

Four principles of South African political culture at the local level¹

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Standard models of political thought derived from Liberal, Democratic and Classical models of political theory do not appear to fully comprehend the structure and processes of political action and culture at the local-level in South Africa. I present a concise model that is based on set of four inter-linked 'principles' or concepts that structure political action and sentiment: (1) the equivalence of persons, (2) respect, (3) jealousy, and (4) suffering. These principles form a resilient and powerful structure that govern political action, and are significantly different from the bureaucratic/democratic concepts of (political and jurid) equality, (hierarchical) distinction, organisational discipline, and personal achievement that ideally structure action in the 'modern' bureaucratic/democratic organisations of national government and global corporate business. In addition, the principles of 'exit' and 'voice' are advanced as ways to understand the relationship between the local-level politics and national or global-level political process.

Keywords: political organisation, local-level political culture, equivalence of persons, respect, jealousy, suffering, ubuntu

Towards analysis of local-level political culture

In anthropology and African studies, scholars (as well as political activists) have long resisted the idea that there may be different cultural bases to African political and social systems, preferring instead to rely on political concepts derived from European theory and experience. This paper takes the risk of suggesting that there are indeed definable differences – specifically cultural differences – for political thought and action in local-level African politics. These are different from those that exist in the liberal bureaucratic democracies of the 'developed' world, or within the sphere of formal national and governmental politics of the state, and of the formal parties and organisations that contest power within the South African constitutional structures. To develop my argument, however, I must first give some indication of what I mean by 'local' politics in South Africa, how it may be distinguished from the larger scale politics of province and nation (or even continent and world), and why a specifically cultural approach may be worthwhile in elucidating the distinctiveness (if any) of the specifically 'local'.

What is the 'local level'?

We too often assume that African life is explainable in terms of the fundamental conceptions of western philosophy and social science. These have been discussed from the times of Plato and Aristotle, up to the present, with Adam Smith, Marx, Weber, and Durkheim providing a basis for the social sciences today. Certainly, twentieth century thought has added much to this, but fundamental ideas about the 'market' and the notion of the 'maximising individual', of 'exploitation' and the nature of economic organisations, of the character and genesis of (mainly European) political economy, authority, power, the division of labour, and the nature of social solidarity, 'community' and the primacy of the social, remain influential. These, however, have not served African anthropology and

African studies particularly well. As Evans-Pritchard and Meyer Forbes remarked in *African Political Systems* (1940), very little of western political philosophy seems relevant. This is still largely true, especially for politics at the local level.

These differences are also differences of scale. Theories of power, policy and political economy that have been developed primarily in the west are concerned with large-scale polities, usually at least as large as a contemporary European state, and often at the scale of continents or the global. This 'political science' – liberal (eg J.S. Mill, A. de Tocqueville), Marxist (eg Marx, Engels, Lenin), (free) market/neo-conservative (eg A. Ferguson, A. Smith, Friedman), state-bureaucratic (eg M. Weber), colonial (eg H.S. Maine, F. Lugard) and so on – has not been concerned, for the most part, with the small-scale, and where it has, it has been concerned with aspects of the European-type bureaucratic state such as voting patterns, bureaucratic process, procedural matters, and so on. Even where political culture has been examined, it has focused largely on the larger-scale. The small-scale has been left to anthropology, but anthropology has not always fulfilled its mandate well with respect to local-level politics. While there have been excellent studies of political action along the way, such as Gluckman's analysis of the 'social situation' in rural Zululand in the 1940s, or Mayer's discussion of 'townsmen and tribesmen' in the Eastern Cape, what has emerged from this for the larger public, and for the political imaginary – has been an emphasis on so-called cultural difference associated with the African/European divide.

The cultural differences that I speak of here are not those that might exist between 'ethnic groups', 'tribes', 'races' or named 'cultures' such as Afrikaans, Xhosa or Pedi, but rather differences in organisational culture at different levels of political integration within the broader context of South Africa. The primary distinguishing organisational features of the local level are networked (rather than institutional or corporate) forms

1. Presented at Anthropology Southern Africa Annual conference, University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa, 31 October – 2 November 2004. Please do not quote or cite in this form without contacting the author.

