' but in the past, in the crude emotional which response which prepares conscious seeing". Any attitude or behavioural reaction to the visual is based on our comparison of the experience with "templates of past experience". In other words reaction to the visual is based on memory. "Visual perception is a complex system evolved over vast spans of time" (Barry 2002:95). To this end, when we engage with visual media, "the phylogenetically primitive unconscious part of the brain sees what is happening as reality and continues to learn from and to respond to what it sees" Barry (2002:95).

In this way, it may seem plausible to suggest that a consumer engaging with new visual representations, identities and stories, attached to the Zulu, might first compare these with previously formed perceptions of this identity, and then proceed to modify preconceptions inclusively, thereby forming new versions of reality. This process of modification refers to the notion of 'brand equity', based on memory recall and association, which I will discuss later in this chapter.

When a communicated visual is imbued with emotion or is able to trigger an emotion, "the significance of this in terms of perceptual process is, of course, that visual experience is always real to the emotional system. …We continue to learn from mediated experience and from actual experience

alike and use them to construct maps by which we understand future experience" (Barry 2002). The excitement of what is new and different is surely no exception to this thinking.

If the visual communication message was 'housed' in a familiar, socially accepted visual language of consumerism such as that of branding, suitably contextualised with historic interest, ideas of authenticity, the exotic, and heritage, and combined with suitably engineered new and different aesthetic content, new responses and attitudes might be invoked. By this, I mean that by offering consumers new and different versions of the Zulu Identity, in a universally accepted visual language, brand diversification might be achieved.

Schmitt (1996:30) offers that, "one important way of differentiating a brand is on the basis of intangible elements such as corporate and brand image", and that, "serving consumer perceptions is critical for building viable corporate and brand identities" (Schmitt 1996:30). In this way branding has becomes a recognised code or ingrained predisposition brought about by social conditioning and exposure to media within contemporary audiences.

Naidu (2011) points out that branding is the language of the First World, it is the conceptual and visual language that has become vital in order to engage markets. Chang and Hseih-Chang et. al (2010:3345) describe 'brand identity' as what "represents the external image that an organisation intends to present. It is the synthesis of text, image, intention and public perception of the brand. Good brand identity transmits appropriate brand essentials to form a superior brand image, composed of controllable elements".

In my design practice, I have come to understand that the development of a brand's image is assisted by limiting the number of colours used, often no more than six. In some cases, one can elect to place emphasis on one particular colour in the palette.

The frequency and use of this limited colour palette, delivered across various media platforms, can over time facilitate brand association and loyalties by those consistently exposed to the palette of

colours and the messaging, provided such exposure is linked to positive experiences of that brand product or service offering. The use of a limited palette is fairly well demonstrated in the rebranding exercise of the Durban University of Technology that I directed and conceptualized together with my students in 2011. The main brand logo is comprised of six faculty colours, which are used as the basis for six Faculty logos. Black and white serve as phatic or supporting colours.



Figure 3.32: DUT Logo as a limited colour palette used in varying weightings (Durban University of Technology 2012).

Three years later, it is evident from feedback by staff, students and parents that the new brand is recognized and that brand loyalties are forming with the brand images seen in Figures 3.32 and 3.33.

Chang et al. (2010) explain that the use of brand identity elicits loyalties and triggers desire amongst the intended target audience, noting that 'desire for products or services can be achieved if the perception of the brand by the customer is realised in the form of emotional benefit, meaning that customers respond positively based on what they see, what they feel, and how they rationalise the personal and the functional benefit of the brand.

In a similar manner, understanding how an aesthetic can offer emotional benefit is very effectively illustrated through the example of flags. Feelings are elicited through the limited palette and visual construct of a particular country's flag. Associations to the intrinsic philosophies, histories and allegiances associated with that flag are often made. The visual convention offers both denotative and connotative associations in ethnographic terms.



Figure 3.33: Logo used alongside a depiction of the targeted audience. The DUT's six new faculty logo's placed in conjustion with an image of a pretty young student with a fashionable hairstyle. This combination was intentionally aimed at altering value perception of the DUT brand and its faculties towards being viewed as contemporary or as 'tapped into' the South African youth zeitgeist (Durban University of Technology 2012).



Figure 6.31: LEFT: Flag of previous South African Nationalist government

Figure 6.32: RIGHT: Flag of what is now deemed, 'the New South Africa'.

Flags may be spoken about, but once viewed, a cognitive/emotional process is invoked. It is difficult to avoid making comparisons and drawing on semiological references from memory when viewing the flags depicted in figures 6.31 and 6.32.

6.4.4 Fulfilling a need for difference in the targeted marketplace

To this end it became apparent that the desire for difference, for the 'tribal', the 'authentic' and the exotic, amongst tourists, might be fulfilled via the visual communication mechanism of branding.

Barnard (2008:25) speaks of communication as the "transmission of messages (signals)" which involves, senders, signals, channels and recievers. However, he adds that, "for semiology, communication is the production and exchange of meanings. …The cultural position of the 'senders' and 'receivers' generates meaning".

In the context of the Nyuswa or the Qadi manufacture of beadwork for sale, this thinking on semiology serves to illustrate how meaning is created for the 'buyer' of a product made by an individual whose lifestyle and identity is viewed as culturally 'rich', and outside of the Western and European 'frames' of identity and lifestyle.

Currently, any international visitor arriving at a tourist site in KwaZulu-Natal, such as the Durban beachfront for example, in search of an 'exotic' artefact representative of their visit to the province, would be able to complete their shopping by visiting the first stall they encountered. Each stall along the length of 'the Golden Mile,' or Marine Parade, offers almost identical 'Zulu' products.

The apparent value of the Nyuswa identity or any other Zulu subsidiary identity is that it represents difference from what is on offer. The notion of 'difference' emerges as a central theme in this PhD study, with its value in superceding patronage seemingly outweighing the concern of the 'essentialisation' of identities. Much of this study has been focused on offering a basis for legitimizing socio-political difference and heterogeneity, and in so doing serving differentiation within a seemingly stagnant and saturated marketplace. The 'poverty alleviation' versus the'essentialisation of identities'debate is clearly a very valid in this study and is no doubt necessary to address, before touching on the viability of a diversification strategy.

As indicated previously, the current approaches towards transforming tourism economies in KZN appear either to be failing the poor, through a failure to diverge from current econonomic structures, or are simply shifting at a pace that is incongruent with alleviating poverty. Equally anthropologists in post-apartheid South Africa appear to find themselves in a conceptual 'deadlock' needing to reconcile themselves to 'tip-toeing' between the multitude of racially charged and patronizing terms or frames of reference, used prolifically to construct and to essentialise political agendas into reality (Boonzaier and Sharp 1988).

Boonzaier and Sharp (1988:25) have quite correctly pointed out that identity categorisations have historically been framed by the idea that a specific 'culture' is underpinning the argument for identity and racial category. To this end, the authors posit, that " 'culture' is defined only by its effect and affect". Claims of one's culture and as being defined by cultural difference can be interpreted by first understanding that culture is "not simply a knowledge of differences, but rather an understanding of how language, thought, use of materials and behaviours have come about", in other words culture is a product of historic events (Boonzaier and Sharp 1988:25). This view points to culture as a problematic argument for identity. If this view had been taken 'to heart' by policy makers, it might be assumed that twenty years after apartheid, the use of essentialised identity as tourism capital would have been set aside, and replaced by new branding and strategic marketing solutions.

However, the converse situation appears to persist. In my experience, and as based on the various arguments in this study, the Zulu brand, alongside 'golf estates', the 'Big Five' and a 'warm sub-tropical climate' appears to be well entrenched as a means of maintaining the KZN tourism offering, pointing less to an apathy for change or poor policy development, and more to its meaningful value in assisting a brand offering to tourists. In this way, researchers and branding experts seem not to have reconciled the disjuncture between distancing oneself from problematic frames of reference and the need for economic prosperity.

Although speaking directly to research around racism, but in reference to the disuse of 'loaded terms', Van Ommen (2013:198) asks if "such an urgent distancing is justified", noting that "we cannot

escape the effects of the past so easily; these terms are themselves not innocent but are in a complex relationship with each other and society".

To this end, I argue that a humanitarian perspective in addressing abject poverty outweighs the negation of the polity identity as of equitable value. To this end, in the context of polity identity and beadwork sequencing, 'difference' is a consideration.

A Nyuswa product is likely to represent the foreign, the unexplored and that which has not yet been experienced. In this way, unseen colourful beadwork conventions could quite possibly offer difference, excitement and emotional benefit. These might also offer forms of protection for the Nyuswa women, given that the newly formed policies on IKS should serve to limit outsiders' access to cultural identity. It might also serve to diminish the imitation of their products, even if temporarily. More importantly, by differentiating the offering, brand loyalties might be 'grown' amidst waning internationally located Zulu brand loyalties, thereby reinvigorating export channels.

Such loyalties might also be developed amongst local customers within KwaZulu-Natal, or amongst those who see themselves as Zulu or Nyuswa, who have lost touch with their cultural origins and practices. Further, those from outside the province, who also pursue a need to experience difference and the 'exotic' and seemingly 'authentic', might also find benefit from owning a product made by the Nyuswa or Qadi.

The challenge, in communicating to a local market, 'immune' to the 'charms' of beadwork, is in illustrating that the craftwork on sale, is actually imbued with identity and visual qualities, different from what is already known. An equal challenge is in differentiating the offering in a manner that does not 'alienate' perceptions of the items for sale, from the legacy surrounding the more dominant Zulu brand. A further challenge is in the production of a brand identity logo and product that might fulfill expectations for difference, while remaining functional for marketing to local and international markets. Finally, a significant challenge is in articulating the distinctiveness of the polity identity

beyond beadwork, or in support of the sale of an artifact, to tourists seeking a 'quick fix' explanation of difference, by addressing questions of origin, language and traditional practice.

The value of stories or legacy lie in what Halewood and Hannam (2001:567) refer to as 'heritage tourism'. The authors offer, that "in the current era of globalised uncertainty heritage tourism offers a degree of security and stability". The idea of 'authenticity' as a marketing approach has largely been discussed in this study. I have however, not spoken to the value of these 'descriptions of legacy' or 'heritage', which might be printed on a swingtag or used in 'sales pitch', alongside a beadwork pattern identification guide, as a means of serving a need in tourists for 'authenticity'. I would imagine that the correct approach would not be to claim authenticity, but rather to explain that these 'captions' from history are based on multiple sources and so open to interpretation.

Offering of the Nyuswa legacy to tourists, for example, would no doubt require some 'whittling down' of this length account into 'palettable form', structured to serve 'the quickfix' need by tourists, while simultaneously being contextualised in reference to the Zulu.

Hegemonically framed patronage, therefore, would need review, and a reconstitution of what might be deemed to be 'authentic artefact', both in ethical terms and as a means to diversify a marketplace saturated with a single brand offering. It might be assumed that the value of beadwork sequencing and polity heritage might have therefore been raised in a 2010 *Feasibility Study for Umbumbulu Arts and Crafts Trade Centre*, prepared by Urban-Econ Tourism, a Durban based group of Development Economists.

It is detailed by Urban-Econ Tourism (2010) that "this project was developed in response to the KZN Department of Economic Development's identification of a trade centre as a key local economic development opportunity within the Umbumbulu area". The fairly extensive study, outlines the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of the proposal, detailing numerous infrastructural concerns, and points to the large economic potential of the KZN tourism market. .However, in its description of product, under the category 'Traditional Arts', these are detailed as "culturally specific

products, the meaning and significance of which is generated and shared by members of a specific community. Such goods are often produced for the domestic market, e.g. clay beer pots in KwaZulu-Natal". No mention of Zulu or polity identity appears to be raised. In my view, such an omission, is a central concern of this PhD study. The feasibility study does however raise the value of design, as central to product development (Urban-Econ Tourism 2010).

Hayes, McKenzie and Thompson (2010), authors of *Bankable Craft*, speak of the difficulties regarding product development. They note the disjuncture between traditional craft and market demands, noting that in some cases the idea of making such a transition can be offensive to the crafters. Further, limitations in meeting market demands were noted as: the limitations of raw materials, such as grasses; inappropriate product development; physical distance from the target market; and market related price structures, fuelled by an abundance of high-quality craft items from other countries, particularly in Asia. The authors also acknowledge an undervaluing of local craft, based on these various factors. Most significantly the authors point to the value of linking product development with design colleges.

Hayes' et al. (2010) findings speak of a disjuncture between traditional craft and market demands, but make no mention of how to straddle both 'spheres'. They do point to design as a solution, but fail to fully extrapolate this intention.

Failure to fully invigorate craft-based economies may be the result of what I call an 'improvement mindset', where existing models such as small businesses which use rural women as suppliers for their brands are merely improved upon but not reinvented through qualitative data. This pattern seems ongoing, reflecting the apparent inability of this 'improvement' approach to significantly alleviate poverty. By this, I refer to the Government's insistence on growing employment through existing tourism avenues (Maharaj et al. 2006).

Further,,untrained craftworkers are being required to continually adjust their products to serve a 'Western' design orientation and lifestyle, instead of focusing on perfecting what is intrinsically of

cultural origin. This often results in products no longer resembling their material culture (Hayes et al. 2010), and ultimately diminishing the culture value of the product.

What has revealed itself, through this study, is that although craftworkers may need guidance with the development of products structurally, or as better fitting market trends, little facilitation is required regarding the beading design of polity based conventions.

