Sounding the Cape Music, Identity and Politics in South Africa

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Conclusion

Recognising Creolisation?
CONCLUSION

Recognising Creolisation?

It is December 2007, in Netreg Road, on the fringe of Bonteheuwel, one of these townships that was developed by the apartheid government to relocate coloured Capetonians who were expelled from the city centre. The Netreg Superstars, a small community Klopse troupe, are practising. They are gathered under a makeshift shed, in front of a small house, and are learning a moppie brought by their coach, Terry Hector, which they will sing in competition during the 2008 Kaapse Klopse Karnaval. Terry Hector is a veteran actor and singer, well-known and respected in Cape Town, in particular because he played in the original production of Taliep Petersen and David Kramer’s District Six: The Musical. The lyrics are written on sheets of cardboard hanging from the wall; the music comes from a backtrack recording played by a hifi. Sentence after sentence, group of bars after groups of bars, Terry Hector teaches his song to singers, male and female, most of them quite young. This is no ordinary moppie. It is funny and constructed in the form of a potpourri, as a moppie should be, but beyond the humour and the antics of Terry Hector while he sings the solo part, it speaks to something that touches on the inner feelings of people like those in Bonteheuwel, and addresses some very serious questions. It tells the story of an African man, Vusie (the spelling has been “Afrikaansised” by the addition of a final e), who comes from Soweto, but now lives in Gugulethu, which is about 16 kilometres from Netreg, but on the same railway line. One day, Vusie passes by a klopskamer (the rehearsing place of a carnival troupe) and hears a choir sing a moppie. He asks them if he may join them. The Klopse members decide to “try him out” and find he is “duidelik” (cool, super). In fact, Vusie has an operatic voice and sings like Pavarotti; yet he makes every effort to learn the moppie and fit into the choir. Eventually, he changes his style of singing, but his presence also transforms the choir’s own style of singing. Through their mutual adaptation, they create something original: an “opera moppie”. The melody is a typical Klops melody, but is interspersed with passages that are supposed to sound like opera. The soloist introduces excerpts from “Funiculì, Funiculà” and there is also a brief quotation
from the “Slave Chorus”, taken from Giuseppe Verdi’s *Nabucco*. In addition to that, during the gimmick part of the *moppie*, the part when the tempo changes and which allows the soloist to make the most eccentric gestures (Gaulier 2007; 2010), the lyrics describe a strangulation scene that seems totally unrelated to the rest of the story, but may allude to another of Verdi’s operas, *Othello*.

“*Vusie van Guguletu*” stages a particular vision of the relationship that could be established between Cape Town’s three main population groups: the coloureds, the Africans and the whites. Vusie is an African, but he sings opera, a genre which is generally considered to be symbolical of European/white “high” culture, which is also extremely popular among many coloureds, and some Africans. He asks to join a *Klops* choir and to sing the *moppie*, which is emblematic of coloured working class musical culture and, comments Terry Hector: “We do find it odd [that an African wishes to join a *Klops* choir and sing a *moppie*]”. But he does his best to learn the *moppie* style of singing, and the choir members eventually find him “*duidelik*” and “*kwaai*”. In turn his presence makes them change their own style of singing and adopt elements of opera vocalism. In this story, the African appears as the facilitator of a coming together of the three main “cultures”, or “communities” living in Cape Town. He is the bearer and transmitter of white “high” culture. He demonstrates that he is ready to adapt to another “culture” and is not only accepted but praised. A true communication is established between Vusie and the *Klops* members: they sing together, in the words of Terry Hector they “share the song”, and together create something new in which are merged elements from what are supposed to be European, African and coloured music.

“*Vusie van Guguletu*” is just a fable. It projects the vision of an ideal South African society, reconciled through music. It runs counter to prevailing prejudices against Africans instilled in coloured communities by racist authorities and exacerbated during the 1994 electoral campaign, prejudices which today are far from erased. Although there have been several instances of inclusion of African music (or at least of elements considered symbolic of African music) in *moppies* during the past ten to fifteen years, this song may not be treated as “representative” of a massive trend. It nevertheless signals the fledgling emergence of new representations of Africans among coloureds, and the vision of a possible new South African living-together (Ricoeur 1990, 1995). A vision that also underlies Desmon Desai’s wish to hear “*Roesa*” sung in isiXhosa, for which he asked Mzoli Mzamane to provide a translation of the lyrics (Desai 2004: 7–8).
The words of “Vusie van Guguletu” hang from the wall of the Netreg Superstars’ klopskamer.
Vusie van Gugulethu

Vusie van Gugulethu
Was gebore in Suwetu
Hy kom een dag daar
Om vir ons te vra
Of hy saam met ons kan sing
Hy’s lief om te Pavarotti koppie
En hy dink hy’s Pavarotti
Hy was duidelik
En hy het ’n plak
Toe leer ons hom die moppie

Ah ha die ou was nogal kwaai
Ah ha toe ons die ou uit try
Ah ha hy’t ’n lekker style
Ah ha ah ha ah ha ah ha
Ah ha hy kan lekker sing
Ah ha en hy doen sy sing
Ah ha ja hy het ’n plak
Ah ha ah ha ah ha ah ha

La la la la — la la la la (x4)

Keer hom keer hom kyk wat maak
Hy daar (2)
Hy choke haar vrek (4)
Lyk die ou is tatie
Want hy choke haar vrek

Vusie het gou geleer
Niks kan vir Vusie keer
Nou kan hy saam sing
En ons doen ons ding
Wat soek ’n man nog meer?

Hy’s lief om af te koppie
En hy sing glad nie vroinie
Hy is duidelik en hy het ’n plak

Nou sing ons saam die moppie
Nou sing hy saam met ons
En ons sing opera
Dis die opera moppie van die jaar
Translation (with the assistance of Melvyn Matthews)

Vusie from Gugulethu
Was born in Soweto
One day he came there
To ask us
If he could sing with us
He loves to copy Pavarotti
And he thinks he’s Pavarotti
He was cool
And he put himself out
To learn the moppie from us

Ah ha the guy was cool enough
Ah ha for us to try him out
Ah ha he’s got a nice style
Ah ha ah ha ah ha ah ha
Ah ha he can sing nicely
Ah ha and he’s doing his thing
Ah ha yes he is dedicated
Ah ha ah ha ah ha ah ha

La la la la — la la la la (x4)

Stop him stop him, what he is doing
There (2)
He is choking her to death (4)
The guy looks crazy
He wants to choke her to death

Vusie learned quickly
Nothing can stop Vusie
Now he can sing with us
And we’re doing our thing
What more does a man want?

