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My ongoing research looks at dance and music in shebeens particularly in black townships today. I am suggesting that dance and its musical accompaniment can tell us what is happening in a community at a particular time. I have chosen shebeens because historically they have played an important role in the townships like Kwa Mashu where I have been conducting my research. I am especially interested in cultural identity and how that plays itself in shebeens in post-apartheid South Africa. Similarly, shebeens serve a function similar to jook joints for African-Americans in the rural south.

Shebeens: As a social institution

Shebeens in South Africa's African townships are among the most expressive, dynamic and virile harborers of African culture. In the recent past the country's major urban centers where Africans lived as labor including Egoli, Cape Town, Kimberly and others, generated shebeens that became important social institutions. Durban has its own history of shebeens and township life. To gain a perspective on these I focus on KwaMashu Township. Durban harbors a complex network of rich, intersecting black performance traditions, that which can be found in shebeens. This presentation will focus on the social aspects of dance and music in the shebeens. We will then look at a few of the dances that can be found in shebeens today and talk a bit about their presentation in terms of cultural identity.

I build on the work of Hazzard-Gordon, in which dance has a central role in society, is used in communal activities, and as an integral part of ceremonies that bind groups together as a group. Dance is important in this analysis because it is one aspect of African culture that was permitted in shebeens and other environments. The apartheid system forcefully controlled the activity of black South Africans, but like the plantation system in America where slave owners did not fully understand the relevance of dance culture, perhaps the South African government did not understand the relevance of dance in shebeens. This arrangement was used as a survival strategy that continues into the South African cultural Renaissance. For relevant studies of dance and music, see Coplan 1985, James 1999, Daniels 1995, Colson 1971, and Matshikiza 1965.

Musical and dance performance in South African shebeens offers a lens in looking at power relations in post-apartheid South Africa. In 1994 the end of apartheid in South Africa was followed by the defeat of the Nationalist Party and the election of the African National Congress in 1995. This change of political power created changes in the economy and the social environment which intended to advance social conditions to those previously denied access. This change in social conditions, part of the 'African Renaissance', is also connected to the meaning of cultural and ethnic identity for South Africans. My research

examines the negotiation of cultural identities at a crucial site, the shebeen, focusing on dance and music as an assertion of power. It looks at the construction of an aesthetic and a cultural identity, focusing on ways in which internal community diversity is socially constructed and defended through the practice of music and dance.

Shebeens exist in the homes of people from various economic backgrounds: migrant housing, low income and upper income neighborhoods. Most of the literature on shebeens concerns drinking (Bailey and SEftel 1994; Callinicas 1993; Crush and Ambler 1992; Hay and Stichter 1984; Ramphela 1993; van Onselen 1982). I have found shebeens to harbor a wealth of cultural, political and economic culture alongside South African borne cultural identity. That is an identity manipulated by the government and its legislation or ethnic identity of Zulu culture and its rules.

A very brief look at the development of Durban, townships and the shebeens within them will give us an idea about the urbanization process. By 1873 African's were working in Durban and struggling for a living place there. From 1910 to 1939 South Africa developed a capitalist mode of production. We can see that the economy moved from an agricultural one to one that was more commercialized. In addition to an agricultural society South Africa moved towards urbanization and industrialization which brought even more Africans into the urban centers. Over time the state policy was to decentralize the Black working classes which led to the development of Townships. Housing was a major source of grievance for blacks in urban areas. Because of a lack of funding, rents were too high and service facilities were lacking. With the need for employment came a need for housing and other facilities with housing people needed a place to be themselves, to express themselves, especially as the oppressive laws, rules and acts of apartheid took place.

"In 1908 the Natal Legislative Assembly passed legislation which made provision for the establishment, by towns in the Colony, of a municipal beer monopoly. The Durban Town Council which had been the prime mover in the establishment of monopoly legislation, implemented the provisions of the Native Beer Act in 1909. After this date the legal consumption of utshwala (otherwise referred to as sorghum or 'Kaffir beer') by Africans living in Durban and Natal's town's, was permissible only within the confines of municipal beer halls. In Durban the institution of a municipal beer monopoly provided the basis for the elaboration of the "Durban System"; a particular form of native administration which became a model for the control and exploitation by South Africa's ruling classes, of African popular classes living and working in urban centres. It anticipated many of the provisions of the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act, which represented the first decisive step of the South African state to centralize urban management and control. The Native Beer Act (No. 23) of 1908 laid down that revenue accruing from municipal beer halls in Natal was to be channeled into the Native Administration Fund (which became the Native Revenue Account after 1923) for the purposes of defraying expenses in connection with the administration of the Act as well