My experiences in the 'field', have shown that many established beadworkers are very creative, systematic artists, who have a deep understanding of their respective polity/regional conventions. The idea that intervention by 'outside agents' is a necessary stage in the design process is a matter that might require some review. In fact, it might actually be one of the failures of beadwork craft in South Africa, in directly addressing poverty.

6.4.5 Testing the 'beadwork as brand equity' concept.

As evidenced in previous chapters, in-depth photographic documentation of the beadwork of KwaNyuswa and neighbouring regions has served a process of visual analysis. This analysis in turn served as the basis for testing the hypothesis that polity identities could actually be reworked to serve as brands for the purpose of poverty alleviation.

As this hypothesis emerged in this study, the idea of a 'Qadi brand' was first pitched to local traditional leadership, at Mnamatha, and at a gathering of the Sigaba NgeZandla craft group. In both instances the idea was cautiously received. The social and political complexities or ramifications of an intervention of this nature are not explored or discussed further in this study. However, it is considered that consultation with higher levels of traditional leadership may be necessary, if an intervention of this nature were to be instituted. Further it is also understood that the essentialising of certain identities may initially raise concerns, but that these concerns may subside with time once the benefits of the intervention are realised.

The idea of the Qadi brand, being an 'open resource' to all of those bearing the Qadi identity, was also raised in these meetings and was accepted as a plausible approach. The women in the craft group seemed to approve of the idea that their identity was to be used in this way.

Discussions regarding ownership were quickly overshadowed by discussions concerning the value of having a 'public face' for their products. The women seemed to clearly grasp that they were 'embroiled' in a saturated marketplace in which brand and product differentiation was necessary. Illustrations regarding the value of the chicken product differentiation, served to open dialogue and define the value of differentiation. It was discussed that the name of the craft group could be represented in tandem with the Qadi logo. This was acceptable to the women.

Meetings held with the Rickshaw Pullers Association, facilitated by the Ethekwini Business Support Unit, resulted in a similar outcome. The pullers, through similarly illustrated means, came to understand that each puller could differentiate his service offering, both visually and through the recital of a differentiated version of the Zulu legacy as pertinent to each polity based design.

As part of testing the 'differentiation' hypothesis, a process of brand and product development ensued between myself and my students. The results were first tested with the three beadwork collectives and then with the rickshaw pullers.

This product development and testing process took the form of two design-based poverty alleviation projects, namely the Ntombi Handbag Project, so named for its targeting of young women who enjoy fashionable products[91]; and the Durban Rickshaw Renovation Project. The idea was to renovate the existing rickshaw by retaining and repairing the wooden cart and wheels where necessary.

[91] An *Ntombi* is a young woman.





Figure 6.33: LEFT: Selephi Blose photographed with her beaded umbrella and handbag (Gatfield 2013)

Figure 6.34: RIGHT: Beaded Handbag from the Drakensberg region late 19th century (Stevenson et al. 2000:92)

6.5 The Ntombi Handbag Project

The idea for handbags was derived from seeing an image of the Blose women carrying beaded handbags and umbrellas at Mondini, in KwaNyuswa. It was considered that a handbag could serve as a good basis for testing if beadwork could be reconstituted to fit as a 'fast-moving' consumer product within the fashion retail realm.

In some instances handbags have been used in cultural dress since the late 19th century by those in South East Africa. It is fairly common knowledge that the Xhosa made leather tobacco bags, which were later also beaded (Stevenson et al. 2000). Evidence of a beaded handbag from the Drakensberg region dating from the 19th century (Stevenson et al. 2000:92), is depicted in Figure 6.34. It shows a beaded handbag with a handle made from *ibande*, the round beaded belt. This idea was incorporated into the prototype bag. Similiarly, I encountered evidence of beaded handbags, seen in Figure 6.33, in the photographic records of the omaBlose women in 2012. So the notion of developing a handbag product linked to the material culture of the Nyuswa and the Qadi emerged as a relatively plausible extension of a now entrenched practice of handbag use and production. It is acknowledged however that this practice was as a result of early

beadworkers coming into contact with examples of handbags, most likely from Britain, Europe or America.

Beadwork designs for the handbags were initially selected by myself and by my students, based on aesthetic appeal, denotative clarity, and as distinctly pertaining to each polity convention or region. Each handbag was to be based on the beadwork convention of a polity identity. In each case, the integrity of the motifs and patterns were carefully retained, when reproducing these, so as to reduce any unnecessary artistic or creative invention.

The intention was to create a prototype product concept that could be developed, using these polity-based or regional visual sequences. Further, the intention was also for the prototype, to be produced by beadworkers in their own homes, without any machinery, and by using easily accessible materials, resulting in a product of international quality standard. The idea was that these bags should be small enough and lightweight enough to be packaged and transported to overseas markets.



Figure 6.35: Handbag designs produced using photo editing software, depicting both Qadi and Mandlakazi designs (Gatfield 2012).

Over a two-year period 30 prototypes were developed. This developmental process was based on trial and error, on feedback from the 'makers', on the viability of design ideas in terms of production practicality and cost, on feedback from buyers situated in Cape Town directly retailing to international visitors, and on feedback from international and local consumers. Consultation with members from the established Swedish craft initiative, Editions in Craft, also assisted the process of developing the product for international markets. 20 bags were also sold during this process based on the prototypes. This process of retail testing also informed a fairly extensive costing process.



Figure 6.36: Grass Inners made by craftswomen, trading outside the Durban Railway Station (Thomas 2014).

6.5.1 Protoyping

First, suitable grass inners, made by local weavers in Durban, were developed. These were then covered and lined with black fabric, and then finished with a zip, by the beadworkers.

Where possible, the intention was to produce the bag in a manner that closely represented the visual nuances of traditional dress. Similar to the bag found in the Drakensberg, detailed by Stevenson et al. (2000), seen in figure 6.34, the handles were made from *ibande*, a traditional belt, often worn by young girls, made by wrapping a string of beads around a rope. *Amapovela*, or woollen pom-poms, were also added, where appropriate. These can be seen on the headresses in figure 4.20.



Figure 6.37: LEFT: Beaded fabric making, by the Simunye women, at the Sustainable Living Exhibition in 2013. CENTRE: Grass inner with zip, RIGHT: Lined with zip (Gatfield 2013).

Beaded fabric, (seen in Figure 6.37) made by sewing small glass beads, or large plastic beads, together into a single mat or cloth, was then fixed onto one side of the bag. These 'fabrics', seen being made in Figure 6.37, carried most of the visual identity, with the handles beaded to emulate the color sequence. Where possible, the bags were produced by those directly linked to each respective polity identity.



Figure 6.38: Handbag protoypes made in KwaNyuswa representing the beadwork sequences of the Ngcobo, Nyuswa, Qadi, isijolovane beadwork convention (Gatfield 2013).

This process of development extended over a period of two years, during 2012 and 2013. Most of the bags were made in KwaNyuswa, which meant that transport costs had to be factored into pricing. Further, beads, cotton and sewing materials were only available in Durban or Pinetown, which meant that the women needed to travel by taxi to buy these requirements.

Various systems of ordering and production were set up, but inconsistencies caused through misinterpretation and misunderstanding between the women and myself ensued, despite an interpreter, resulting in an unintended product finish.

It was very clear that the women had been subjected to the unscrupulous business dealings of 'middlemen', or agents, prior to my arrival. On meeting the women, it appeared, after a period of in-depth conversation with the women, that I was being treated with distrust. Responses appeared very carefully 'crafted' and guarded. I felt this mistrust did not subside throughout the two year product development and testing process. At one point this was vocalized, directly to me. This I believe was based on a frustration with the project in not expediting significant income generation. In my view, this distrust served to encumber creativity and a freedom to experiment.

The exchange of monies, necessary to fully comprehend the viability of the project, proved challenging. The women were only prepared to work on a cash basis, despite the fact that ideas of consignment might have maximised the limited funds available for the project. The use of those funds for raw materials, instead of direct payment to the women for each bag made, could have resulted in sufficient profit to purchase more materials for new orders. This issue was discussed at length, with the women, who at first agreed to the concept and then withdrew from the process, immediately preceding the intended delivery date.



Figure 6.39: Scenes from the Sustainable Living Exhibition held at the Durban Exhibition Centre in 2013.

6.6 Testing responses at International and Local Exhibitions

As part of testing the full viability of introducing these new sequences and brands into the marketplace, and thereby exploring the applicability of the 'differention' hypothesis in a public forum,

I elected to publicly exhibit both the concept and the handbags at two separate exhibitions/shows. The idea was also for my students and I to serve as salespeople in an attempt to elicit orders for the women, while simultaneously testing public response to the premise of the two Projects.

The women from the Simunye group also assisted at the stand, dressed in traditional outfits. The women from Sigaba Ngezandla withdrew from participation immediately preceding the show's commencement. The Simunye women agreed to produce beadwork at the stand as a form of 'live' demonstration. This strategy was employed in response to the known public devaluation of beadwork. The idea was to test if a demonstration of the labour and time taken to produce a single handbag might shift individual perception.

The first Show was held as part of the World Association for Co-operative Education (WACE) Exhibition, mostly attended by foreign delegates, and was held at the International Convention Centre (ICC) in Durban. The show lasted three days, during which my students and I were continually present at the stand.

The Show experience offered various insights. It was clear from the positive responses to the product that these might be well received internationally. However, the link between the socio-political history of the Nyuswa and that of the Zulu was not as easily received. Delegates seemed entirely uninformed regarding the different socio-political proponents within Zulu history. It also appeared that the strength of the Zulu legacy had 'faded', compared with its previous international presence, created, in part, through the films *Zulu Dawn* in 1979 and *Shaka Zulu* in 1986, and through apartheid-related international media coverage, where the term Zulu was used.

However, this did not seem to dissipate the clear interest in the idea, shown by the foreign delegates, that the Zulu were made up from many sub-polities. Maps, such as those presented in this study depicting the pre-Shakan socio-political geography, were displayed and inspired much interest. Once presented with some of the historic facts around the Nyuswa and details of the other polities, and once the associated products had been examined, it was fairly apparent, that the 'public processing' of

this ‘difference’ in the Zulu ‘script’ was something that would take time and frequency in delivery. However it also appeared to indicate that a propensity for a new strategic trajectory might well exist.

However, what was surprising was that the international delegates seemed unwilling to pay, what I viewed as a fair price, derived to include a 50% profit margin. This was based on the cost of materials, transport and labour. This margin had also been decided upon, based on a need to reinvest some profits into the project. This reaction to the price pointed to a possible view of South Africa as a place where a ‘bargain’ on ‘local’ artifact, ordinarily associated with tourism, could be found. A Japanese delegate clearly stated that the products were “too expensive”. It also seemed apparent that although the products seem to initially elicit much excitement, a secondary response included comments relating to how the bags could be changed to better suit personal colour tastes, as if the value of socio-polity identity was secondary to individual fashion sensibility. Comments included, “ This is so nice, pity it’s not in pink” or “ too colourful for me, but I like the idea”.

Later, engagements with members from the Swedish ‘Editions in Craft’ group confirmed through a series of beadworking workshops with rural beadworkers, which I hosted at Workspace, that fashion trend and the colour sensibility of that aesthetic was a primary consideration, and ‘dictated’ approaches to design.

The notions of a devalued view of beadwork, and consequent unwillingness to pay, which also emerged during qualitative investigations on Durban Beachfront, was most evident at a second show, selected as a ‘test site’ for its local Durban patronage. This show, the ‘Sustainable Living Exhibition’, seen in Figure 6.39, was hosted by Ethekwini Municipality, and was held in 2013 at the Durban Exhibition Centre.

As projected, interest by middle aged ‘Black’ women from KwaZulu-Natal was pronounced, pointing to a very ‘solid’ business viability for local economies. However, the devalued fiscal view of beadwork was most evident, based on reactions to the price. Interest was also expressed in the handbag idea by

other local crafts women attending the show who saw value in the presentation. Many of these craftswomen appeared to acknowledge the value in the differentiation strategy.

6.7 Projecting Brand Extension

Based on the success of these respective responses, and based also on the prototyping done with the Qadi group at Mnamatha, the differentiation concept was then expanded to explore what the Qadi brand might look like, beyond the beadwork offering. This branded 'material' was developed as a means of envisaging how brand awareness might be achieved through advocacy, frequency of exposure to through through secondary sales, such as T-shirts and branded accessories.

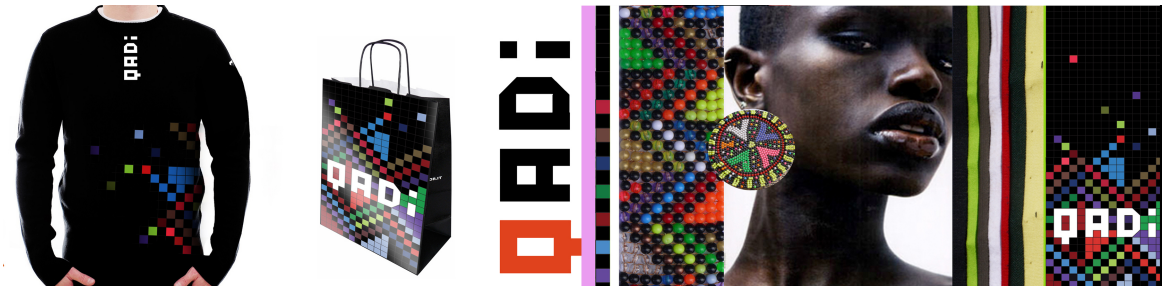


Figure 6.40: An 'expanded' perspective of the Qadi brand. (Gatfield 2013)



Figure 6.41: Another 'extension test' – a fashion 'shoot' using the actual Qadi beadwork alongside the newly reconstituted beaded bag (Gatfield 2013).

