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Identity Politics in amaXhosa Dress

Perspectives on modernity and public culture in dress in the context of Post-Apartheid South Africa

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This thesis is re-submitted to the Faculty of Humanities at the University of the Witwatersrand in fulfilment of the degree. Master of Arts in History of Art by coursework and research.

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Plagiarism declaration

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Abstract

This thesis highlights a moment in the continued resurgence of 'traditional' abaThembu dress in the urban South African landscape. I use one principal case study, namely: the appearance of Chief of the Mveso Traditional Council and Member of Parliament (MP), Nkosi Zwelivelile Mandlesizwe Dalibhunga Mandela and his wife, Nkosikazi Nodiyala Mbalenhle Mandela at the State of the Nation Address (SONA) in 2015. Ensuing from their previous three SONA appearances, they appeared dressed in modernised, 'traditional' abaThembu-inspired garments, designed by South African designer, Bongiwe Walaza. Despite the couple's use of identifiably abaThembu material culture, their outfits draw from and incorporate dress styles from various other cultures.

This thesis seeks not to be an ethnographic or, strictly, a historical paper but uses "a shared reality" (Dhar 2018) to unpack the nuances of modernised 'traditional' South African dress and fashion. Located in the current globalised era, I utilise critical theory and cultural discourse (Barbera & Payne 2010: 8) of dress and identity politics. I also employ a plethora of 'unconventional' resources found online, to indicate a hybrid use of material culture. The study aims to unpack how 'traditional' abaThembu dress practices have surpassed what, Magubane (1998) called "vanishing culture[s]" to becoming a recognisable cultural signifier, in the contemporary. It unravels the nuances of how 'traditional' dress practices – amongst the abaThembu people – have evolved to inform re-imagined notions of self-writing and identity-making.

Key words

abaThembu; dress and fashion; 'tradition'; SONA; *umbhaco*; hybridity, Globalisation and Glocalisation; modernity, hegemonic masculinity; gender studies; identity politics and; self-writing.

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Introduction

They don't come here [to the State of the Nation Address] to play with you all, they come to slay. We are all here for Mandla and his wife's outfits throughout the years. Tradition never looked so good. (OkMzanzi[1] 2016)



Figure 1: Nkosi Zwelivelile Mandlesizwe Dalibhunga and Nkosikazi Nodiyala Mbalenhle Mandela arriving at the 2015 State of the Nation Address in Cape Town, South Africa. 2015. Image by Ntswe Mokoena for Power987.

This thesis looks back at the appearance of the Chief of the Mveso Traditional Council[2] and Member of Parliament (MP), Nkosi Zwelivelile Mandlesizwe Dalibhunga Mandela and his wife, Nkosikazi Nodiyala Mbalenhle Mandela at the 2015 State of the Nation Address in Cape Town, South Africa. This moment was not merely a 'frivolous' fashion moment , but is what I consider to be an extraordinary[3] moment of self-writing, hybridity, fluid gendered dynamics and political performativity, through fashion and dress[4].

[1] OKMzanzi is a South African social news commentary sight, which focuses on South African celebrity gossip and entertainment news.

[2] Nkosi Zwelivelile was inaugurated as Chief 2007, in the rural village of Qunu in the Eastern Cape province.

[3] The term *extraordinary* used here, borrows from American curator, Ariana Curtis' definition of the term in her 2018 TEDWomen Talk, *Museum Should Honour the Everyday, Not Just the Extraordinary*. This term concerns her curatorial practice that involves the representation of exceptional and inspiring stories of black American and diasporic women. She defines "being extraordinary [as] non-representative [and] atypical" (Curtis 2018). The Mandelas' SONA outfits, which draw from ethnic and 'traditional' abaThembu dress practices is atypical of the mostly, Eurocentric garments that other parliamentarians and distinguished guest wore to this event. The Mandelas' outfits and their SONA moment are, therefore, extraordinary.

[4] Dr Desiree Lewis distinguishes fashion and dress in her text; *Aesthetics and Identity in Contemporary South African Fashion* (2012). Fashion is "semiotically adventurous [and] boldly uses signifiers of change, innovation and provocation" to retrospectively create 'novel' piece. Dress, on the other hand, is "linked simply to convention, style or custom" (Lewis 2012: 72). Susan Kaiser also distinguishes fashion from dress by defining the latter as being involved with 'traditional' use of clothing (2012: 1). See Kaiser's *Fashion and Cultural Studies Reader* (2012).

The State of the Nation Address - also known as SONA - is the annual opening of the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa. At SONA, the sitting president addresses the nation in the presence of two houses of parliament; the National Assembly (NA)[5] and the National Council of Provinces (NCOP)[6], both of which make up the Arms of State (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1994). According to the South African newspaper, *DispatchLive*, SONA is the most significant event in the political calendar (DispatchLive 2009). It is the only event where all three Arms of State[7] come under one roof (DispatchLive 2009). The event is, scheduled to take place, annually, in February, in the city of Cape Town[8]. In some exceptional cases, more than one SONA sitting[9] may occur in a year. SONA boasts the attendance of eminent political leaders, including former and current presidents; MPs; members of the judiciary; ambassadors; and foreign diplomats from around the world. This political event focuses on the government's key policy objectives for the year ahead.

To date, Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala have attended five SONA events together (2013, 2014, 2015 and 2016). Each time, they have appeared in bespoke outfits, designed by South African fashion designer, Bongiwe Walaza of Walaza Designs. The garments draw inspiration from 'traditional' abaThembu dress practices while incorporating various other

[5] The National Assembly in the South African parliament consists of 400 members who represent political parties that have been elected by the country's voting population. See Chapter 4 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (1994).

[6] The National Council of Provinces consists of a body of members elected by provinces. They ensure that the provincial interests are considered in the national sphere of government. (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1994).

[7] The South African government is divided into three arms of state, namely; the Executive (the cabinet that is responsible for ruling the country); the Judiciary (the court system that enforces the laws of the land) and; the Legislature (elected members that make the laws - made up of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces).

[8] Cape Town is the legislative capital of South Africa, while Pretoria is the administrative capital. The Union of South Africa in 1910, as well the intolerant Afrikaner's *Voortrekker* migration, northward for administrative control, cemented Pretoria as the administrative capital of the country, which still stands, today (Bickform-Smith 1995; Merrington 1997). Cape Town, on the other hand, remained largely populated by European and Coloured migrants, who, according to Bickform-Smith, had a more "tolerant" social integration (1995: 2). This rendered the city of Cape Town as the legislative capital, which remains, today. Similar ethnographic and historian writers produced problematic histography and literature, which erased or minimized the presence of indigenous people, which included, amongst others, the migrating isiXhosa-speaking people. Seen as the 'last standing Colony' or the 'Republic of Cape Town', by many of its current inhabitants, this erasure is still prevalent, today. See Vivien Bickford-Smith's *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Victorian Cape Town* (1995) and Peter Merrington's *Masques, Monuments, and Masons: The 1910 Pageant of the Union of South Africa* (1997).

[9] Recently, two sittings were called by President Cyril Ramaphosa. First in February 2019, after his predecessor, President Jacob Zuma resigned on 14 February 2018. The second in July 2019, after the national elections.

garments and accessories[10] that evoke a Eurocentric history of dress. The South African social news commentary site, *OkMzanzi* describes the Mandelas' SONA outfits as being relevant and influential to the public discourse on fashion trends, politics and cultural hybridity (OkMzanzi 2016). In other words, they are seen to have an impact on both the local fashion industry and the collective cultural discourse, while maintaining the Mandelas' political capital.

This thesis analyses Mandelas' SONA 2015 outfits[11], which draw inspiration from 'traditional'[12] abaThembu dress practices while incorporating garments from various Western cultures. This performative[13] and political moment gives us insight into the broader socio-political context of the abaThembu people, and by extension, isiXhosa-speaking people. It also adds to knowledge-base of dress and fashion studies and its associated recycling of trends and dress practices. This thesis argues that this SONA moment intersects culture[14] and politics with post-colonial studies on dress, identity politics, hybridity, modernity, Patriarchy and Feminism.

However, this paper is not strictly a comprehensive, ethnographical and historical study of abaThembu people and their 'traditional' dress practices. Instead, it focuses on nuanced political and performative aspects of adornment by two highly profiled individuals, within a contemporary and post-Apartheid context of South Africa.

[10] The accessories denoted here include, most notability, Nkosi Zwelivelile's military jacket and gladiator shoes and Nkosikazi Nodiyala's matching clutch and open-toe heels. These garments are further explored in Chapter two, *An Evaluation of the Mandelas SONA 2015 Outfits*.

[11] The 2015 SONA outfit were designed by South African clothing designer, Bongiwe Walaza of Walaza Designs.

[12] The term 'tradition' is defined by Andile Mhlahlo as a "process of transferring ideas, conventions and practices, repeatedly" (2009: 42). It is timeless passing on of culture that continuously changes across history. Terence Ranger's chapter titled; *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), defines the term as being part an 'innovative' process. See Mhlahlo's *What is Manhood? The Significance of Traditional Circumcision in the Xhosa Initiation Ritual* (2009). Also, see Ranger's *The invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa* (1983).

[13] The term *performative* in dress is explored by theorists Hamera (2007); Conquergood (1991, 2002); Diamond (1996); Johnson (2003); Madison (2013); Ndabele (2016); and van der Plas (2015). The layered meanings that dress holds, coupled with the body and social space within which is it appears, gives dress a performative aspect "that yields new meaning… and that disturbs a particular phenomenon" (Madison 2013: 218). Additionally, van der Plas describes how dress is used to exhibit and perform external signs of wealth and social success (2015: 12).

[14] Culture is defined by E.B. Taylor as a "complex whole, which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs and ant other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (quoted by Barbera & Payne, 2010: 2). See Jessica Rae Barbera & Michael Payne's, *A Dictionary of Cultural and Critical Theory* (2010).

The couple's SONA 2015 outfits, cannot be neatly defined by the assumed dichotic notions of *fashion* or *dress*, which assumes racial and class ranking. Instead, the outfits reveal the 'grey-area' of the two worlds:

Understood through a 'traditional' definition, *Dress* is, in large, associated with the historic dress practices of ethnic, cultural groups – such as the abaThembu people, who are central in this study. The Mandelas' SONA 2015 outfits are, considered by some, to be strictly, ethnic outfits, because they are involved with historiography and cultural 'traditions' of isiXhosa-speaking people. Most notably, the distinct black and white design used in these garments highlights the need to define them by this term. The outfits are, therefore, seen to 'memorialise' and 'preserve' abaThembu ethnic 'traditions' and customs (Mandela 2017). Additionally, through their dress, the Mandelas actively uphold the legacy of their grandfather, Nelson Mandela. *Dress* here is used to foreground the political involvement of abaThembu people in anti-Apartheid and liberation struggles in South Africa (Mandela 2017). Through this definition of *dress*, the couple's SONA 2015 outfits reflect South Africa's present-day social [and] political environment (Sizani 2015: 18), while highlighting the historical presence of abaThembu people.

Simultaneously, the SONA outfits denote the definition of *fashion*, which is associated with the commercial fashion and retail industries. The term, *fashion* evokes the ability of clothes to transgress time and place, through the ongoing recycling of 'retro'-trends into 'novel' and seemingly contemporary garments. *Fashion* retrospectively references historical trends and gives a glimpse into socio-political environments in which the garments are worn and consumed. (Eligo 2015: 131). By this definition, the SONA 2015 outfits point to a revival, re-fashioning and ongoing renewal of collective of contemporary abaThembu identity, immersed in a globalised world. The resurgence echoes the reoccurring trends of *fashion* that continuously make their way back into the present. *Fashion* is intricately involved with the signs, rules and codes of our cultural systems. It reflects, reinforces and validates the wearers' identity and individuality (van der Plas 2015: 12). By this definition, the Mandelas are borrowing simultaneously, from the lesser-known history of the first recorded Western Cape cottonseed from the late-1500s and the import and trade of *iBayi* or cotton baize (Elliot 1970:

31) in the 1860s. *iBayi,* used in their outfits, reinforces the identity of both indigenous people and settlers.

However differing the definitions of *dress* and *fashion* may be, they both retrospectively and nostalgically look at the past in order to recreate and redesign new forms of adornment. Therefore, Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala's SONA 2015 outfits thread the worlds of *dress* and *fashion together*. Within the post-colonial discourse, the term *dress* denotes a resistance against cultural change and signifies the multitude of cultures that hold dear their traditions such as dress and adornment. Despite its contemporary form and reference to a variety of cultures outside the abaThembu community, It would, therefore, be adequate to refer to the Mandelas SONA 2015 as *dress* and not as ascribe it to the trendiness and resurgence of the world of *fashion*.

Nkosi Zwelivelile ethnically identifies as *Mthembu* of the abaThembu people, who are rooted in the rural area of Qunu in the Eastern Cape of South Africa (Mandela 2017). Recently, he embarked on a trip to Umsinga, in Durban, South Africa, to task his fellow ethnic relatives with "reuniting the abaThembu nation" under the kingship of Zwelibanzi Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo (Makhaye 2019). Often, ethnographers, make the mistake of placing, all isiXhosa-speaking people under one umbrella. However, it is essential to note that isiXhosa-speaking people constitute nine distinct ethnic groups[15], which include the abaThembu, amaMpondo and amaXhosa, amongst others[16].

Nkosi Zwelivelile also uses his cultural capital to influence our collective understanding of the abaThembu people and their importance in the South African political history. He continuously draws from his position as the Chief of the Mvezo Traditional Council and the legacy of his grandfather, revered freedom fighter and South Africa's first Black[17] democratic president, Nelson Mandela.

[15] I will briefly unpack the history and modernisation of abaThembu people in *Chapter 1: The History and Modernisation of abaThembu Fashion.*

[16] isiXhosa-speaking people are made of nine chiefdoms, which include the abaThembu, amaMpondo, amaXhosa, amaBomvana, amaMpondomise, amaXebi, amaMfengu, amaBhaca and amaNtlanwini (Carver 2017: 38).

[17] Drawing from Pumla Gqola's paper titled, *Black Woman, You Are on Your Own: Images of Black Women in Straffrider Short Stories, 1978 – 1982* (1999), I will use the upper-cased *B* in the term *Black*, to denote the African

Furthermore, as a couple, the Mandelas' names are important to note, as this is part of their identity. Their full and 'traditional names; Zwelivelile Mandlesizwe Dalibhunga Mandela and Nkosikazi Nodiyala Mbalenhle Mandela, where given to them by the Royal House of Mandela (RHoM) after their crowning and wedding ceremonies, respectively. To be able to distinguish the couple, I will refer to them as Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala, respectively[18]. The pronouns[19] on their names - *Nkosi* and *Nkosikazi*[20] – are derived from the Nguni languages of South Africa, chiefly isiXhosa and isiZulu. These languages are their respective mother-tongues. As a couple, I will refer to them as the Mandelas.

Rather than merely, insisting that their SONA 2015 outfits challenge Western epistemologies and dress practices, this thesis highlights how one moment can form part of a trajectory of the transformation of 'traditional' abaThembu dress and fashion. This moment - a macrocosm - illustrates how our dynamic and hybrid identities are continuously shifting in the contemporary and what it means to be an African in the 21st century.

Methodology

Due to high level profile of the Mandelas, I have had limited access to them. My millennial nature found both Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala on Instagram[21]. Initially there was a willingness to further engage me, via email which let my ignition introduce them to my paper at proposal stage. However, Nkosi Zwelivelile's response to me indicated not only a fear of their personal life for mainstream media, but indicated an unwillingness to correct my initial thoughts of using the umbrella term of Xhosa-dress. Nkosikazi Nodiyala on the hand

race. The term *Black* borrows its definition from the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) spearheaded by Steve Biko (Gqola 1999: 19). Similarly, when other races are referenced (such as *White* and *Coloured*), the first letter will be in upper case. By contrast, where colour is referenced (such as *black, blue* and *white*), the first letter will be in lower-case.

[18] Various published articles, refer to Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala as "Mandla Mandela and his wife, Makhathini" (Ngcukana & Huisman, 2016; Velani 2018). However, in my brief interaction with Nkosi Zwelivelile he emphasised the need to use their full, 'traditional' names as opposed to the informal, short-hand names (Mandela 2017).

[19] Other pronouns, derived from the isiZulu and isiXhosa languages, that are used to describe married women such as Nkosikazi Nodiyala include *uMakoti* – young married/newly married wife; *uNkosikazi* – singular for married women; *Ndlovukazi* – queen mother. These pronouns will be further explored in Chapter 3, *Gendered Dynamics.*

[20] The meanings behind these prefixes will be explored in Chapter 3: *Gendered Dynamics.*

[21] Instagram is "a free photo and video sharing app" (Instagram)

willingly answered some of question over email but reluctantly backed out stating that a number of the question would require Nkosi Zwelivelile, as the study is based on his ethnic identity. This was a reflective moment. A realisation and deep respect for the culture they hold dear. But it also highlighted their high profile status which must remain intact. Designer, Bongiwe Walaza was openly able to engage my questions about her fashion label and the inspiration of the design of the Mandelas SONA2015 outfits. She gave me insightful perspective and wisdom into the outfits, the design brief and various other details. Based in the Eastern Cape, she however stated that her fashion label, which was previously based in Johannesburg's Fashion District is currently on hold, for the sake of prioritising her family. Another sobering moment for the positions women take on in society and the inconstancy of the fashion worlds inability to sustain and fully embrace all designers who reference 'traditional' ethnic attires.

In light of this, this thesis adjusted its initial approach and to fully embrace the current post-colonial moment that allows various other avenues of information. It combines the use of visual and textual analysis alongside critical discourse. It also looks at the semiotics of dress in order to understand the ongoing cultural phenomena of ethnic abaThembu dress practices.

This paper starts with a brief historical analysis that places the Mandelas and their SONA 2015 outfits within the a historical trajectory of abaThembu dress practice. It then utilises visual analysis and highlights a selection of the Mandelas' garments. This interdisciplinary approach allows for the unpacking of form, structure and materiality of the garments which reflects on the layered historical and geographical context as well as the political and cultural concerns involved with 'traditional' abaThembu dress. Throughout this paper, texts and unconventional mediums of information such as YouTube videos, published news, exhibitions, podcasts and related media that enhances the research of the Mandelas outfits.

The research conducted in the thesis is an interpretative reading of the Mandelas' SONA 2015 moment. It looks back at this moment and reflects on the historical trajectories of 'traditional' dress and how they have manifested in contemporary.

Theoretical framework

This thesis integrates theoretical material related to 'traditional' ethnic dress of the abaThembu people. This research has consulted a variety of published books and journals in order to understand the historical trajectory of materials used in the Mandelas' SONA 2015 outfits. Over and above this theory, this paper merges a combination of interviews[22], written documents, published material and digital publications, that cover not only the SONA event, but the related thematic ideas of this paper. By in large, it utilises a wide range of publications, by South African news and information publications (online and on print). This thesis enables an in-depth study of how we understand the SONA 2015 in popular culture. Additionally, this thesis consults a combination of newspaper articles, magazine clippings, book reviews, YouTube and Ted Talk videos, podcasts and various other 'unconventional' forms of mass media. This use of 'unconventional' mass media places this study in the contemporary cultural and critical discourse.