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South Africa, Past, Present and Future Tony Binns, Alan Lester, Etienne Nel, 2014-09-25 This is the first book to combine a discussion of post apartheid development initiatives with an extended historical analysis of South Africa's dynamic race class gender and ethnic identities Bringing together the research of an historical geographer and two development geographers the book enables us to locate the post apartheid transition in a broad historical and spatial perspective Within this perspective the limitations as well as the achievements of South Africa's current transformation are highlighted

Regions and Repertoires

University of the Witwatersrand, African Studies Institute, 1991 1976 by Kelwyn Sole

Between Worlds

Linda Chisholm, 2017-11-30 How the story of how missionary schools adopted the Bantu education reforms gives insight into the ongoing legacy of the apartheid in the South African educational system The transition from apartheid to the post apartheid era has highlighted questions about the past and the persistence of its influence in present day South Africa This is particularly so in education where the past continues to play a decisive role in relation to inequality Between Worlds German Missionaries and the Transition from Mission to Bantu Education in South Africa scrutinises the experience of a hitherto unexplored German mission society probing the complexities and paradoxes of social change in education It raises challenging questions about the nature of mission education legacies Linda Chisholm shows that the transition from mission to Bantu Education was far from seamless Instead past and present interpenetrated one another with resistance and compliance cohabiting in a complex new social order At the same time as missionaries complied with the new Bantu

Education dictates they sought to secure a role for themselves in the face of demands of local communities for secular state controlled education When the latter was implemented in a perverted form from the mid 1950s one of its tools was textbooks in local languages developed by mission societies as part of a transnational project with African participation Introduced under the guise of expunging European control Bantu Education merely served to reinforce such control The response of local communities was an attempt to domesticate and master the foreign body of the mission so as to create access to a larger world This book focuses on the ensuing struggle fought on many fronts including medium of instruction and textbook content with concomitant sub texts relating to gender roles and sexuality South Africa's educational history is to this day informed by networks of people and ideas crossing geographic and racial boundaries The colonial legacy has inevitably involved cultural mixing and hybridisation with paradoxically parallel pleas for purity Chisholm explores how these ideas found expression in colliding and coalescing worlds one African the other European caught between mission and apartheid education

A History of South African Literature Christopher Heywood, 2004-11-18 This book is a critical study of South African literature from colonial and pre colonial times onwards Christopher Heywood discusses selected poems plays and prose works in five literary traditions Khoisan Nguni Sotho Afrikaans English and Indian The discussion includes over 100 authors and selected works including poets from Mqhayi Marais and Campbell to Butler Serote and Krog theatre writers

from Boniface and Black to Fugard and Mda and fiction writers from Schreiner and Plaatje to Bessie Head and the Nobel prizewinners Gordimer and Coetzee The literature is explored in the setting of crises leading to the formation of modern South Africa notably the rise and fall of the Emperor Shaka s Zulu kingdom the Colenso crisis industrialisation the colonial and post colonial wars of 1899 1914 and 1939 and the dissolution of apartheid society In Heywood s study South African literature emerges as among the great literatures of the modern world [Historical Companion to Postcolonial Literatures in English](#) Prem Poddar,2019-08-07 This is the first reference guide to the political cultural and economic histories that form the subject matter of postcolonial literatures written in English The focus of the Companion is principally on the histories of postcolonial literatures in the Anglophone world Africa the Middle East South Asia South east Asia Australia and New Zealand the Pacific the Caribbean and Canada There are also long entries discussing the literatures and histories of those further areas that have also claimed the title postcolonial notably Britain East Asia Ireland Latin America and the United States The Companion contains 220 entries written by 150 acknowledged scholars of postcolonial history and literature covers major events ideas movements and figures in postcolonial histories long regional survey essays on historiography and women s histories Each entry provides a summary of the historical event or topic and bibliographies of postcolonial literary works and histories Extensive cross references and indexes enable readers to locate particular literary texts in their relevant historical contexts as well as to discover related literary texts and histories in other regions with ease