The value of this projected perspective, seen in Figures 6.40 and 6.41, was in my view in its propensity to reconstitute perceptions of beadwork away from the 'street offering' or curio product, towards the bags being a bona fide fashion accessory. This is what is sometimes referred to as a 'moodboard' depicting a branded carrier bag, in which merchandise could be placed, different versions of the brand logo, and an example of a beaded earing worn by a fashion model, specifically selected to present a uncomplicated 'Africaness', without too much make up or hairstyling.

This projected perspective was then extended through further testing through a photographic fashion 'shoot' with live models. The idea was to see if I could visually represent a hybridity of ideas by linking cultural attire with the new products in a fashionable manner that might support a branding effort. I saw these images as also representing a means of visually manifesting a link between Qadi material culture and the handbags. The images were used to support the presentation of the handbag concept to the public at the two exhibition shows.

These ‘repackaging’ experiments offered a physical example of how a polity identity might be effectively ‘distanced’ or differentiated as a brand offering from the Zulu identity and from perceptions of beadwork product as being of little monetary worth. Further these branding exercises created a physical example of how a basis for brand equity might be created if reconstituted to ‘meet’ with the socially accepted language of consumerism and merchandising.

6.8 Brand Equity

“Brand equity is defined as the differential effect of brand knowledge on consumer response to the marketing of the brand. A brand is said to have positive, or negative, customer-based brand equity when consumers react more, or less, favourably to an element of the marketing mix, for the brand, than they do to ...a fictitiously named or unnamed version of the product or service. Brand knowledge is conceptualized according to an associative network memory model in terms of two components, brand awareness and brand image, or a set of brand associations. Customer-based brand equity occurs when the consumer is familiar with the brand and holds some favourable, strong, and unique brand associations in memory” (Keller 1993:1).

Based on the principles of branding and brand equity Barry’s (2002) explanation of how perception is formed through the visual communication process might ‘play out’, through brand building, visual frequency, and positive association, serving to adjust perceptions of the ‘warring’ and ‘savage’ Zulu, and away from simply being an exotic tourist attraction towards a group of people making a sophisticated fashion product. The desired result therefore is brand equity.

The positive responses during the show by both Zulu and many local non-Zulu residents of Durban, pointed clearly to a basis for a longer term branding campaign that might begin to reinforce the Qadi or Nyuswa presence within broader domains. In other words, the repositioning and visual reconstitution of a polity identity beyond simply being a logo with a story or history attached, might achieve a new kind of public value, if subjected to an extended process of public awareness. In this way, new forms of ‘perceived authenticity’ might result in a valued commodity.

Swingtags, attached to the products, detailing a short version of the Qadi legacy, assisted to highlight that, “the Qadi are a group within the Zulu”, thereby making the brand association between the ‘new’ brand and the established one. On the reverse of the swingtag the details of the maker were included. The intention was to reduce the risk of ‘middlemen’ and to also bring greater value to the product, through its metalinguistic and innate properties, unlike the now seemingly inauthentic *isimodeni* product.

Halewood and Hannam (2010:567) argue “that inauthenticity often stems from the commodification processes which give a phenomenon an alienating and explicit exchange value”. Watson and Kopachevsky (1994 as cited in Halewood 2010:567) for instance, suggest that “the mystery of commodification lies in the way in which it is able to hide the very thing that determines its value, namely labour”. To this end, it was vital, in my view, to include the details and identity of the maker. It was interesting to note that during transactions I was as asked to, “leave the swingtags off” by some retailers.

The handbags are a fairly modern addition to traditional attire, and it is likely that this was as a result of seeing handbags used by early colonial settlers. To this end, this testing exercise firmly avoided claims that the handbags or the identities used are actually authentic. Instead it is detailed on the swing-tag attached to the bag, that the designs of the bag are closely based on traditional beadwork sequences used in traditional attire.

It is this combination of history and the visual associations linked to the Nyuswa or Qadi identity and beadwork attire that might serve as essential components in building brand awareness, brand image and brand equity of the various sub-brands. As demonstrated in this study, time and a process of reinforcement through various historic events, advocates and a media presence, resulted in fairly strong Zulu brand equity.

“Brand equity is defined in terms of the marketing effects uniquely attributable to the brand, for example, when certain outcomes result from the marketing of a product or service because of its brand name that would not occur if the same product or service did not have that name. Brand awareness relates to brand recall and recognition performance by consumers…. Brand image refers to the set of associations linked to the brand that consumers hold in memory” (Keller 1993:1). In my experience as a designer and marketer, achieving brand equity takes an extended length of time, financial investment and brand contact frequency. The end user or target market needs to be exposed to the brand fairly consistently in order to achieve memory recall.

6.9 Extending the Differentiation Premise to other beadwork conventions.

On the basis of the Qadi brand exploration, testing an extension of the ‘differentiation’ premise to include other polity identities or regional sequences ensued. The intention was to fully explore if diversification could be achieved by basing the process on multiple brand offerings within the Zulu ‘fold’. These identities, depicted in Figure 6.42, include (from left to right) the Mandlakazi from Nongoma, the Qadi from Mnamatha, the Maphumulo from Greytown, the Mchunu from Muden, Msinga, and the Nyuswa from Igode in KwaNyuswa. In each case the bags are actually made by the women from each respective area.



Figure 6.42: Handbags that were developed by beadworkers from five different polities each based on a unique colour convention and visual system. Photo: Gatfield 2013



Figure 6.43: Brand logo examples developed as possible future brands representing various polities (Gatfield 2013).

Brand logos representing the polity names were then developed to give the beadwork identities a clear brand identity. In each case, visual commonalities found in the beadwork were identified through an in-depth process of visual analysis, which involved the verification of those commonalities through multiple sources.

As I engaged with various craftswomen, most of whom were fairly well established beadworkers, it became very clear that these women, from the respective areas or polities, had a deep understanding of their craft and the respective beadwork sequences. Each sequence appears to be very complex, very structured, and each beadworker seemed to very clearly understand the limitations of the colour palette and scope of design, or limitations of visual construction, within each sequence.

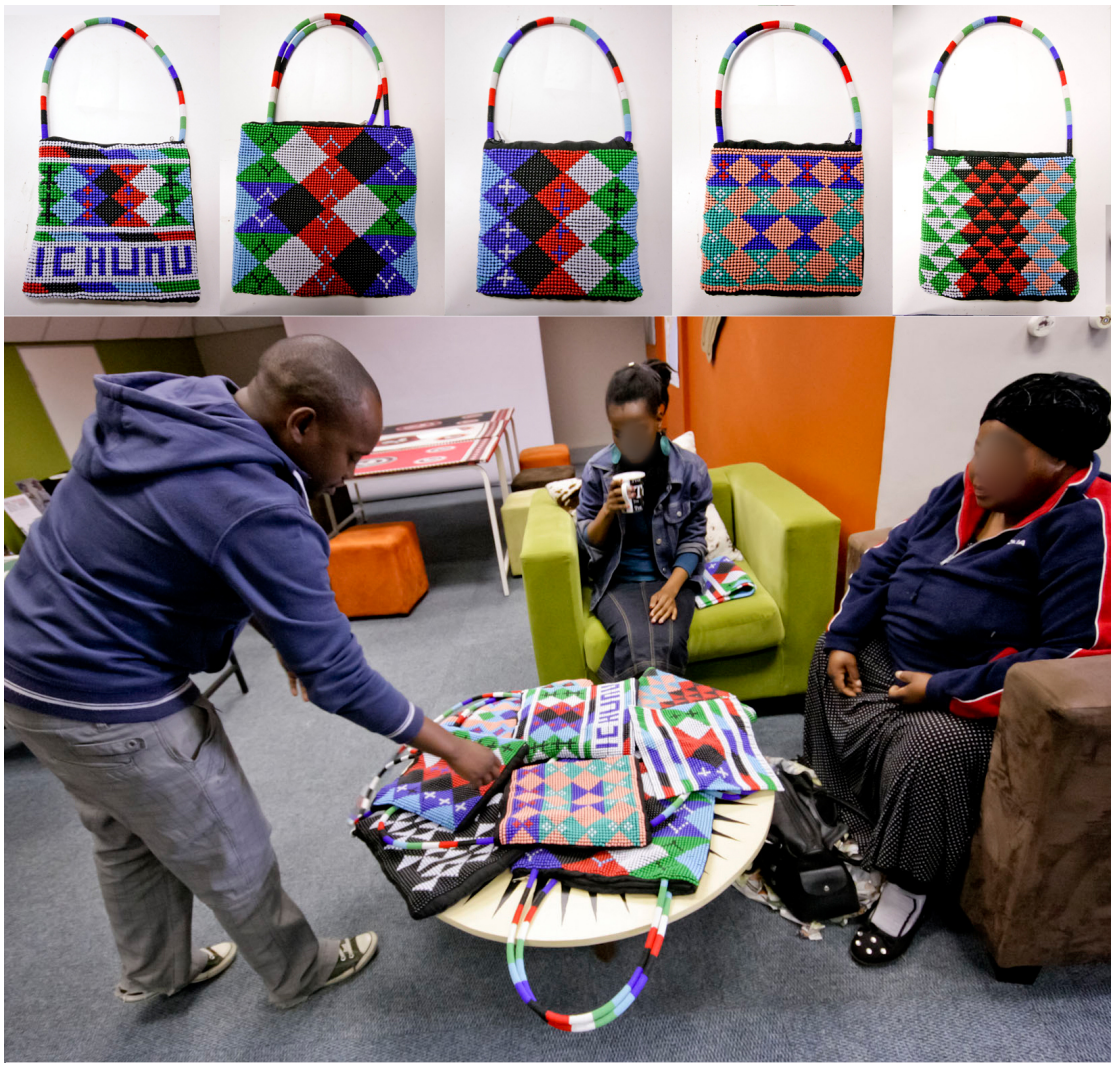


Figure 6.44: Labolile Ximba with students at DUT Workspace studio with handbags from Msinga (Khumalo 2013).

This understanding of the beadwork convention was very evident in the handbags produced by Labolile Ximba of the Mchunu or Chunu at Msinga. She is also a member of the Siyazama Craft group, a group derived from the Siyazama Project.I had met with Labolile in June of 2013 and had explained the concept of the bags to her, indicating that if she was able to make a sample bag I would be happy to purchase it. Some months later Labolile arrived carrying seven bags, seen in figure 6.44. No instruction or guidance had been offered in this design process. However, Labolile had easily employed her existing knowledge of the colour sequences of the Chunu/Mzansi style (Jolles 1993) of green, red, white, black, light blue and royal blue, in four of the bags, and proceeded to also produce bags that reflected a hybridity of styles. She had also combined a pink and baby blue combination, an apparent denotator of the *isishunka* style, with the Umzansi style of red, green, blue and white, and

more recent addition of light blue. Labolile explained that, both styles are still worn by the amaChunu, and that *isishunka* is most evident in beaded belts and *isigqhizo*, 'beaded fabric' anklets. When questioned about the production process of the bags Labolile explained:

> When you spoke to me about the bags, my first thought was that it was an opportunity to make money. Although we use triangles in our designs, many of the triangular patterns used in the bags are copied from photographs I have seen, so the sequencing is not very accurately Mchunu, I was just being creative. However I did include a Chunu signifier, particular to the area I come from - we always ensure that white is next to green in the colour sequence.
>
> That's how traditional beading works at Msinga. Is not only about what colours you use, it's also about the order of the colours in the sequence. Some of the amaChunu will bead green next to blue and some will replace blue with black. I've seen that, but I don't know where they come from. The Chunu people from Mabomvini use orange instead of red in the Umzansi style but still use the 'keyhole' pattern. I sold most of these bags in Msinga, the women there really loved the bags. I sold them for a good price. I also sold some in Umhlanga.



Figure 6.45: TOP LEFT: The two top belts seen in this image are in the Umzansi 'keyhole' style (Jolles 1993; Wells 2003). Also in that image, are two belts where blue has been replaced by black and red is replaced with orange. BOTTOM LEFT AND RIGHT: Mchunu beadwork using the keyhole pattern, however orange has replaced red (Natal Museum 2012).

It is also noteworthy that Labolile elected, of her own accord, to bead the 'Chunu' name on the bag. This interview also served to offer new light on the amaChunu beadwork identity, pointing to colour as an important component of polity denotation.

The beading of the polity name on the bag also occurred unexpectedly with the Qadi women. They voluntarily 'labelled' the bags with beaded labels, confirmed their acceptance of the branding concept. These acts by Labolile Ximba and the Qadi women, are significant, in that they reinforced that value was still being placed in these polity identities. Further, the Qadi and the Maphumulo women[92], from KwaNyuswa, also displayed the ability to independently create polity-based sequences on request. The bags, that 'carry' the Mandlakazi style, were made by the Qadi women as prototypes. Attempts to engage with beaders from Mandlakazi via the rickshaw pullers failed.

6.10 The Durban Rickshaw Renovation Project

The second process of testing the differentiation hypothesis, took the form of a Rickshaw Renovation Project. In lieu of the apparent visual potential of polity beadwork, explored in the Ntombi Handbag project as a means of differentiating product and service offerings, and in response to the plight of the Rickshaw pullers, I and my students at Workspace undertook to renovate two of the twenty-five Durban rickshaws and puller's outfits.