Bourdieu's text, *The Logic of Practice* (1980), highlights that it is not enough to investigate culture from a distance as a writer. One needs to be engrossed in their studies and equally critical. This thesis acknowledges the influence that the Mandelas' SONA 2015 appearance has on our collective understanding of 'traditional' ethnic dress and fashion. Additionally, it elevates this research from merely being another detached ethnographic[23] study of Black culture and illustrates the influence of modernity and Globalisation in hybrid cultural material.

The study of 'traditional' abaThembu dress and fashion can be dated back to Joan Broster's 1967 book, titled; *Red Blanket Valley* and, later her 1976 book titled; *The Tembu: Their*

[22] The central subjects of this thesis, Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala, unfortunately, declined to be formally interviewed, citing the importance of privacy. The initial conversations with them, related to their cultural affiliations, emphasised the importance of their names and well as the significance and relevance of their outfits. This information was used to quantify the published material by various journalists that focus on what they wore and the SONA 2015 event.

[23] Ethnography is described by David Bloome as "a principled effort to describe the everyday, cultural life of a social group. Grounded in the cultural, social and psychological anthropology, Ethnography seeks a holistic, cultural description of the multiple dimensions, aspects, domains, institutions, activations and setting of a social group" (2013:9). See Bloome's Chapter 2: *Classroom Ethnography* in Bloome's (et al.) book titled; *Language, Ethnography and Education: Bridging the New Legacy Studies and Bourdieu* (2013).

Beadwork, Songs and Dances. After Broster's early literature, other writers have examined the historical context of ethnic dress. These writers include Elliot (1970, 1986); Mertens (1973); David Hammond-Tooke (1989); and Nettleton (1989), amongst others. The contemporary literature which focuses on the critical theory and cultural studies include writings by de Greef (2018); Cooper (2016); Farber (2010, 2015); and Nettleton (2015), amongst others.

Hybridity within Post-Colonial discourse is concerned with the mixing of unlikely cultures (Barbera & Payne 2010: 339). This concept is central to the understanding of this thesis, as it speaks the amalgamation of various cultures with 'traditional' abaThembu dress and practices. Critical theorists include Appadurai (1990, 2000, 2006); Bhabha (1994, 1998); and Hall (1990), amongst others, who formed part of the multicultural response to globalisation in the early 1990s.

Nigerian novelist, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's 2009 TED Talk[24] argues for the existence of a heterogeneous compilation of stories. She encourages a move away from narrow single stories that become identity markers (Adichie 2009). The mixing of ethnic or cultural signifiers, as seen in the Mandelas' SONA 2015 outfits, begins to highlight the complexities and multiplicities of identity in South African communities. The Mandelas' 'traditional' ethnic dress, modernised and infused with accessories from various cultures, creates what I will unpack as the *hybrid* effect. Scholar and critical theorist, Homi Bhabha coined the idea in 1994. The Mandelas are in this SONA moment, active agents who construction their individual identity. Additionally, public personas add to shaping our collective understanding of abaThembu people and their cultural practices.

Appadurai's study of Globalisation warns us of the urgent theoretical problem and its effects on cultural objects, such as the Mandelas' 'traditional' outfits. Furthermore, Emmanuel Wallertein's text, *The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis* (2000) unpacks the demise of Globalisation. Concerning Capitalism and the Colonial turn, Wallerstein defines the self-destructive nature of Globalisation, within the

[24] See Adichie's *The Danger of a Single Story* (2009).

cultural discourse. Moreover, Barbera & Payne also argue that Globalisation's end is nearing because there will be no more cultural material it can consume (2010: 160). They speak back to Magubane's early recognition of the "vanishing cultures" (1998) of isiXhosa-speaking people, which warns us of the need to preserve indigenous cultures. This thesis is, therefore, and essential study of the transformation of abaThembu people's dress in the contemporary.

Using a Marxist humanistic approach, Hall's writing intersects the discourses of race, gender and class and calls for conscious culture. His 1990 text; *Cultural Identity and Diaspora,* speaks, most poignantly, to the idea that cultural identities are in continual flux (1990: 225). Between the 1970 and 1980s, Hall used popular culture, consumption and subculture to unpack the impact of Eurocentric ideologies. Hall also theorises identity politics and political processes, which this thesis unpacks.

This paper also unravels dichotic critical discourses of Feminism and Patriarchy and 'tradition' and modernism and their manifestation in the South African context. As Bhabha emphasises, the current controversial shiftiness of the contemporary has influenced how we understand broader critical discourse (1994). This ideology of using the prefix "post" allows for a fluidity of feminine and masculine semiotics seen in the Mandelas' SONA 2015 outfits and their political and public personas. Not only do the garments themselves show this fluidly, but so does their marriage and ever-changing cultural 'traditions' and identity. They embody a sense hybridity and "culture's archaic undecidability" (Bhabha 1994: 135).

Chapter outline

This thesis is divided into four chapters:

Chapter one begins with a brief history (Comte 2014: 5) of abaThembu ethnic dress and fashion. As culture, dress and fashion 'traditions' adapt accordingly to the current socio-political landscape, one needs to reflect on the wearer's personal preference in order to understand the hybridity of the garments and integration of external cultural influences. This chapter seeks to unpack the nuances related to the Mandelas' personal, social, cultural and political histories to begin to unravel the performative moment SONA 2015. Drawing on a number of research material by anthropologists and art historians such as Broster (1967, 1976); Nettleton (1989; 2015), Ndabambi and Hammond-Tooke (1989); Elliot (1970); Farber

(2010, 2015); Cooper (2016) and; de Greef (2010, 2018), this chapter explores the broad discourse of Globalisation/Glocalisation and Modernity and hybridity, dress and the fluidity of Black identity in the contemporary. These discourses are intrinsically involved in the collective understanding of ethnic dress.

Chapter two analyses the Mandelas' 2015 SONA outfits. This chapter uses ideas of hybridity to highlight qualitative research that unpacks the dress practices of the Mandelas' SONA 2015 outfits and, more broadly, amongst the abaThembu people. The unpacked 'traditional' garments that are unpacked include Nkosi Zwelivelile's turquoise beads; his *ncebetha* – 'traditional' abaThembu kilt; Nkosikazi Nodiyala's beaded *doek* – headwrap; and the black and white stitching on both the Mandelas' outfits. Additionally, this chapter explores a selection of various garments that have a Eurocentric histography. The highlighted garments include Nkosi Zwelivelile's military-jacket; and gladiator shoes; and Nkosikazi Nodiyala's mermaid-designed dress; woven neck accessory. This chapter reveals origins ranging between the Hungarian light-horse troops, Napoleonic and French wars; the English Industrial Revolution and 17th-century Parisian history. This chapter explores the nuances between 'traditional' and Western or Eurocentric dress practices that inform the Mandelas' contemporary reimagining of 'traditional' abaThembu dress and fashion.
To reflect on the red carpet phenomena, this chapter references Victoria Rovine's 2015 text[25] which is a comprehensive and rare analysis of individual African designers. To understand Western and Eurocentric fashion terms and their history, Mary Picken's book, *A Dictionary of Costume and Fashion: Historic and Modern* (1985), is also consulted in this chapter. The work by anthropologists and art historians, located in South African and African contexts, will offset Picken's Eurocentric dictionary in order to balance the terminology and histography of garments, both in locally and internationally.

Chapter Three focuses on the gendered dynamics between Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala. This chapter unpacks the nuances in Patriarchy and Feminism and looks into what the emphasised gender roles within 'traditional' abaThembu cultural practices. The chapter reveals the transformation of long-standing 'traditions' in a modern and polygamous

[25] See Rovine's text titled, *African Fashion, Global Style: Histories, Innovations, and Ideas You Can Wear* (2015).

marriage. This chapter emphasises the dichotomies between 'tradition' and modernity, Feminism and Patriarchy and takes an in-depth look at the Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala as individuals with public personas. These nuances involve the legacy of and their relation to Nelson Mandela and the male-centric political environment of the ANC. Furthermore, this chapter unpacks the Mandelas' polygynous marriage by introducing Nkosi Zwelivelile fourth wife, Nkosikazi Nosekeni. It looks at the assumed hyper-masculinity identity of Nkosi Zwelivelile as a Black man and how he performs this identity for public consumption. Particularly within the contemporary ANC-led environment of South Africa. Nkosi Zwelivelile's atypical hegemonic masculinity is complicated when he converts to Islam, just before being able to marry Nkosikazi Nosekeni. This chapter argues that Patriarchy remains prevalent, but that his wives, begin to reveal a nuanced untangling of the oppressive system through dress practices and their respective cultural and religious beliefs.

Drawing from Pumla Gqola's essays (2017), as well her master's thesis (1999), the chapter will argue that Feminism within a Patriarchal society, is not divorced from dress practices and fashion, but that instead, it is intrinsic in our contemporary understanding of adornment. Furthermore, this chapter aims to reveal the plethora of burdens Black women carry, within the post-Colonial and post-Apartheid setting of South Africa.

Finally, **Chapter Four** unpacks the performative aspects of the Mandelas' 2015 SONA appearance and will delve into the political elements in their dress. The political elements unpacked in this chapter, draw connections between Nkosi Zwelivelile and the 1961 Elie Weinberg photograph of Nelson Mandela. The image captures the Mandela wearing makeshift 'traditional' abaThembu dress. Furthermore, to understand how the Mandelas' SONA outfits are laden with performative qualities, Soyini Madison's 2013 *text*[26] is consulted. Madison focuses on the appearance of African American actor, Victoria Rowel at the 2009 Emmy Awards ceremony. Rowel is captured, on the red carpet, wearing a Ghanaian cloth, which commemorates former American President Barack Obama. Madison argues that dress is a sign[27] that is connected, geographically to its local communities whose meaning is only

[26] See Madison's text titled, text, *Dressing out of Place: From Ghana to Obama Commemorative Cloth on the US American Red Carpet*

[27] The term sign, used here, is related to the study of semiotics, which is associated with theorists, de Saussure (1915) and Barthes (1972, 1988). de Saussure is one of the 'founding fathers' of semiology and focuses on the

significant when viewed, disseminated and inserted into popular culture. Following from the ideas of Austin (1975), Madison unpacks the performative[28], a distinct moment, as a "heightened or symbolic act that makes something, reinvents, or creates – large or small – a consequence" (Madison 2013: 218).

patterns and functions of language. Barthes, on the other hand, unpacked material culture concerning the bourgeois society and the hidden rules, codes and conventions, that penetrated every level of social life.

[28] The term*, performative* ,used here, borrows from Njabulo Ndabele's text *The Rediscovery of the Ordinary: Some new Writing in South Africa* (2016). Ndabele unpacks South Africa's literary representation as a spectacle and obscene social exhibitionism (Ndabele 2016: 32). Similarly, SONA 2015 is a moment of spectacle, and the Mandelas' outfits highlight contemporary culture, that does not necessarily concern itself with the intricate details of authentic 'traditional' abaThembu dress but more with aesthetics and popular imagination of 'tradition' and culture.

Chapter one:

A brief trajectory into the history and modernisation of abaThembu dress and fashion.

This chapter is a short overview of the history of the abaThembu people and their 'traditional' dress and fashion practices. This chapter intends to place the Mandelas' SONA 2015, abaThembu-inspired outfits within a broader South African historical and socio-political context. The scope of this thesis does not allow for a linear trajectory of the history and modernisation of the material culture and 'traditional' dress practices. Instead, this chapter highlights critical moments in history and the modernisation of dress and fashion. These moments in history and modernity are related directly to Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala public and political persons and of course their SONA 2015 outfits.

Africa has a complex history of migration, trade and social interaction. Furthermore, its vast cultural and ethnic diversity requires an in-depth study. This ongoing intercultural trade has no doubt had an impact on the continent's dress practices. Within a context of a more globalised world, dress and fashion become a visible signifier of a networked world. The continued prevalence of intercultural trade means that - even abaThembu people, who distinguish themselves - are involved in an ongoing transformation of their identity and material culture. This practice of preservation is 'tainted' by influences from various local and global cultures. No one ethnic group can lay claim to a singular identity (Uba 2017) and, as Hall suggests, cultural identities are in a continuous state of transformation. They carry with them layered and complex meaning and associations:

> Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. [However], like everything, which is historical, they undergo [a] constant transformation.
> Hall 1990: 225

Hall's 1990 study, *Cultural Identity and Diaspora*, speaks from a position in the African diaspora[29]. He argues that cultural identities exist within a linear timeframe and have origins

[29] The term *diaspora* is defined by Gordon and Anderson as a community common and unified racial experience, cultural practice and identity of people of "African" descent (1999: 282). The *diaspora* is associated with

which can be traced back in time in order for us to understand how they exist in the contemporary. Furthermore, as Gordon and Anderson assert, cultural identity over time is not stable as it varies in positionality and context (1999: 283).

Similarly, abaThembu 'traditional' dress has no one 'correct', traceable history. Different groups and communities have reinterpreted and appropriated the material culture, available to them, to suit their personal traits and current socio-political landscape. This transformation of adornment is most evident in the Nkosi Zwelivelile's outfit. He merges a military jacket with gladiator shoes. Nkosikazi Nodiyala, on the other hand, integrates a woven neck accessory with her mermaid-style dress. It is essential to not only draw from the traceable history of abaThembu people. But to acknowledge the various global influences that transform 'traditional' ethnic dress.

The Mandelas' 21st-century, hybrid-form of 'traditional' abaThembu-inspired dress, traverses both the urban and rural spaces, by, simultaneously, being 'traditional' and modern. Their outfits amalgamate two seemingly disparate worlds. Tracking the multicultural histories of dress and fashion is important in informing our collective understanding a hybridity of cultures. This chapter will thread a brief trajectory between histology to modernity, through the lens of dress and fashion.

isiXhosa and abaThembu

Anthropologists identify isiXhosa-speaking people as the Cape (or South) Nguni people[30]. Archaeological evidence shows that isiXhosa-speaking people have been in, what we now know as, the Eastern Cape province, since the early 7th-century (Carver 2017: 38). Gibson and Menell's 1996 documentary of Nelson Mandela, depicts that isiXhosa-speaking people settled in the Eastern part of South Africa, over 1000 years ago (Gibson & Menell 1996).

"absolute Black" people who are differentiated "from whites and 'near' whites (Anderson & Gordon 1993: 283). See *The African Diaspora – towards an Ethnography of Diasporic Identification* (1999).

[30] As per Bongela, people within the Nguni tribes originated from the Eastern portion of the Southern part of Africa. The migration saw them moving along the Western coast, where they settled in what was known as Xhosaland or later, the Transkei and Ciskei. (Bongela 2001: 2).

IsiXhosa-speaking people were, and in some ways, remain divided into nine chiefdom groups[31], who are related to one another through a universal language. They distinguish themselves as politically 'independent' groups, with distinct cultural practices, such as dress and ritual ceremonies (Nettleton, Ndabambi & Hammond-Tooke 1989: 39). These chiefdoms all have a common Nguni ancestor, Tshawe, and it is believed that the Xhosa and Tshawe (Switzer 1993: 39)[32] were the first 'chiefdoms' to emerge. The history of isiXhosa-speaking people is complex and a multitude of scholars have covered this discourse[33].

As noted by Knobel Sakhiwo Bongela[34] (2001), *isiduko* or a clan name is "a name used by a family unit or group of people who trace their genealogy from one ancestor" (2003: 43). This school of thought finds it essential to distinguish a particular family and its place within broader chiefdoms who share the same language. Clan names are often used to trace back the history of a family to a specific ancestor. Often, the ancestor's name intergrades into the clan name.

The abaThembu people can be traced back to their earliest known ancestor Mbulalito. His grandson, Thembu, led this community from present-day KwaZulu-Natal to Dedesi or present-day Eastern Cape (Stats SA 2014). They are recorded to have settled around the Nbashi River near the Great Kei River in the Eastern Cape province by the 17th century (Elliot 1970: 11). 'Tembuland' is located in the urbanised city centre of present-day Umtata. This area was and remains part of 'Thembuland', hence, Nkosi Zwelivelile's instance of being identified chiefly as Mthembu (Mandela 2017).

[31] isiXhosa-speaking people are made of nine chiefdoms, which include the abaThembu, amaMpondo, amaXhosa, amaBomvana, amaMpondomise, amaXebi, amaMfengu, amaBhaca and amaNtlanwini (Carver 2017: 38)

[32] Switzer's book, *Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa* (1993), notes that Tshawe – the common Nguni ancestor of the isiXhosa-speaking people – cannot be traced back to an exact historical context (1993: 39). Tshawe descendants are orally recorded to have been Togu – the third chief after Tshawe – who ruled around 1686. Togu's son, Ngconde is predicted to have ruled in the mid-17th-century "when the Xhosa, under the Tshawe royal lineage, wherein [they took] permanent occupation of territory [near] the Mbashe River, East of the Kei River" (Switzer 1993: 39).

[33] See Broster 1967, 1976; Nettleton 1989; Ndabambi and Hammond-Tooke 1989; Elliot 1970; and Pieres 1992; amongst others.

[34] See Bongela's *Isihlonipho Among the amaXhosa* (2001).

In 1958, the Apartheid regime - under the leadership of Dr Verwoerd - introduced homelands for indigenous people. The homelands caused a more brazen polarisation between the 'traditionalists' and the more 'modernised' population, amongst isiXhosa-speaking people. The South African government introduced the 'independent' homelands of the Transkei[35] and Ciskei[36] (Pieres 1992: 3). The Ciskei was never truly under the South African government's siege as it was an industrialised area with a population that mostly lacked an ethnic constituency (Piere 1992: 23). On the other hand, the Transkei had a more 'rural' and sparse landscape, which allowed for more 'traditionalist' ideologies. Nkosi Zwelivelile simultaneously embodies the 'independent' identity of the Ciskei population, as well as the 'traditionalists' ideologies of the Transkei population.