He likes to copy
And does not sing like before
He is nice and dedicated

Now we sing the moppie together
Now he sings with us
And we sing opera
This is the opera moppie of the year
Relation in music

Music appears here as a vehicle that has the power to facilitate a rapprochement between people who have been separated and set against each other. It can be posited in such a role because music in Cape Town is the outcome of intense processes of exchanges, blending and creation from blending which have been described in the preceding chapters. Ingrid Byerly underlines this: “The seemingly ‘soundproof’ walls that censorship and separate development built between races weren’t sufficient to make provision for the fact that apartheid’s imposed infrastructures not only allowed for, but made provision for, constant musical osmosis between those walls” (Byerly 2008: 259). In Cape Town, musical creolisation operated in a milieu that continued to bear traces of a particular history, characterised by slavery, racism and violence, but also by a “relative toleration of colour and social admixture” (M.S. Evans, quoted in Bickford-Smith 1995a: 65) and “much less sexual and social segregation […] than in other parts of southern Africa in the early twentieth century” (Bickford-Smith 1995a: 65). This, of course, does not underplay the violence to which black people have been submitted throughout Cape Town’s history. It simply acknowledges the fact that Cape Town’s musics, which were going to bear heavily on the development of music in other parts of South Africa, grew and blossomed in particular conditions. Creolisation processes that got under way in these conditions launched dynamics that underpinned musical creation in the rest of the country.

Throughout the history of the Mother City, the dynamics unleashed by creolisation kept generating original musics, which, before their advent, were “unpredictable”. Creolisation is a never-ending process, which still affects musical creation today, but bears the brunt of the original conditions in which a complex and contradictory situation of coexistence and exchanges has begun, against the backdrop of brutality and dehumanisation. Creolisation, as an “unpredictable energy of overcoming” (Glissant 1997c: 16; 37), still nurtures the attitude of 21st century musicians who try to create in many different styles music that suggests the possibility of a new society, in which the past will not be forgotten, but in which its traumas will be overcome by reminding us of what has always tied South Africans together, especially music. Emphasising that South African musics, to whatever group they have been ascribed, by whichever group they have been claimed, are, all of them, the outcome of exchanges, combinations, appropriations, re-appropriations and creation made possible by these interchanges, sheds a different light on South Africa’s history: it shows that it has been underpinned by Relation, in spite of separation and oppression. Relation, as understood by
Édouard Glissant, links and tells of linkages; it designates a system of dynamic interconnectedness whereby whatever is produced by one party to the network of connections circulates, and can be appropriated, reworked, transformed and put back into circulation by another party. Relation, moreover, knows no borders; it can operate within a society as delineated at a given time, but also includes that society in the networks of the Whole-World, allowing members of that society to borrow from other societies, and even to fantasise about other societies in order to imagine ideas or goods that will be relevant and useful where they live, in the struggles they have to fight there. In South Africa, we have seen to what extent particular representations of the United States served as a resource for both borrowing “real products”, that is musics that were really invented and played in North America, and conceiving phantasmal ideas about the place and the roles black people experienced there.

Music is a human production perfectly suited for Relation. It is one of the most easily exchangeable practices, and it ignores the barriers and censorships of language. The first encounter of Vasco da Gama with the Khoikhoi, as well as William John Burchell’s journal, show that musical exchanges took place as soon as Europeans set foot on the shores of southern Africa, not to mention the exchanges that had taken place for immemorial times between Khoikhoi and Bushmen communities, and then between people speaking Khoisan languages and people speaking Bantu languages. Because music plays a privileged role in Relation, it can also contribute to shaping particular identity configurations. Music creates a field where identitarian affirmations, based on the invention of tradition and the transformative re-appropriation of roots, are necessarily combined with a sense of universalism. Identities projected and expressed through music cannot, in spite of discourses sometimes claiming the contrary, be heard as exclusive. They always carry, in their intrinsic sonic material, traces of exchanges with other groups. This is why the efforts made by South African racist powers to manipulate music in order to characterise “racial” and “ethnic” identities always failed. Racistist musical engineering could not annihilate the creole foundations laid during the first centuries of colonisation, all it did was to label certain genres or styles of music in the name of the groups that had been “registered”. This labelling was principally based on the language of the lyrics, but it could not alter the mixed nature of most musics it attempted to categorise. However, one of the consequences of segregation and apartheid was to create the conditions for the development of endogenous dynamics of creation within each of the demarcated groups. But these endogenous dynamics developed from a creole common heritage and were
fuelled by a universalistic ambition: to proclaim through creation the humanity of oppressed people so that they could recover their self-esteem and pride, while offering the oppressors an opportunity to recover their own humanity, shattered by the inhumanity of the rule they imposed on the people they dominated: by accepting the oppressed as full-fledged human beings (Maximin 2006)\textsuperscript{7}. Creation within each of the separated groups was therefore a legitimate source of pride for members of these groups, the more so since creation implied a re-signification of the identity assigned by the powers that were, which drastically overturned its content. In addition to that, every creation overflowed the borders imposed on the group and entered into networks of circulation where it fertilised and was fertilised by other creations emanating from other groups. The whole history of South African music illustrates these quite intricate processes and, once uncovered, helps one understand the intention that underpins 21\textsuperscript{st} century new musical mixes, and the symbols which run through them: marabi, or the inclusion of a three-chord progression within staggered cycles and responsorial structures, as the emblem of South Africa’s musical blending; musics from the United States, Brazil and the Caribbean as evidence of counter-modernities with which South Africans can identify; the musical bow as a memorial to the antiquity of human presence in South Africa, perpetuated by people speaking Khoisan languages; mbira, djembe and other African instruments as images of the whole Africa, in which South Africa is included; and, finally, the ghoema beat, Cape Town’s sonic blazon, which encapsulates relics from African and Asian cultures, and amalgamates them with remnants of European choral traditions. Contemporary musical mixes and creation, and their symbolism, attest that new identity configurations are possible. Music points at identities that can be conceived as nesting, connected and complementary, and at the same time specific and part of larger ensembles: at identities no longer thought as stemming from a “unique root”, but from rhizomatous intricateness (Glissant 1997c: 1995–196).

Social contradictions

Music can be considered as a “social revealer” (Balandier 1971: 84–98), containing evidence of a past of exchanges, interconnectedness and common creation that can be revealed by analysing both its intrinsic characteristics and its history. However, music should not be romanticised and imagined as a sort of crystal ball on the surface of which the “true” nature of a society will appear so forcefully that it will convert all who refuse to accept that “their” culture is the result of infinite
processes of mixing and blending. Music can never be separated from the realities in which it is produced, be they social, economic or political. And one has to admit that, more than 20 years after the ANC was unbanned, in spite of the immense progresses that have been accomplished, South Africa remains a highly divided society where inequalities are growing, and where racialist discourse still permeates political debates.