Figure 6.46: *Nongoma style Rickshaw, in Phansi Museum Durban, reflecting both the Mandlakazi (LEFT) and Usuthu (RIGHT) beadwork conventions* (Gatfield 2011).

[92] These Maphumulo women are from Greytown, Msinga and married into the Blose polity. They explained that they were not happy wearing isijolovane, but still continue making and wearing their own convention.

The aim, through this project, was to test the differentiation hypothesis, through means other than beadwork. In other words, to test if the current offering, namely that offered by the 25 rickshaws, ostensibly decorated in very similar ways using the Mandlakazi and uSuthu colour sequences, could be reworked to encompass various polity beadwork sequences.

Further it aimed to test if, as a consequence of the restoration, an interest in the Rickshaw service, amongst the Durban public and within the hospitality and tourism related industries might be reinvigorated.

A series of consultative meetings were held between staff and students of Workspace, members of the Durban Rickshaw Pullers Association, and staff from the Business Support, Tourism and Markets Unit of eThekwini Municipality. The idea of differentiating the Rickshaw offering, by using polity or regional beadwork conventions as a source of design, was presented to the men.

In a similar fashion to meetings held with the Qadi women at Mnamatha, arguments regarding the value of differentiation were proposed. These arguments were similarly receivedamongst the men, who seemed fairly aware of the various identities. During this meeting it was acknowledged that the intervention might serve to diversify their offering, and might also serve as an education tool, as an illustration to the public that these various polity identities exist. The decision to make this shift, despite the fact that these identities were not intrinsically linked to the pullers, was taken at another meeting of the Durban Rickshaw Pullers Association. The outcome of the meeting was that each rickshaw would be designed differently, each based on the colour and beadwork convention of the respective polities or geographic areas within KwaZulu-Natal.

In a similar manner to the handbag prototyping process, research conducted on beadwork across KwaZulu-Natal in rural areas, in museums and archives, provided photographs and visual data on the beadwork of polities or regions, suitable for ‘rebuilding’ in digital form using design software, as seen in figures 6.46 to 6.51 .

Students at Workspace, were each allocated a polity or region on which to base the design of a rickshaw. To date, rickshaws based on the beadwork conventions of the AmaChunu at Msinga (Figure 6.47), the AmaTembu at Msinga, those of Ceza region in central Zululand (Figure 6.50), those in the Nongoma region in central Zululand, the amaNgwane at Bergville, those from KwaNyuswa region in Bothas Hill near Durban, those in the Mahlabatini region in central Zululand (Figure 6.48), those in Pongola in Northern Zululand (Figure 6.51), and those of the Mandlakazi clans (Figure 6.46) from Nongoma in central Zululand have all been designed.



Figure 6.46 : Designs for the 'Mandlakazi Rickshaw', based on beadwork from that polity found living at Nongoma (Mchunu 2012).



Figure 6.47 : Design for the 'amaChunu Rickshaw', based on beadwork from that polity found living at Msinga (Gatfield 2012).



Figure 6.48 : Design for the 'Mahlabatini Rickshaw', based on beadwork from that polity found living at Mahalabatini, Nongoma (Nzimande 2012).

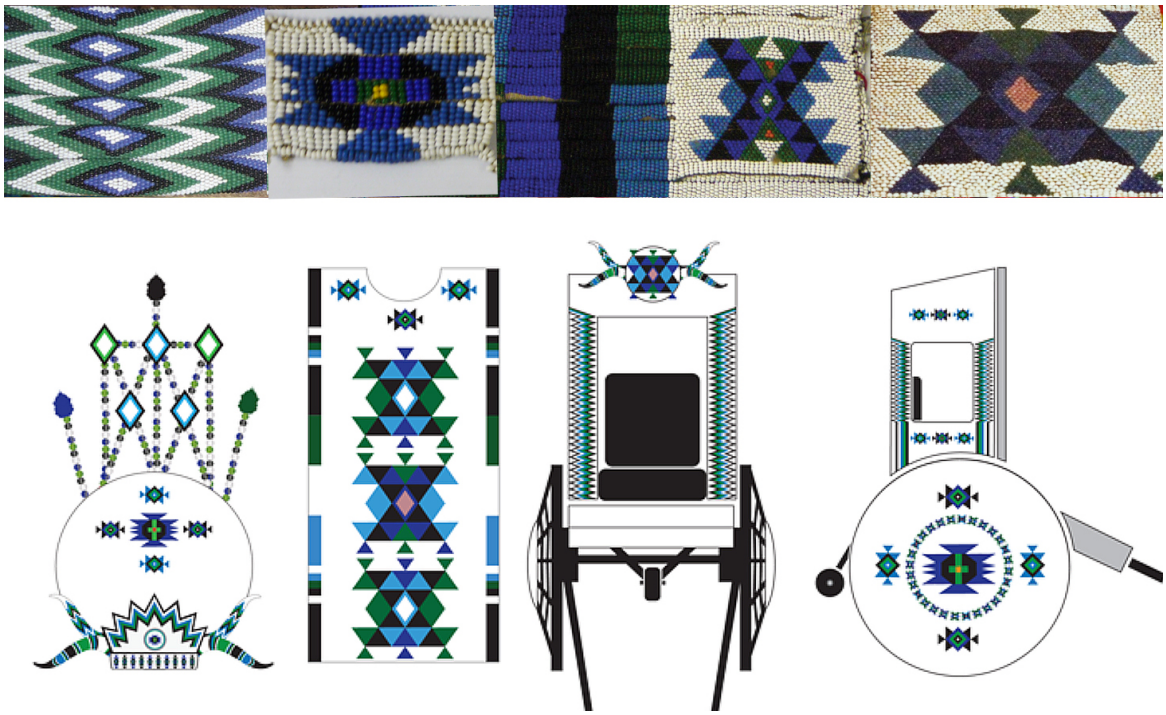


Figure 6.49 : Design for the 'Maphumulo Rickshaw', based on beadwork from that polity found living at Umvoti (Hlophe 2012).

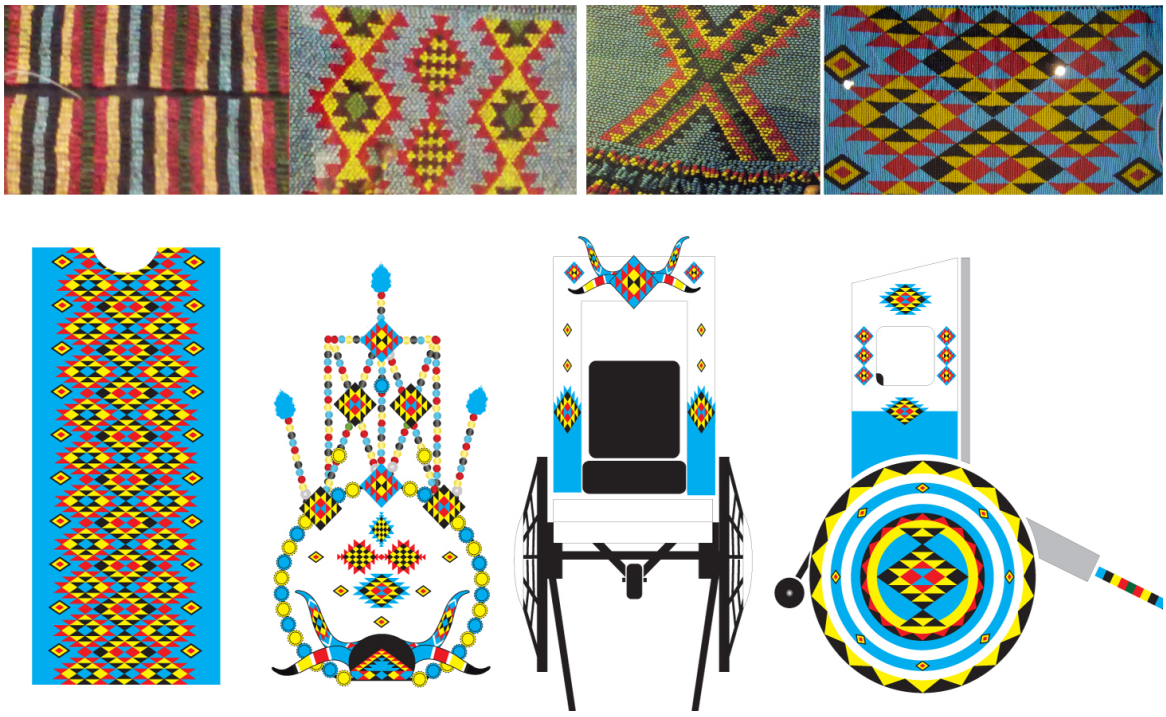


Figure 6.50 : Design for the 'Ceza Rickshaw', based on beadwork from that region of Ceza, Northern KZN (Yang 2012).



Figure 6.51 : Design for the 'Pongola Rickshaw', based on beadwork from the Pongola region, Northern KZN (Nair 2012).

It was decided that the first prototype rickshaw was to be based on the uSuthu *izigodi* situated in the Nongoma region, because the uSuthu *izigodi* is one of the two clans historically owning and operating rickshaws.

Funding was sought over a two-year period. NPC Cimpor, Plascon Paints, Royal Adhesive Industries, Component Wholesalers, Universal Bolt and Nut, Dunlop Industrial, Purple Rain and Sportsman's Warehouse made various contributions in cash or in kind.

A process of design development ensued, in consultation with the rickshaw's puller William Sibiya, a third generation rickshaw owner from the Mandlakazi *izigodi* at Nongoma. Although William is unable to speak English, he and I worked together throughout the process. William had a clear understanding of the beadwork sequencing and of rickshaw construction and advised accordingly.



Figure 6.52: The consultation and restoration process with the rickshaw pullers. Rubber conveyor belting, was used for its strength to line the wheels. Skateboarding helmets were used for the headdresses (Gatfield 2012).

In some instances modern materials and technologies were used to renovate the rickshaw, headdress and puller's attire, in an attempt to make these items lighter and more weatherproof. While designing the new rickshaw and the headdress, I remained cognisant of the structure and colour palettes used in the various conventions. Durable conveyor belting off-cuts, seen in Figure 6.47, sufficient to repair all 25 rickshaws, were donated by Dunlop Industrial, and were used to reline the wheels. Further a new apron and *imiblaselo* [93] style trousers were produced in the Nongoma colours. The new prototype, seen in Figure 6.48, is now actively being used on the Durban Beachfront.

[93] A traditional form of garment making, made by sewing patches and binding onto existing trousers and waistcoats. The aprons were also made in this way.



Figure 6.53: William Sibiya, with the newly renovated 'Nongoma' rickshaw, costume and headdress, based on the beadwork of the Mandlakazi. (Gatfield 2012)

Consequent interviews, made after the completion of the Mandlakazi/Nongoma Rickshaw conducted with the rickshaw pullers, indicated that a renewed optimism had emerged amongst the men. Lawrence Khoza, the second recipient to have his rickshaw renovated, remarked when reflecting on the project, "I see William Sibiya now walks with dignity"



Figure 6.54: Lawrence Khoza, with the newly renovated 'Msinga Rickshaw', costume and headdress, based on te beadwork of the amaChunu. Khumalo 2013.

Since the inception of the project Sibiya has purchased a pair of *izimbadada*, traditional Zulu sandals, traditional sheepskin leggings, and a traditional whistle for attracting customers. These small acts of personal investment in the project, as well as Sibiya's attentive engagement, during the process, made apparent that the visual intervention may also serve towards facilitating a level of catharsis, the dynamics of which remain to be seen. In addition other forms of value emerged from this design intervention.



Figure 6.55: LEFT: 'Msinga' Rickshaw at the Sustainable Living Show, Durban, 2013 (Gatfield 2013).

Figure 6.56: CENTRE AND RIGHT: Scenes from the Sounds of Durban Commercial feature on the National Geographic Channel, produced in 2012 by Durban Tourism (National Geographic 2012).

In 2012, the Nongoma Rickshaw featured in the *Sounds of Durban* television commercial, seen in Figure 6.56. The advert is featured on the website *YouTube (2012)* where it was detailed that the ad was "produced by Durban Tourism and National Geographic to promote Durban as a tourist destination" (YouTube 2012). This was the first ever international television and digital advertising campaign produced to promote Durban as a tourist destination to overseas markets, and "will be screened on National Geographic channels globally reaching 363 million households across 160 countries. National Geographic created the sixty second advert around the concept, "Sounds of Durban" using the sounds of the city to create a unique 'symphony'. The overall campaign will show the diversity and multiculturalism of South Africa's third largest city through the eyes of its people. Over the next three years National Geographic will run the campaign, as well as a 60 minute documentary on the city and other interesting content on their website, online channels, magazines and other platforms, to an audience of global travelers" (Moses Mabhida stadium 2012).

Based on an interview with the owner of the Rickshaw William Sibiya, no remuneration was offered for the use of the Rickshaw in the advert. It is assumed instead that the marginal R60.00 fee was paid. He was also not informed by Durban Tourism that it would be internationally screened on television.

Although the specific choice of this rickshaw to feature in the commercial does appear to illustrate clearly how beadwork design and polity identity can elicit interest and build brand equity, the failure to remunerate or to inform Sibiya of the details of usage and exposure of his rickshaw in the advert speaks to an devaluation of the indigenous offering, on-going since colonial times,.

Prior to both the WACE and the Sustainable Living Exhibitions, the organisers of these exhibitions expressed a sincere interest in having one of the newly renovated rickshaws in each of their shows, the latter seen in Figure 6.55. The value seen in these newly renovated carts and pullers outfits clearly points to the equity being derived from the intervention as serving to enrich each Exhibition offering to the targeted audience.