One can trace back the Mandelas' chieftaincy to the Dlomo bloodline[37] (ka Plaatjie 2013). Nelson Mandela's biographical sketch (see figure: 2) during the Rivonia Trials[38] of the 1960s, clarifies the Mandelas' genetic lineage. He states: "I am related to both Sabata Balindyebo[39], the present paramount Chief of Thembuland and Kaizer Matanzima, the "Chief Minister in the Transkei" (Mandela 1963). Matanzima[40] was widely known as "Dr Verwoerd's most sincere black disciple" (Pieres 1992: 3), and he was the President of the Transkei until 1986. Matanzima also founded the Transkeian National Independence Party, with his brother, George Matanzima. Together they "spearheaded the Apartheid 'Bantustan' system of separate territories for Black South Africans" (Mda 2013). His brother, George succeeded him. Both brothers were amongst the few 'elite' and 'educated' isiXhosa-speaking people and

[35] Transkei dominated a much larger landmass, than that of Ciskei, and was accustomed to more 'traditionalist' rules and customs (Piere 1992: 25).
[36] Ciskei was densely populated and had a more urbanised geographical landscape (Pieres 1992:25). The rare chiefdoms in this area, were not as 'traditional' as the leaders of Transkei (Pier 1992: 25).
[37] According to abaThembu oral history, the Dlomo bloodline can be traced back to the 16th Century when Nxeko merged fragmented chiefdoms to build his kingship. Nxeko's descendant Hlanga (The Great House) and Dlomo (The Right House) battled for succession, which saw Dlomo win. Dlomo descendent included Hala, Madiba, Tato, Zondwa, Ndaba and Ngubengcuka who later begot the minor royal houses of the Mandelas (Tyali 2018: 14)
[38] The Rivonia Trials of 1963 took place at the Palace of Justice in Pretoria (now TshwaneThe court accused Mandela of sabotage, alongside ten others. This includied Walter Sisulu and Goven Mbeki (amongst others). In 1964, Mandela and others were sentenced to life imprisonment and sent to Robin Island.
[39] Sabata Balindyebo was the Paramount Chief of the Thembu until 1983 (Piere 1992: 7). Chief Bambilanga Mtirara, later, exiled him (Piere 1992: 7).
[40] Matanzima was Mandela's nephew by-law and custom and was "a true believer in the policy of the territorial apartheid" (Piere 1992: 6). He led the council of Transkei, the Bunga to accepting the Bantu Authorities act of the 1950s.

were widely known to conduct corrupt activities. Nkosi Zwelivelile, therefore also embodies his forefathers 'traditionalist' ideologies of leadership and staking claim to chieftaincy.

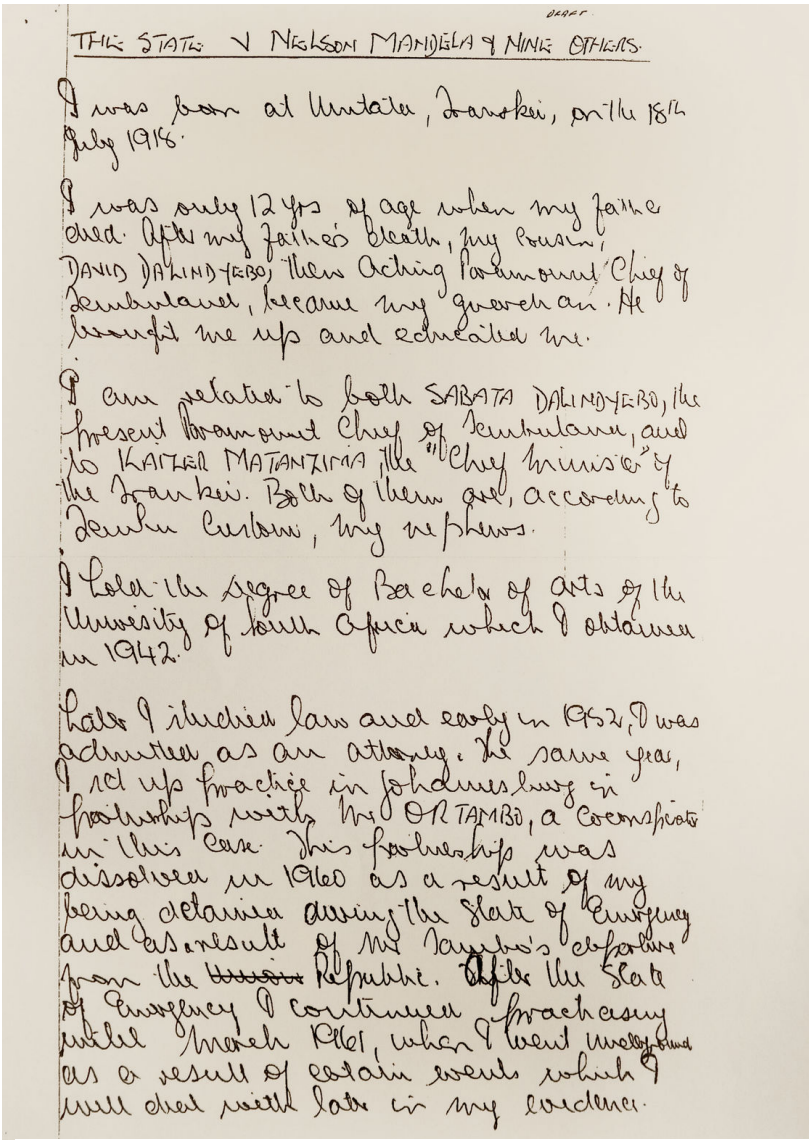
Under the 'liberation hero' narrative of his grandfather Mandela, Nkosi Zwelivelile seldomly highlights the complex and ferocious past of Balindyebo and the Matanzima brothers. But their lineage is undeniable. Mda's New York Times article[41] solidifies this familial bond. Mda highlights Mandela's inability to denounce the Matanzima's brothers, who were seen to have 'betrayed' the cause of Black liberation (2009). Nkosi Zwelivelile's present-day role as Chief and MP in parliament, retrospectively, mirrors the Matanzima brothers' dual roles as Chiefs and political leaders. This intergenerational political collapse of time and place, therefore, ties him to the 'traditionalist' ideologies of his forefathers.

Nkosi Zwelivelile - in multiple short interviews (eNCA, 2015; Jacaranda FM, 2016; SABC News, 2018) - insists that the abaThembu people are, in fact, not diluted or fluid. He states, in a brief email interaction, that "contrary to the popular myth, the Eastern Cape is not populated by Xhosas[42] only. We [the abaThembu clan] are distinct in 'tradition', culture and the manner we dress" (2017). As a cultural entrepreneur, Nkosi Zwelivelile's invention of tradition contradicts the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970. The act suggested a unified "Xhosa" homeland for all isiXhosa-speaking people. Furthermore, his stance contradicts what some writers have argued for in contemporary critical discourse on culture.

Furthermore, Chief Thando Mama, argues that there is no particular (Xhosa) *isizwe* or distinct clan. He states that Nkosi Zwelivelile's insistence on distinguishing himself from other clans is a rare occurrence in this day and age (Mama 2017). Mama continues by saying that "clothing *kumaXhosa*, especially from the AbaThembu to amaGqunukhwebe" is not entirely and related to one tribal group (Mama 2017). He further emphasises that the term "Xhosa" is, in fact, a language that is widely used by all tribal groups and tends to be loosely used to describe all isiXhosa speaking people, who may not even identify with any tribal clan (Mama 2017).. He argues that the Mandelas' are not wearing 'strict' abaThembu attire.

[41] See Mda's *The Contradictions of Mandela (2013).*

[42] When referring to the "Xhosas", Nkosi Zwelivelile is referring to the Xhosa chiefdom. Similar to the abaThembu and various chiefdoms that fall under the isiXhosa language group (Mandela 2017).



THE STATE V NELSON MANDELA & NINE OTHERS.

I was born at Umtata, Transkei, on the 18th July 1918.

I was only 12 yrs of age when my father died. After my father's death, my cousin, DAVID DALINDYEBO, then Acting Paramount Chief of Tembuland, became my guardian. He brought me up and educated me.

I am related to both SABATA DALINDYEBO, the present Paramount Chief of Tembuland, and to KAIZER MATANZIMA the Chief Minister of the Transkei. Both of them are, according to Tembu Custom, my nephews.

I later the degree of Bachelor of Arts of the University of South Africa which I obtained in 1942.

Later I studied law and early in 1952, I was admitted as an attorney. The same year, I set up practice in Johannesburg in partnership with Mr OR TAMBO, a Co-accused in this case. This partnership was dissolved in 1960 as a result of my being detained during the State of Emergency and as a result of Mr Tambo's departure from the ~~Union~~ Republic. While the State of Emergency I continued practising until March 1961, when I went underground as a result of certain events which I will deal with later in my evidence.

Figure 2: Nelson Mandela's biographical sketch during the 1963 Rivonia Trials. Image courtesy of Senate House Library, University of London.

Christopher Richards[43] echoes Thando Mama's sentiments by arguing for a "constructed, collective Xhosa identity" (2015, 112). Richards' study focuses on South African designer, Laduma Ngxokolo's label, *Maxhosa by Laduma*, which uses historical, constructed photographs of a collective "Xhosa identity" (Richards 2015: 114) to create unique knitted jerseys. The Mandelas' SONA 2015 outfits, which merges and borrows from other cultural groups, illustrates a more fluid and hybrid identity of isiXhosa-speaking people. His turquoise beadwork is an example of this fluidity of cultures, as it opposes his ideology that his outfits 'purely' represent a single ethnic group. abaThembu people do not exclusively wear this kind of beadwork because a majority of isiXhosa-speaking people have been, and continuously wear this 'traditional' accessory (Broster & Mertens 1973; Broster 1967, 1976). Moreso, the history of his gladiator shoes[44] and a military jacket[45] cannot be traced back to 'pure' abaThembu

[43] See Richards' *a New Chapter for Xhosa Beadwork: Laduma Ngxokolo and his Promotion of a Xhosa Heritage* (2015).

[44] Gladiator shoes are strappy shoes with a thick base, who histories can be traced back to the Roman Empire. They will be further unpacked in Chapter 2.

[45] Military jackets can be traced back to 18th century Hungarian light horse troopers who wore these exaggerated jackets as part of their elaborate regimental uniform. This will be further explored in Chapter 2.

'traditions' of dress and fashion. Due to the ongoing mixing of cultures and 'traditions' amongst the isiXhosa-speaking people, abaThembu dress is not, in the contemporary and urban environment, tied to a specific geographical area or genetic lineage. Thus, this thesis argues that, not only does the SONA 2015 outfits embody a fluidity, but that Nkosi Zwelivelile, himself is also hybrid in his genealogy.

The State of the Nation Address

As an event, SONA encompasses a series of widely publicised, extraordinary[46] moments and is a significant moment in the South African political calendar. The first post-Apartheid SONA event took place in 1994, after the country's first democratic elections. This event was called by the first Black and democratically elected president, Nelson Mandela – who is Nkosi Zwelivelile's grandfather. To date, there has been a total of twenty five addresses by the Presidents of the Republic. The event is broadcast live on several SABC[47] radio and TV stations, on the parliament's Digital Satellite TV service (DStv) channel, and is live-streamed on the parliament's website (sanews.gov.za) and various public viewing sites across the country. In 2017, the event boasted over 700 seat applications for public participation, consisting of regular citizens, praise singers and performers who wanted to experience and be part of the event (DispatchLive 2017). The event also incorporates other forms of public participation, including guards of honours by school groups and various civil society organisations. This indicates the event's growing popularity and parliament's core mission to ensure public participation.

As an annual event with noteworthy public exposure and societal significance, SONA begins to evidence strong performative elements (Madison 2018). As politicians and invited distinguished guests walk on the red carpet leading up to the entrance of parliament in Cape Town, they enact a unique form of fashion performance as well as emotive materiality associated with "authenticity and adherence to tradition" (Rovine 2015: 14). Rovine describes the emotive materiality evoked through dress in her text; *African Fashion, Global Style:*

[46] The term *extraordinary*, used here, must be understood as a moment in which an individual or several individuals design and assemble looks or attires to articulate a personal style and a cultural identity. It is important to note though, that even in this relatively 'realistic' moment, the Mandelas do engage in a performative action which is particularly curated for the stage of parliament, making.

[47] SABC is South Africa's state-funded broadcasting corporation that incorporates a host of TV and radio stations.

Histories, Innovations and Ideas You Can Wear (2015). The text is a comprehensive and rare analysis of individual African designers whose designs stylistically and conceptually reflect African histories and culture (Rovine 2015). Rovine's text explores histories of specific indigenous garments, the work of contemporary designers and the theoretical and thematic thread that ties African fashion to academic discourse on African fashion and design. Her framework highlights how it is, in fact, the people - both the wearer and the viewer - who interact with and tell the stories about the garments.

Statistics South Africa's[48] 2004 provincial profile report, shows that the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape provinces of South Africa had the largest number of isiXhosa-speaking people (Stats SA Report 2004). At that time the report was published, it approximated that the Eastern Cape still h the highest density of isiXhosa-speaking people, at 83,42%[49] of its population. The Western Cape, on the other hand, is made up of only 29,2% of IsiXhosa-speaking people (Stats SA Report 2004).

Despite the fact the SONA takes place in the Western Cape province, where isiXhosa speaking people are a minority, the Mandelas' SONA appearance – which is broadcast internationally - speaks to the population of abaThembu people and continues the robust legacy of both the 'traditionalists' and the political elite – whose roles mostly merged in order to extend influence in all political spheres. The Mandelas' continued SONA performativity is a way of reassuring abaThembu people that, under the legacy of the late and world-renowned 'freedom fighter, Mandela that the ethnic legacy of the abaThembu people is still entact, today.

Modernity

The term, *modernity* is a term coined by the French poet, noted essayist and art critic, Charles Pierre Baudelaire (1821-1867). The concept rose to popularity in the 1900s and is closely associated with the rise of Capitalism. It is focused on how our modern world is characterised

[48] Statistic South Africa, also known as StatsSA is the South Africa's national statistics agency that leads census about the nations populations every 10 years. It provides analytics of the nation's population number, migration patterns, language groups, educations and various other vital information that informs how the nation's population is at a particular moment in time.

by a rupture in media and migration, an idea developed by Arjun Appadurai[50] in his book titled, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (1996). In this text, Appadurai theorises the complexities of global flow and how the boundaries between subjects, cultural, economic and ethnic groups are continually being reformulated. Related to dress, Appadurai's global flows create a form of cultural chaos which accounts for the overlaps seen in clothing styles.

It is important to make a distinction between modernity and modernisation, as these terms may be easily confused. The term, modernity, as explored by author, Muthoni Kimani[51] is a concept associated with the notion of progress which is significantly different from past forms of experience. Furthermore, Jean and John Camaroff[52] define modernity as being involved with Eurocentric ideology associated with 'civilisation', social progress and economic development (Camaroff & Camaroff 1993: npn). In the African context, modernity is closely related to the colonial project, which shapes the continent's historical evolution (Cooper 2005; Greenstein, 2009; Mamdani 2018). As Macamo notes[53], the new symptom of African modernity that has formed in Africa primarily deals with the experience of slavery and colonialism (2005: 6). Speaking to the 19th and 20th century amaKholwa literati from South Africa, Hlonipha Mokoena[54] suggests that modernity was used as a matrix for the creation and re-creation of selfhood (Mokoena 2005: 52). She states that the "contest of selfhood and self-expression was not primarily a private affair" (2015: 52), but was a public display. Similarly, the Mandelas public display of selfhood through dress is evidence of the transition from 'tradition' into modernity, which signifies progress "not just in the material realm but in the intellectual and cultural realm as well (Mokoena 2005: 67). Frederick Cooper, who unpacks the use of modernity in scholarship, argues that modernity affects colonial people and that it is a goal for post-colonial development (Cooper 2005: 115). In essence , it becomes a marker through which colonial subjects can mark their transitions into modern society

[50] Arjun Appadurai is an Indian contemporary social-cultural anthropologist.
[51] See Muthoni Kimani's review of Jean Allman's book; *Fashioning Africa: Power and the Politics of Dress* (2005).
[52] See Jean and John Camaroff's, *Modernity and it Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa* (1993).
[53] See Muthoni Kimani's *Negotiating Modernity: Africa's Ambivalent Experience* (2005).
[54] See Hlonipha Mokoena's *The Making of a Kholwa Intellectual: A Discursive Biography of Magema Magwaza Fuze (2005).*

(Mokoena 2005: 67). Additionally, modernity can be defined by how different societies and cultures come into contact with others and the world (Macamo 2005: 5).

In the South African context, an example of modernity can be seen in the country's transition from a pre-colonial 'traditional' cultural formation into a modernised experience of temporality. On one hand, modernity introduced through missionaries and European settlers and their Eurocentric ideologies is seen to have been intrusive and destructive to an Africanised version of modernity. Others may argue that modernity was a sign of 'progression' and from an 'unenlightened' past. The latter brings us to the definition of modernisation.

Modernisation, as described by Anthony Giddens[55] (1991: 1), "radically alters the nature of day-to-day social life and affects the most personal aspects of our experience". In other words, modernisation is in an ongoing process that sees 'traditional' or 'primitive' experiences and material culture develop into modern forms or environments. It is thus concerned with notions of 'progress' and development. Modernisation speaks to how societies are changed by the adaptation of new technologies and infrastructures. South Africa is characterised by four distinct periods of modernisation. The first wave of modernisation occurred in the 1830s when the British took over the Cape from the Dutch and introduced legal, cultural and economic reforms. The second period of modernisation is involved with the gold rush of 1860s and 1880s. It was here when South Africa became central to the new glocal economy that used the gold standard currency. Occurring after the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), the third modernisation wave was involved with the Transvaal's post-war reconstruction and can be attributed to the arrival of Lord Milner and his cohort of Oxford-educated bureaucrats. When the country embarked on massive infrastructure projects, which included Eskom, the SABC and the development of dams, schools and hospital, the fourth period of modernisation began in South Africa. This period is also defined by the country's massive and modern welfare state geared primarily towards the White minority. Some argue that the current fourth industrial revolution, percussed by the third industrial revolution or Digital Revolution, which will see the convergence of new digital technologies such as 5G with biological and physical innovations (Schwab 2018).

[55] See Anthony Giddens' *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (1991)

Kwame Anthony Appiah[56] argues that modernisation in the African context is a "process in which Africans, along with all other peoples, seek to attain a specifically human destiny" (1992: 104). Additionally, Baker & Inglehart's notion of modernisation in Africa debunks the 20th century Eurocentric modernity that is with associated with Western 'progress'. They argue for an alternative transition in non-Western societies, who are seen to have abandoned their 'traditional' cultures and assimilated to a, supposedly, more 'superior' ways of living (Baker & Inglehart 2000: 19).

Despite all these strides, the political elite, which includes the Mandelas, are seen to be adopting 'regressing' ideas, politically, intellectually and culturally. This contrasts Apartheid 'frontier' ideology that used racism as a preferred organising principle of social relations. Today, South Africa is slowly attempting to move away from the racial devides of its past in order to carve a "clear developmental path" (Greenstein 2009: 71). Be so as it may, a cloud of regression remains amongst the political elite who "resist the traditional… authority" and who often see themselves as being "above the rules and practices" of collective socio-political environments and institutions (Gikandi 2001: 366-7). By extension, the Mandelas' 2015 SONA outfits, which combines the 'traditional' and the modern throughs its opposing garments, becomes a material symbol of these regressive ideas. The Mandelas' hybrid outfits integrate multiple cultures and attempts to debunk the notion of that modernity and 'progress are symbols of the West.