Although poverty levels have diminished, inequality has actually increased in South Africa since 1994, propelled by a significant growth in within-group inequality, especially among Africans. Unemployment has also risen, from 18 to 31 per cent, or from 31 per cent to 42 per cent, according to the factors taken into account (Bhorat & Kanbur 2006: 5–6). Cape Town remains both a monocentric and a polarised city “[…] with the wealth from its strong and relatively varied economy concentrated in the affluent northern and southern suburbs, in strong contrast to the poverty and marginality of the sprawling impoverished township periphery situated on the sandy expanses of the Cape Flats” (de Swardt et al. 2005: 101). The city suffers from a mismatch between the supply and demands of skills, which in part accounts for the high levels of unemployment and the great number of inhabitants whose income is derived from the informal sector. The majority of the Mother City’s population still live in homogenous neighbourhoods, far from the town centre, and only the relatively well-off and the more affluent can afford to dwell in integrated areas. In South Africa as a whole, as well as in Cape Town, although a few members of previously disadvantaged groups have benefited from the social and economic reorganisation undertaken under the new political dispensation, the majority of those who were poor remain poor, and the majority of those who were previously rich remain rich, which means that “race” and class are still largely coterminous (Cornelissen & Horstmeier 2002: 76), and consequently that: “[…] race as an aspect of identity is foregrounded in many respects as the key marker of inequality – political, economic and social” (Habib & Bentley 2008: 9).

However, the persistence of poverty, unemployment and inequalities should not conceal changes that occurred since 1994, not only in social positions that can be interpreted with statistical indicators, but also in social representations and in interactions. A generation has come of age who has not known apartheid and has only lived in a society where opportunities are not evenly distributed, but where the law at least guarantees that all citizens are equal and that none can be discriminated against because of the colour of their skin, of their system of belief, or non-belief, of their gender and sexual orientation, or of their political opinion, as long as it does not violate the moral principles inscribed in the Bill of Rights. Yet, even this new
generation has inherited “embedded knowledge” (Jansen 2009: 171–179) which perpetuates, in a plastic form, representations of oneself and others fashioned in the times of apartheid. This is why they constitute “[...] a generation whose past, present and future are neither completely defined by apartheid, nor completely free of it” (Dolby 2001: 7). On the one hand, political commentator Thabisi Hoeane assumes that: “The most serious problem facing post-apartheid South Africa is the persistent failure to forge cross-cutting relationships between races” (quoted in Besteman 2008: 13). On the other, in Cape Town, anthropologist Catherine Besteman finds that: “Since the end of apartheid, the terms on which people are mixing and the urban arena where people come together have changed in fundamental ways. The cultural and personal spaces of intimacy that people in Cape Town create when forging new groups and relationships are, in fact, really new [...] Contemporary Cape Town allows for race to be deconstructed, reconstructed, and imagined in novel ways. Experimental identities allow creative Capetonians to redefine themselves and to transcend race” (Besteman 2008: 14). These two statements are not as contradictory as they may seem. Thabisi Hoeane speaks of South Africa in general terms, and his comment is particularly relevant for the poorer classes of the population, although they also apply, to a certain extent, to more well-off people. Catherine Besteman focuses on Cape Town, and on particular categories of the population. What she writes aptly describes what happens among an “elite”, both intellectual and economic. In the course of her field work she recorded resistance to change, due to the fact that persistent spatial segregation (Cornelissen & Horstmeier 2002: 77) combined with “embedded knowledge” impedes contacts and consequently limits opportunities to interact concretely with “others” (a phenomenon that has been consistently evidenced by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation’s Reconciliation Barometer Surveys10). She also encountered, in all strata of Cape Town’s population, people she calls “transformers”, who have decided “[...] to embark on transformative agendas that demand lifestyle changes, ideological investment, and the creation of new social worlds” (Besteman 2008: 192). For them, the struggle against poverty and inequality has replaced the struggle against apartheid. Analyses of the Western Cape electoral results have shown that fluctuations between the ANC, the Democratic Alliance (DA) and abstention signal that the relationship between the perception of one’s identity and one’s vote is beginning to change11. In this extremely fluid situation attempts at identity reconfiguration are caught between the temptation to emphasise group exclusiveness based on specific interpretations of history and cultural practices, and aspirations to increased interconnectedness and interaction, rekindling past exchanges and common endeavours.
Resilience of racialist thinking

This fluidity exacerbates tensions which frequently surface in political debates. An important number of racist incidents have been reported in the press during the past few years. They have been amplified by political polemics and the trading of insults between leaders of the ANC and the DA, and even between cadres of the ANC. Julius Malema, President of the ANC Youth League from 2008 to 2012, is particularly prone to attacking political opponents, and even some of those who are supposed to be his comrades, on the basis of their somatic features. In 2011, the increasing use of the “race card” in South African politics even prompted Trevor Manuel, head of the National Planning Commission and former Minister of Finance, to answer declarations by Jimmy Manyi, a Director-General in the Department of Labour and President of the Black Management Forum, by stating bluntly: “I have a sense that your racism has infiltrated the highest echelons of government.” In the Western Cape, these tensions translated not only into fierce hostility between the ANC and the DA, but in a division between factions within the ANC, one group insisting on promoting African interests in the province, while the other wanted it to be “a home for all” (Daracq 2010: chap. 7; Hendricks 2005). Cape Town has been accused of being a “racist” city in which whites continue to enjoy privileges inherited from the apartheid era, and where policies (especially when the DA is in command) favour coloureds to the detriment of Africans.

If there has been, at the beginning of the 2000s, a “re-racialisation of the public sphere” (Ballantine 2004: 122), it is because “race”, and “racialist thinking” have never been eradicated. The consequence of more than 350 years of racism, segregation and apartheid is that race has been solidly ingrained in prevailing social representations, at all points of South African history, in every milieu. Sociologist Gerhard Maré explains that “racialist thinking” has infiltrated the new South Africa, and that “race” can still be used as a category to describe and analyse post-apartheid South Africa because it has not been systematically undermined in the struggle (Maré 2003). Even the celebrated “I am an African” speech, delivered by Thabo Mbeki before the Constitutional Assembly in 1996 (Mbeki 1998: 31–32), presented a vision of South Africa as a composite society made up of groups differing enough from each other to be cited separately. Thabo Mbeki “forgot” to mention those who were labelled coloured because they were born of the successive mixing and blending that took place at the southernmost tip of Africa. Moreover, he neglected to take into account the consequences of interactions that, for several centuries,
intertwined the people who met in this particular space and together invented a new culture (Cronin 2005: 52–54; Martin 2006b).