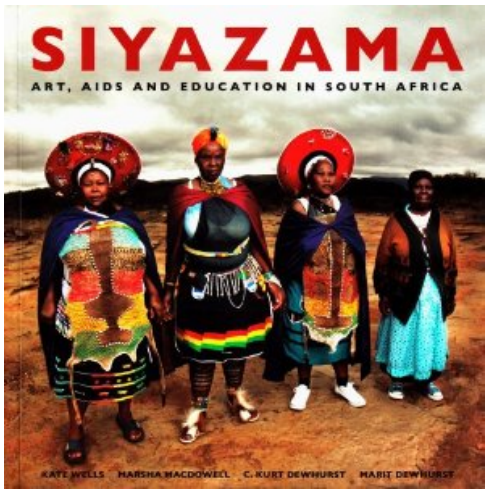


Figure 6.57: The cover of the Siyazama: Art, Aids and Education in South Africa book produced at Workspace (UKZN Press 2012).

6.11 Conclusion

In 2012, my students and I were directly involved in designing the book *Siyazama: Art, AIDS and Education in South Africa* (2012) in consultation with authors Kate Wells, Marsha MacDowell, C. Kurt Dewhurst, and Marit Dewhurst. The book, the cover of which is seen in Figure 6.57, represents the culmination of a ten year design-based, applied anthropology process using empirical and qualitative data, extracted from field work in Msinga and Inanda and from a large number of design-based workshops held to develop beaded artifacts.

Each of these products is imbued with visual expression and meaning, representative of the plights of the rural beadworkers of the Siyazama Craft group, who are having to directly deal with the realities of the HIV/AIDS Pandemic.

The building of the Siyazama brand by Professor Wells and various other contributors, was witnessed by myself as a colleague alongside Professor Wells at DUT, over a ten year period. It involved an exhaustive process of advocacy, built around these stories and the women. Brands and stories appear to make for good economic intervention.

In an online review of the Siyazama book, Pamela Allara (2012) notes that interventions such as this are important because they " demonstrate the centrality of arts-based projects to economic

empowerment and social change in South Africa. Arguably, the African National Congress (ANC) led government has shown little interest in supporting the arts, dissolving the National Arts Council in 2006, and permitting its public museums to wither. The texts and portraits in Siyazama offer incontrovertible evidence of what the visual arts can offer to a society burdened by crushing poverty and its attendant ills, assuming the creative projects can be sustained over time".

In my own experience, the value of visual interventions, such as this internationally recognized project, seem to somehow still fail to invoke in authorities the full potential of applied anthropologies towards poverty alleviation and powerful craft based economies. The premise being offered through the Workspace stand during the 2012 Sustainable Living Exhibition, appeared to be received with indifference by senior municipal officials.Yet the design autonomy displayed at both shows by beadworkers from Mapumulo, Msinga and KwaNyuswa, in rolling out permutations of their respective identities is, in my view, of great value. Such independence clearly illustrates that the women have the ability to self-sustain, given that the sequence itself is the source of brand equity and that interest in the handbags is so evident.

In contrast to reactions at the Sustainable Living Exhibition by senior officials, it would appear that other proponents within the Ethekwini municipality such as Durban Tourism have begun to see renewed value in the Rickshaws as an intrinsic component of the Durban tourism offering. Despite this, attempts to garner support from Durban Tourism and KwaZulu-Natal Tourism failed in early 2012.

Interviews conducted with the rickshaw pullers in 2014, concerning the benefits of the restored rickshaws which were both operational throughout the peak December holiday season, revealed that the two pullers were clearly benefitting economically from the design interventions and applied anthropology.

Further, informal conversations with numerous owners and administrators of Durban Hotels at a South Durban Hotel forum meeting, where I presented the rickshaw concept, also revealed a real

enthusiasm for future partnerships between the rickshaws and the hotels, which appear to have been catalyzed through the visual intervention.

In reference to applied anthropologies in the HIV/AIDS context, Levine (as cited in Pink 2007:75) notes that, “we have perhaps paid less attention to ways that visual media shifts consciousness and behavioural practices, and how these mechanisms can be used to stem the tide of discrimination”.

In the broader public and government circles the value of ‘the visual’ in applied anthropologies appears to still fundamentally go unrecognised. However, “ the term ‘applied visual anthropology’ in academic circles is beginning to gain prominence. ...as involving using visual anthropological theory, methodology and practice to achieve non-academic ends. ..This involves first representing one group’s experiences to another and then secondly, working across academic disciplines and organisational cultures” (Pink 2013:26).

In the following chapter I offer conclusions based on the emergent themes and theoretical categories within this study.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

> If misery of our poor be caused not by the laws of nature,
>
> but by our institutions, great is our sin.
>
> (Charles Darwin)

7.1 Introduction

These words by Charles Darwin speak to the central motivation for this study, that somehow amidst all the policy-making and good intentions, these seem to not translate into the alleviation of poverty. This chapter revisits the motivations for this study, the context and research question, noting the objectives that have underpinned this pursuit. It also revisits how this study has responded and unfolded, in its response to these objectives. Further it draws conclusions around the relevance of emergent data and theory, noting the significance of this contribution to the body of knowledge on branding, polity identity, beadwork, and tourism, in relation to poverty alleviation in KwaZulu-Natal.

In my view, a particular irony permeates this study, in that the body of research on beadwork (Tyrell 1968, Wickler 1989, Jolles 1993, Morris and Preston-Whyte 1994, Klopper 1996, Stevenson and Graham-Stewart 2000, Van Wyk 2003, Winters 2008, Dube 2009, Boram-Hayes 2005, Wells 2012), is largely framed as being Zulu.

This reference is not necessarily incorrect, in that most individuals wearing beadwork in KZN speak isiZulu, and appear to follow similar patterns of ceremony and rituals. The 'Zulu' reference to beadwork is also not incorrect, in that it is widely known that there is a Zulu monarch and a tradition of Zuluness in the province, fomented through years of public advocacy (Buthelezi 2008), and that to draw attention to such difference might have aggravated an otherwise placated national state of mind, at least in post 1994 South Africa.

Certainly in economic terms, during the early 1990's, the Zulu Kingdom strategy was serving fairly

effectively to centralise heritage tourism efforts, resulting, loosely, also in a means to retail beadwork, outside of the political framework of SA's past, as nothing other than 'cultural' artefact.

In my view, the omission of references to beadwork as representing 'polity identity' in texts that confined discussion of it instead to broad stylistic differences, seems to be as a result of an academic response to a movement in South African Anthropology propelled by the cautions of authors like Boozaier and Sharp, in their book *South African keywords: The uses & abuses of political concepts* (1988). These arguments appear to be framed as serving the fight against Apartheid in South Africa, and were so effective in their delivery that, later a follow up publication, *New South African keywords* by Shepherd and Robins followed in 2008.

In this context, it might appear that the present study shows little regard for such cautions, and is intended to simply perpetuate ideas of 'indigeneity', 'tribalism', or 'race', and thus is in conflict with a multiculturalist approach to social reconciliation of the past. This I argue is most certainly not the case. Rather, I acknowledge that all forms of cultural essentialisation result in a view that sees issues such as 'race' and 'identity' as static and as monolithic notions of culture (Van Ommen 2013); that identities are complex, and in identifying them, even if only intending to propel economic emancipation, one opens oneself to charges of being intent on various forms of essentialisation.

The irony therefore, is that throughout this period of writing on beadwork (Boonzaier and Sharp 1988; Shepard and Robins 2008), the Zulu identity was being used in various ways by both sides of the political spectrum as capital, and in terms of tourism was one of the few constants (Klopper 1995; Wylie 1995).

A further irony is that this approach to tourism in KZN appears to have been shortsighted, with Zulu politics and Zulu marketing virtually extinguishing all traces of 'marketable difference' in public view. The intention of this study is therefore framed in economic terms as a means of reinvigorating micro economies reliant on heritage tourism in KZN through a diversification strategy, while disempowering existent forms of prioritising of one identity over another. The intention is therefore to facilitate new

channels of enablement, to residual intellectual property, and to formerly disempowered groups. This intention, I believe, has been demonstrated in this study through the union of two formerly distanced disciplines.

7.2 Design meets Anthropology

Early 2011, the year in which the concept for this study was realized, was in my view the beginning of a summative stage representing ten years of informal anthropological pursuit within a formalized Graphic Design or Visual Communication Design research tenure.

As a visual communicator by training, my real interest is in crafting visual messages and towards understanding and affecting human behavior. This study has therefore very deeply addressed my pursuit in drawing together, in my own practice, the influences of what might appear to be two disassociated disciplines, that of Design and Anthropology.

As a consequence of this convergent process, my approach to teaching visual communication research methodology to students has been significantly affected. It has most significantly allowed me to realize the value of deconstructing the 'predisposition' of those I am studying, and of those being targeted through a visual communication 'signal' or message. Further, that if the 'signal' being 'transmitted' is crafted with understanding of these respective predispositions, then a propensity exists to achieve either connotative or denotative meaning in the recipient. This realization I believe is an inadvertent consequence of the culmination of what might otherwise be referred to 'applied Visual Anthropology' or 'Design Anthropology'.

Pink (2011:437) explains that "the idea of an applied visual anthropology is becoming increasingly widespread, in the literature of applied anthropology, the (audio) visual events of visual anthropologists, and the teaching and learning of visual anthropology". The author acknowledges that this form of research is significantly impacting research, whereby new visual technologies are altering the ways that anthropologists conduct research, and is "opening up new possibilities for participatory approaches appealing to diverse audiences''. This PhD study certainly draws on new

technologies in the form of computer-aided desktop publishing and design technologies, in facilitating understanding, visual analysis and the application of anthropologies towards the development and testing of prototypes.

Framed in a very similar manner to that of Pink (2011), Graffam (2010:155) explains that: "over the past several decades, there has been a growing interest in what has become known as 'design anthropology' - the use of anthropological method and theory in the field of design research and the making of things". He continues that, "anthropological research provides a superb foundation for investigating the role of technology in society, and as such, it constitutes a valuable component of design research. Design anthropology itself emerged over the past few decades as an innovative subfield of applied anthropology, … once described as anthropology's role in visualizing technological change as part of the design process, and … as the role of ethnography in the field of design. ….It is a primary subject area of business anthropology with deep roots in design innovation … and it ties to themes in the design of design". He continues that, "design anthropology plays a valuable role in the innovation of things precisely because it probes the social and cultural context of how they work, for whom, when and why".

I find that the result of this study resonates with the essence of each of these sub-field descriptions of Anthropology, each no doubt with 'culture' and 'behavior' as central considerations, but also as each field appears to intrinsically link to technology, thereby seemingly distanced from its discipline of origin, 'Anthropology'. 'Technology' in the context of this study therefore included the Apple Macintosh Computer, which has facilitated analysis and design intervention; as well as the 'bead'; the 'needle' and 'cotton'.

I make this point regarding technology, because although this study sits firmly in Anthropology with 'culture' at its centre, it extends, informed by an understanding of culture towards realising a basis for micro-economies and poverty alleviation - the central motivation for this study.

7.3 Conclusions

Positioned as a reflexive ethnographic study, this process has meant that as data presented itself, inductive reasoning was used to filter and to steer each enquiry and at each stage of the study. This resulted in a constructionist approach being adopted to draw out theory grounded in data gained in the 'field', through relevant literature, through the extensive process of visual analysis of beadwork, and through applying and testing the integrity and value of emergent data, while mindful of the agendas and political underpinnings surrounding the study.

Charmaz (2008:397) points out that "grounded theorists adopt a few strategies to focus their data gathering and analyzing, but what they do, how they do it, and why they do it, emerge through interacting in research settings, with their data, colleagues and themselves".

Guided by these words of Charmaz (2008) who points out, that "some researchers have treated the method as a recipe for stamping out qualitative studies…often resulting in narrow and rigid applications"; and by the advice of my academic supervisors, I have attempted to see the Grounded Theory method as non-linear, but rather as facilitating a view of data as dynamic and as continually informing new trajectories of investigation and possibility. In other words, I believe I have been 'led by the data', while mindfully and critically mediating data, with my own preconceptions.

My understanding of the context in which this study is positioned has also deepened over time. This process has been fostered by the apparent epistemological groundswell in authorship regarding the evident social constructions surrounding the Zulu identity and its role and place in KwaZulu-Natal province, based on assumption or as motivated by prejudice (Carton et. al 2008; Wylie 2011; Hamilton 1992; Wright 1989).

The statistics on poverty and HIV mentioned in this study (Statistics South Africa 2013) still seem such a 'cold' means of describing what I encountered in the 'field' in KwaNyuswa. These were often run down mud homes, some even 'crumbling around the owners', who had lost their husbands to the

HIV/AIDS pandemic and so seemed to be clinging to meagre social grants or pensions for survival. Many of the women I encountered would repeat their appeals for help several times during the interviews. In some instances, access to these homes was only by foot, leaving me wondering how such a widespread economic dichotomy could be resolved in my lifetime, particularly when juxtaposed against stories of misappropriated government funds, so often encountered in the media.

The 'Nkandla' investment for Jacob Zuma's home, is one such example (Roussow 2012:160) but this view, on the future, is also based on my first hand experiences of the apparent widespread economic chasm across KwaZulu-Natal, left seemingly through poorly actualised, or maintained, poverty alleviation policies or well-intentioned social empowerment strategies.