Globalisation and Glocalisation

Globalisation is involved with as vast network of transnational relations and interlinked patterns of consumption. It rapidly changes the exchange of material ideas within economic and cultural processes, making our world smaller and more accessible (Barbera & Payne, 2010: 174). Due to migration and globalisation, the mixing and migration of various global cultures has created the emergence of hybrid 'traditional' dress which integrates various other material culture from all parts of the world in their designs. Emmanuel Wallertein's text titled, *The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis*, is one of the first writers to use the discourse of capitalism and the colonial turn to

[56] See Anthony Appiah's *In My Father's House* (1992).

theorise globalisation, within the cultural discourse (Wallertein 2000).. Globalisation is also responsible for the growing cultural hegemony and it is responsible for "some of absorption of traditional lifeways of local cultural units into more dominant regional and global cultures" (Barbera & Payne, 2010: 159 - 161).

The socio-political context of South Africa has been central in the shaping and alterations of ethnic and 'traditional' attires. As George Yudice states[57], "culture in the period of globalisation has bled into economic and political realms" (Yudice 2003: 11). Culture is therefore validifies itself in its usefulness as political tool and services the increasing political participation (Yudice 2003: 11).

The Mandelas' SONA 2015 outfits are rooted in both the local and the global through the drawing of global material culture and local 'traditional' practices of dress. SONA, therefore, becomes a place for the creative consumption of culturally cosmopolitan and global cultural products that speak to the idea of Glocalisation (Ouma 2011: 174).

With this definition in mind, the Mandelas' SONA 2015 attires – which incorporate a multitude of material and accessories which are sources from various other cultures from around the world – reveal the influence of globalisation amongst the abaThembu people.

Additionally, Appadurai's 1990 text, *Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy*, is central to the discourse of globalisation and modernity. With a focus on globalisation's cultural dimensions, Appadurai examines new dimensions of globalisation and its effects on cultural objects such as the Mandela's SONA outfits. In thinking about the binaries of the modern vs. the 'traditional', which are imposed as a form of a false consciousness on African material culture, Appadurai argues that modernity is irregular and unevenly experienced.

Appadurai[58] (2006: 170) unpacks the larger phenomena of globalisation, in relation to the more local phenomenon of modernisation. Globalisation is a phenomenon in which international cultural influence infiltrated the local landscape. Modernity is not always wanting to be part of the global, but it is influenced and altered by the extent of globalisation.

[57] See George Yudice's *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era* (2003)
[58] See Arjun Appadurai's *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimension of Globalization* (2006).

Appadurai unpacks modernity's relation to the global flux of globalisation and the impact these influences has the local or the concept of locality (Mudekereza 2017: 21). In the case of Nkosi Zwelivelile's military-style jacket, which highlights the phenomena of globalisation and glocalisation, not only speaks to 18th-century Hungarian light horse troopers but draws from contemporary international pop culture images and figures such a Michael Jackson. Michael Jackson's iconic dress which often included a trademark military-style jacket draws parallels to Nkosi Zwelivelile's SONA 2015 jacket. Both attires how the global transmission of modernity in pop culture. Appadurai describes modernity as a "continually changing moment in the mobility and history of capital" (Appadurai 2006: 170). Furthermore, he explores the idea of globalisation in the text, *Grassroot Globalization and the Research Imagination (2000).*

The ethnographic museum space is framed by activities of preserving and dissemination of various cultures for educational and research-based purposes. Museums are not neutral (Anderson 2018; Coffee 2010; Curtis 2019). Despite being didactic, American curator Ariana Curtis describes museums as being guilty of historical misrepresentation" It is within this context that the history and evolution of dress, as well as, global museum and cultural influences, can be seen. One such example is seen in Wits Art Museum's 2015 exhibition *Beadwork, Art and the body: Dilo tše Dintshi/Abundance*, co-curated by Professor Emeritus Anitra Nettleton and Christopher Richards which showcased the museum's extensive beadwork collection which is an important part of South Africa's visual and material culture (Petersen 2015: npn). The museum's reach and influence is also an important element in the dissemination and propagation of a culture, its people and how they can be identified. These spaces evolve and adapt to the current socio-political environment, and are in turn part of the shaping of the material culture they collect, make and/or display. However, the evolution in museums is slow and often out of touch with the dynamic changes happening in public space. Regarding the beadwork on display, Appadurai's notion of globalisation was evident. The objects showed a dynamic influence of international cultural exchange and showed how the local landscape was in constant flux in response to modernity and globalisation.

Glocalisation differs from globalisation in the sense that it is "a relative[ly] fixed spatial configuration in the deterioration driven by globalisation" (Mudekereza 2017: 27). Combining the terms *globalisation* and *localisation*, *glocalisation* considers both local and global.

Sociologist, Roland Robertson coined the term in 1980 when he wrote that glocalisation "meant the simultaneity – the co-presence – of both universalising and particularising tendencies" (Robertson 1995: 25). The term is often used in business, where products are adapted from global markets into local markets. If we unpacked the Mandelas' SONA 2015 outfits in terms of the term, glocalisation, we would see how international and global codes of dress get adapted and integrated with local 'traditions' to create new *glocal* identities (Cooper 2015). For example, the military jacket that Nkosi Zwelivelile wears, not only has origins in 18th century Hungarian light horse troopers, as a symbol of war, masculinity and strength in battles but it becomes adapted to the localised Frontier Wars between the Nguni people of Southern Africa and the British. The jacket has both a global and localised perspective in hegemonic masculinity. Furthermore, Nkosikazi Nodiyala's matching clutch bag and pump heals draw from global material culture, particularly of the West, while the rest of their outfits borrows from local abaThembu 'traditions' of dress and adornment. While globalisation is charged with cultural homogenisation, glocalisation is more culturally friendly in that that it anchors material culture to an individual's context and their needs. Their outfits embody a sense of hybridity as they forge new ways 'tradition'.

As artist, writer and curator Antonio Eligio (Tonel) describes in the chapter titled, *Habaneros in Body and Soul*, globalisation and modernity and homogeneity are linked (Tonel 2015: 133). (Expand or remove)

Hybridity

Hybridity at its core, is a biological and zoological term that has been adapted into culture. In this sense, it is, therefore, concerned with the cross between or a mixture of cultures. The term is widely used in post-colonial, identity, race and globalisation discourses. Principle theorists who unpack the idea of hybridity in post-colonial discourse include, Homi Bhabha, 1994; Pal Ahluwalia, 2001; Barbera & Payne, 2010 and; Stuart Hall & Gieben, 1992. Ahluwalia argues that hybridity and the mixing of cultural material is part of African history (2001: 12). Barbera & Payne define hybridity as "the idea of occupying in-between spaces; that is, of many, composite, or syncretic entities, new formations, creole, or intermixed peoples" (2010: 251). Furthermore, Mokoena highlights that in Africa, and other colonised parts of the world, hybridity and contested identities defined and continue to define colonial discourse (2005:

76). Related to fashion theory, Erica de Greef[59] (2010), Leora Farber[60] (2010, 2015) and Nicola Cooper[61] (2016) unpack the dynamic of hybridity of dress in the South African context.

In contemporary South Africa, the idea of hybridity and the integration of cultures has become more and more prominent. Bhabha[62], a key figure in post-colonial studies, who explores the idea of hybridity and illustrates how colonised people have constantly been in a process of resisting colonial power (Bhabha, 1998: 106). He argues for histories constant intrusion in the present which changes our understanding of cross-cultural relations (Bhabha 1998: 106). By wearing a military-inspired jacket, Nkosi Zwelivelile brings forth a history of colonial resistance in the Frontier Wars as well as his grandfather's protest against White supremacist powers of Apartheid in his 1962 court appearance wearing a Kaross made of jackal skins. The 2015 SONA outfits challenge and resist the continuing colonial forces of neo-capitalist colonialism that continue to hold and control a large majority of the country. Additionally, the outfits threaten the unified, 'rainbow' state by emphasising ethnic distinctions. Castello's idea of how "people identify themselves primarily with their locality" (Castello 2010: npn) is relevant to Nkosi Zwelivelile's choices in expressing his ethnic identity through dress. By simply highlighting a particular ethnic group, Nkosi Zwelivelile subtly points to the longstanding 'tribalism' that has been and remains prevalent in both rural and urban socio-political environment in South Africa.
This form of tribalism evoked in Nkosi Zwelivelile ethnic dress, contrasts the ANC's central mission of providing "Freedom for All" and reignite segregation laws such as the Group Areas Act of the Apartheid era and the clashes between Zulu-based party, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the ANC supporters just before the country's first democratic elections.

Furthermore, Bhabha explores the emergence of multiculturalism, which is seen in new cultural forms (Bhabha 1998: 120). Hybridity is particularly important in the African context as it seeks to represent the iteration of cultures of non-Western and non-normative ethnic

[59] Erica de Greef is currently the curator of the Costume Institute at Zeitz Museum of Contemporary Art Africa in Cape Town, South Africa.
[60] Leora Farber is a South African scholar and lecturer at the University of Johannesburg (UJ) in Johannesburg, South Africa.
[61] Nicola Cooper is a trend analyst, entrepreneur, brand consultant and former lecturer at the London International School of Fashion (LISOF) in Johannesburg, South Africa.
[62] See Antony Easthope's *Bhabha, Hybridity and Identity* (1998).

groups using a combination of material culture from other cultures. Hybridity, as defined by Bhabha, is the in-between third space, that synthesises cultural differences in post-colonial contexts. The Mandelas' choice of ethnic dress, in my opinion, speaks greatly to their resistance to colonial power and their insistence of preserving the abaThembu culture, particularly through dress. It also speaks to the need redress colonial strongholds that hold back Black people back.

With emerging discussions on design and decoloniality, the fashion industry is slowly beginning to challenge and critique the current status quo od dress and fashion. In South Africa for example, designers such a Laduma Ngxokolo who is inspired by beadwork from his Xhosa heritage; Sindiso Khumalo who draws on her isiZulu and Ndebele heritage and Stoned Cherrie who weave new African identity and aesthetic dismantle the Anglo-European epistemologies of dress and fashion. This phenomenon of decolonising fashion is also evident in the South African fashion house, Black Coffee's designs, that dismantles "Western-centric fashion discourse" (de Greef, 2010, p. 173). Black Coffee, by South African designer, Jacques van der Watt, occupies a space between history and imagination. His design starts with a deeply referential approach, just as the Mandelas' SONA 2015 outfits do with their reference to abaThembu 'traditions'. Black Coffee's designs are later formulated into a timeless and slow body of work. Just at the Mandela's SONA garments slowly change over the years, keeping abaThembu culture as the core reference point, Black Coffee's collections similarly draw from specific inspirations and use a constant and on-brand design of geometric interplay. Furthermore, Black Coffee mixes cultural signifiers[63] creating "beautifully hybrid[64]" garments that aim to "unsettle the fixed and controlled cultural identities from, and of the global South" (de Greef 2010: 172). Farber's text, *Africanising Hybridity"? Toward an Afropolitan Aesthetic in Contemporary South Africa* (2010), foregrounds three contemporary designers, Sun Goddess, Stoned Cherrie and Strangelove and their use of both African and cosmopolitan aesthetics is revealed through their garments (Farber 2010: 29). She unpacks the necessity of creating a space for unexplored non-Western epistemologies and practices

[63] Black Coffee is a South African fashion label founded in 1998 by Jacques van de Watt.

[64] As seen in Erica de Greef's essay Tracing the Quite Cultural Activism: Laduma Ngxokolo and Black Coffee (2018), the term "Beautifully hybrid" is quoted from South African pop culture critic, author and journalist Adam Levin who described Black Coffee's Mercedes-Benz New York Fashion Week debut in 2010.

and argues that South African designers and their garments are "agents of socio-cultural change in post-1994 South Africa" (Farber 2010: npn).

Dress and Fashion

Dress, as Professor of Anthropology at the Northwestern University, Karien Tranberg Hassen writes about in the text, *The World in Dress: Anthropological Perspectives on Clothing, Fashion and Culture*:

> touches [both] the body and faces outward toward others, dress has a dual quality. This two-sided quality invites us to explore both the individual and collective identities that the dressed body enables. Hassen 2014: 372.

Hassen argues[65] that dress is a constructive and inclusive term used to avoid ambiguities surrounding distinctions between cloth and clothing (Hassen 2004: 371). Hassen follows dress scholars, Eicher & Roach-Higgins's[66] reading that refers to dress as mixture of body modifications and adornments (Hassen 2004: 371). Eicher and Roach-Higgins have done extensive work in defining dress, by not only providing a comprehensive definition of dress, but by also exploring the linkages between identity and dress (1992). The dismantling of Western-centric distinctions of African dress and the reframing and reclaiming of African 'traditional' dress is rapidly changing in order to adapt to current socio-political environments. There are other problematic terms such as 'costume' that have been for a long time been associated with 'traditional'. This thesis will instead use terms such as dress and fashion to speak to the interchangeability and hybridity of fashion and other terms like glocalisation, hyper-masculinity, hyper-sampling, hyper-visibility taken from contemporary and postcolonial[67] thought (Bhabha, 1994; Farber 2010, Gqola, 2010; 2015; Cooper, 2016) to

[65] See Karen Tranberg Hassen's *The World in Dress: Anthropological Perspectives on Clothing, Fashion and Culture* (2004).

[66] See Joanne Eicher & Marry Ellen Roach-Higgins's Dress and Identity (1992).

[67] The term, post-colonial is involved with the predecessor period of colonialism and the past and present effect it has left. Furthermore, Christopher Ouma argues that post-colonialism is concerned with "global developments" and the aftereffects of an empire (2011: 38). Additionally, post-colonialism, as unpacked by Chika Okeke-Agulu, is not only about a literary discourse that came after independence but is about the continuing realities of imperialism (2015: 12). Theorists that consider the theory on post-colonialism include Appiah, 1992; Gaylard, 2005; Huggan, 2001; Hulme, 1994; Moore-Gilbert, 1997; Quayson, 2000 and; Said 1989; amongst others.

index the methodology of this paper as well as to question and dismantle problematic ethnographical and anthropological discourses associated with Black bodies and 'traditional' ethnic dress.

'Traditional' abaThembu attire, like most other material culture of African people, has for a long time existed in ambiguous space between 'craft' and 'art', activated and sanitised in the museum, because of their close association with the human body and the functional values ascribed on them. In comparison to European fashion and dress, which is far more established, African dress tends to be identified with ideas of 'craft', similar to the way African art is defined in relation to art from the West. Literature on African dress by writers Joan Broster (1976), David Hammond-Tooke & Prof Anitra Nettleton (1989) and Aubrey Elliot (1970, 1986), shows a strong interest in adornment, craft and textiles from the colonial era. In these texts, a homogenised idea of African identity tends to come through. But ideologies of static 'tradition' and non-Western clothing that are often associated with defined through the lens of ethnic groups, are shifting and being re-debated and making way for ideas about cultural fusion (Farber 2010, 2015; Cooper 2015). The remix of old and new creative practices in fashion speaks to what Susan Mullin Vogel (2018) describes as "material morphosis" that re-evaluates and innovates material objects which are often associated with 'African' culture and dress. The context (museum, social or public event) in which these material objects appear in as well as the bodies that they cover creates new layered meanings that takes the garments though processes of transition and change within a contemporary, modern and urban spaces**.**

The fluidity of black identity, 'tradition' and abaThembu dress in the contemporary:

The black aesthetic is rooted in the Black Arts Movement[68] of the 1960s and "radically revaluates Western aesthetic ideologies", in order to foreground Black nationalism and black cultural consciousness (Barbera & Payne, 2010: 81). To rewrite the Western aesthetic, 'traditional' African aesthetics are reimagines and centralised. Mirroring the Black Art

[68] Located largely in the United States of America, the black Art Movement of the 1960s was "committed to propagating the ideology of Black cultural nationalism" (Barbera & Payne, 2010: 82). This mirrored the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in South Africa, which was spearheaded by anti-Apartheid activist, Steve Bantu Biko.

Movement was the Black Conscious Movement (BCM) of Steve Bantu Biko in South Africa. It too, was a separatist movement that seeks and continues to praise a collective Black cultural values system, which is separate from Western and Eurocentric ideologies.

Today, we are seeing a new crop of young artists, curators, writer and cultural producers who are also reclaiming their heritage. But unlike the tribal' traditionalists of the past, young and emerging cultural practioners are more fluid in their expression of their unique heritage and cultural identity. For example, Mini South Africa's #MINIModernAfricanGentleman campaign of limited series edition of Clubman cars with singer-songwriter, Langa Mavuso and artists Baba Tjeko and Tebogo Malope (Whitefield and Rice 2019).

This example is a commercially driven campaign that uses young influencers to increase and market the sales on a contemporary vehicle. It contrasts the Mandela's SONA 2015 appearance, which provokes the preservation of a broader ethnic group through an individualised and performative dress practice. Nonetheless, they are both contemporary moments of widely publicised display and preservation of ethnic cultural symbols. Moreso, the campaigns gendered approach, which centralises the man – more fluid in identity than the Nkosi Zwelivelile – again speaks to the gendered[69] and patriarchal ideology that persists in the contemporary.

The Mandelas' SONA 2015 appearance, embodies through his dress that borrows from various 'traditions' and black aesthetics. Their SONA moment embodies what Paul Taylor[70] describes as the "fluidity of Black identity" and the evolution of Black identity that balances the defining the self and reflects a contemporary and fluid of Black collective identity (Taylor 2007: 627). The Mandelas unpack, through their abaThembu-inspired dress, the multifaceted and collective Black aesthetic of 'traditional' dress styles.

[69] The notion of black identity, masculinity and patriarchy is further explore in Chapter 3 – which unpacks gender dynamics.
[70] See Paul Taylor's *Post-Black, Old Black* (2007).

Simone Aziga[71] (2013) discusses the evolving phenomena of dress in African American and Diasporic cultures. Her study is "an explorative study of black style and black identities as seen through the fashion blogosphere. It explores how the fashion blogosphere has allowed individuals of Black African descent to advance sartorial representation of Black identities in fashion media, as well as the visualisation of black style" (Aziga 2013: iii). She explores ideas of post-Black style and tackles the problematic portrayal of Black subjects in fashion media (Aziga 2013: iii). Despite her focus on African-American dress in the age of blogs, Aziga thoughts run parallel to my research on dress in the contemporary and political South African landscape. Her ability to argue for the influence that the style of Black subjects has on the contemporary notion of Blackness (Aziga 2013: 1) speaks to the influence the Mandelas' 'traditional' SONA attire, forms part of the collective understanding of contemporary ethnic dress. Aziga cites Stuart Hall's[72] (1996) ideas about the insertion of Blackness and its influence on popular culture and signals how black culture remains peripheral in the mainstream fashion discourse. Black style, according to Aziga has defined a sense of self despite the far-reaching exclusions of Black bodies (Aziga 2013: 3). Similarly, the Mandelas use their ethnic identity and 'traditional dress to reinsert their Blackness in a Eurocentric political environment.