Within this context, it is no surprise that redress policies implemented since 1994 have been devised on the basis of “race” and that, even if they have initiated a more demographically representative sharing of the national wealth, they “[…] have also reified racial identities and as a result inhibited the emergence of conditions of the realisation of a cosmopolitan citizenship” (Habib & Bentley 2008: 24). The euphemisation of race in the rhetoric of “differences” does not help much in that respect. “Culture”, “language”, “group identity” sometimes replace “race” in discourses that aim at breaking with the past, as well as in education curricula. But these words, and the discourses in which they proliferate, still put the stress on what supposedly differentiates South Africans. While artificially homogenising each of the groups defined by “differences”, they do not in any way put in the foreground what binds them (Jansen 2009; Sharp & Vally 2009). Educationalist Jonathan Jansen wonders: “How do you teach about difference in a country that has never had a national conversation about sameness?” (Jansen 2009: 107).

This conversation is called for from many circles. Fanie du Toit, executive director of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation writes: “[W]e need to find more creative and effective ways to overcome the exaggerated impact of race on identity formation.” 15 Neville Alexander concurs: “Besides tackling the structural economic and social inequalities that we took over without much modification from the apartheid state, we have to do the hard work of exploring, researching and piloting alternative approaches to those based on the apartheid racial categories to counter the perpetuation of white and other social privilege.” 16 Cheryl Hendricks and Jan Hofmeyr have proposed some concrete solutions to that end: “The government should target new urban housing projects at neutral spaces, leading to the emergence of communities that are integrated in race and class terms, with equitable facilities that can grow organically. Here multiracial communities could grow together, endowed with symbolism, landmarks and monuments that do not speak of domination or cultural threat.” 17 The challenge to be met is to identify symbols, monuments, or “lieux de mémoire”, loci of memory as theorised by French historian Pierre Nora, which include material as well as non-material goods around which memories are constructed and can be reconstructed (Nora 1999–2010), then to adopt strategies likely to spread their meaning in terms of “sameness” and convince citizens of their relevance in contemporary South Africa. From this perspective, South African music can undoubtedly be considered as
a “lieu de mémoire”, a red thread running across the history of South Africa, illustrating the workings of creolisation, and demonstrating what South Africans have in common, in spite of centuries of racism and segregation, emphasising what they have been able to create together.

Deficiencies in educational policies

The Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy, released in 2001 by the Working Group on Values and Education, chaired by sociologist Wilmot James, issued recommendations that seemed to go in the direction suggested above. It gave a particular place to performing and visual arts, because they were seen as “[…] powerful instruments of promoting tolerance through exposure to, and a sharing of, diverse cultural traditions and experience” and highlighted that creativity would be stimulated by practice (Department of Education 2001: 27–28). The Manifesto also insisted that history should be taught in a way that would help “[…] learners to develop a strong sense of themselves in the world through a study of their ‘own’ history in the context of the broader history of South Africa; developing a sense of our diverse histories, which will contribute to a common memory and ensure we do not forget the lessons of our painful past” (ibid.: 30). Commenting on the Manifesto, Kader Asmal, who was then Minister for Education, and Wilmot James suggested that: “The value of tolerance would be best promoted by deepening an understanding of the origins, evolution, and achievements of humanity, on the one hand, and through the exploration and celebration of that which is unique in South Africans’ cultural heritage on the other” (Asmal & James 2001: 200). The Manifesto did not refer to creolisation, which was already discussed in academic circles at the time when the Working Group was meeting, and did not really manage to build solid links between the various ideas it tried to work around or with. On the one hand, it spoke of “diversity”, “sense of oneself” and of one’s “own history”, and on the other, it emphasised a “common memory” providing the basis for the “celebration of what is unique in South Africans’ cultural heritage” without really showing how they could be brought together to promote the notions of a shared history and a shared culture among all South Africans. The Manifesto was nevertheless a landmark in the reflection on “sameness”, commonalities, and the place they should be given in education, especially in the teaching of performing arts. Yet, it does not seem to have been practically translated into education policies.

At a general level, Jonathan Jansen exposes the flaws of the Ubuntu Module that students wanting to get a teaching degree from the University of Pretoria
had to take: it “exaggerates difference to the point of absurdity” (Jansen 2009: 176) and “reinforces the notion that there are races and that race is real, given, and fixed, and therefore that racial differences should be the starting point for student understanding” (Jansen 2009: 192). Granted, the University of Pretoria has a particular history; it has been for a long time a sanctum of Afrikaner conservatism, and its transformation is difficult and slow (Sharp & Vally 2009). Yet, if the University of Pretoria cannot be taken as representative of all South African universities, the content of the Ubuntu Module demonstrates that racialist thinking, coated in a discourse of differences that seems to fall in line with the ideal of the “Rainbow Nation”, is still rampant in South African higher education.

At the other end of the education spectrum, the situation does not look much better, especially when one focuses on music and the arts. Since 1997 the government has set up a system of outcomes-based education; within this framework, the Revised National Curriculum 2002 includes music education in the Arts and Culture learning area. This policy was supposed to give learners a better knowledge of the arts, including music, and to promote their practice. Yet, in 2005, University of Cape Town researchers Anri Herbst (music), Jacques de Wet (sociology) and Susan Rijsdijk (music education) could not but notice that in fact very little had changed. Teachers are untrained or insufficiently trained in music. Few of them possess any instrumental skills. Many of them have biases against what is not European “art” music and are reluctant to teach South African or African music; in the best of cases, they make their pupils sing religious songs. In these conditions learners tend to lose interest in music, at least in the kind of music they are taught at school. They conclude: “Even though there has been an attempt by the curriculum designers of the Revised National Curriculum to recognise the performance-based ubuntu philosophy embedded in the Arts and Culture learning area, the commitment to integrated learning and indigenous knowledge systems is in practice undermined by the lack of capacity-building opportunities and facilities for teachers” (Herbst et al. 2005: 275). At the secondary level, Phumi Tsewu, who teaches English and Arts and Culture at Fezeka High School in Gugulethu, deeply regrets the absence of classroom music, which led him to organise a choir in his school. With some of his colleagues, he felt that he had “to respond to a social void, an academic void that was created by the government which ousted music from the curriculum in the schools”. His and other school choirs offer basic training for learners who would consider pursuing a career in music and prepares them for auditions at music departments at UCT and other universities.
Outside formal teaching institutions, a number of initiatives try to compensate for the absence of serious introduction to music history and music practice in schools. The Athlone Academy of Music offer courses in instruments, across musical genres. Others, such as the Cape Music Institute, combine instrumental practice with courses in music technology and music business in order to prepare learners who want to become professional musicians or be involved in music production. Finally, scores of Sangkore, Christmas Chois and Klopse deliver informal training to which is associated a sense of history and of group culture.