as for 'native welfare' or 'any other object in the interests of the natives residing in or resorting to a borough". The altruism of the Act rapidly proved to be thin, After 1909 beer revenue was ploughed into the maintenance and establishment of barracks, beer halls, hostels and beer breweries and also into the costs of policing and administration in the town. It is significant that until 1929, the year in which a popular boycott of Durban's municipal beer halls was instituted, Durban remained the only town in South African with a self-supporting Native Revenue Account. During the late twenties and early thirties, fierce African opposition to the monopoly system undermined both its ideological and economic basis. However, prior to this period, Durban was viewed as a crucible in which an efficient national system of native administration could, at least in part, be forged. The apparently efficient control of African's access to drink through the monopoly system was central to these perceptions."

The Struggle for the City: Alcohol, The Ematsheni and Popular Culture in Durban, 1902-1936 Paul La Hausse, University of Capetown 1984.

Durban's black population who became teachers, ministers and traders, stevedores, shop assistants and support services also maintained active links with the rural communities. In the urban setting people were bound together by their living conditions and patterns of cultural reproduction in town which were held together by a common ancestry in Zulu society.

Before capitalism Zulu dances on a whole were group activities that were reflected in the social gender divisions within society. Dances were removed from their pre-capitalist context and transformed into assertions of new regional or ethnic identities in the cities, these dances became urban dancing, known on a whole as ingoma. The term ingoma, which means song, encompasses a broad range of male group dances like isikhuze, isicathulu, isiBhaca, umzansi, and isishameni that formed the body of Zulu-speaking migrants' dance culture. Ingoma was a product of the dramatic socio-economic change in the South African countryside after the First World War. After the war and during the 1920's rural dance forms continued to occupy a great deal of the leisure time of newly urbanized workers. African male dancers were one of the most eloquent and most striking symbols of working-class identity.

In their search for models and expressions of self-conscious urban status, workers first became interested in dances and songs developed in and around the mission stations. On rural mission stations isicathulo became one of the first working-class dances. The name isicathulo, 'shoe', refers to the introduction of footgear at the missions, and reflects how the sharp sound of boots and clicking of the heels contrasted with the muffled thud of bare feet in more rural dances such as indlamu. Isicathulo offers an example of the intermingling of rural, urban, missions and working-class performance traditions around the First World War. As a step dance, it was closely related to, if not identical with, other dance forms that had evolved earlier among farm laborers and inhabitants of the rural reserves. Isicathulo has been known as Amaphoyisa ('Policeman') and Salutho ('Salute') that mimic the behavior of black policemen and 'boss boys', while

patterns like Benoni or Maritzburg are named after their city of origin. Foremost among these was stishi ('stiches'), a ragtime-like dance that spread from the Reef towns into rural areas like Paulpietersburg, and influenced other dance routines by the same name.

The lyrical content of the vocal component isicathamiya centered around values crucial to the maintenance of an intact rural homestead, such as the seniority of the homestead head, the obedience of women and children, and the necessity to accumulate cattle. The members of these choirs came from one particular rural area and thus constituted a network that provided material and moral support to urban newcomers. At the same time, isicathamiya singing and dancing represented a form of leisure-time activity that was rooted in rural patterns of socialization. While the internal structure of the choirs emphasized a ranking system based on the seniority of the members, competitions between choirs were an adaptation of the institutionalized, confrontations between 'home-boys' common in ingoma dancing. After the Second World War, with a further growth of the manufacturing industries, stunted black urbanization and massive state intervention in the process of circulatory labor migration, isicathamiya became one of the strongest elements of Durban's black popular music scene.

From the mid-1920's the role of the city's black population had grown significantly in shaping the city's 'cultural geography' through the creation of cultural 'spaces' like shebeens that cut across class boundaries. Not only did shebeens cut across class boundaries but the ethnic composition of the migrant workforce was diverse. Growing numbers of Africans from the Transkei and Basutoland traveled to Durban in search of work and brought with them a repertoire of performance styles that carried strong Xhosa and Sotho connections. It is in this sphere of cross-fertilization that blacks in Durban were struggling to defend their autonomy as urban dwellers. The urban space thus became the most hotly contested sphere of black cultural transformation.