It is important to note that records of the dress of indigenous Southern African people, including those of the isiXhosa-speaking people of the Eastern Cape, are limited and mostly offer a singular view by White writers and historians who passionately examined and dissected black material culture. Many of the photographed Africans were part of a colonial archive which holds a nostalgic value (Mokoena 2016: 215). Jeffrey Horsley has created an inventory list of fashion exhibitions from 1971 to present day, in response to the exhibition, *Fashion: An Anthology by Cecil Beaton* at the Victoria and Albert Museum (2014: 170). There has been a steady rise in fashion exhibition activities, in many Western museums, unlike those in Africa, which has assisted in the documentation of dress and fashion developments in the West. Additionally, the limited resources in African dress and fashion has seen an increased in ethnographical recordings such as those of Broster 1967, 1976; Elliot 1970 and; Mertens

[71] See Simone Aziga's *On Black Style: Black in the Blogosphere* (2013)
[72] See Stuart Hall's *What is 'Black' in Black Popular Culture* (1996)

1973. Nettleton, Ndabambi and Hammond-Took discuss this problematic phenomenon in their text, *The Beadwork of the Cape Nguni*:

> Because of the rather haphazard collecting practices of the nineteenth century explorers and travellers in Africa, and because of the general lack of adequate documentation of these later collections now in European and South African museums, it is almost impossible to reconstruct any kind of accurate picture of its (read: the fashion's) development before about 1945. (Nettleton, Ndabambi and Hammond-Took, 1989: 43)

There is a multitude of writers who have captured, explored and documented the lives, material cultures and traditions of the isiXhosa-speaking people. A common thread seen in the texts about the isiXhosa-speaking people is a fear and realisation of a, supposedly, "vanishing culture" (Magubane 1998) at the hands of modernisation, urbanisation and the introduction and sustaining of Western civilisation. In this so-called "vanishing" phenomena, what does it mean when a significant political figure, such as Nkosi Zwelivelile, appears in 'traditional' abaThembu dress at a widely publicised political event such as SONA? Does the inclusion of non-'traditional' garments and accessories, such as gladiator shoes, military-like jacket and matching clutch and heels sustaining or erase the ethnic culture of isiXhosa-speaking people and the abaThembu? Even though Nkosi Zwelivelile's *ncebetha* – 'traditional' abaThembu skirt has a strong resemblance to 'traditional' dress designs of isiXhosa-speaking people, it is also not the 'authentic' design. Therefore, it is not only the gladiator shoes, military jacket and clutch bag epodes the "vanishing" phenomena, but the entire modified outfits. This complication of what is considered 'authentic' and 'traditional' not only highlights the Mandelas' need to maintain and enhance their ethnic culture, but makes evident the ideologies of modernity, 'progress' and a hybridity of cultures.

Bongela, in his text, *isiHlonipho among amaXhosa* (2001), is also concerned with the arrival of Western civilisation, the spread of Christianity, and thus, the erosion of isiXhosa-speaking people's culture and its cultural practices. He speaks to the "erosion of the Black heritage resources because of the Apartheid policies of the past which focused attention only on Whites" and how there "was indeed a failure of those charged with conservation of heritage

resources to meaningfully involve the majority of the population of South Africa" (Bongela 2001, 91). This resonates with the research and preservation of the material culture of indigenous people of South Africa in museums.

CHAPTER 2

Proposed evaluation of the Mandelas' SONA 2015 outfit



Figure 3: 2015. Nkosi Zwelivelile Mandlesizwe Dalibhunga Mandela arrives at the 2015 State of the Nation Address with his wife, Nkosikazi Nodiyala Mbalenhle Mandela. 2015. Image by: Department of Culture.

Streets leading up to the South African parliament are closed off and secured, red carpets are rolled out ahead of the political event of SONA. South African flags are hauled out to fly in all their glory, the official parliament choir, military parade and military bands get ready to perform and some multi-cultural audiences are strategically placed along the rail leading up to the entrance of parliament – to resemble and celebrate the 'rainbow-nation' ideal of South Africa. Politicians and members of parliament parade into the parliament in their best dress and journalists line up to capture each fashion *faux pas*[73] and the awe-inspiring outfit.

This chapter critically examines the Mandelas' 2015 SONA outfits, in order to foreground the hybridity of culture that the outfits evoke. I chose to analyse their 2015 outfit, instead of their other SONA outfits (2013, 2014 or 2016), as I believe that this is the first moment where we see the Mandelas truly embrace a modernised and hybrid look that is infuses non 'traditional' garments with identifiably "traditional" design elements. This chapter not only embarks on an analysis of the garments themselves, but also unpacks the fashion label, *Bongiwe Walaza Designs* by Bongiwe Walaza who designed the Mandelas' 2015 SONA outfits. The designs of South African designer, Walaza will be analysed in relation to the ongoing trend of ethnic

[73] Faux Pas is a French term that has been adopted in the English language to describe social blunder or mistake (See Merriam Webster: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/faux%20pas) or an embarrassing or tactless act (See Oxford Dictionaries: https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/faux_pas). It directly translates from the French language as literally a false step. Paired with the word Fashion, the phrase describes a moment where the wearer's dress/outfit is inappropriate either for their body (ill-fitting) or for the event (inappropriate, over or underdressed).

dress aesthetics that have been made popular by bloggers, fashion magazines and influencers across varying social media and printed publications.

The Mandelas at SONA

Prior to the Mandelas; 2015 appearance, Nkosi Zwelivelile appeared barefooted and accessorised his outfits with 'traditional' accessories such as the cowhide oval-shaped shield and beaded *knobkerrie* (see figure 4). Nkosikazi Nodiyala, on the other hand, wore more beaded accessories around her neck and arms in the 2013 and 2014 renditions, while her 2015 SONA outfit featured no beadwork. Instead, her beadwork was replaced by a modern fabric collar that resembled a 'traditional' open-lace, beaded necklace. Each year their outfits are similarly styled with Nkosi Zwelivelile's *Ncebetha* - 'traditional' skirt and Nkosi Nodiyala's black beaded headwraps. Progressively, their four SONA outfits and appearances slowly point to a move towards a more modernised stylisation of 'traditional' dress.



Figure 4: Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala appearing at the State of the Nation Address, in Cape Town, South Africa. From left 2016, 2015, 2014, 2013.

When it comes to 'traditional' ethnic dress and how it is understood in relation to more Westernised forms of dress, a sense of "implied ethnic purity" is evoked (Durham 1999: 389). This reading encourages and denotes tropes of an 'untouched' and 'authentic' material culture devoid of the perils of colonialism. However, this argument falls flat when we begin to analyse the Mandelas' SONA's outfits which are not exclusively of abaThembu dress

'traditions'. The outfits incorporate garments from other cultures such the military-inspired jacket and gladiator shoes that are worn by Nkosi Zwelivelile and point to the notion of hypersampling.

Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala's attires embody this fluidity and display an undertone of tension between the rural and the urban, the historical and the contemporary, the 'traditional' and the modern. 'Traditional' dress is associated with the rural environment that strongly upholds ethnic and cultural practices while the urban environment has been associated with the modern. However, the Mandelas' SONA 2015 outfits blur these distinctions by enabling 'traditional' and, supposedly, 'rural' material culture to coexist with modern forms in an urban, political and contemporary environment, though dress. Additionally, Nkosi Zwelivelile combines the past and the present by, simultaneously, evoking abaThembu's history in battle as well as Nelson Mandela's 1961 Weinberg image and 1962 court appearance[74], with the contemporary political moment of SONA.

Each year, South Africans are treated to varying styles of dress worn by politicians, dignitaries and invited guests of parliament. In this SONA moment, we witness - what de Greef[75] refers to as - fashion tendencies that "persistently favour predominantly Western aesthetics and discourse" (De Greef, 2018: 173). Three-piece suits and elaborate evening gowns that borrow from Western dress aesthetics are commonplace at SONA. This draws parallels to what is seen on many red carpets in Hollywood. The Mandelas' outfits, however, disrupt the Eurocentric dress aesthetic by introducing modernised abaThembu-inspired garments. What distinguishes the outfits as 'traditional' is a combination of 'traditional' abaThembu inspired garments such as Nkosi Zwelivelile's *ncebetha* skirt, his turquoise beadwork which hangs across his torso and Nkosikazi Nodiyala's the beaded *doek* (headwrap). What makes their SONA outfits identifiably 'traditional' and of abaThembu inspiration are the black stripes that line the hems of both Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala's skirts and dresses, respectively.

[74] In 1962, Nelson Mandela was sentenced to five years in prison for illegally leaving South Africa without a passport and for inciting mine-workers to stay away from work between 1 April and 31 May 1961 (reference: The P… News 1961 – see clipping)

[75] See Erica de Grief's 2018 text *Tracing the Quiet Cultural Activism: Laduma Ngxokolo and Black Coffee*.

On the other hand, their outfits also have non-'traditional' garments which modernised their interpretation of what contemporary abaThembu dress can look like. Integrated into their outfits, are garments which are distinctly identifiable as non-Thembu pieces, such as the gladiator shoes worn by Nkosi Zwelivelile in 2015 and 2016; his military-style jacket and his penguin-style Tuxedo jacket, worn in 2015 and 2016 respectively. Non-Thembu pieces are also seen in Nkosikazi Nodiyala's clutch bag worn in both 2014 and 2015 as well as her pump shoes seen in her 2014 and 2013 SONA looks. Additionally, the A-line and mermaid silhouette of Nkosikazi Nodiyala's dresses, in the 2015 and 2016 SONA renditions, are derived from Western fashion styles.

The Mandelas' SONA outfits designed by South African designer, Bongiwe Walaza, reshape sources of inspiration and draw from cultural pasts to recreate and fuse local, regional and global influences.

The Mandelas, begin to blur the distinctions between what is defined as Eurocentric or Western fashion and 'traditional' and ethnic abaThembu dress forming, what VIAD defines as "hybridity and hyper-sampling" (2016) in the 2015 exhibition, *Hypersampling Identities, Jozi Styles,* which was held at the University of Johannesburg. The exhibition documented the work "by young, male fashion designers and design collectives producing men's' wear, as well as the work of stylists, photographers, sartorial groups, and trendsetters within their milieu" (Hypersampling Identities, Jozi Style 2015). The showcased photographs, videography and staged garments focused on contemporary South African subculture that is influenced by elements of 'traditional' and contemporary popular cultures (Hypersampling Identities, Jozi Style 2015).

Cooper also spoke about the idea of hybridity and hyper-sampling in the presentation titled, *Preservation of African Fashion from Global Misappropriation*, alongside influencer, Trevor Stuurman; creative consultant, Malcome Ché and; designers Chu Suwannapha and Maria McCloy, at the *Black Portraitures III: Reinventions: Strains of Histories and Cultures* (2016) conference, which took place at the Turbine Hall in Johannesburg. Cooper uses the term, hypersampling in defining the borrowing, appropriation & fusing of various elements to form new fashion styles (Cooper, Ché, McCloy, Stuurman & Suwannapha 2016). Additionally, the

VIAD exhibition, *Hypersampling Identities, Jozi Style* (2015), unpacked how hypersampling was intricately art of subculture in contemporary urban South African subculture. The term hypersampling was used to define the overarching theme of the exhibition. The exhibition "[was] a combination of photographs, videos, garments, films, archival materials and installations focusing on emergent and established performances by South African subcultural[76] groups" (Hypersampling Identities, Jozi Style 2015).

Additionally, South African scholar and UJ lecturer, Leora Farber alongside founding director of the Museum of African Design (MOAD), Aaron Kohn and artist, Dario Calmse further unpacked the term hypersampling in the session presentation titled, *Refashion(ed)!! And Deconstructing the Portrait* moderated by artist and scholar M Liz Andrews*,* which took place at the *Black Portraitures III* conference. Central to Farber's paper was the 2014 - 2015 work of the subcultural groups The Sartists and Khumbula. Hypersampling looks back at a past and reinterprets and imitates what was previously seen to create adapted and new forms of fashion styles. Cooper's research is important as it unpacks the 'refashioned' garments, similar to that of the Mandelas, that remix and adapts retro styles to create new signified meanings in a post-colonial context (Cooper 2015). By transversing temporal and geographical terrains, the SONA outfits become symbols of the fluidity of cross-cultural exchanges as a result of cultural migrations, glocal material culture (Cooper 2015).

Walaza: The Designer

The outfits worn by the Mandelas in 2015, were designed and made by South African designer, Bongiwe Walaza who founded the fashion label, *Bongiwe Walaza Design*s. Born in the rural village of Mqanduli[77] in the Eastern Cape province, Walaza is a qualified electrical engineer (1987 – 1990) who turned her career around, after realizing her long-standing passion for fashion which was ignited by her mother, who was also a seamstress. Walaza's fashion design career as a designer, which spans over 20 years, was initiated before her

[76] The notion of the subcultural is a long-standing sociological concept and was refined in relation to fashion and style by Hebdige in the text, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (1979) as well as Muggleton's text, *Inside Subculture: The Post-modern Meaning of Style* (2000). Kay Mchunu in the article, *Izikothane Youth Phenomenon: The Janus Face of Contemporary Culture in South Africa, African Identities* (2016) Defines sub-cultural groups as groups that "suggest opposition to a predominant culture" (Mchunu 2016: 5).

[77] The village of Mqanduli in the Eastern Cape is only 26 away from the Qunu, the village that Nkosi Zwelivelile reigns over as chief. The village name is named after a nearby hill of Xhosa origin meaning grindstone-maker.

studies began at the Fashion at Natal Technikon in 1997 when she informally created dresses for herself and close friends and colleagues. Walaza's fashion company, *Bongiwe Walaza Designs* was founded in 2003. She has showcased her collections in New York (2001); and Paris (2008); amongst other major fashion capitals, and was thrust her into the spotlight and popular imagination in the 2000s. She has designed garments for various celebrities such as the Mandelas and her collections have been commissioned by Indian, Japanese and Switzerland embassies who were, particularly, interested in her distinctively 'African' designs (Madikwa 2001; W24 2007).

Walaza is well known for her use of *isiShweshwe*[78] material, a heavily contested material defined as being "one of the defining markers of cross-cultural dressing across all its uses in this African context" (du Toit 2017: npn) by Nettleton in the introduction of Julliette Leeb du-Toit's book, *Isishweshwe: A History of the Indigenisation of Blue Print in Southern Africa* (2017). Her designs also often integrate satin, taffeta and velvet materials to give them a modern twist (see figure 5 & 6).

Walaza's designs incorporate A-line dresses (see figure 5); tiered skirts (see figures 7 & 8), 1950 styled dresses intricate sleeves and collars and puffy shouldered jackets, all of which come from Victorian Britain and late 19th Century European influences. Additionally, her collections incorporate modern shapes like asymmetrical tops and dresses (see figure 5) with 'traditional' isiShweshwe fabrics making her an Afro-traditionalist designer (Jacobs 2004). She often borrows from and reinvents 'traditional' dress from isiXhosa-speaking people to create timeless and authentically African garments for the contemporary African citizen (Timse 2009). As quoted in her interview with Zenoyise Makiwa for Sowetan-Live, Walaza re-

[78] Art historian, senior research associate and part-time lecturer, Juliette Leeb-du Toit's book*, isiShweshwe: A History of the Indigenisation of Blueprint in Southern Afri*ca (2017), unpacks isiShweshwe complex history using photographic references. I*siShweshwe* is an indigo dye cotton whose history dates back to Arab and Phoenician trade. Leeb-du Toit indicates that early precursor of isiShweshwe originated from the East, particularly India (2017). Its arrival to South Africa is recorded to have taken place during in the 18th century when Hungarian Gustav Deutsch started manufacturing and printing the material. Da Gama, a well-known South African textile company "bought the trademark rights from a United Kingdom company" in order for them to produce the fabric locally (Holmes 2013). Today the most popularly sold isiShweshwe material is Three Cats, a trademark of Da (Holmes 2013). Today the material is largely made near King William's Town in the Eastern Cape Province and widely worn by Xhosa and Sesotho-speaking women. The exhibition, *The isiShweshwe Story: Material Women?* (2013-14) which was curated by Wieke van Delen and Juliette Leeb-du Toit also covered the history of the material in southern Africa.

engineers both local and international influences and “incorporating modern global culture and the ever-present and ever-increasing Chinese influence” (Makiwa 2011).



Figure 6: A Bongiwe Walaza design on the runway. Mercedes Benz Fashion Week Africa. 2013. Image by Simon Deiner/SDR Photography

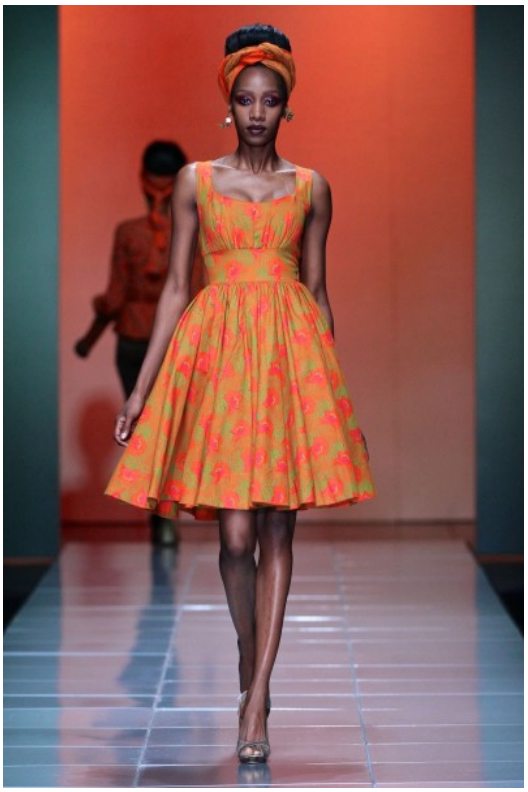


Figure 5: A Bongiwe Walaza design on the runway. Mercedes Benz Fashion Week Africa. 2013. Image by Simon Deiner/SDR Photography



Figure 7: A Bongiwe Walaza design on the runway. Mercedes Benz Fashion Week Africa. 2013. Image by Simon Deiner/SDR Photography



Figure 8: A Bongiwe Walaza design on the runway. Mercedes Benz Fashion Week Africa. 2013. Image by Simon Deiner/SDR Photography

The amalgamation of Victorian Britain and 'traditional' from the isiXhosa-speaking people of South African makes her garment hybrid in nature and speak to the prevalence of glocalisation – the combination of both local and global material culture. Using hems with trademark black 'traditional' lines at the hem of her dresses as well as and bold stitching, Walaza strives to create designs that draw from her Xhosa roots while remaining authentic to her ethnic 'traditions' of dress and adornment. She uses a range of earthy browns and variations of blues, vivid oranges and reds with touches of yellow, green or turquoise in her stitching or intricate headwraps. Her designs blur the boundaries between formal and casual wear and are created to enhance the shapely contours of a woman's body. She creates timeless and 'traditional' garments with a focus on the silhouette, which is evident in Nkosikazi Nodiyala mermaid shaped dress that emphasis her feminine features while remaining functional and unique. Walaza's designs are closely comparable to her contemporaries, Stoned Cherrie and Sun Goddess who both also integrate isiShweshwe material and draw from 'traditional' and ethnic dress forms to creating truly modern African collections and designs that blur the boundaries between 'traditional' and contemporary, ethnic and modern. These designers create Afro-centric collections and draw from South African cultures. Additionally, all three designers have inspired endless reinterpretations of their designs which are available from the shops around the Market theatre precinct in Johannesburg and many other outlets.