In reference to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, for example, Leclerc- Madlala (2005 as cited in Wells 2006:203) points out that increasingly, "governments seek exemption from responsibility, steering the burden….to the domestic sphere". In a similar manner (Franklin and College, 2011, as cited in Khumalo 2013:5643) note that "there is a need for a re-think on the poverty reduction strategies and efforts given the poor performance of poverty alleviation programs, despite domestic and global efforts to reduce poverty in the continent".

Further, in reference to poverty in post-apartheid South Africa the following excerpts point very specifically to the context of this study:

Seekings (2007:1-3) notes, that " Apartheid's legacy to the democratic South Africa included highly visible income poverty and inequality. Income poverty was not high by the standards of the rest of Africa. … only Brazil matched South Africa… Democratisation was therefore accompanied by high hopes that income poverty and inequality would be reduced. The poor were to be enfranchised, the pro-poor and pro-black African National Congress (ANC) would be elected into office, and public policies and private practices would be deracialised". However, it appears that the gap between the new black middle class and the poor seems to be increasing.

Seekings (2007:17) notes further that "the effects of unemployment on poverty are accentuated by the growth of an 'underclass' of people who suffer systematic disadvantage in the labour market with the result that they face no real possibility of escaping from poverty". This group lacks "the skills (including language skills), credentials and (especially) the connections (i.e. social capital) which are crucial in terms of securing employment. These 'others' comprise the underclass. Probably the most important form of social capital is having family or friends who have jobs and are able to help someone find employment. It is therefore especially worrying that the number and proportion of the unemployed living in 'workerless' households, i.e. where no one is in wage employment, have risen" (Seekings 2007:17). It is possibly pertinent to note that of the 3,442,361 people in the greater Ethekwini area, 30% of these are unemployed (Statistics South Africa 2013), and that of the poor in South Africa, about 59.3% are rural dwellers, and that the highest prevalence of poor rural dwellers is found in the female population between the ages of 25-49 (Statistics South Africa 2013). Khumalo (2013: 5646) confirms this, noting that " the worst affected" are women in rural areas. This study therefore speaks very specifically to the plight of an incredibly needy sector of society.

Despite my clear criticisms of policy makers, I do however, acknowledge the efforts of the SA Government in the 2008 *Policy Framework for the Protection of Indigenous Traditional Knowledge through Intellectual Property System and Intellectual Property Laws Amendment Bill,* developed to protect indigenous traditional knowledge (Department of Trade and Industry 2008); the exemplary 2009 *Responsible Tourism Policy*, developed by Cape Town City, on which I believe Ethekwini Municipality officials could draw if revisiting the 2001 *Policy on Informal Trade in Durban* towards 'levelling' the economic 'playing fields' for home-based economies specifically orientated to Tourism. Certainly the 2012 National Responsible Tourism Strategy and the 2012 National Heritage and Cultural Tourism strategy are also very welcome introductions towards addressing change.

I have also pointed out in this study that these policies seem not to be translating as real upliftment, (as confirmed in Khumalo 2013) and instead are largely geared towards improving existing channels of the Tourism economy in Durban. By this I also refer to the craft economy associated with Tourism.

In response, this dissertation has attempted to speak directly to such disparities, by confronting how best to alleviate the poverty of these seemingly disenfranchised women, many widowed through the HIV/AIDS pandemic, who appear to be 'grasping at straws', using only what they know to make ends meet.

In my pursuit of a solution, it became increasingly evident, during this research project, that a means for poverty alleviation was indeed apparent in the polity-based beadwork identity, and so this became the basis for testing design-based interventions. Which sadly fell short of my own expections when faced with the length and breadth of rolling out such an undertaking single-handedly and without funding.

However, it was surprising that during this investigation, I found few texts that specifically acknowledge polity denotation through beadwork, as a 'forensic' investigative element, or as 'evidence' by which to understand or validate socio-political allegiance; in denoting allegiance to *isizwe*, or former nations; or in denoting land demarcations or occupancy by a particular polity (Tyrell 1968, Wickler 1989, Jolles 1993, Morris and Preston-Whyte 1994, Klopper 1996, Stevenson and Graham-Stewart 2000, Winters 2008, Dube 2009, Boram-Hayes 2005, Wells 2012, Van Wyk 2003).

As noted earlier, this is not to say that in some instances beadwork is not referenced by authors on beadwork as being of a particular polity. What I encountered was that there was a broadly accepted view that beadwork should be understood as comprised of 'styles', and that these styles are largely a product of fashion and influence, or that in some instances these styles denote broad regions in KwaZulu-Natal. I got the sense that authors were unwilling or unsure of the polity denotation phenomenon and so were unwilling to fully commit to its existence. As indicated previously, this academic ambivalence presents a concern that the operationalization of this approach to branding and patenting could be encumbered.

Failure to acknowledge this phenomenon, in my view, also translates as a diminished understanding of the diasporic dispersal of polities across the province, and the possibility of validating, or at least

better understanding, oral records through beadwork. It is fairly well documented, as initiated by Cobbing, that the Nguni diaspora occurred through faction fighting, the advances of Shaka and Dingane, droughts, the Anglo-Boer and Anglo-Zulu wars, the encroaching colonialists, and the Slave and Ivory trade (Wylie 2011; Wright 2008; Hamilton 1992), and so it would seem more likely that beadwork styles are not as easily grouped into large regions.

The basis for these observations on the value of polity beadwork denotation was made evident through an extensive analysis of beadwork and data, which was gained through fieldwork in Msinga and at various archives across KwaZulu-Natal. Here, clearly defined conventions attached to sub-polities of the Zulu and regions within the province were documented, cross-referenced and validated. In one instance, at Natal Museum, I observed that a colour sequence of eight colours denoting the Maphumulo *isizwe* or larger polity, was clearly reconfigured into a number of smaller sub-polities or districts (*izigodi*). I observed this through the very complex manner in which percentages of the eight colour sequence were being redistributed to denote commonality and to denote difference. This phenomenon in the allocation of colour percentages was compounded by the fact that this had been achieved while also subscribing to a visual formula. By this I infer, that a very specific pattern, or structure of design, was being subscribed to by each beadworker. Further to this, as acknowledged in this study, intermarriage was also denoted through the mixing of the Maphumulo sequence with the sequence representing the polity at Fawn Leas, in the Umvoti Valley.

However, I hadn't anticipated the complexity of this research trajectory into polity identity. After my very first interview with study participants, I began to realise that what I had engaged in was a 'tangled' series of identities, seemingly made so through homogeneity under the Zulu.

It also became clearer, over time, that the overarching presence of this single identity or brand seemed to translate into an encumbrance for rural entrepreneurs who, despite their best intentions, seemed to be merely feeding into a hugely saturated tourism market in KZN. By this, I refer to artefacts being made that subscribed to the modern Zulu beadwork convention, referred to by respondents as *isimodeni*.

In view of the influence and position of the Zulu Brand, two broad objectives emerged in this study: understanding the Zulu brand's economic impact on Tourism, and examining the value of a micro-economic approach.

7.3.1 Understanding the Zulu brand's economic impact on Tourism

The first objective of this study was to gain an understanding of the Zulu brand's economic impact on Tourism and the related retail trade. I was unprepared for the positions I encountered on 'Zuluness' in literature (Carton et. al 2008; Wylie 2011; Hamilton 1992; Wright 1989), and so responded by viewing this newfound phenomenon as a departure point, endeavoring to explore the difference between the polity identity and the Zulu identity, with a view to understanding the various polity based beadwork conventions within KZN, and so consequently 'mapping' a basis for difference and intellectual property.

The second broad objective was to examine the value of a micro-economic approach using design and ethnography to investigate a single polity identity, and to understand how beadwork might serve as a basis for brand equity. The basis for this intention was towards also examining a means of reconstituting the public perception of beadwork. In support of this objective I drew data from engagements in KwaNyuswa regarding beadwork denotation of socio-political groupings and regions, as pertaining to the broader Ngcobo/Nyuswa chieftaincy and diaspora.

This study therefore has been an attempt to illustrate the potential of a brand diversification strategy through the development of might result in a Nyuswa Brand, with a view to strengthening the current offering using a 'bottom-up' approach. Part of this second objective then translated into the testing of this premise through practical design interventions, facilitated through my design skills.

In response to the first objective, gaining an understanding of the Zulu brand's economic impact on Tourism and the related retail trade, I began by examining the role of colour sequences and visual constructs, or patterns found in beadwork in rural KwaZulu-Natal, as an attempt to better understand

'Black' cultures in KZN province. To this end, I examined the relationship between polity identity and beadwork as a means of denotative representation of both large and small polities, as a departure from the popular view in ethnic tourism, which favours the notion of a single Zulu identity in the province (Hamilton 1992); and whether beadwork can be best described as stylistically regionalised (Jolles 1994; Morris and Preston-Whyte 1994, Boram-Hays 2005; Van Wyk 2003; Tyrell and Jurgens 1983; Dube 2009) or that beadwork is largely a form of connotative or semiotic messaging; spiritual art; or creative expression (Dube 2009; Wells 2006; Winters 2008).

This investigation relied heavily on a interpretivistic, reflexive ethnographic approach, which provided a framework for self-consciousness, self-criticality and reflection, a means of looking outwards and inwards, at mental and emotional process and broad context, and a means of determining the effects of one's presence in a research setting, while mindful of how this might impact the research process and data being gathered. In addition, my training or my manner of seeing visual systems, as a graphic designer, was intrinsic to this self-consciousness and research process.

It became increasing clear that the semiotic value of colours found in beadwork could be viewed as largely denotative. This shift in thinking, away from the broader views on beadwork, facilitated a slightly more technical/analytical process, using colour sequence, pattern and the metalinguistic and phatic properties of each beaded artifact as the units of measure, to analyse for difference. During this particular phase of the research I also came to acknowledge that in some instances, beadwork was in fact purely regionally denotative and did not subscribe to a specific polity or chieftainship, most likely a consequence of contemporary South African politics and ward demarcations.

What also emerged in this phase of investigation was the very apparent parallel struck between polity denotation, achieved using material culture, and other examples of 'tribe' or 'clan' denotation, such as heraldry (Neubecker 1976) and tartans (Hageney 1987) and the synergy of these examples with Shannon and Weaver's 1949 Communication Model (Barnard 2005).

This model served as the basis for understanding beadwork denotation. I was able to make this link in Msinga at Weenen and Nhlawe, where I encountered the *isishunka* style first hand, which is detailed by Jolles (1993) in his paper *Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area*, in the form of a*madavathi* or *isigqizo*[94], and in the various archives I visited across the province. The abaThembu women at Nhlawe, described how the yellow stripe in the *isishunka* convention denoted their *izigodi*, and so I came to comprehend that a socially accepted visual language of semiotics was 'playing out' through the *isigqizo* of each wearer, delivering information regarding their respective socio-political allegiances. The model also served to facilitate an understanding of the development of the Zulu identity into a brand, as underpinned by an extended sequence of historical events, language, and other social and political influences and agendas (Redding 2000; Martens 2008; Roussouw 2012; Harries 1993; Wright 2008).

Of these influences, the uncanny similiarity between Turkish Kilims and the beadwork of the Chunu (figure 3.21), and the similarity between the rug designs and various polity beadwork conventions within central Zululand such as those discovered at Nongoma, Ceza and Pongola (figures 3.22 and 3.23), served in my view to re-enforce the dynamic nature of beadwork conventions, the possible result of Islamic/Turkish influence. What emerged in this study then was that beadwork identity was dynamic and had been subjected to numerous influences and agendas. I began to see beadwork as socially and politically charged, as also as fundamentally representative of a diaspora.

I make the latter point because what would unfold in this study regarding the Nyuswa identity, began to significantly challenge the broadly held views on beadwork. The implication of regionalised style distinctions emerged as being broad 'brushstrokes'. Seeing beadwork as political enabled a more critical view of beadwork when juxtaposed against the gradual essentialisation of the Zulu identity and brand, a process which appears to have began in the mid 1800's, and which appears to continue to the present.

[94] *amadavathi* or *isigqizo* are anklets usually fixed around the ankle using strings sewn onto each band. However in the case of the Chunu these are sometimes worn as epaulettes or as shoulder insignia.

I attempted in this study to draw attention to the key factors and role players that have served, throughout the history of KwaZulu-Natal, to directly or indirectly suppress or repress identities, while noting each 'milestone' in which the Zulu identity became popularized, resulting in less popular identities being replaced.

Talal Asad speaks to this 'superseding' process, noting that with "dominant political power …new possibilities are constructed and old ones destroyed" and through frequency and strategic delivery become 'reality' (Inda 2005:23). Certainly it seemed that in the minds of the women of Sigaba Ngezandala, Zamimpilo and Simunye, that to make beadwork is to be Zulu as all beadwork is Zulu.

It then emerged that in South African history, there have been very clear 'trails' of evidence that have pointed to the essentialising or legitimising of subjectivities, most notably history itself, tradition, cultural symbols, language, leaders and geography, culminating, in part, in the battle for the Zulu identity, and aimed towards the control of state resources and the political high-ground (Gillwald 1988; Harries 1993; Klopper 1996).