Kwela

A very quick-paced dance style which went along with working class attitudes presented by Drum magazine and Illanga lase Natal. The kwela dance had its origins in the active command word 'kwela!' or 'jump!' used by policeman instructing people to jump into the back of three-ton pick-up vans, known as kwela vans.

In the 1920's and 1930's Marabi's multi-ethnic character was evident in its dancing, performed alone or with a partner in any manner inspired by the contagious marabi rhythm. Many people drew their movements from rural dances of the period such as ukuxhentso, in which several people danced together but each with his or her own solo, without any common pattern. Marabi in turn influenced the music of dances back in the country but, unlike traditional dances or the gumboot and ingoma dances of migrant workers, marabi had no official steps.

Musician MaReyiza, a violinist was the first to introduce marabi to Durban. His most popular tunes 'Silele kwaBhanki' and 'Sohamba noMaReyiza, Sohamba Kuze Kuse' (We will accompany MaReyiza until Daybreak). MaReyiza's favorite places were the shebeens in the years of Mkhumbane where he was active until the 1950's.

Cato Manor/Mkumbane

In Nkumbane marabi appealed to an audience for which a strong sense of Zulu identity permeated their growing awareness of themselves as working-class Africans. They wanted music that was recognizably Zulu as well as 'modern (Westernized) enough to support their urbanizing self-image. Though marabi retained traditional musical practices and elements, its ultimate form reflected the desire to modernize by absorbing new cultural elements within a familiar structure. African efforts to apply this cognitive familiarity to urban recreation led to the development of a pervasive marabi culture.

Cato Manor was also the site of dance done not in the shebeens but in protest of the municipal government making shebeens and beer brewing illegal. In June 1959 women protested with verbally and with dance against men and beer halls. African men were buying beer in the beerhalls which took money from the women's pockets. Women had to fight back.

Later Cato Manor residents were removed to the township developments of Kwa Mashu and Umlazi. As KwaMashu and Umlazi were being developed shebeens found a new home, and marabi became a part of the shebeen culture. Like in Cato Manor the shebeen was a long-time home of community spirit, good strong liquor, and African commercial loyalty in despite of municipal beerhalls. Marabi symbolized a continuing struggle for order in urban African society. They were in many ways centers of community life that gave working-class people some sense of social coherence.

From the late 1920's, dance bands modeled on whatever glimpses black South Africans could catch of American, preferably African-American performers, had been emerging in South Africa. American influence was also possible with thousands visitors attending bioscope evenings in 1938. Cultural politics was not the only reason why urban Africans performed American music and dance. Jazz may also have become part of South Africa's urban black music because it reproduces many performance principles of African traditional music. Perhaps the comparable socio-historical experience of the two peoples. Both black Americans and black South Africans have undergone missionization by the British and both were subordinated to developing industrial economies created and controlled by the Northwestern Europeans.

Shebeens and political activity serve as an important activity up to the dismantling of apartheid and into the present. Shebeens as sites of political

activity. Activists often met in shebeens holding organizing sessions in back rooms. A look out person would let them know if the police were coming and people at the shebeen would begin to social including dancing to throw off the police.

Today

While you can still find a traditional shebeen even illegal shebeens the face of shebeens can be. A difference that I found is that many shebeens are now called taverns. Since apartheid People have either been able to legalize their business or they want that appearance. One of the interesting things is that I expected to find women, shebeen queens, running the shebeens, but a number of the shebeens that I have been to are owned by one man or a group of five or so men. Traditionally, shebeens have been in people's homes.

A brief listing of shebeens

The Old Guys - is owned by a few men who used to live in the township. They have since moved away, but come back to visit family, get haircuts and other services. Many people have said that in the suburbs where they live it is very quiet but in the townships there are always people to greet you. The Emakhehleri Tavern was started by two men who are from the township of ----- --- who found that there was a need for the tavern. The tavern caters to professional men who previously lived in the township but have now moved away. The men come back to frequent the shebeen. These men include lawyers, editors, and social workers who have known each other for years. Initially, the men looked for a woman to run the tavern, but they could not find one with the resources of support. The two men decided to open the tavern themselves. This is unique since most shebeens are run by women and also because the shebeen is not in the men's present neighborhood. So, everyone coming to the shebeens knows each other and in turn people coming to visit are brought in from the outside. The tavern was named Emakhehleri, because the younger women who frequent the shebeen called the guys there, the 'old guys'.