Walaza's signature use of a cross-cultural material and hybrid garments that transverse geographical, temporal and cultural distinctions is continued in the SONA outfits she creates for the Mandelas. Instead of using broad Xhosa influences, as seen in her collection, Walaza narrows down her design for the Mandelas' SONA outfits by using 'traditional' influences from the abaThembu people and incorporating Hungarian and Roman influences in the form of the military jacket and gladiator shoes. This cross-cultural form of dressmaking is seen not only in the very shapes of the garments themselves but through the insertion of key pieces as seen in Nkosi Zwelivelile's military-style jacket (SONA 2015) and tuxedo jacket (SONA 2016).

Colour and significance of material

Not only are material and textiles used functionally to create garments, but they are laden with complex and nuanced meanings, making them tools of communication that inform us of

socio-political climate they are used and made in but about the bodies that wear them. Ranging from commemorative cloths made in Ghana, to *Bogolan Fin* – a mud cloth from Bamenda of Mali or the *Ndop* – a resisted dyed cloth, from the Bamileke people of Cameron to the agbada – the robe of the Yoruba tribe in Nigeria, cloth is a major form of expression that Africans use to express personal, religious, social and economic ques that the wearer embodies. The Ghanaian cloth, for example, is used to express different statuses and conditions – some are used by royalty, others by priests, some for mourning, others at weddings.

With a long history of an established textile and apparel industry, South Africa is the most competitive textile and material producers in the Southern African region. Despite its depreciation from its formative Apartheid years, when the textile industry was self-sufficient and protected to satisfy local demands, the industry has managed to account for 4% of the manufacturing employment. It currently faces strong competition from Chinese imports and inflation and currency fluctuations. Despite this, Johannesburg remains one of the hubs for the textile trade, with many emerging designers located in the Fashion District[79] in Johannesburg. Walaza, for over five years, had her designer shop in the district on Pritchard Street but has since moved out, due to low demand for her products (Walaza 2019). Since the closing of her designer shop in the Fashion District, she has refrained from reopening another store and has taken a break from producing another clothing range (Walaza 2019), leaving a gap in the textile and fashion industries.

[79] The Fashion District, located in the central Business District (CBD) of Johannesburg in the Gauteng province, is a designated area for the development of the fashion industry in South Africa. The district is made up of 26 blocks and includes a mixture of design and manufacturing shops as well as an outdoor ramp and amphitheater for fashion shows.



Figure 9: Mini Matt material available at Fashion District Wholesalers in Johannesburg CBD. 2017. Image by author.

Textiles can be used to give insight into the social, religious, political and economic complexities of many African societies in which they are used and valued. In the case of the abaThembu people, the material used to create their 'traditional' attires, is white cotton baize or *iBayi* (Elliot 1970: 31). For variation in colour – similar to that of the Mandelas' 2016 and 2013 outfits – isiXhosa-speaking people use *imbola* (iron oxide) or *mdiki* (red clay powder) to dye garments to be a red-orange colour as well and to smear their skin (Costello 1990: 7). It is this practice that has distinguished isiXhosa-speaking people from other ethnic groups which led to the distinguished identity of the 'red-blanket people', which has been known to be used by ethnographers (Broster, 1967; Eve 2003, 371). *iBayi* is the same material used for Nkosi Zwelivelile's skirt and most of Nkosikazi Nodiyala's dress. Long-standing tradition includes processes of dying the material using red ochre to achieve a tinted white shade or intense brick red shade (Elliot 1970: 31). The example of mini matt fabric, seen in Figure 10, is the more accessible and machine-made equivalent of the fabric available at Fashion District's Wholesaler shop in Johannesburg CBD. This material comes printed with the iconic black stripes seen in the Mandelas' outfits. For better quality, often, the black shoelace-sized bias binding on the hem of 'traditional' *umbhaco* is stitched to the fabric and finished with mother-of-pearl buttons. 'traditional' *umbhaco* is stitched to the fabric and finished with mother-of-pearl buttons.

The red ochre colour of their 2016 and 2014 SONA outfits indicate origins from the dying practices of the isiXhosa speaking people of the Eastern Cape. Their 2013 and 2015 outfits, on the other hand, incorporate white cotton sheeting and draws on white's symbolic association with spiritual purity. White or red-ochre cotton garments, with black bias binding, continue the expression of 'traditional' cultural praxis by signifying either spiritual enlightenment or social standing. The colour white is standard in 'traditional' ceremonies

amongst the isiXhosa-speaking people. Conversely, the amaMpondo and amaMpondomise people are the exceptions, with their preference for blue (Costello 1990: 8). White was originally used as a sign of mourning and later developed an affinity to white cotton sheets as opposed to the red ochre dyed sheets. Additionally, the colour white is "a symbol of transition prior to acquiring a new status" (Costello 1990: 8). The white fabric is used in, for example, important ceremonies such as the coming-of-age initiation ceremonies for young girls and boys as well as *intlombe* ceremonies for young adults of marriageable age (Costello 1990: 25). The latter ceremony is where we see men wearing white wrap skirts – *ncebetha*, similar to that of Nkosi Zwelivelile. According to Costello, the colours navy, white and pink are preferred for middle-aged abaThembu men like Nkosi Zwelivelile. Additionally, white is colour symbolic of spiritual purity; whereas the combination of black and white have carries a more ominous association (Elliot 1970: 31). However, the colour white in the Mandelas' 2015 SONA outfits does not speak to a closeness with the spiritual realm which is typical in the practice of *Sangomas,* for example or does not symbolise the acquisition of a new status, as evident in *intlombe* ceremonies. It, instead, signifies an aesthetic choice in design that has become commonplace in contemporary 'traditional' dress.

Walaza, the designer of the Mandelas' SONA outfits was given a brief to create garments that draw from 'traditional' abaThembu dress (Walaza 2019). In the 2015 rendition of SONA, she was asked to created *umbhaco* which incorporated the colours blue and white. As Walaza is not accustomed to creating exclusively 'traditional' abaThembu *umbhaco*, she was tasked to research abaThembu ornaments and dress; and, ultimately, use the information she gathered as inspiration for her designs (Walaza 2019). Her unique selling point as designer incorporated not only isiXhosa-speaking people's 'traditional' dress but those of various other cultures brought together by *isiShweshwe* material.

Beadwork

Beadwork[80], amongst the isiXhosa-speaking people, holds significant value and meaning. It is often featured in important ceremonial events such as weddings, initiation or reed ceremonies and marks the identity, wealth, status and rank of an individual (Costello 1990:

[80] According to Webster's *Third New International Dictionary*, beadwork can be defined as ornamental work in beads (Gove 1986: 190).

13). Furthermore, beadwork amongst isiXhosa-speaking people plays a communicative role between genders and courtship. When one sees a man wearing 'traditional' beadwork, it can be assumed that the jewellery was made by a woman in their life and most cases by their wife, mother or aunts (Zungu 2000: 31). Two assumptions can be made about Nkosi Zwelivelile's turquoise beads. The first is that perhaps Nkosikazi Nodiyala gifted him the beads to signify her love for him. The second would be that the designer, Walaza created or bought the beadwork. The latter is most likely the case, as Nkosikazi Nodiyala has shown no public interest or skills bead-making. Moreso, because Walaza would have been briefed to contextualise and create all elements of their SONA 2015 outfits, including the beads.

A number of ethnographic sources have used beadwork to create a homogenised and flattened narrative of the various isiXhosa-speaking groups. For example, the controversial photographs in Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's[81] *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928 – 1954) showcase curated photographs of African subjects in staged environments (Godby 2010). As part of the portraits, Cronin encourages his sitters to wear and display 'traditional' items such as the beadworks documented in his Bhaca portraits (Duggan-Cronin archives: 1319, 1390 & 1321). Additionally, authors Broster (1967), Elliot (1970) and Broster & Mertens (1973) form part referenced histories steeped in problematic aggregations of power and prestige among different isiXhosa-speaking peoples.

Beadwork as Nettleton (2014) states, embodies a sense of hybridity and modernity and allows "indigenous cultures to establish modes of resistance in new 'traditions' that challenged dominant, particularly western, controls of dress and appearance.

Various isiXhosa-speaking groups have a preference for particular colours when it comes to beadwork. The colours red, white, turquoise and occasionally pink are used widely in beadwork designs across the isiXhosa-speaking people of South Africa (Broster & Mertens 1973). At the 2015 rendition of SONA, Nkosi Zwelivelile wears *obulwandle* (turquoise) blue beads which signify "sea sand which is clean and pure" (Zungu 2000: 57). Beadwork, amongst

[81] Alfred M. Duggan-Cronin is an Irish born immigrant who began taking photographs of migrants in 1904. His colonial portraits were controversial to his insistence on actively intervening in the sitters poses and choice in dress (Richards 2015: 113). See Geary 1986, Morton & Edwards 2009 and Godby 2010.

the isiXhosa and isiZulu-speaking people, is associated with exchanges between young lovers, where a young girl will give her lover turquoise blue beads to proclaim a love for him (Zungu 2000: 57).

The choice of colour turquoise, is often not commonly worn by the abaThembu; who are conversely, often seen wearing a darker dull shade of blue. The bright turquoise is a colour associated with the Gcaleka (Broster 1973: 9). Nkosi Zwelivelile's turquoise beads resemble a baldric, which Mary Brook Picken describes as a "belt, band, or sash [wore] regalia-fashion for decoration or usefulness, formerly to support a sword or bugle" (Picken. Baldric's can be dated back to the 18th-century where soldiers and knights wore this as part of the regiment uniforms. The term is derived from the ancient Germanic element, *bald* which translates to bold or brave and *ric* which translates to power or rule.

Additionally, we see that the turquoise beads that Nkosi Zwelivelile wears are in fact only worn with the white ensembles.

Instead of being made of the leather, as was seen in ancient Greek and Roman military uniforms, Nkosi Zwelivelile's baldric is made from glass seed beads, which date back to the late 18th century and early 19th century trades from between the British and South Africa. The beads were imported from Venice. According to Dawn Costello[82], the first beads were brought to South Africa by Arab slave traders and the Portuguese and later by the Dutch and English (1990: 2). In addition, as noted by Nettleton[83] (2015), 'beadwork was made to adorn the body" and, along with "materials such as seeds, stones, bones, seashells… and ostrich eggs", were sewn together and used to signify status or prestige (Nettleton 2015, 3). It is clear, that Nkosi Zwelivelile wears his beadwork to signify his status as not only an MP but as the grandson of Nelson Mandela, a respected politician and freedom fighter and most importantly as the Chief of Mveso traditional council.

[82] See Dawn Costello's *Not Only for its Beauty: Beadwork and its cultural Significance among the Xhosa-Speaking Peoples* (1990)
[83] See Prof Anitra Nettleton's *The Art of Beadwork: Wits Art Museum Collections* (2015).



Figure 10: Detail of Nkosi Zwelivelile's military jacket. arriving at the 2015 State of the Nation Address in Cape Town, South Africa. 2015. Image by Ntswe Mokoena for Power987.

The military-styled jacket

In the Mandelas' 2015 SONA are what journalist Sino Majangeza[84] describes as "traditional outfits with a modern twist" (Majangaza 2015). Nkosi Zwelivelile made a bold fashion statement by combining *ncebetha* – a 'traditional' abaThembu skirt worn largely by men – with a military-style jacket and gladiator sandals. He wears a fitted military-inspired jacket with a stiff high collar that resembles a Chinese collar. The jacket is fastened in the front with brass buttons.

The designer, Walaza was given a rigid brief to create a "princely-look" that drew from abaThembu's history in the Frontier Wars and the liberation of Black people. The jacket needed to accompany 'traditional' turquoise beadwork (Walaza 2019). Nkosikazi Nodiyala confirms, in Majangeza's article, that the military jacket is indeed an embrace and remembrance of colonialisation and the Frontier Wars that took place in the Eastern Cape (2015). She adds that her husband "wanted his look to highlight both his tradition, while also paying homage to the military" (Majangeza 2015).

Nkosi Zwelivelile further states in the Daily News article by Zodido Dano and Nontando Mposo that they "always go for outfits that represent and celebrate our [abaThembu] heritage and the Eastern Cape. This time we added a bit of reference to the colonial history… which is part of embracing our history" (Dano & Mposo 2015). Pointing more specifically to the influence of abaThembu, Nkosi Zwelivelile further describes the inspiration behind their SONA outfits, in an SABC News interview with journalist Xoli Mngambi as follows: "our outfits are always inspired by our heritage, tradition and culture as abaThembu nation located in the Eastern Cape. As you know, we come from the Royal House of Mandela. So we always try [to] carry that with us everywhere" (Mngambi 2015). He further states: "we decided to put a little tweak to it, mainly because of the Frontier Wars that we have had in the Eastern Cape. As you know,

[84] See Sino Majangeza's *Mandla Salutes Frontier War* (2015).

we have had 100-year war with the colonial heritage of the past and we thought, let us embrace that that as a family, speak about who we are in the Eastern Cape and promote our cultural heritage" (Mngambi 2015).

The military jacket, which references the Frontier Wars – recorded to have taken place between 1779 and 1879 – speaks back to how the wars that took place in the Eastern Cape shaped the future of colonised people and the occupation of land and resources. The abaThembu people were allies to the amaMfengo who were known subjects of the British colony (Broster 1973: 7). They fought the abaGcalekas (who represented the indigenous people who were defending their position against the British) in the 8th Frontier War of 1877 and together with the amaMfengo defeated the abaGcalekas (Broster 1973: 7 -8). The abaThembu, together with the amaMfengo were largely fighting on the side of the British and represent a side of history that is romanticised and problematic. The abaThembu, along with the amaMfengu entered an alliance treaty with the British "in exchange for land, Christian education and evangelisation" (Mokoena 2016: 218). This problematic historical reference is further unpacked in the performative qualities of dress (in chapter 4), where we see how the Mandelas co-opt a divisive formula related to tribalism as opposed to a unifying ideology that the ANC attains for.

Known as the "frontier Africans" (Mokoena 2016: 222), their involvement was part of the efforts to retain, defend and secure land in the aftermath of the colonial expansion of the British empire and the pressure from other clans displaced by the strong Zulu empire (Mokena 2016: 218). Additionally, the isiXhosa-speaking people have been among the first Black African people to encounter White settlers in the 16th Century (Nettleton, Ndabambi, Hammond-Tooke 1989: 39) and were involved in wars that took place in the early settler years (Elliot 1970: 11). Their involvement in the history of South Africa, its early interaction with settlers and the fierce fight against oppressive elements, cements Nkosi Zwelivelile's instistance on preserving their culture and position in South African's "collective colonial memory" (Peires 1989: 11). This need for retaining and defending one's culture echoes in the Mandelas efforts to preserve their own culture and its significance through their SONA outfits.

The military jacket's predominant colour is black and it has white and turquoise stitching and embroidery details along the cuffs and tail flaps. The jacket's highest button is loosely opened, revealing a bare neck underneath. The jacket is embellished with white tasselled epaulettes, an ornamental shoulder piece, on the shoulders.

The military jacket can be traced back to 18th century Hungary where light horse troopers wore exaggerated jackets as part of their elaborate regimental uniform (Payne, 2015). It also has its roots in the 19th century French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars (Christian 2016). Similarly, some of current its design aspects, like its braided dolman, were seen on Spanish hassars in the Napoleonic Wars of 1803 – 1815 (Newark, 2009: 205). The military jacket, the core of a soldier's uniform, is often associated with authority, status and masculinity. Jennifer Craik[85] (2005), describes uniforms as involving:

> images of order and discipline, and imply characteristics of respectability and status. In addition, uniforms are more than that for they are also normatively masculine. (Craik 2015: 38)

Uniforms concern themselves with social and professional standing and distinguish one's ranking and status. They also imply stateliness and nobility and in some cases regality and royalness – traits which fitting for Nkosi Zwelivelile. In thinking about Craik's definition of uniforms and their association with status and respectability, one is able to see how Nkosi Zwelivelile's integration of the military jacket denotes an attempt to reflect his status and create an image deserving of respect - not only for the abaThembu people, but to the Mandela name. When looking at the history of the military jacket seen in the monarchs of France, Russia and England, the jacket adorning Nkosi Zwelivelile also brings into focus a display of virile manliness and an assertion of his power. His masculine role and appearance in relation to Nkosikazi Nodiyala's feminine-equivalent outfits, and presence, is unpacked on in Chapter 4.

[85] See Jennifer Craik's *Uniforms Exposed: The Proliferation of Uniforms in Popular Culture as Marketers of Change and Identity* (2005).

How, then, did the influence of the military jacket - which is traced back to 18th century Hungarian and 19th century French and Russian armies - make its way to the Eastern Cape and the abaThembu people? According to Hlonipha Mokoena, in the article titled *Johny Fingo: War as Work on the Eastern Cape Frontier* (2016), the military jacket and similar garments made its way into isiXhosa-speaking communities, through Mfengu levies who bought second-hand European clothes and military uniforms (Mokoena 2016: 219). Although tainted by colonial desirability, African men displayed "an inventiveness in their dress" that commanded a presence (Mokoena 2016: 215).

The lapels at the bottom of Nkosi Zwelivelile's jacket are reminiscent of the French *les Incoyables* (the Incredibles) who wore carefully tailored signature square coats with outlandish proportions. Their lapels were much wider.

Nkosi Zwelivelile's brass buttons that lead up the collar of his jacket have a long history among the abaThembu people and White traders in the Cape Colony. Brass beads become more popular among the abaThembu in the 19th century (Barrow 1806: 2, Shaw and Van Warmelo 1988: 465, 621 cited by Nettleton, Ndabambi and Hammond-Tooke 1989: 40). The round neck and stiff-looking collar (that stands upwards) is lined with silver epaulette braiding, which resembles the historic Indian Nehru jacket, a tailored suit jacket popularly seen in the 1960s and 1970s – that consequently influenced British fashion in the late 20th-century. Often paired with trousers, the neckline of this jacket facilitated a new trend in men's fashion where the wearer would be able to show off his undershirt, tunic, turtleneck - or in some cases - a beaded necklace that became a popular element of dress in male youth during that time (Lutz 2014).

The jacket's stiff collar is reminiscent of the British-style jackets of the 1780s (see Figure 12 & 13) that became popular in France. The French, unlike the British, enjoyed more elaborately embroidered styles with embellishments. The jackets of that period were influenced by a country lifestyle which included sportswear, riding jackets and hunting coats.

Although the elaborate French jackets (figure 12) predominantly had floral embroidery along the arms and bottom seams, Nkosi Zwelivelile's jackets takes on a similar decorative aesthetic but, instead, with silver epaulette braiding.