Negligent cultural policies

Cultural policies devised by post-1994 governments have not counterbalanced the deficiencies of the educational system. In 1993, Barbara Masekela, who served on the National Executive Committee of the ANC, already claimed that: “while the ANC had used culture successfully ‘as a kind of showpiece or slogan’, it ultimately did not recognise the value of culture as an internally-focused medium for strengthening community and building national self-esteem” (quoted in Gilbert 2008: 177). Although her remark may have been inspired at the time by a rather exclusive Afrocentric point of view, she did put her finger on a problem that was not going to be solved when the ANC came to power, a shortsightedness which resulted in the transformation of the Ministry of Arts and Culture into a “department of marquee events” (Coplan 2008: 403). At the start, the ANC, in its 1994 Draft National Cultural Policy, declared: “The state will ensure that the rich traditions and diversity of our country’s music is promoted, in order to promote music as a national resource through, *inter alia*, lending support to the establishment of a music conservatory.” It specified: “The reconstructed music education system should take into account the diverse aesthetic backgrounds and training systems of all South African music traditions. It should teach music as culture and promote the understanding and learning of different musics within their cultural, social and historical contexts.” The document emphasised the two objectives which must be placed at the centre of a cultural policy: the development of a unifying national culture, and the preservation, revitalisation and promotion of South Africa’s cultural heritage (African National Congress 1994). The *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*, released by the Department of Arts and Culture in 1996 did not even dedicate a section to music or dance. It, again, put the stress on heritage and diversity, and introduced the idea that cultural
institutions should be organised along business lines. It also acknowledged that: “The collision of cultures does not necessarily lead to subjugation and hegemony. It may also lead to subtle cross-pollination of ideas, words, customs, art forms, culinary and religious practices. This dynamic interaction has always played a role in cultural enrichment, which has resulted in an extraordinarily fertile and unique South African culture which binds our nation in linguistic, cultural, culinary, and religious diversity in so many forms” (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology 1996: 8). The White Paper recommended that cultural policies be guided by operational principles, among which was: “Mutual respect and tolerance and inter-cultural exchange between the various cultures and forms of art to facilitate the emergence of a shared cultural identity constituted by diversity.” In the same period economic policies were reoriented. The adoption of the GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) strategy marked a turning point and reframed South African policies according to neo-liberal rules. This of course also impacted upon cultural policies: “[…] the Department began to utilise the global language of world city discourse and a series of policy goals, White Papers, and projects began to push the agenda of arts and culture as economic drivers within a global context” (Preston 2007: 41). A Cultural Strategy Group met to define the new orientations that cultural policies were to follow. Its 1998 report, titled Creative South Africa, stated very clearly that they should support the development of cultural industries able to acquire solid positions in the global system, as well as to create an attractive image of South Africa for foreign tourists. It mentioned diversity as a “fundamental strength and uniqueness” (Cultural Strategy Group 1998: 43) and dealt with music in so far as the “immensely talented pool of musicians” and the “diverse range of music products” could stimulate the expansion of music industries (ibid.: 17). From such a technocratic and money-minded perspective, creation is reduced to a commodity that can be marketed by cultural industries.

Policy papers that followed in the wake of Creative South Africa aimed at implementing its recommendations. The Strategic Plan 2007–2010 gave priority to heritage promotion, and music appeared as a sector in which job and business opportunities could develop, and which could produce exportable commodities (Department of Arts and Culture 2007). Apart from recognising the importance of “musical icons” Abdullah Ibrahim, the Ngcukana brothers and Victor Ntoni (Department of Arts and Culture 2008: 9) and announcing a “national choral strategy”, the Strategic Plan 2008–2011 did not introduce major changes. Heritage promotion and services dealing with the past continued to be given the lion's share; support granted to arts and culture festivals was justified by the promotion of
tourism and the music industry; and national days were presented as opportunities for musicians to display their talents, network and hopefully find jobs (ibid.: 33). It is only in the Strategic Plan 2011–2016 that music is specifically dealt with. In his introduction, the Deputy Minister for Arts and Culture, Joe Phaahla, announces his Department’s intention to empower artists and arts practitioners (Department of Arts and Culture 2011: 10). And Programme 4, “Cultural Development”, mentions an “Approved and implemented national strategy for the music sector developed by March 2013” (ibid.: 38). It remains to be seen what this strategy will produce, and if it will break with the trend of reducing music to a marketable commodity. At the time of writing, the current national budget still grants culture a pittance: Recreation and Culture is allocated 0.7 per cent of the total consolidated Government Revenue and Expenditure for 2010/2011 (down from 1.5 per cent in 2007/2008) and the projection for 2011–2014 is even leaner: between 0.6 and 0.7 per cent (National Treasury 2011). Given the weak political influence of the Ministry of Arts and Culture, and the miniscule resources at its disposal, speeches and declarations highlighting the role of culture in consolidating “social cohesion” seem to be completely vacuous. The insistence on diversity as a means “to facilitate the emergence of a shared cultural identity” (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology 1996), once again puts difference in the foreground, and eschews a reflection in terms of sameness. Preserving what is put under “heritage”, material or immaterial, strengthening services dedicated to conserving traces of the past are indeed indispensable, but one wonders if it has to be done at the expense of the promotion of contemporary creation, especially if creation is viewed as an avenue leading to the realisation and acceptance that there exists in South Africa a common, and still blossoming, cultural capital that can cement feelings of togetherness, beyond differences. Finally, even if artists and musicians do need to find decent employment, even if cultural industries may support their creative endeavours, cultural policies cannot be reduced to boosting private businesses and “selling” South Africa to tourists. Commercial interests are not easily compatible with freedom of creation, and imagining cultural products to match the expectations of foreigners in search of exotic sensations does not exactly foster “social cohesion” and “the emergence of a shared cultural identity”.