Swazi Tavern - Umlazi A Section

A very popular shebeen in Umlazi was originally owned by a woman, but has since been bought by a group of about seven men who take the money from the shebeen business and invest it in other businesses. Frequented by mostly men between twenty and forty who are professionals, regular workers and locals. Popular every day of the week but especially on Friday and Saturday nights. When there is a soccer game people tend to stay away but once the game is over the crowd picks up.

Shayamoya Tavern and Butchery - KwaMashu E Section

A recently opened tavern a little less than a year in KwaMashu is owned by one man who also owns a security business. His tavern is frequented by young

adults between 18 and 30 years of age. Most people who go to Shayamoya live in the area and walk to the tavern. Talking to people who go there many are unemployed or underemployed and do not own cars. The tavern is also attached to a butchery which also provides the tavern with fresh meat. Tables and chairs for sitting, a pool (snooker) area, a dance floor which can hold a few hundred persons.

Kwaito, house, techno, and jazz music are played. A house pantsula group can often be seen dancing and there are special events held at the Shayamoya. Recently, a Miss Shayamoya, contest was held featuring modeling, dance and theater performances and the crowning of Miss Shayamoya.

Sipho's - Kwa Mashu F Section

Dairy Bar - Kwa Mashu E Section

Plays the latest music. The shebeen section which is on a bench just outside the tuck shop container holds about four people. Music is played throughout the day and the community as they cross to the taxi stand of just cross the road often can be seen dancing to the music. Much of the time the owner of the tuck shop sell soda, chips, gum and various sundry items.

Thabani's Hair Salon - Newtown C

I almost wouldn't call this a shebeen except that whenever I am there people are hanging out and listening to music and dancing, especially on the weekends.. The salon is in a garage attached to a house. The latest kwaito and house music can be heard there and people are dancing in the drive way. One more Time is a popular song played there. Owned by twins one of which is Thabani.

Duk's Tavern - Newtown C

Duk's is located just in back of the house where Thabani's Hair Salon is located. When I visited Duk's only men were there about twelve in all were socializing and drinking amongst themselves. I suspect the spelling could be Duke's Tavern.

From 1995 Mandela Jive When Mandela was inaugurated he used to move his hands in a certain way and people imitated that. Typically dance movements change every 3 to 4 months with the change in kwaito music. Kwaito music talks about being rich and there is always drums. A sort of oral poetry. In early 1989, 1990, 1991 there was a competition organized by the radio station. The winners of the competition would get to fly to Johannesburg and stay in a hotel. The way they moved was a plane in the sky. People danced to Brenda Fassie and a type of house music and also music from America. People like Heavy D. The name of the dance was Sky Dance.

The Chicken

The chicken comes from clubs in Pretoria with a d.j. named Davinci at Club Carlmalito also at Chili Boy at club in Mabobane Township. The dance was popularized by a kwaito singer called Thebe with his song Vula Boot.

Jikeleza

Jikeleza though not a dance itself is a movement of people. In order to jikeleza though you need transportation. What happens is people plan to move around to different shebeens and even taxi ranks. So, on one Saturday a certain shebeen would host the socializing. I can see that jikeleza moves the money around in the community.

Pantsula

Pantsula popular during the 1980's among young men in the townships. Thus far, some of the dances that I have encountered in the townships include the chicken which as far as I can tell is a solo dance imitating the movements and posturing of a chicken. This may sound like a chicken in one culture looks the same as another but I can see that the dances are influenced by their environment. In fact this is one that I have very little information on and so am continuing to research. I am sure that you have seen Pantsula which as they say is for life. Pantsula includes not only a dance as a way of expressing oneself, but it is a way of life. It impacts on where one lives. Pantsula's don't tend to stay at home they stay with other Pantsula's. In order to practice their dance. They move to the city so that they can get money to buy clothes which include hats and tackies.. "The behavior" of Pantsula's, "is like they are born of the same mother" Manzi.