What therefore transpired, in this study, was that the publicly accepted 'truths' concerning the Nyuswa and Zulu identities in relation to beadwork appear to be misinformed and inaccurate, with the sub-polity identity remaining inconsequential within broader tourism contexts. Instead what remains are merely manifestations of modernity, such as globalization, or capitalist consumerism: in other words, a commodified Zulu identity, seen largely as economic and political currency. In this way, the Zulu identity appears to have made the transition to becoming the Zulu brand, sold in a visually homogenized form, within the tourism and craft marketplace' in KwaZulu-Natal or in pseudo 'tribal villages' serving constructed ideas of exoticism and authenticity (Marschall 2003; Klopper 1996; Naidu 2011)

In my view, the impact of such sustained flux, translates directly into the disappearance of polity beadwork identities. As indicated, polity beadwork, or the proverbial 'baby' is systematically being 'thrown out with the bath water' (Roussow 2012), propelled by modernity, globalization and the

prolific use of the i*simodeni* beadwork convention, seemingly viewed by respondents as a 'symbol' of a liberated modern South Africa. This view of beadwork in KwaZulu-Natal emerged as a key factor in this study towards addressing the first research objective.

Isimodeni, - the brightly coloured beadwork convention appears to publicly represent all things Zulu, and which appears to be not only replacing all polity beadwork of the Zulu, but has now seemingly permeated other South African cities, as a 'traditional' signifier for 'indigenous' cultures of South Africa.

Ironically, I have argued that sufficient data exists to consider isimodeni's origins in Durban, as a consequence of Tourism on Durban's Beachfront during the 70's and 80's, with its composition or visual formula being directly derived from *isijolovane, or isiyolovane,* the beadwork sequence which emerged as being directly connected to Nyuswa/Ngcobo polities.

The Tourism industry seems also at the mercy of who 'owns' the Zulu brand. With a distinct shift in Zulu power politics (Klopper 1996; Roussouw 2012;), it is also unclear how polity identity might be further impacted by the 'Kingdom of the Zulu' marketing approach (Zulu Kingdom. Exceptional: About KZN Tourism, 2011). Roussouw (2012:161) explains that, "the erstwhile enemy of the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)…is now a shadow of its former self" and few predict the party will play a meaningful role in the future governance of the province.

Ironically the Zulu brand, appears to have 'outlived' and 'outgrown' its 'originators, now seemingly only a form of 'political bounty' but with a 'new caretaker – the conqueror'. However what hasn't changed is its historic associations and constructed perceptions. The question is if the ANC will elect to engage in a restorative process, by unpacking history and identities, or will this PhD study merely 'signal' an 'inconvenient reality', that some might argue serves marginally to undermine control.

In conclusion and in reference to the consequent cultural 'losses' incurred through critical mass campaigning in South Africa based on skin colour, Amataika (1996:187) posits, that "ethnicity is an

important factor, …because for some politicians it is a mobilizing strategy of considerable strength. Ethnicity as a social identity needs to be separated from political mobilization and the manipulation of ethnic sentiments". Traditional authorities must evolve into appropriate repositories of African culture which can co-exist with a rising democratic culture in South Africa in general, and in KwaZulu-Natal in particular".

7.3.2 Examining the value of a micro-economic approach

In response to the second objective of this study – to examine the value of a micro-economic approach using design and ethnography to investigate polity identity and to understand how beadwork might serve as a basis for brand equity –my approach was twofold: I first explored the role and semiotic construct of beadwork as creating meaning for those that wear it, discussing how this role had shifted, with time, in style, colour sequence and design or visual construction. I also discussed how the specific colours and forms, found in the beadwork of the Nyuswa, appear to facilitate an interplay between identity, social interaction and solidarity through ritual and ceremony, through various stages of female life, and in denoting the respective roles or positions of members within the polity.

This section of the study is closely reflective of a traditional ethographic process, in which a group of individuals are studied over an extended period of time, to establish patterns of behavior and to understand social systems underpinning manifestations of material culture (Haviland et.al 2013). The emergent data, in my view, points to the need for further research into polity identity.

In this way this ethnographic process of qualitative enquiry, participant observation, and tracking of genealogies and beadwork sequencing as directed by emergent theory, serves as an example of an approach to documentating and articulating the nuances of each polity identity, such as the traditions, histories, chieftainships, songs, dances and specific material cultural differences particular to each group. These I found to alter significantly, even between very small neighbouring groups. For example the Nyuswa have their own songs, dances and polity specific chants or praises. When considering the value of this PhD study, , it might then be assumed that future scholars intent on studying smaller

polities, would draw support from my efforts. However, the climate in which studies of this nature might ordinarily be fostered, appears to be shifting.

In an interview with Yvonne Winters in 2013, I was alarmed to learn that the Killie Campbell Museum had significantly cut back its staff compliment and that the 'signals' being received regarding the value of this archive was that it was a body of work that lacked credibility, given that its seminal contributors were largely white colonialists, who had fundamentally offered a very subjective and superficial account of those in South East Africa. I personally do not necessarily disagree that such sources require careful scrutiny, however to my knowledge very little new investment is being set aside to confront this record, through the capturing or revisiting of oral records, or in documenting the remaining material culture in KZN province. Clearly those in power have not considered the emancipatory 'link', as offered in this study, that could underpin Tourism and poverty alleviation efforts.

Further, as indicative of a broader public sentiment, I constantly receive calls from those who purchase beadwork, or from collectors wanting to sell their wares to me, who indicate that they purchase these often rare polity-orientated beaded artefacts from rural families who "have no more use for it", pointing to a growing devaluing or disdain for polity-based beadwork amongst rural dwellers.

This section of the PhD study, responding to the second research objective, therefore aimed also to illustrate the beauty and complexity of what is being lost and, through that endeavor, appears to have inadvertently revealed that a measure of complacency or indifference exists within the hearts and minds of those, exhausted by poverty, who seem willing to simply discard old identities, so as to be included in the identity of a new democratic South African society.

As Boram Hayes (2005) indicates, beadwork is dynamic, and its makers are constantly adapting to their environment. As emerges in this study, 'change' seems to have followed an uncontested process of visual homogenization of 'First' with 'Third World' identities. It would appear that few in the public, outside of a small circle of scholars, acknowledge that there is not simply one single beadwork convention in KwaZulu-Natal. In contrast this study has led me to estimate that more than 300

beadwork conventions might exist within KwaZulu-Natal, however marginally different from each other. Equally few really acknowledge how the Zulu 'legacy' has been forged through its successful removal from public memory of the histories and value of sub-polity identities. This study has therefore taken place at a point in history where subtle traces of the past remain, however disjointed, and so comes at a time where something could still be done to capture what seems to be disappearing from the oral record. Many of these historic accounts appear to be unrecorded in written form. Ironically, as illustrated in this study, the Zulu identity itself is under threat.

What was encountered was an almost overarching duality of identity in responses, with many of the women interviewed seemingly renegotiating their identities based on their acceptance by the 'in-group'. Such was in the case of Thandi Magwaza, [95] a beadworker in KwaNyuswa, who disclosed or, more often omitted, the impact of the Zulu Identity in the descriptions of the 'self' - through seeing herself as a Zulu, and as the identity manifested in her beadwork. She indicated that:

> I choose to wear this beadwork so that people can recognise me in the street. It makes me feel African and it makes me feel authentic. I like to proudly represent where I am from. We believe our beadwork is better than others. We are not better, but our beadwork is. Our area still has its own heritage. We are Zulu people, but we are from the Qadi area. I am Zulu before I am Qadi. Until you asked me about my identity I had never thought about whether I am Zulu or Qadi, but I know that I am Zulu, as I see Zwelithini[96] as my King, and besides this, I was taught by my mother that I was Zulu."

In my view, this interview personifies a much broader social phenomenon. It seems to represent a long Nyuswa history of symbolic interaction, in response to Colonisation, in response to Zuluness, and in response to the importance placed on skin colour. In my view, this complex response, by Magwaza, is a manifestation of cognitive and emotional processes of identity negotiation, and renegotiation, by consciously 'becoming, or being made to become Zulu, while consciously or unconsciously 'living' an

[95] The interview conducted with Mrs Thandi Magwaza, a beadworker and member of Sigaba Ngezandhla Craft Collective, took place on 22 March 2012, in Mnamatha section, in KwaNyuswa.

96 King Goodwill Zwelithini kaBhekuZulu is the current Monarch of the Zulu.

identity dualism at both Zulu and Qadi. In this way, Magwaza has been required to negotiate many 'selves' "tied into the complexities of social structure" in which she finds herself embedded (Burke and Stets 2009: 130), now more than ever through poverty.

In a broader social identity context, the Nyuswa polity identity has followed a similar process, as a microsocial example of macrosocial subjugation, at the hands of numerous 'masters'. Yet, despite this history, it must surely be acknowleged that the Nyuswa identity persists, as manifested through beadwork, and at the hands of those who claim this identity, as their own. In my view, this seemingly 'silenced story' represents the basis for social justice, which I see as possible through branding as a means of 'economic liberation'.

Therefore, the numerous oral records captured surrounding the Ngcobo/Nyuswa legacy, present the value of a single polity's record, as clearly preceding Zulu hegemony, and therefore as heritage and brand value.

Further, in this process of reconstructing chieftainship genealogies, by capturing the oral record particular to the Fuze/Nyuswa, the most significant finding in this study, seems to have emerged - that beadwork might be linked, through its commonalities of colour and visual sequencing, to oral records. I do not claim that these findings are conclusive, but instead suggest that this study has successfully highlighted, an alternate form of 'evidence', that may exist for assisting the validation of oral records. This approach, I posit, renders new value to beadwork in archives or as existent in rural areas. I was so convinced of this that I made the trip to KwaNyuswa, near Lusikisiki, which I believe confirmed part of the oral record, offered by the respondent Mdu Fuze in 2013.

On the strength of the Nyuswa legacy and beadwork denotative differences, the second challenge was to examine the possibility of reconstituting those beadwork identities, which are currently being discarded, in a manner that might meet with the approval of international markets through the 'language' of branding and marketing.

I then turned my focus towards the entrepreneurial activities of beadworkers and informal traders living and working in KwaNyuswa, in the Botha's Hill region and in Durban, and discussed the development of *isimodeni*. The value of this development appears to have been inadvertently compounded by an interest in beadwork and artefact, evident in purchasing patterns both internationally and by visitors to South Africa, in pursuit of the seemingly 'authentic' and exotic, which was associated with the Zulu. I view this interest as a central component of a diversification strategy, or in other words as a foundation that may build upon the residual Zulu brand equity, now apparently subsiding.

This section revealed a basis for the *isimodeni* style through the historic tracking of these entrepreneurial activities, and also revealed to me the hardships experienced by Nyuswa women. This area of investigation revealed that an estimated 100 individuals directly support themselves financially through the Beachfront street retail trade, and that 30% of these individuals live in KwaNyuswa or the neighbouring Inanda region. The other 70% consists of foreign nationals, from countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Malawi, and individuals from within KwaZulu-Natal as a whole, including individuals from Empangeni, Umkomaas and Wartburg. Further secondary trade also occurs between these licensed retailers and informal traders coming from areas outside Durban and from outside South Africa. It is maybe worth acknowledging that these enterprises further provide economic support to a huge number of extended family members.

This section also reflects on local and international commercial vendors making capital out of the Zulu identity, noting the instance of the Woolworths bracelets, seemingly influenced by Zulu design but manufactured in India, and noting also the countless businesses using the Zulu brand in their offerings, seemingly without financially or even verbally crediting 'the source'.

As a designer and anthropologist, encountering the *isijolovane* beading convention, was most significant. In the interview in 2012, with Yvonne Winters, she offered that *isijolovane*, as similiarly detailed in texts on beadwork, is nothing more than a style, and is merely the beadwork of a region

stretching from Inanda, through KwaNyuswa to Msinga. While this is partly true, with many seemingly outside of the Ngcobo/Nyuswa/Fuze polity subscribing to *isijolovane*, the account of Mdu Fuze, and other responses in informal conversations, place many of these smaller polities as connected to the Ngcobo/Nyuswa/Fuze polity. One such example, which emerged in the interview and visit with Siyabonga Mhkize, to Shongweni in 2011, was the abaMbo/ amaNyuswa allegiance, whom share the isijolovane sequence, in their beadwork. This I offer is evident in the amaKhuzwayo beadwork, at Shongweni.

Another significant observation, which emerged during 'the *isijolovane* investigation' was the signifiers or semiotic qualities characteristic of the Nyuswa and the Qadi. The former was denoted by the 'Southern Star' or 'star form', described by Mdu Fuze in 2013 as being indicative of Ethiopian Coptic Crosses; and the Qadi convention, denoted by beaded letterforms or alphabet characters, indicative of their long history of Christian scholarship and later their identity as amaKholwa, or Christianised intellectuals, which was instigated by the missionaries at iNanda, a Qadi area.

Further in response to the second objective of this study, I have detailed two design intervention tests that investigated a basis for a commodification and brand development process, based on the Nyuswa identity and its related beadwork convention. This process was later extended to various other polity or regional identities found in KwaZulu-Natal and their related beadwork conventions. To this end, the 'Ntombi Handbag Project' and the 'Durban Rickshaw Renovation Project', were established to explore feasibilities for craft and tourism economies. These are intended to continue beyond this study.

Participants acknowledged in their responses the challenge of communicating to a local market that seemed 'immune' to the 'charms' of beadwork, and so a need emerged to illustrate that the craftwork on sale was actually imbued with identity and visual qualities that was different from what was already known.

A further challenge was in the production of a brand identity logo and product that might fulfill expectations for difference, while remaining functional for marketing to local and international

markets. Here I remained aware that I needed to 'play' to the westernized predisposition of the audience, and in the instances, of both the handbags and rickshaws, design strategies were aligned with contemporary design and fashion sensibilities. Here I believe my training was of immense value in the attempt to make this shift away from the informal 'street sale' or 'curio' offering.