Figure 11: Suit, French. 1774 – 1792. Silk. Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 12: Ensemble. French. C. 1790. Silk, linen. Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 14: Noe Vasquez and Joe Vasquez, Latino youths, who reported to the Los Angeles Police department, after being attached near Union Station by a gang of sailors, who slashed their clothing, during the Zoot Suit Riots in Los Angeles, California. 10 June 1943. Photo by Anthony Potter Collection/Hulton Archive/Getty Images.



Figure 13: Zoot Suit, c. 1947, in the Collection of Roger K. Burton.

Dandyism and the suit

As the suit evolved, it was used as a subversive tool and form of rebellion particularly amongst subcultural groups. For example, the Zoot suits (see Figure 15) worn by Mexican-American *Pachucos* in Los Angeles during World War II. During that period, the government placed strict clothing rationing. Young men and women wore oversized suits as a "unpatriotic" act, - which ended - the infamous Zoot Suit Riots of 1943. These

riots involved violent clashes between the wearers and the servicemen who found the rebellion disrespectful.

Unlike Nkosi Zwelivelile's supposed rebellion through dress, the Latino youths of the 1940s were engaged in more substantive acts of rebellion - in often violent environments - where their bodies and clothes were used in protest. In this light, Nkosi Zwelivelile's 'rebellion' becomes insignificant and speaks is known as the 'Béyoncification' of African fashion and clothing. This phenomenon involves the circulation and wearing of African aesthetics amongst elites, such as celebrities and politicians. It has become popularised in recent years with multinational luxury brands like Louis Vuitton, Fendi and Stella McCartney using the 'African' aesthetic of print and colour in their designs. This has, however, yielded little to no impact on local fashion industries and instead has been criticised as global appropriation[86] of black cultures.

The military jacket has been revamped and has reappeared in many reiterations including, but not limited to, anti-establishment movements within music and popular culture such as punk, 90's grunge and through the likes of King of Pop, Michael Jackson's signature style which influenced various other musicians such as Rihanna and Chris Martin from the band Coldplay (Payne 2015). It is interesting to see how Nkosi Zwelivelile revamps the jacket in relation to 'traditional' abaThembu symbols of dress, thus evoking a hybrid and modern form of ethnic dress.

Ncebetha – a 'traditional' abaThembu kilt

Nkosi Zwelivelile pairs his military-style jacket draped with blue beadwork with *incebetha* (a 'traditional' abaThembu kilt). Skirts are defined by Picken as garments that "hang below the waist" or a "separate garment covering the body below the waistline" (Picken 1957: 306). In most Western conventions of dress, skirts are largely worn by women and girls but in 'traditional' abaThembu dress, men are often seen wearing skirts similar to the one worn by

[86] According to author and associate professor at the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER), Hlonipha Mokoena, cultural appropriation is the borrowing, in whole or in part, of elements from another culture without acknowledgment (reference: Press reader, Sunday Times Nov 2016, https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sunday-times-1107/20161127/284425623585400)

Nkosi Zwelivelile. The Scottish tartan kilts are an example Western 'traditional' form of a skirt that involve men.

Nkosi Zwelivelile's skirt features two thick lines which are made up of appliqué thin stripes that follow the curve of the hem. The hem is finished with *amatekeyana* (tiny plastic buttons) which hold down the edge of the skirt. Costello points out that the "number of rows of black braid around the bottom of a skirt indicates the status" of the wearer" (Costello 1990: 6).

Unlike the mass-produced mini matt material, the hemline detail on the Mandelas' garments were individually stitched using a sewing machine by Walaza (Walaza 2019). Walaza stated that despite having the option of using a material with printed black stripes, it was important to create high quality, handstitched items that drew closely from 'traditional' Xhosa traditions of dressmaking (Walaza 2019).

Nkosi Zwelivelile's *incebetha* is by far the most 'traditional' element in the Mandelas' 2015 SONA outfits as it references particular ethnic dress customs of the abaThembu people. However, this design is not exclusive to the abaThembu people as it is often incorporated in *umbhaco* of varying isiXhosa-speaking people. Once again, the skirt dismantles Nkosi



Figure 16: 1973. Young men of the abaThembu Tribe in full beaded-dress. Image by Alice Mertens.



Figure 15: Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala arriving at the 2016 State of the Nation Address in Cape Town. Image by Joylene van Wyk.

Zwelivelile's specified identity of the abaThembu people, evoking Thando Mama's argument for the non-existence of any distinct clan (Mama 2017).

Nkosi Zwelivelile's *incebetha* is comparable to those worn in Alice Martens' 1973[87] photographs of young abaThembu men (see Figure 16). In both instances. *iBayi* (white cotton baize material) is used and the hem and edges are decorated with the distinct black lines. The difference, however, appears in how the skirt is layered. The young abaThembu men elaborately layer their *incebetha*, creating a tiered aesthetic of abundance. This sense of draping indicates a luxurious sense of fashion that existed in the 20th century, where no expense was speared and draping was used as an indicator of wealth. When Indian-produced fabrics (such as cotton baize) arrived in Africa, their expense, weight and colourfulness lent itself to layering rather than tailoring. Nkosi Zwelivelile's skirt, on the other hand, uses only one layer and indicates more austere times in which fabric is carefully tailored to save fabric. This tailored way of dress is also a nod to Western dress norms of dress in which less fabric is used.

[87] Joan Broster, alongside photographer, Alice Mertens, recorded the customs and fashions of isiXhosa-speaking people in the book, titled *African Elegance* (1973), which claims to be one of the few remaining recordings of disappearing custom and culture. The book also has over 160 pages of both black and white and colour photographs of the various isiXhosa-speaking people in 'traditional' dress. It is important to note that the photographs in this book can be squarely defined as being part of colonial photography that played a crucial role in shaping European's imagining of Africa. This type of photography remains problematic as it defined the colonial 'Other', while reducing and simplifying racial and cultural differences.



Figure 17: Detail of Nkosi Zwelivelile's 2015 SONA outfit. Gladiator Shoes and hem of ncebetha. 2015. Image by Joylene van Wyk.

The Gladiator

According to Margo DeMello[88], feet and footwear carry deep social and cultural significance and inform us of the gender, sexuality, class and culture of the person attached to them (2009: 10). The kind of shoe dates back to Palaeolithic times, was found in Oregon and was made of grass and sagebrush (DeMello 2009).

As Indigenous (African) ethnic groups interacted with migrating cultures from the West and elsewhere, shoes became more accessible, thus, altering some elements in 'traditional' dress. Footwear was introduced for protection and later marked the social status of the wearer (DeMello 2009: 10).

In an African context, sandals made from natural materials such as leather and wood that are decorated with beads and shells, are commonly worn (DeMello 2009: 10). Nguni speaking people, including isiXhosa-speaking people, prefer to wear *imbadada (*'traditional') shoes as part of their ethnic outfits. As shoes were connected to the status and class of their wearer, chiefs and high-ranking elites 'traditionally' wore expensive *imbadada* sandals that were elaborately beaded and decorated (DeMello 2009: 10). Furthermore, barefoot 'traditions' were common in the presence of kings and chiefs as a sign of respect (DeMello 2009: 11). It was only in the 20th century and after the arrival of colonisation that shoes became more accessible and affordable to the masses. *Imbadada* sandals made from leather and natural materials, increasingly became the suitable replacement for barefoot 'traditionalist'.

In previous years (2013 and 2014), Nkosi Zwelivelile appeared at SONA barefoot, which resembled a more 'authentic' interpretation of what 'traditional' abaThembu dress may have

[88] See Margo DeMello's *Feet and Footwear: A Cultural Encyclopedia* (2009).

looked like. One would think that the Nkosi Zwelivelile would have continued to either appear bare foot or wear *imbadada* in order to further emphasise the preservation and showcasing of 'traditional' abaThembu ethnic culture. But instead, Nkosi Zwelivelile opted to wear ancient Roman-inspired, black gladiator sandals made of leather in 2015. By introducing the gladiator sandals, Nkosi Zwelivelile moves towards a modernised version of 'traditional' dress.

The utilitarian strappy sandal known as the gladiator has ties to the ancient Roman and Greek empires. The sandal was worn by Roman gladiators who travelled long distances and who needed sturdy, comfortable and durable soles during fights. After the fall of the Roman Empire, gladiator sandals became less popular until they emerged in the 1960s on runways. Designer, Paco Rabanne featured gladiators sandals in his 1968, runway show and widely distributed spread in Vogue magazine, which ultimately popularised the shoes. The hippie counterculture of the 1960s took to gladiator sandals, making them a staple. Their popularity dipped once again but their resurgence occurred after designer, Gianni Versace showcased them in his 1993 Spring Collection. Today's revival was prompted by Calvin Klein's featuring of Roman gladiators sandals in the 2002 Spring/Summer campaign.
Today, in South Africa, the leading the design on *imbadada* sandals is the Durban-based luxury footwear brand, iFele who make hand-crafted footwear inspired by the aesthetics of dress of the Nguni people of South Africa.

Gladiator sandals and their history in relation to the Roman gladiators is tied to the notion of manliness. Not only were these kinds of sandals historically worn by men, but in the African context, leather shoes – the material from which these shoes are made – are associated with male craftsmen (DeMello 2009: 10). This reinstates the hegemonic masculinity that Nkosi Zwelivelile embodied through dress. Furthermore, by opting not to wear *imbadada* – which are considered to be more 'traditional' than gladiator sandals – Nkosi Zwelivelile evokes a sense of modernity, while showcasing glocalisation in the form of dress. The sandals adopt a global trend or style, imbued with ancient Roman history and infuse themselves in a localised 'tradition' of dress creating a hybrid effect.

The Mermaid

Nkosikazi Nodiyala, on the other hand, compliments her husband and evokes a more feminine aesthetic with a white mermaid dress adorned with black and white stripes at the hem and on the cuffs. Her neck is embellished and elaborate black, white and blue neck piece which resembles *ingqosha* (a 'traditional' open-lace necklace). She accessorised her outfit with a matching royal blue and black purse and royal blue open toe heels. She also wore a neatly tied black *iqhiya* (a headdress) decorated with blue and white beads. The varying styles of *iqhiya*, amongst the abaThembu, are altered depending on the wearer's personal preferences. isiXhosa speaking people, however, prefer more elaborate headwrap styles that Bantu ethnic groups within South Africa. Typically married abaThembu women wear long ankle-length skirts with similar rows of braided stripes at the hem (Broster 1973: 8). Additional they also wear a straight narrow bib or apron that is tied just above their breasts and whose length goes well below their knees (Broster 1973: 8). So, in comparison, Nkosikazi Nodiyala's outfit is more modern.



Figure 20: Nkosikazi Nodiyala arriving at the 2015 State of the Nation Address. 2015. Photograph by MoreêJK/SAPA.



Figure 19: Picken. 1957. Illustration of a 17th Century Palatine Collar. In *A Dictionary of Costume and Fashion: Historic and Modern*. Pp. 52.



Figure 18: Picken. 1957. Illustration of a 1920s Bertha Collar. In *A Dictionary of Costume and Fashion: Historic and Modern* pp. 72.

The mermaid dress refers to a close-fitting shaped dress that hugs and accentuates the wearer's figure from the bodice, down to the hips to about the mid or lower calf. The dress is completed with a fishtail flair, below the calf, that extends to the floor. It is named after the mythical sea creature, of the same name, which has a similar

fishtail attached to the human body. The silhouette has remained a popular feature on red carpets with highlight features in the mid-1960s when American actor Audrey Hepburn dawned the look in the film, *My Fair Lady* (1964).

This – seemingly unconscious – referencing of global popular culture and style makes visible international and global codes of dress that become adapted and integrated with local 'traditions' to create new glocal identities. The silhouette of the mermaid dress, which isn't of the abaThembu 'tradition', also invited a modernised version of 'traditional' ethnic dress.

Nkosikazi's dress is topped with a black and white neckpiece, which Walaza says was machine stitched using piping (Walaza 2019). Collars are defined by Mary Brooks Picken in the book, *A Dictionary of Costume and Fashion: Historic and Modern* as "an article of dress, separate or attached to [a] garment worn around the neck" (1957:71). Nkosikazi Nodiyala's collar resembles a 17th-century Palatine or a 1960s Bertha. A Palatine is a small shoulder cape first seen in 1676 worn by the French Princess Palatine (Picken 1957: 52). In a similar vein, the Bertha is a collar - reaching popularly in the 1920s - that fell "softly from the bodice neckline over the shoulders, imitating a short shoulder cape" (Picken 1957: 72). This piece of garment has a high collar and round cape-like shape that covers Nkosikazi Nodiyala's neck and shoulders.

Her collar is layered with piping that was blind stitched together by Walaza. Similarly, Nkosikazi's necklace - with its horizontal bands of contrasting black and white lines somewhat resembles isiXhosa-speakers' iconic openwork beaded collar, also known as *icangci* or *ingqosha*. The difference between Nkosikazi Nodiyala's collar and a 'traditional' beaded collar or necklace is that the former is made of fabric, stiffened with a layer of vile and embroidered while the latter is made of beads which are tightly stitched together to make a lace-like, or flexible, surface.

Once again, this garment points to a modernised and hybrid interpretation of 'traditional' abaThembu dress. Its style and shape adopted from 17th-century Palatine collars show how the global influences and alters the local.



Figure 22: Nkosikazi Nodiyala Mbalenhle Mandela arriving at the 2015 State of the Nation Address in Cape Town, South Africa. 2015. Image by EPA.

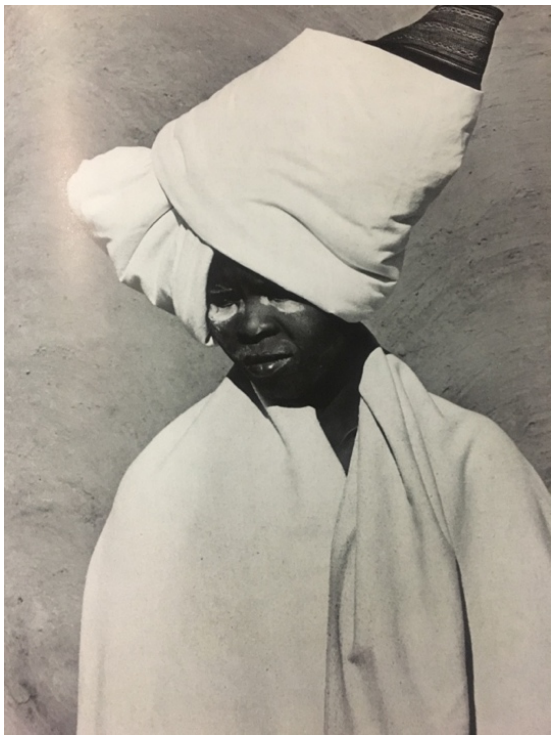


Figure 21: Young Thembu woman. Image by Alice Mertens.

Doek

Headwraps are believed to have originated from West Africa (Lynch & Straus 2014: 5). Before the 18th century slave trade off in West Africa and the availability of woven cloth, headwraps various ethnic groups adorned their heads with natural material such as shells. The headwrap has and continues to be used as protective gear from the elements as well as a signifier of ethnic identity and as an enhancement of the wearers outward appearance (Lynch & Straus 2014: 5). Co-curators of the exhibition, *Crowning Achievements: African Arts of Dressing the Head at the Nation Museum of African Art,* Mary Jo Arnoldi and Christine Mullen Kreamer[89], argue that the head becomes an "ideal site for [an] aesthetic and symbolic elaboration of the body" (1995: 22). Headwraps have, for thousands of years, held symbolic significance amongst Africans and have been integral to the creation of 'traditional' ethnic dress.

'Traditional' headwraps in the South African context are commonly known as *doeks* (Afrikaans) or *Iqhiya* (isiXhosa). According to Costello, they are worn by both married men

[89] See Mary Jo Arnoldi and Christine Mullen Kreamer's *Crowning Achievements: African Arts of Dressing the Head* (1995).

and women and the "most elaborate headdresses are worn by those of senior status and may incorporate a towel, a black cashmere scarf as well as other scarves of different colours according to taste" (1990: 9). Wearers have the choice between melton felt or cotton headwraps, which are similar to the edges of the skirt beaded with mother-of-pearl buttons. Until the end of the 18th-century, high ranking chiefs amongst abaThembu people were known to use red beads. White beads were largely associated with 'traditional' healers, but it was between the late 18th and the 20th century that white beads were used in the context of chieftaincy, as seen in Nkosikazi Nodiyala's doek (Broster 1976: 92, Elliot 1970: 112 cited by Nettleton, Ndabambi and Hammond-Tooke 1989: 40). Married women are often seen adorned in *doeks* which take on more elaborate styles the longer they are married (Elliot 1970: 31). *Doeks* are worn by both women and men, while headgear for men made of beadwork is largely reserved for ceremonial occasions. Young abaThembu women are also often seen adorned in beadwork as headgear, as opposed to married women who stick to their *doeks*, particularly when in the company of others. Nkosikazi Nodiyala's *doek* is made of black melton felt, which is heavier material than the white cotton baize material used for the rest of her outfit. Her black doek is embellished with mostly white mother-of-pearl beads and spots of blue circular beads which are similar to the headscarves of the amaMfengu people (Costello 1990: 9)

According to Joan A. Broster's book *African Elegance* (1973), abaThembu women "favour massive head-dresses in [a] great diversity of styles, each being unique in creation" (Broster 1973: 73). In both her 2015 and 2016 SONA appearance, Nkosikazi Nodiyala employs a more subdued *doek* in comparison to the abaThembu women as seen in the photographs by Alice Mertens that complement Broster's essays (Broster 1976).

In the South African context today, there has been a rise of the *doek* as a symbol of liberation for Black women; particularly in relation to political protests and women empowerment movements. This moment of protest parallels what the Mandelas attempt to do with their 'traditional' abaThembu dress in relation to Eurocentric political systems of governance imposed upon South Africa. For example, the 2016 *#RespekTheDoek* movement and protest emerged in response to the discriminatory dress policies by one of the country's leading news and information media houses, eNCA. Reporter, Nontobeko Sibisi's story on African cross-

border music was removed by her line manager due to her choice in dress, which featured an African wax print *doek*. This escalated tensions between White-owned broadcasters and their Black journalists as it brought into question how Black bodies, and especially Black female, bodies are policed. The scandal culminated to a social media movement, underpinned by the *#RespekTheDoek* hashtag, that highlighted African aesthetics and a larger call for change in the inclusion of 'traditional' dress in the workplace. After the passing of Winnie Madikizela Mandela in 2018, Black women across South Africa wore *doeks* and black attire to commemorate her legacy to push back against the hegemonic masculine history that attempted to erase her vital role in the liberation struggle; the same history that reduced her to simply being Nelson Mandela's wife who was linked scandalous affairs with younger men and the death of James *Stompie* Seipei (Kekana 2018). Once again, the *doek* become a symbol of the emancipation of the Black woman.