At the provincial level, things look a little better. In his 2007 budget, Whitey Jacobs, Member of the Executive Council (MEC) for Cultural Affairs and Sports, paid tribute to Robbie Jansen and Winston Mankunku, pledged subsidies for music festivals such as the Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees/Klein Karoo National Arts Festival and the Cape Town International Jazz Festival, announced
the organisation of workshops focusing on the development of music throughout the province and the launch of a Provincial Musicians’ Forum (Provincial Government of the Western Cape 2007)\textsuperscript{23}. The budgets and plans that followed emphasised talent-identification programmes and skills training (Provincial Government of the Western Cape 2009, 2011a). However, the share of culture in the provincial budget is comparable to what it is in the national budget: in the audited outcome of financial year 2009/2010, Cultural Affairs and Sports (which are usually more favourably endowed than culture) accounts for 1 per cent of the expenditure (Provincial Government of the Western Cape 2011–2014: 53), and its funding sinks below the 1 per cent mark in the 2011 budget, in which it represents only 0.84 per cent of the total (Provincial Government of the Western Cape 2009, 2011b). The future will tell if this dwindling trend, and the absence of major projects regarding culture and music, are due to the transfer of power from the ANC to the DA in the Western Cape, or reflect a shared disinterest for culture.

In 2008, when the ANC had been at the Western Cape’s helm for some years, the Isandla Institute\textsuperscript{24} issued a discussion document that lashed out at national and provincial cultural policies. It argued: “[…] that the local cultural context is poorly researched and understood and that engagements with cultural diversity are usually tokenistic and narrowly nationalistic at the level of signs rather than textures. (emphasis added) Moreover, culture has been reduced to arts and heritage (emphasis added) and, across the spheres of government, is located in departments with the weakest capacity and the lowest profile” (Minty 2008: i; emphasis in the original). The document criticised the narrow conception that considers the development of cultural industries as the main driver of cultural development: “[T]here is a danger in favouring an overly industrial and economic approach to culture in South Africa over an appreciation of the intrinsic value of culture. The focus on economic return downplays both the crucial role that cultural activity plays in weaving the fabric of our symbolic life, as well as its impact on the spatial development of our cities, and views the importance of culture for the wellbeing of a society and city in excessively economic terms. The result is a cultural policy that is more preoccupied with economic returns than with social values such as tolerance, civic pride and diversity – one which sees cultural resources in terms of their capacity for commercial exploitation and not in terms of their intrinsic value” (Minty 2008: 23). It recommended a complete change of perspective and suggested that: “Understanding the city in terms of its unique movements and mixing of people, as a ‘creolised city’ (see for example Cronin 2005), will enable us to better engage with its realities as a unique African city” (Minty 2008: 11).
According to the document, cultural policies should foster “opportunities for all citizens to interact with each other more and to engage in intercultural activities” and “practices that cross boundaries and borders” (Minty 2008: 34).

Music and adaptive identities

Music is indeed one of these practices. The history of South African musics bears witness to the intense mixing and blending that has underpinned the shaping of its unique culture. And today, in the particularly fluid and complex situation in which young South Africans have to find their bearings and define themselves, music plays a decisive role in identity reconfiguration. Musical tastes and musical practices are included in strategies of self-classification that are adapted to contexts and aspirations, while taking into account – playing with, fighting against – classification by others (Bourdieu 1979). Music opens up fields for identification that offer an almost unlimited choice of material that signify relationship – real, intended, phantasmal – with Others. Daniel A. Yon has minutely explored how Canadian students make use of music’s potential for configuring, adjusting and transforming identities: “Many of the signs and symbols of the popular cultures of these youths, like dress codes and musical tastes, are racialised. This means that the signifiers of race can also change with the changing signs of culture and identity, and what it means to be a certain race is different from one context to another” (Yon 2000: 71). What Daniel A. Yon brought to light in Toronto corresponds to what also happens in Cape Town and South Africa. In Durban, Nadine E. Dolby found that students combine resources drawn from the “global world” with what is at hand locally to renegotiate their “racial” categorisation and rearrange “racial” borders. These operations take place mainly in the domain of popular culture, in which music occupies a central position. Interacting with each other and crossing boundaries frequently are usually made possible thanks to the mediation of music: “Students who express the desire to connect with individuals from other racial groups often see music, particularly clubs, as the place where the crossover would occur” (Dolby 2001: 85). The findings of Crain Soudien’s investigation of Cape Town’s schools are strikingly similar. Students perceive themselves as part of a wider world and their tastes are international. Music allows them to position themselves in South Africa and, inseparably, in the world. They live in a universe that is no longer their parents’. They have not experienced apartheid, which does not mean that they have never been confronted with racism; very often they still live in conditions of spatial segregation. But they at least know that “racial”
categorisation can be fought in law and in practice, that they can be subverted and re-signified. Tastes in new musics are a way of eluding racial labelling and contribute to imagining new, adaptable identities. This does not happen without difficulties and vacillations, but on the whole, underlines Crain Soudien: “[...] popular culture is a terrain for considerable tension. As a result of this tension, young people are innovating new ways of being South African. Race does not go away, but it is rearticulated (together with language, class, gender and other less visible factors). Out of this emerge hybrid identities” (Soudien 2009: 29).

Paradoxical transformation

Young South Africans use music as a resource in the management of their identity, a resource that allows them to find in the “global” material that can help define their position and devise their projects in the “local”, a resource that is renewable and allows their identity configurations to change according to their wishes and aspirations. This pleads for a reconsideration of the place of music in educational and cultural policies, and more generally for a greater emphasis on culture in public policies, especially if culture is considered as a means of strengthening social cohesion and fostering feelings of belonging together among South Africans. Such a reconsideration of the place of music appears crucial in a society that is still fraught with tensions and misunderstandings, ignorance of who the Other is and insufficient interactions between people who were previously classified in different categories. Since 2003, the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation has conducted surveys on “reconciliation”. Its *South African Reconciliation Barometer* has recorded fluctuations in mutual perceptions between the constituent groups of the South African population. Its results show that some progress has been made. Over a seven year period (2003–2010), a majority of South Africans said they believed that “a unified country is a desirable goal” (Lefko-Everett et al. 2011: 8) and in 2010, while 72 per cent agree that “it is desirable to create a united South African nation”, 64 per cent do think it is possible\(^\text{25}\) (ibid.: 27). In 2010, 47 per cent of all South Africans consider that there has been an improvement in “race” relations since 1994; 30 per cent that it has stayed the same; 21 per cent believe that they have deteriorated (ibid.: 34).