What emerged from this testing process, particularly at the two exhibition shows attended, namely the international 'WACE Show' and the 'Sustainable Living Exhibition', was that a devalued view of beadwork persisted, with a consequent unwillingness to pay a fair price. Further, interest by middle aged 'Black' women from KwaZulu-Natal was pronounced, at both events, pointing to a very 'solid' business viability for local economies. However, outside of this interest, the devalued monetary view of beadwork was most evident.

Interest was also expressed in the handbag idea by other local crafts women attending the show who saw value in the premise. Many of these craftswomen appeared to also acknowledge the value in the differentiation strategy. These 'repackaging' experiments offered a physical example of how a polity identity might be effectively 'distanced' or differentiated as a brand offering from the Zulu identity and from perceptions of beadwork product as being of little monetary worth. I

On the basis of these formative 'experiments', further testing of an extension of the 'differentiation' premise commenced, to include other polity identities or regional sequences in the offering. Many of these efforts reinforced the emergent premise that rural beadworkers across KwaZulu-Natal already had a fairly deep understanding of their beadworking conventions, and so only lacked the knowledge to sew and to construct a bag, thereby validating a basis for future funding for training of this nature.

A second 'experiment' tested the differentiation hypothesis by means of the Rickshaw Renovation Project, in lieu of the apparent visual potential of polity beadwork explored in the Ntombi Handbag project.

In this section, which details this 'experiment', I make particular note of how this project culminated, according to the owner William Sibiya, in the unpaid and unacknowledged (usage by Durban Tourism and National Geographic of the newly renovated Nongoma Rickshaw to promote Durban as a tourist destination. Footage of the rickshaw was "screened on National Geographic channels globally reaching 363 million households across 160 countries" (Moses Mabhida stadium 2012), testament to the value of this 'differentiation' strategy and design intervention, if not to the producers' consideration of those they filmed.

This study is therefore significant in three areas:

- In pedagogically demonstrating the value of integration between two largelydisparate disciplines, namely Graphic Design and Anthropology, a relationship which appears to be largely unexplored in South Africa;
- in acknowledging a new form of IKS in beadwork, in the form of the 'denotative sub-polity beadwork identity' evident in the beadwork of KwaZulu-Natal, and the value of this phenomenon in mapping or validating the oral record; and
- in exploring the link between applied anthropologies, found in beadwork, and micro-economic poverty alleviation strategies, by building on residual indigenous knowledge found amongst the poorest of the poor, using a home-based production model.

Finally, what has emerged in this study is that a premise may exist, through the example of a single beadwork sequence, connected to a socio-political network of related polities of the Ngcobo/Nyuswa, Fuse, Qadi, Shangase group, for a brand diversification strategy. With the correct support, planning, and 'framing in line with Responsible Tourism good practice principles, smaller brands could be developed, if fostered through existing Zulu Brand equity, still active within the SA Tourism industry. That this might in turn translate into the opening of business channels between micro-industries in rural areas, or peri-urban areas, and the supply-chain serving what appears to be a willing international and national tourism market in search of the 'cultural experience'.

This study has hopefully illustrated that other stories exist, of those within KwaZulu-Natal, outside of the ‘well-worn script’ told about the Zulu. In my view good brand-building starts with an identity, a good story about that identity, then a good logo, and then a good brand experience of a quality product, which in turn translates into longlasting brand equity.

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APPENDIX 1:
Informed Consent Form: English



INFORMED CONSENT

Dear Project Participant

You have been invited to participate in a study directed by Rowan Gatfield (Student number 211560381) for the project titled **Beadwork Identity as Brand Equity of the Nyuswa to be conducted primarily in the KwaNyuswa region of** KwaZulu-Natal as part of the PhD Degree in Anthropology which he is currently undertaking at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Please read through this consent form carefully as it describes the intended study you have been invited to participate in. Please note that should you at *any time* need to withdraw from the study for *whatever* reason, your doing so will not disadvantage you in any way or form.

In general, **Beadwork Identity as Brand Equity of the Nyuswa** is a study aimed towards investigating the following:

• How polity identity within the Zulu, is perpetuated

•How and what means individuals within the Nyuswa elect to self-define through beading conventions.

• To examine, the various factors that have impacted on the survival of this polity identity and beading conventions,

• To establish if these surviving identities can be employed to create economic interventions.

Photographs and data gained in this interview will be used only to represent this study.

Below are the categories which you could be participating in:

Photo shoots

Interviews

Workshops

Interviews and photography will be conducted with discretion. Workshops with craftswomen will be conducted where and when it is deemed appropriate by officials. See interview guide attached

Rowan Gatfield is the chief investigator of this study and participation in either the photo shoot or the questionnaire/interview will form an important part of this degree. The results of this study will be published and exhibited publicly.

Should the participant require so, complete confidentiality will be assured. It is the participant's choice if his/her name appears in the reference list.

If you wish, you may contact the researcher: **Rowan Gatfield on 0766795355** or email to rowang@dut.ac.za for more information about the study.

Feel free to contact his supervisors **Dr Vivian Ojong** at 031-2602431 or **Professor Mpilo Sithole** at 031-2602288 for any questions relating to the study.

Please will you indicate your consent by signing your name below.

…….

(Signature)

……

(Name in full)

…….

(Date)

APPENDIX 2:
Informed Consent Form: isiZulu



INCWADI YESIVUMELWANE

Isimemo

Uyamenywa ukuba ube yingxenye yoncwaningo oluzoholwa umfundi ogama lakhe uRowan Gatfield (student number 211560381). Isihloko socwaningo lakhe lithi '**Beadwork identity as Brand Equity of amaNyuswa',** okusho ukuthi phecelezi ukuhlola indlela umsebenzi wobuhlalu usebenzisa ekutheni kuhlukanisa izigodi nezibongo zesizwe saKwaZulu. Loku kungaba indlela yokuhlukana noma ukuhlanganiswa kwemibala, kumbe i-phethini elisebenziswa izigceme ezahlukene.

Lolucwaningo lizoxhila endaweni yaKwaNyuswa ese KwaZulu-Natal. Lulonke lolucwaningo liqondene nezifundo zakhe u-Rowan zokuba athole iziqu ze-PhD kwi Anthropology, azibhalise kwisikhungo semfundo ephezulu esaziwa ngokuthi i-University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Uyacelwa ukuba ufundisise lencwangi yesivumelwane ngokuba ichaza kabanzi ngezinxoso zaloluncwaningo ocelwa ukuba ube yingxenye yawo. Okubalulekile ukuthi ukukhumbule ngaso sonke isikhathi ukuthi ukuvuma ukuba yingxenye yaloluncwaningo akusho ukuthi ngeke ushitshe ngaphakathi uma ubona ukuthi aluhambisani nawe. Uvumelekile ukuba uhhoxe nanoma yisiphi isikhathi, lokhu akuzoba namthelela omubi kuwe.

Kafushane nje, lolucwaningo oluzobheka umlando oqukethwe ubuhlalu lizozama ukuqonda kabanzi lokhu okulandelayo:

- Indlela umlando namasiko esizwe samaZulu inakekelwa iphinde idluliselwe phambili
- Izobheka ukuthi abahlali baKwaNyuswa babusebenzisa kanjani ubuhlalu ukuba bakwazi ukuzihlukanisa kubantu abavela kwezinye izibongo kumbe kwesinye izigodi
- Ukuhlola izimo okungenzeka zibe wumthelela wokugcineka komlando namamasiko ezibongo, nawo awesizwe

- Ukubheka ukuba zikhona yini izindlela zokugcina ziphinde zidlulisele phambili umlando wesizwe, loku kungasiza kanjani ukuze kudalulwe izindlela ezintsha zokuthuthukisa umnotho wesizwe

Izithombe nolwazi oluzotholakala kulezigxoxo zisosebenziswa ukuba zimele lolucwaningo kuphela. Lokhu kusho ukuthi konke okuzoxoxwa angeke kudalulwe emphakathini, kuzoba imfihlakalo phakathi kwalowo owenza ucwaningo nalowo muntu axoxisana naye.

Izigaba ocelwa ukuba ube yigxenye yazo ziyalandela

- Ukushuthwa kwezithombe
- Izigxoxo
- Nama – workshop lapho kuzofundiswana ngezindlela ezahlukene ukuthi uwuthatha kanjani umsebenzi wezandla (ubuhlalu) uwenze ukwazi ukuhambelana nesimo somnotho esizokwenza impilo yakho ibe gcono.

Umnumzane uRowan Gatfiled uye owengamelwe lolucwaningo. Ukushuthwa kwezithombe nemibuzo ezosebenziswa ukuba zihhole izigxoxo zizoba yingxenye enkulu ekuphothuleni izifundo zakhe. Imiphumela yalolucwaningo zizo fakwa kwimiqulu elondondoloza ulwazi, okuyindlela yokugcina umlando waKwaNyuswa.

Kuzoba kulowo muntu nomuntu ukuba uyavuma ukuba igama lakhe kumbe izithombe zakhe zifakwe kulemiqulu yezincwadi.

Uma udinga eminye imininingwane, ungathintana nomcwaningi: Rowan Gatfield kwinombolo ethi 076 679 5355 noma umthumelele umyalezo ku rowang@dut.ac.za

Uma unemibuza eminye uvumelekile futhi ukuba uthintane nalabo abazobe bebheke ukuqhubeka kwaloluncwaningo u Dr Vivian Ojong kwi nombolo ethi 031 260 2431, noma u- Professor Mpilo Sithole kwi nombolo ethi 031 260 2288.

Uyacelwa ukuba usayine kulolayini ngezansi uma uvuma ukuba yingxenye yaloluncwaningo

_____

(Sayina lapha)

_____

(Igama lakho ngokuphelele)

_____

(Usuku osayine ngalo)

APPENDIX 3: Interview Guide for Rural Craftswomen Sample

Visual constructs particular to the Nyuswa beading convention

- Can you describe why you choose to use these colours in your beadwork?
- Can you describe how you choose to use these colours in your beadwork?
- Do these colours have semiotic value or cultural significance?
- Does your colour selection differ from those of your neighbours? If so how?
- Can you describe why you choose to use these forms/designs/patterns in your beadwork?
- Can you describe how you choose to use these forms/designs/patterns in your beadwork?
- Do these forms/designs/patterns have semiotic value or cultural significance?
- Does your selection of forms/designs/patterns differ from those of your neighbours? If so how?

Constructing meaning and self-definition inside and outside of the polity

- In what order do you see yourself- Nyuswa, Zulu or Western?
- How does being Nyuswa make you feel?
- How does being Zulu make you feel?
- How does being Western make you feel?
- How does wearing traditional attire make you feel?
- How does wearing Nyuswa attire make you feel?
- How does wearing Western clothing make you feel?
- At what ceremony or ritual or during what stage in a males life is beadwork used? Please describe the meanings behind these stages and behind the use of the beadwork employed.
- At what ceremony or ritual or during what stage in a female's life Is beadwork used? Please describe the meanings behind these stages and behind the use of the beadwork employed.
- Are there other sub-polities of the Nyuswa Polity elsewhere in KZN?

Visual origins and perpetuation of the Nyuswa beadwork convention

- Where did you learn this process of design/pattern/ form of beadwork?
- Where do you believe this convention originates
- Why is it necessary to continue producing beadwork?

Factors impacting craft industry in KwaNyuswa

- Are you a craftworker/beadworker in or from KwaNyuswa?
- Do you produce Zulu artifact?
- Do you produce Nyuswa artifacts?
- Who buys these artifacts?
- Why do they buy these artifacts?
- Do you sell other artifacts? Describe?
- Do you make sufficient income? If not why?
- If not, how do you suggest th1s could be improved?
- What has improved or hindered your success as a craftworker?

Impact of historical and contemporary political, religious, cultural and socio- economic factors on the Nyuswa identity.

- What historical, political, cultural or economic factors have affected you practicing your culture.
- Is, in your opinion, the Nyuswa cultural practice or traditions different from that practiced by others of the Zulu.

APPENDIX 4: Interview Guide for Street Retailers and Craftswomen Sample

• What do you understand of the denotative properties and identity of the beadwork that you make and sell ?

• Do any of these products that you sell originate from traditional or ceremonial dress.

• What difficulties have been encountered historically or currently in accessing trading licenses or in dealings with authorities.

• Who are your clientelle currently. Has this changed over the years?

• What demographic do these various clientele constitute?

• Have customers over the years shifted how they value your product. Have they for example disputed your price

• Can you explain how they go about making the purchase. Have they suggested changes to the product, based on their desire to purchase?

• Are you happy with what you are making? Does this cover your costs? How could your offering be improved?

APPENDIX 5: Interview Guide for Rickshaw Sample

• Where are you from and why have you chosen to where this pattern and colour choices in your beaded aprons and on your rickshaws?

• Are these representing the (isigodi) region you are from or the (isigodi) tribe or polity you are from?

• What difficulties have you encountered historically, in accessing licensing or in dealings with authorities, including traffic police?

How have the routes changed since the renovations to the promenade, compared with how they were prior to the World Cup?

• Can you describe your clientelle and have these clientelle changed in terms of demographic, sales and price ?

How do customers react to the beadwork and outfits that you wear?

• Do customers choose between your rickshaws? Does this affect how you adjust your service offering?

• What is your annual income as based on tourism 'seasons' and costs to maintain rickshaws?