Public History and Culture in South Africa Ali Khangela Hlongwane,Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu,2019-04-11 The post apartheid era in South Africa has in the space of nearly two decades experienced a massive memory boom manifest in a plethora of new memorials and museums and in the renaming of streets buildings cities and more across the country This memorialisation is intricately linked to questions of power liberation and public history in the making and remaking of the South African nation Ali Khangela Hlongwane and Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu analyse an array of these liberation heritage sites including the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum the June 16 1976 Interpretation Centre the Apartheid Museum and the Mandela House Museum foregrounding the work of migrant workers architects visual artists and activists in the practice of memorialisation As they argue memorialisation has been integral to the process of state and nation formation from the pre colonial era through the present day **Sharpeville** Tom Lodge,2011-05-12 On 21 March 1960 several hundred black Africans were injured and 69 killed when South African police opened fire on demonstrators in the township of Sharpeville protesting against the Apartheid regime s racist pass laws The Sharpeville Massacre as the event has become known signalled the start of armed resistance in South Africa and prompted worldwide condemnation of South Africa s Apartheid policies The events at Sharpeville deeply affected the attitudes of both black and white in South Africa and provided a major stimulus to the development of an international Anti Apartheid movement In Sharpeville Tom Lodge explains how and why the Massacre occurred looking at the social and political background to the events of March 1960 as well as the sequence of events that

prompted the shootings themselves He then broadens his focus to explain the long term consequences of Sharpeville explaining how it affected South African politics over the following decades both domestically and also in the country's relationship with the rest of the world **The Emergence of the South African Metropolis** Vivian Bickford-Smith, 2016-05-16 Focusing on South Africa's three main cities Johannesburg Cape Town and Durban this book explores South African urban history from the late nineteenth century onwards In particular it examines the metropolitan perceptions and experiences of both black and white South Africans as well as those of visitors especially visitors from Britain and North America Drawing on a rich array of city histories travel writing novels films newspapers radio and television programs and oral histories Vivian Bickford Smith focuses on the consequences of the depictions of the South African metropolis and the slums they contained and especially on how senses of urban belonging and geography helped create and reinforce South African ethnicities and nationalisms This ambitious and pioneering account spanning more than a century will be welcomed by scholars and students of African history urban history and historical geography Teaching Southern African Studies ,1995 **In the Shadow of Sharpeville** Peter Parker,Joyce Mokhesi-Parker,1998-06 A history of the men who were sentenced to hang in South Africa following the death of a deputy mayor in Sharpeville in 1984 The authors focus on the trial sentencing and subsequent international campaign that eventually led to their release after a stay of execution was ordered only 18 hours before the death sentence was to be carried out Their exploration of the events also leads the authors into discussions of the way the criminal justice system in apartheid South Africa was biased against blacks The source material for the book included countless interviews and letters written from Death Row Annotation copyrighted by Book News Inc Portland OR **Nightsong** Veit Erlmann,1996-03 Film documents singing and dancing by male a cappella choirs in competition isicathamiya In Zulu Footage of both performers and audience *Monarchs, Missionaries and African Intellectuals* Bhekizizwe Peterson,2000 Two case studies constitute the core around which is woven this intriguing story of the development of black theatre in South Africa in the early years of the century The first centres on Mariannhill Mission in Natal Here the evangelical and pedagogical drama pioneered by the Rev Bernard Hiss is considered alongside the work of one of the mission's most eminent alumni the poet and scholar B W Vilakazi The second moves to Johannesburg and gives a detailed insight into the working of the Bantu Dramatic Society and the drama of H I E Dholomo in relation to the British Drama League and other white liberal cultural activities from p 4 of cover The Routledge History Handbook of Gender and the Urban Experience Deborah Simonton,2017-02-03 Challenging current perspectives of urbanisation The Routledge History Handbook of Gender and the Urban Experience explores how our towns and cities have shaped and been shaped by cultural spatial and gendered influences This volume discusses gender in an urban context in European North American and colonial towns from the fourteenth to the twentieth century casting new light on the development of medieval and modern settlements across the globe Organised into six thematic parts covering economy space civic identity material

culture emotions and the colonial world this book comprises 36 chapters by key scholars in the field It covers a wide range of topics from women and citizenship in medieval York to gender and tradition in nineteenth and twentieth century South African cities reframing our understanding of the role of gender in constructing the spaces and places that form our urban environment Interdisciplinary and transnational in scope this volume analyses the individual dynamics of each case study while also examining the complex relationships and exchanges between urban cultures It is a valuable resource for all researchers and students interested in gender urban history and their intersection and interaction throughout the past five centuries