Yet, in spite of this moderately positive perception of the evolution of South Africa, the 2010 picture of relationships between South Africans remains bleak. A majority of respondents continue to identify most strongly with those who speak the same mother tongue, or who belong to the same “ethnic group” or the same
“race”; only a tiny – although slowly increasing – minority give South Africa as their primary identity: 11 per cent in 2007, 14 per cent in 2010 (ibid.: 34). In terms of social interaction, 20 years after the release of Nelson Mandela and 16 years after the first democratic elections, 42 per cent of all South Africans admit that they rarely or never speak to people from other “races” on a typical weekday; 38 per cent do often or always; 20 per cent sometimes; and 30 per cent would like to do it more often (ibid.: 34). Although there has been an increase in professional and social interactions between 2003 and 2010 (ibid.: 35), these figures seem to indicate that interactions between members of different groups have been shrinking at the end of the 2000s: in 2004, respondents who answered that they had “no contact with somebody from another race on an average day” were 36 per cent; in 2008, they were 21 per cent (Hofmeyr 2008: 15). Although differences in the phrasing of the question (“no contact” in 2004 and 2008; “rarely or never speak to people from other race” in 2010) may partially explain discrepancies between the results of the 2004–2008 surveys and those of the 2010 survey, the increase in indicators recording the absence of social interaction is probably significant, and especially when put together with other findings of the 2010 Barometer: A large majority of South Africans have, from 2003 to 2010, found it difficult to understand persons from others groups; black Africans, in particular, have trouble in understanding the “customs and ways” of people of other “races”, and are more likely to agree that people of other groups are “untrustworthy” (Lefko-Everett et al. 2011: 35). Yet, a widespread desire for more integration is clearly expressed in the 2010 Barometer: 53 per cent of all South Africans would approve or approve strongly of a close relative marrying someone of another “race”; 67 per cent have no objection to living in a “multiracial” neighbourhood; 76 per cent accept integrated classrooms; and 68 per cent are ready to work for and take instructions from a person of another “race” (ibid. 36). These figures have steadily increased since 2006.

On the whole, the image of South African society painted by successive Reconciliation Barometers between 2003 and 2010 is quite contrasted and confirms that it is transforming, but not without setbacks, hesitations and contradictions. Even though the relation between various levels of identity remains, at least in these surveys, unresolved, it is quite obvious that interactions between members of different groups remain limited, due to social factors and the persistence of residential segregation, but probably also because of lasting impressions (“embedded knowledge”) that Others are difficult to understand and cannot be trusted.
Recognising creolisation

In this situation, music cannot be thought of as a panacea, likely to solve all the social problems affecting contemporary South Africa. Music will be worthless if inequalities and unemployment are not seriously tackled by governmental policies. Yet, it may be useful to underline that music can contribute to promoting the idea that what binds South Africans is strong, and that music – beyond differences in musical styles and genres – has always offered a platform where all inhabitants of South Africa could meet and create together. Music provides indisputable evidence that South Africa is a creolised and creolising society. Looking at the history of South Africa in the light of the creolisation theory contributes to overcoming the difficulty to articulate non-racialism and cultural heritage fashioned within groups constructed or remodelled by racial engineering. It does not negate what, at one point in time, may be specific to a particular group. But it posits specificity as the contextual and temporary product of Relation. This implies that every heritage is mixed, cross-fertilised, and cross-fertilising; that the particular cultural practices performed within one group have been elaborated thanks to Others, through borrowings and appropriations, and can in turn be circulated among Others, for them to use, if they so wish, for their own purposes. This understanding of group heritage highlights that groups have been fashioned by histories of blending and mixing. As a consequence, whatever specificity of which members of a group may be rightly proud must be seen as the combined outcome of a dialectics of internal and external dynamics that operate even in conditions of oppression and dehumanisation. The very notion of “race” falls away to make room for the idea of one human race, which accommodates an infinite multiplicity of groups, whose borders and characteristics are mutable, whose members can exchange everything.

When inherited notions, “embedded knowledge”, need to be revisited, creolisation, approached through the history of musical creation, suggests that South Africans have one common heritage, expressed in a great number of distinct practices, which, far from imprisoning in hermetic groups those who revel in them, relate them to those who invented practices that are kindred, although not strictly identical. Given the role music plays in identity configuration and re-configuration, emphasising the creole history of all South African musics supports the consolidation of feelings of belonging together compatible with attachments to smaller social entities, be they based on language, locality, origin, religion, etc. It shows that the desire to create a “united South African nation”, shared by a majority of South Africans (Lefko-Everett et al. 2011: 27) is not an unrealistic
wish, but that this new South African nation can be erected on foundations which have been laid in the past, amidst the torments and sufferings caused by racism, segregation and apartheid. From his study of Toronto high school students, Daniel A. Yon concluded: “Identity unfolds as an odd combination of first- and second-hand memories, shifting geographies, desire for community, and resistance to being contained by community all at the same time” (Yon 2000: 26). This aptly sums up the attitudes of today’s youth, in South Africa as in Canada, regarding the dilemmas of self-identity building. They aspire to be members of communities, but can’t stand the idea of being trapped in communities, whether chosen or imposed.

Memory provides a lens through which they can envision their relationships with various groups or communities to which they are linked, or aspire to be linked. In music, one can hear the audible trace of a past of exchanges and creations from exchanges; in the same movement, it reminds one that oppression has been particularly brutal and that, nevertheless, elements of culture circulated between the oppressed, and between the oppressed and their oppressors, and cross-pollinated.

Music, especially music created in the last decade of the 20th century and the first of the 21st, brings to the fore a reminiscence of these contradictory and ambivalent relationships, and makes explicit ways of thinking likely to heal whatever wounds they have left. Music offers an opportunity for recognising (Ricœur 2000: 556) because it associates indissolubly a claim to universality and a devotion to roots, because it spurs re-evaluations and re-appropriations of the past, that can re-enchant it to nourish visions of the future opening up to the Whole-World.