KwasaKwasa

I would like to focus on the Kwasa Kwasa which is currently done in the townships. The dance is done by one person, two people or maybe more, however people want to organize themselves. Kwasa Kwasa had indeed come to South Africa from Zaire but that the kwasa kwasa done in the South Africa was quite different altogether. The dance started in the 1960's in West Africa and Central Africa. It became popular with the "high life" music of Fela Kuti. South Africa had its own high-life which was mbasqanda which was popularized in the 1960's by Mahlathini. The music here was dance music which was driven by the guitar. The music in Zaire at the time was also dance music which influenced music in Mozambique and Zimbabwe. People that I have interviewed say that the dance looks like the shaking of a bumble bee but that doesn't quite describe it. The dance is so sensual it makes men go to the bathroom and even woman respond to other woman who are doing the dance. It is mostly women who do the dance. When Miriam Makeba left South Africa was doing a version of the movement when she sang Pata Pata. More recently the dance has been done in Zaire in the TRC. It was popular around 1996 to 1998 with the former president ? The dance was done in protest to the poverty and oppression that was being experienced at that time that I asked why the dance was just coming here and he said that because SA had been closed of during the apartheid years people hadn't been exposed. What I find interesting is that the Kwasa kwasa done in South Africa by South Africans in the shebeens is not the same dance. It is a dance by the same name and is done to kwaito and house music. Even

with the dominance of Zulu culture Durban it has not been sealed off from the surrounding cultures so we can't say that there is a homogenous Zulu musical culture.

History in terms of Tourism

Also, I found that many shebeens are interested or are marketing themselves for tourism. Cultural Tourism in the townships especially shebeens is. Especially in today's South Africa, tourism is seen as having potential for people to become economically viable. In conversations with Gail Snyman of the Black Emerging Tour Operators and other owners of the Swazi and Shayamoya Taverns I got an idea of how Culture is being marketed in the townships. In literature distributed by the Black Emerging Tour Operators it says that "The apartheid government removed many African communities off their land in cities and rural areas and placed them in demarcated zones in remote parts of cities. Durban was no different. This apartheid engineering, keeping black people away from white communities and giving access to cheap labour. The townships were poorly developed and schools and facilities very poor. Political activity was banned and several leaders were kept under house arrest. In spite of these hardships the communities were resilient, resisted and created a lifestyle that was vibrant and expressive. New styles of music... and the underground political movement developed. Entertainment centres for the performing arts and ...shebeens soon mushroomed allowing the communities to give vent to real African expression." Black Emerging Tour Operators

The syncretic blending of dance styles and performance practices has always been one of the strongest motors of urban dance change in Africa. The finer regional and stylistic movements of 'Zulu dance', Kwa Zulu Natal stands out as a musically relatively homogeneous area and home to one of the most distinctive dialects within South Africa's dance language.

I have not fully analyzed the dance component of my research and its relationship to society at large, but previous research that use dance to analyse the parallel functions of structured movement system that mimic social formation include the work of Deborah James among the Basothu in which she says that 'women's reinterpretation of the militaristic monti dance through its female version basadi ba baeng (visiting women), in which they interweave their own allusions to the competitiveness of contemporary dance contests with men's more overt reference to heroic exploits in the nineteenth century and in the two World Wars. women's transformation of monti from a triumphal military dance into a statement of fierce but respectful rivalry is signaled by the raised right hands in which men once bore weapons but in which women now carry flash flights or bottles of soft drink. The message of the women's dance, while drawing potency from the more unadulterated militarism of the men's version, combines the imperative to conquer a host group through competitive dance with

polite acceptance of its hospitality, in the context of the perpetual urban-rural visitin which characterizes these migrants' world (James 1994).

Yet another demonstration can be found in the work of Veit Erlmann.

The isicathulo, 'shoe', refers to the introduction of footgear at the missions, and reflects how the sharp sound of boots and the clicking of the heels contrasted with the muffled thud of bare feet in more rural dances such as indlamu...isicathulo offers an example of the intermingling of rural, urban, mission and working-class performance traditions around the First World War. As a dance step, it was closely related to, if not identical with other dance forms that had evolved earlier among farm labourers and inhabitants of the rural reserves (Erlmann 1996).

Cato Manor/Mkumbane

"Mkumbane as part of the interim governments Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). African people thought they had reclaimed the area for themselves after the 1949 riots. Later Cato Manor residents were removed (A South African euphemism) to the township developments of Kwa Mashu and Umlazi." Gillian Berning, Director of Local History Museums, September 1994

"Mkumbane holds the same symbolism in the minds of many Durban residents as District Six holds for Capetonians. Both residential settlements were victims of apartheid legislation. They became symbols of repression, resistance to oppression, of the will to overcome and of the determination to create a cultural life beyond the confines of political machinations." SB Sighart St. Imier de Bellelay - Bourquin ("SB) Collection

La Hausse, Paul The Struggle for the City: Alcohol, The Ematsheni and Popular Culture in Durban, 1902-1936 University of Capetown 1984.

Coplan, David B. In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre 1985

Maylam, Paul and Edwards, Iain The People's City: African Life in Twentieth-Century