Black Student Politics, Higher Education and Apartheid Saleem Badat,1999 Black Student Politics Higher Education and Apartheid examines two black national student political organisations the South African National Students Congress SANSCO and the South African Students Organisation SASO popularly associated with Black Consciousness It analyses the ideologies politics and organisation of SASO and SANSCO and their intellectual political and social determinants It also analyses their role in the educational political and social spheres and the factors that shaped their activities Finally it assesses their contributions to the popular struggle against apartheid education as well as against race class and gender oppression

Ibss: Political Science: 1992 British Library of Political and Economic Science,1993 The IBSS is the essential tool for librarians university departments research institutions and any public or private institution whose work requires access to up to date and comprehensive knowledge of the social sciences [African Perspectives of King Dingane kaSenzangakhona](#) Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu,2017-08-06 This book examines the active role played by Africans in the pre colonial production of historical knowledge in South Africa focusing on perspectives of the second king of amaZulu King Dingane It draws upon a wealth of oral traditions izibongo and the work of public intellectuals such as Magolwane kaMkhathini Jiyane and Mshongweni to present African perspectives of King Dingane as multifaceted and in some cases constructed according to socio political formations and aimed at particular audiences By bringing African perspectives to the fore this innovative historiography centralizes indigenous African languages in the production of historical knowledge

A History of the University College of Fort Hare, South Africa, the 1950s Donovan Williams,2001 This book examines how staff and students opposed the legislation to place the college under government control and reduce its staff to civil servants The affairs of the college are discussed against the background of rapidly changing conditions in South Africa with campus disturbances and protests sometimes linked to the wider application of apartheid BOOK JACKET **The Journal of Commonwealth Literature** ,1992 Issues for 1965 include section Annual bibliography of Commonwealth literature 1964

The Portable Bunyan Isabel Hofmeyr,2018-06-05 How does a book become an international bestseller What happens to it as it is translated into different languages contexts and societies How is it changed by the intellectual environments it encounters What does the transnational circulation mean for its reception back home Exploring the international life of a particularly long lived and widely traveled book Isabel Hofmeyr follows The Pilgrim s Progress as it circulates through

multiple contexts and into some 200 languages focusing on Africa where 80 of the translations occurred This feat of literary history is based on intensive research that criss crossed among London Georgia Kingston Bedford John Bunyan's hometown and much of sub Saharan Africa Finely written and unusually wide ranging it accounts for how *The Pilgrim's Progress* traveled abroad with the Protestant mission movement was adapted and reworked by the societies into which it traveled and finally how its circulation throughout the empire affected Bunyan's standing back in England The result is a new intellectual approach to Bunyan one that weaves together British African and Caribbean history with literary and translation studies and debates over African Christianity and mission Even more important this book is a rare example of a truly worldly study of world literature and of the critical importance of translation both linguistic and cultural *Young Warriors* Monique Marks, 2008-03-01 Much has been written about South Africa's lost generation the generation of politicised youth who dedicated their lives to the liberation of a nation and who lost everything in the process *Young Warriors* is about this generation but it is also a critique of the very concept of lost generation While focussing on the lives of the men and women who lived in Diepkloof a black township in South Africa it is a narrative of many young black South Africans who grew up in the organisations of the ANC led liberation movement It is also the story of activists who became leaders provincial premiers and national ministers in our democratic society Through extensive interviews and time spent in Diepkloof Monique Marks documents the tales of a group of Chartist youth during the mid eighties to early nineties During this period participating in the Chartist youth movement fundamentally shaped these individuals lives and the future of their society Marks revisits their lives at the beginning of the third millennium in a new democratic South Africa characterised by a radical decline in this social movement Marks explores from the point of view of the youths themselves how and why township youth joined mass based political organisations and how through their involvement in these organisations their lives and identities were shaped in significant ways She examines in fascinating detail how youth planned and executed acts of political violence who participated in these acts and what justifications they offered for their involvement in collective violence The involvement of politicised youth in acts of collective violence has led to speculation as to whether or not former activist youth are responsible for the increase in violent crime in contemporary South Africa *Young Warriors* provides some tentative answers to questions about youth and crime

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