Recognising makes present, brings into the present something which was previously absent, which has apparently been erased and forgotten. It makes people re-cognise that something which has been absent (Ricœur 2000: 47–48). Traces left by and in music constitute material for recognising because they encapsulate a long history of contacts, exchanges and common creation. Through music surfaces the possibility of a form of recognising that the etymology of the French word makes more easily understandable: re-connaissance, new birth together with others – that is a rebirth together – based on a re-connaissance, a renewed and revisited knowledge – that is a fresh and novel understanding of all those with whom one goes through the process of being re-born.30 The idea of recognising/reconnaissance encapsulates the deeper meaning of the saying Motho Ke Motho Ka Batho Babang, which means in seSotho (but it has equivalents in many other South African languages): a person is a person because of/with/through other persons. Music is evidence that inhabitants of South Africa have, from the beginning, been human beings because of/with/through other inhabitants of South Africa, without exception.
In this respect, Cape Town should not be taken as an exception either. The city, and the Western Cape both have their particularities, especially from the point of view of their population composition. But these particularities are the contemporary outcome of a history that impacted strongly on the history of South Africa as a whole. Because the colonisation of South Africa began at the Cape, because slavery developed at the Cape, because all kinds of people, coming from a great many places within and without the borders of contemporary South Africa, met and mingled there, Cape Town was the first outpost of creolisation in what was to become South Africa. From there, creolisation processes eventually embraced every part of the country. Musics that were invented at the Cape, because of the particular mix of people who found themselves in the Mother City from the middle of the 17th century to the beginning of the 20th, decisively influenced the creation of all 20th century South African musics. This implies that any history of South African modern music necessarily begins with the Cape. In many respects, Cape Town appears as a prototype of South Africa. Jeremy Cronin, unveiling in his poetic language Cape Town as a creole city writes: “Walk about Cape Town and you can still hear and see the undisappeared-disappeared, the multiphonic wrested from schizophrenia” (Cronin 2005: 50). However, today, Cape Town’s multiphony is unsettling. Its history, the traces left by music, the reminiscences of creolisation they carry run counter to discourses that stress diversity, “culture”, group exclusivity, parochialism and bigotry of every kind, discourses that are currently re-emerging in the public space and that evidently mask greed and ambition: “In the new South Africa, a small number of ‘representatives’ enjoy new powers and privileges on behalf of the historically disadvantaged majority. This gives us an elite politics of racialised self-righteousness. It is this dominant paradigm of our times that the混合ness, the Creole reality of Cape Town, disturbs” (Cronin 2005: 51). Given the prototypical character of Cape Town, experimentation in all kinds of musics that it continues to be home to still offer a glimpse of the future. In any case, teaching the history of South African music as creole music, teaching music and encouraging creative musical practices would contribute to fulfilling music’s mission as envisioned by David B. Coplan: “In a divided society such as South Africa that seeks reformulation at all levels and a new, more coherent national identity without the benefit of a unified public culture, it may be as important for music to assist citizens in speaking truth to one another as in speaking truth to power” (Coplan 2002: 8).
Notes

1. A popular Neapolitan song (lyrics by Peppino Turco; music by Luigi Denza), composed in 1880 to celebrate the opening of the first cable car – *funicolare* – on Mount Vesuvius; recently made famous worldwide by Luciano Pavarotti and the Three Tenors.
2. Interview with Terry Hector, recorded at the Netreg Klopskammer on 2 December 2007.
3. Literally “clear”; in familiar discourse/slang: cool, super.
4. In standard Afrikaans, wicked; in familiar discourse/slang: super, excellent, with the same semantic inversion as in American English.
5. The possible allusion to Othello, and his violence against Desdemona, could, in this context, be interpreted as a recall of these prejudices aiming at defusing them by the “happy ending” of Vusie’s encounter with the Klops.
7. A philosophical position that is clearly acknowledged by South African writer Rian Malan: “[...] the price of dominating it [the African continent] was way too high – in terms of the damage we were doing to black people, but also to ourselves. Two centuries of keeping them down had left us spiritually deformed, rotten with fear and greed, and yet we couldn’t find it in ourselves to trust” (Malan 1990: 412–423).
12. A non-exhaustive list of these incidents – which reached an apex with the racist video posted by students of the University of the Free State in October 2009 – and of the political strife that developed in parallel, is provided in: Martin 2011.
18. Interview with Phumi Tsewu recorded in Cape Town on 16 October 2007 and intervention by Phumi Tsewu at the STIAS Round Table on Cape Town Music, Stellenbosch, 13 November 2007.
20. Lorraine Roubertie’s dissertation includes a comprehensive survey of public and private institutions where jazz and related musics are taught in the Western Cape: Roubertie 2012.
21. See the summary of the controversies in which she was involved in the early 1990s at: http://www.answers.com/topic/barbara-masekela (accessed 13/07/2011).
22. In the proposed expenditures for 2003–2007: Heritage Promotion accounts for 48.5 per cent of the total (Department of Arts and Culture 2007: 10), in the projected expenses 2008–2010, it is reduced to 40 per cent of the total, but when added, Heritage Promotion, National Archives, Meta-Information and Heraldic Services constitute together 65 per cent of the total (ibid.: 52).
23. The Provincial Musician’s Forum led to the creation of the Western Cape Musicians’ Association (WCMA), which developed from the initiative of a group of musicians who teamed up to contribute to Robbie Jansen’s health expenses when he fell ill in 2005. In 2007, the WCMA was registered. It endeavours to organise medical aid and a burial fund for members, and to protect the musicians’ rights. It participates in events such as the Amy Biehl Foundation’s Cape Township Jazz Festival, held in Gugulethu in March 2011. But its vision and mission remain centred on the development of the music industry (http://www.wcma.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&cid=37&Itemid=11&limitstart=2; accessed 22/05/2011; http://westerncapemusiciansassociation.blogspot.com/2007/04/wcma-vision-mision.html; accessed 15/07/2011).
24. “Isandla Institute’s mission is to act as a public interest think-tank with a primary focus on fostering just, equitable and democratic urban settlements. This is enhanced through innovative research and advocacy interventions” (http://isandla.org.za/about/what-we-do/; accessed 15/07/2011).
25. But white South Africans are “less likely than other groups to view national unification as either desirable or possible” (Lefko-Everett et al. 2011: 27). Between 2007 and 2010, white respondents have consistently expressed lower positive evaluations of “race” relations than those of other groups; in 2010, Africans and Asians are more likely to record improvements in race relations than whites and coloureds (ibid.: 20).
26. Another survey concluded that in 1999 61 per cent of interviewees identified themselves as South Africans, 15 per cent indicated that their primary identity was in terms of their language group, and 10 per cent mentioned their “racial” category (Ramutsindela 2002: 47–48). It is highly unlikely that identification as South African has declined to a mere 14 per cent 11 years later. It merely confirms that answers are largely conditioned by the way questions are posed and questionnaires are organised and, consequently, that these figures can only be taken as indications that have to be correlated with other comparable data. When doing this, it has to be taken into account that the methodology (including the phrasing of questions) of the South African Reconciliation Barometer has remained almost identical since its inception and therefore that, even if absolute figures must be treated with caution, their evolution is likely to signal real trends. But it remains to be checked if, in the mind of South Africans who filled in the questionnaires, identification with a language or “ethnic” group is incompatible with identification to South Africa, and if variations in their answers do not point at the existence of cumulative identities.
27. See figure 29 (Lefko-Everett et al. 2011: 36).
28. All studies confirm that the higher the income, the more frequent the interactions.
29. The two factors being clearly linked: it is obviously more difficult to understand and trust people you do not associate with on a regular basis.
30. And not “born again” in the understanding of Evangelical and Pentecostal churches.