It is not clear, however, if Nkosikazi Nodiyala uses her doek to protest and highlight the continued liberation struggles of Black women, or if she simply wears the doek as a sign of *hlonipha* to her husband's ethnic 'traditions' and her role as his wife. As she has not publicly vocalised any particular political belief, as Nkosi Zwelivelile has done with the Palestine genocide in Israel or the liberation of Black people in South Africa, her *doek* points to an aesthetic and customary use.

Sleeves

Nkosikazi's dress is designed with long sleeves that are finished with black and white cuffs, which pick up on the same striped pattern of her collar. They resemble the brass wire armbands and wristlets that abaThembu women are often adorned with. Additionally, ivory armbands are known to have been reserved for high-ranking members (Shaw and Van Warmelo 1988: 657), thus referencing the Mandelas' position in the abaThembu chiefdom. This, therefore, signifies and further cements Nkosi Zwelivelile's position and ranking as Chief of the Mveso Traditional Council. Cuffs are a finish to the sleeve; Nkosikazi Nodiyala's cuffs are long, hug her wrist, extend from the sleeve to just below the elbow. Unlike the conventional men's double cuff, which as the name suggests, is a turn-back piece held together by cuff links her cuffs are single cuffs that are tied back on the inner side of her wrist.

Continuing from the singular understanding of 'identity', African dress in comparison to the European fashion world which is far more established tends to be associated with textiles and craft, similar to the way African art is defined in relation to art from the West. This trajectory of research has also become stuck in what Ann Stoler (2002) argues as the colonial archive (Stoler 2002: 87). With research by writers Joan Broster (1976), Aubrey Elliot (1970, 1986), Anitra Nettleton (2015) and Victoria Rovine (2016), the literature on African fashion shows a strong interest in adornment, craft and textiles from the colonial era. Despite this image of homogeneity, dress in Africa holds nuanced histories and influences that are related to the particular region in which it exists. As Victoria Rovine, Associate Professor of Art History at the University of North Carolina, states in her text *Colonialism's Clothing – Africa, France and the Deployment of Fashion*, "African" or "Western" styles are not discreet categories through which cultural identity can be defined but are instead points on a continuum (Rovine 2016: 5). This means that African dress cannot be singularly defined by one distinct category, and the Mandelas' abaThembu dress at SONA is evidence of the amalgamation of various cultural identities that reach far beyond the abaThembu people. Their outfits become part of a growing history of dress that is altered and reimagined by each new generation, cultural group and social context within which it exists. Dress, therefore, opens up a much larger conversation on meaning and value as highlights how the body carries with it social and political effects (Madison 2013: 217). Rovine is amongst the contemporary writers such as Erica de Greef (2018), Nicola Cooper (2016) and Leora Farber (2010, 2015) - who explore dress from the post-colonial context. They expand our understanding of dress beyond ethnic associations while layering ideologies of hybridity, hypersampling and glocalisation to give dress a fundamental unity.

CHAPTER 3:

Gender Dynamics

> Evaluations of the bodies and appearances can never be separated from discussion of race, gender and sexuality. (Gqola 2017: 8)



Figure 23: Nkosikazi Nodiyala (left), Nkosi Zwelivelile (middle) and Nkosikazi Nosekeni (right) at the memorial service of Winnie Madikizela-Mandala at the Orlando Stadium, Soweto, Johannesburg, South Africa. 11 April 2018. Picture: Nhlanhla Phillips/African News Agency/ANA.

This chapter argues for a fluidity of masculine and feminine roles within 'traditional' ethnic marriages. This chapter seeks to unpack the nuances that may go unnoticed between Nkosi Zwelivelile and his two wives, Nkosikazi Nodiyala and Nkosikazi Nosekeni. Tracing Nkosi Zwelivelile's use of the Mandela-legacy as a basis to evoke prescribed 'masculinity', this chapter unpacks how the couple overturns gender-normative roles in marriage and politics. Drawing from Chapter 2's analysis of Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala's SONA 2015 outfits, this chapter integrates the discourse of Feminism and Patriarchy, in contemporary South Africa.

Additionally, Nkosi Zwelivelile's fourth wife, Nkosikazi Nosekeni Rabia Mandela, adds an exciting dynamic to the couple's ascribed gendered roles. It is possible to argue that the marriage to Nkosikazi Nosekeni was one of the factors in converting Nkosi Zwelivelile into Islam. This defies the normative masculine role that Black men are burdened with, within the

institution of marriage. This chapter uses Pumla Dineo Gqola's book, *Reflecting Rogue: Inside the Mind of a Feminist* (2017) as a critical text. Gqola reflects on the phenomenon of 'Feminism-in-action', which Nkosikazi Nodiyala and Nkosikazi Nosekeni (see Figure 25) seemingly embody. This chapter unpacks the gender dynamics between the three to reveal the complexities in marriage, dress and identity-making.

To further complicate Nkosikazi Nodiyala's position as a Black woman, this chapter analyses the prescribed role of being *uMakoti*; one which is expected to uphold Nkosi Zwelivelile's ethnic 'traditions' as a sign of *hlonipha*. At first glance, Nkosikazi Nodiyala - in contrast to Nkosikazi Nosekeni – seemingly upholds a 'traditional' and domesticated role. Nkosikazi Nosekeni, on the other hand, brings into their marriage an unconventional (for abaThembu people) yet 'traditional' (for Muslim people) marital practice, which converted Nkosi Zwelivelile's religious praxis.

Figure 25 is a visual representation of their relational and gendered dynamics. It visually illustrates how modern-day polygamous marriages may look when a hybridity of cultures is involved. This chapter seeks to complicate stereotypical gendered identities by revealing a more nuanced dynamic.

Furthermore, this chapter highlights the cultural burdens placed upon Black women. This burden relates to, what Gqola calls "Mother Africa which is placed on 'stoic wives' […] whose way of life and dress practices are often dictated by Patriarchal ideologies" (1999: 8). Despite wearing similar, yet modernised 'traditional' abaThembu attire like Nkosikazi Nodiyala, Nkosikazi Nosekeni continues to identify as a Muslim woman, which gets intergraded in their outfits (see Figures 26 – 30). These cultural 'burdens' are more substantial to Nkosikazi Nodiyala and, more broadly, Black women. Is this a 'freedom' or simply, a show of Islam's Patriarchy[90]? By destabilising normative gender dynamics and normalising an exchange of

[90] As necessary as Nkosikazi Nosekeni's Muslim identity is, the scope of my research does not allow for an in-depth investigation into Islamic religious practices. This research primarily focuses on Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala's SONA 2015 appearance and its associated dress practices within the abaThembu ethnic group. It is, however, important to respect and acknowledge Nkosikazi Nosekeni's presence as a Muslim woman, who continues the series of SONA moments with Nkosi Zwelivelile.

culture and religion, Nkosi Zwelivelile's performed masculinity is more nuanced than publicly displayed. As a Black woman – experiencing first-hand the burdens of the institution of marriage and Patriarchy – Nkosikazi Nosekeni evidences a transition towards a hybridity of cultures and the impact and influence of women in the Patriarchal institute of marriage.



Figure 24: Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala arriving at the 2014 State of the nation Address. 2014. Image Kopano Tlape/GCIS for Power987.



Figure 29: Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala arriving at the 2015 State of the Nation Address. 2015. Image by Ntswe Mokoena for Power987.



Figure 28: Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala arriving at the 2016 State of the Nation Address. 2016. Image by: Lerato Maduna for Beeld.



Figure 27: Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nosekeni arriving at the 2017 State of the Nation Address.2017. Image by Nadine Willis for IOL News.



Figure 26: Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nosekeni arriving at the 2018 State of the Nation Address. 2018. Image by Esa Alexander for Sunday Times.



Figure 25: Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nosekeni arriving at the 2019 State of the nation address. 2019. Image by Esa Alexander for Sunday Times.

Theorising gendered-dynamics: Feminism, Hegemonic Masculinity and Patriarchy

In post-colonial theory, many writers have disregarded the relation between gender and identity (Bhabha 1986, 1990; Mamdani 1996, 2000). Despite this, many more writers have proven that gender, race, class and identity are intrinsically interwoven, particularly in the case of Black women writers (Afzal-Khan, 1996; Davis, 1990; Gqola 1999; Rodriguez 1996; Yates). As Mama states, "all identities are gendered, perhaps dangerously so" (Mama 2001: 15). Mama argues in her text, *Challenging Subjects: Gender and Power in African Contexts*, (2001) that gender and identity cannot be divorced from each other, more so in the African context where gender has been a central principle in organising African societies (2001: 15).

Contrary to some Feminist ideologies, not all feminists denounce dress and fashion practices as 'frivolous'. Feminism is nuanced and layered with various dimensions – ones which are dependent on the socio-political context and, often, the racial environment in which it manifests. Related to 'traditional' dress forms – we see a multitude of moments in the South African context where feminists, of varying degrees, use dress as part of their protest.

For example, during the *#Fallist* movement, Feminists used their bodies and the act of undressing, in protest against the oppressive Patriarchy within the movement. The book, *Fees Must Fall: Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa,* eloquently illustrates the radical Womanist movement within the broader *#FeesMustFall* campaign (Booysen 2016). This 'ugly Feminism', which is nostalgically 'traditionalist', emphasises the Black female body as a resilient and robust entity, as opposed to the domesticated 'sexy feminist' that claims her body while being an object of a male gaze and masculine abuse (Abraham 2017). This radical South African Feminist movement uses the body and dress practices to impact prevailing Patriarchal social norms in activist movements. It is this nuanced and contemporary Feminism that this research adopts. Discourse on dress and fashion are not 'frivolous', and this paper uses theorised text and research to illustrate its centrality in more significant discourses, such as Feminism.

The idea of hegemonic masculinity in South Africa has been explored, most notably, by Gibson and Hardon (2005); Morell, Jewkes and Lindegger (2012); Raewyn Connell (1987, 1995); Robert Morell (1998, 2001); Reid and Walker (2015); and Shefer (2007). Connell &

Messerschmidt's[91] initial use of the term "hegemonic masculinity", which refers to a male-gendered hierarchy of power, is defined as "culturally [the] most honoured way of being a man" (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 832).

Additionally, hegemonic masculinity is described by Morell as "the nature, form and dynamics of male power" (Morell 1994, 1998, 2001). It emphasises and centralises learnt patriarchal behaviours and attitudes. Even in the South African struggle and liberation movements, such as Biko's Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and the ANC's non-racial ideologies, Gqola argues that a masculine narrative of hegemonic nationalism persists, leaving women and moreso, Black women on the fringes (2017: 27). Hegemonic masculinity is often defined in relation to women and is situated within a confined hierarchical system. With this in mind, Nkosikazi Nodiyala is (intentionally or unintentionally) ascribes to the 'traditionalist' abaThembu practices, which are complicated by the contemporary socio-political world.

Furthermore, hegemonic masculinity is also associated with virility, physical strength and leadership. Often, hegemonic masculinity leaves out the nuances and fragilities that men experience. This kind of masculinity opposes the nuances of a softer, emotional and nurturing feminine energy as it contradicts the virile, rational and strong masculine ideology that is performed in moments such as the SONA event. The Mandelas' SONA 2015 moment, is therefore, a microcosm and nuanced moment of these broad ideologies.



Figure 30: Nkosi Zwelivelile attends gathering of traditional leaders at Freedom Park (Pretoria) in honour of former President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.2009. Image by: Alexandra Jow/AFP/Getty image.



Figure 31: Former President Nelson Mandela wearing traditional abaThembu dress at his great grandnephew, Prince Mfundo Mtirarar's wedding in Umtata, Eastern Cape Province, South Africa. 2012. Image by: Rajesh Jantilal/AFP/Getty Images.

[91] See Robert Connell & James Messerschmidt's *Masculinity* (2005).

Morell, Jewkes & Lindegger[92] (2012) argue that there are three types of distinct hegemonic masculinities within the South African socio-political context, as opposed to one kind of masculinity. Namely; White masculinity; rural African masculinity and; urbanised Black masculinity (Morell, Jewkes & Lindegger 2012: 12). The latter is most prevalent in Black townships and urban areas. Urbanised 'Black' masculinity is most relevant to Nkosi Zwelivelile (see figure 32) and Nelson Mandela (see figure 33) who are part of the longstanding tradition of male centralism and hegemonic masculinity within South African politics and the ANC.

From masculinity within the ANC to the modern African Gentleman

South Africa's former president, Jacob Zuma led SONA 2015. He was elected in the 2009 national elections. At the time, he led the ANC, which won the majorly vote. Before the country's 1994 democratic dispensation - the ANC was central to South Africa's anti-Apartheid struggle, alongside other political parties, which included, but are not limited to, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). Previously known as the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), the ANC has been South Africa's governing party since the country transitioned into the democratic dispensation in 1994 (Suttner, 2010, 517). Founded in 1912, by John Dube in Bloemfontein, the party's central premised relied on fighting for the attainment of the freedom, equality and voting rights of the Black African and Mixed-race majority as a response to the injustices of the colonial and Apartheid regimes. Since its inception, masculinity in the ANC has been at the forefront. From its founder Dube to Nelson Mandela[93] and to its fifth and current leader, President Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa[94], the leadership in the ANC has been led and dominated by males, making masculinity central in our understanding of the organisation. This then brings to mind the studies on hegemonic[95] masculinity in South Africa.

Additionally, Nelson Mandela's nuclear family, which can be traced directly to Nkosi

[92] See Robert Morell, Rachel Jewkes & Graham Lindegger's *Hegemonic masculinity/masculinities in South Africa: Culture, power, and gender politics* (2012).
[93] Mandela led the ANC from 1918 to 2013.
[94] Ramaphosa was inaugurated after the resignation of Zuma in 2018 and is the current President of the Republic.
[95] The term hegemonic refers to the total authority over subordinate groups by a dominant society. Stuart Hall defines the success of hegemony as the dominant classes "succeed[ing] in framing all competing definitions within their range" (Hall 1997). The term *hegemonic masculinities* used here, therefore, defines the dominance of masculinity over other forms of identity such as femininity and queer identity.

Zwelivelile, was overshadowed by his political endeavours. Mandela left the Transkei in order to fulfil his law degree, which later involved him in a national liberation movement, with the ANC. In his autobiography, Mandela cites how his political responsibilities overshadowed his responsibilities as a father: "to be the father of a nation is a great honour, but to be the father of a family is a greater joy. [However] it was a joy I had far too little of" (Mandela 1994: 592).

Various studies have shown that Patriarchal dominance has been part of a long history of violence and suppression in South Africa, and has moved on to the issues at hand today. Numerous scholars chiefly define he discriminatory laws in South Africa as racism, sexism, classism and homophobia (Afzal-Khan 1996; Bozzoli 1983; Gqola 1999; Lewis 1993; Maqagi 1989; Rodriguez, 1996; and Yates, 1996).

Morell, Jewkes and Lindegger point out that with the increased disenfranchisement of African communities, Patriarchal authorities have been prevalent within rural and urban areas (2012: 15). With this in mind, Nkosi Zwelivelile's current leadership role as Chief of Mveso illustrates how rural areas - such as Qunu where he leads - were and remain, under the sway of male Chiefs. Owing to this, hese Chiefs who have, along with their male elders, dictated the laws and 'traditional' authorities of their communities. Additionally, many nuclear African families in urban areas continue the hierarchical system that places the man as the 'head' of the family.

In many African cultures[96], including the abaThembu, the man is placed as the 'head' of the house. The hierarchical system lead by masculinity is adopted. Masculinity is established through 'manhood' acts, rituals and traditions that are associated with being a 'real man' (Mfecane 2016: 206). It is rituals and initiation ceremonies like *ukwaluka*[97] – an important customary practice in the transition from boyhood to manhood – through which 'masculinity' is affirmed (Mfecane 2016: 204). Furthermore, *indoda* within abaThembu cultural practices is up held by very specific cultural hierarchies and practices, which opposes masculinity practices commonly practiced in the Global North (Mfecane 2016: 204). As important as these

[96] Not only do African cultures experience this masculinity and hierarchical system, but it is also visible in most nuclear families across racial lines, particularly those with religious inclinations. This is however, beyond the scope of my paper.

[97] Writers who have covered the practice of *ukwaluka* include Ndungane (1992), Elliot (1970), Broster (1973), Mhlahlo (2009), Bongela (2001) and many others.

traditional ceremonies and practices are, how detrimental are they in the contemporary, when women remain overlooked, ostracised and disempowered in various socio-political circumstances?

Knobel Sakhiwo Bongela[98] (2001) unpacks the various stages isiXhosa-speaking males go through. According to Bongela, manhood is developed from *inqanabalobukhwe* (boyhood stage) to *inqanabalobufana* (stage of young manhood), *inqanaba lamadoda amakhulu/amaqina* (middle-aged men) and lastly, *inqanaba leempobole zamaxhego* (the grey-headed, very old men) (Bongela 2001, 31-33). abaThembu men go through various stages in their manhood and their dress practices are often associated with a specific stage, making it visible where they are in the course of their life and what standing they have in their respective communities. Nkosi Zwelivelile, in these terms, would fall into the third, middle-aged stage, described by Bongela as:

> The group from which ways and methods of training the first two groups were obtained. Generally, all problems facing the nation were referred to this group. They also acted as a bridge between *abajana* and the fourth group which was reputed for its advanced age. These *amaqina* (middle aged men) were always expected to be very close to the fourth group so that all matters involving the state and society would easily filter down the line to the lowliest member of the community. (Bongela 2001: 32)

Coupled with being the Chief of the Mveso Traditional Council in Qunu, Nkosi Zwelivelile's position as a middle-aged man further solidifies why he is the foregrounded figure in their marriage, rather than his wife, Nkosikazi Nodiyala. In addition to this, using the history, lineage and memory of his late grandfather Nelson Mandela, Nkosi Zwelivelile's choice in dress at SONA reflects a persistence of the ANC's centralised masculinity. He embodies a hegemonic masculinity through the strength and reverence of the Mandela name and reaffirms it with his chieftaincy. I would argue, therefore, that his masculinity strongly informs the Mandelas' decisions to wear abaThembu-inspired 'traditional' dress, as oppose

[98] See Knobel Sakhiwo Bongela's *Isihlonipho Among amaXhosa* (2001).

to drawing inspiration from the dress practices of Nkosikazi Nodiyala's isiZulu 'ethnic identity. The couple, therefore adopts 'traditional' marital practises that require *uMakoti* to adopt her husband's cultural practices.

With this in mind, one could argue that the Mandelas' gender dynamics evokes a dated 'traditionalist' ideology, especially in the contemporary where gender fluidly and identity is more prominent. Younger and more dynamic art practioners such as designer, Laduma Ngxokolo; singer-songwriter, Langa Mavusa[99]; artist, Trevor Stuurman; artist, Tony Gum and; editor-in-chief of Glamour SA, Asanda Sizani are among the new crop of Black people who are reimagining their 'traditional' identity in the contemporary.

Dress and gendered dynamics: Femininity and Masculinity

The knowledge of the polarity between masculinity and femininity is largely informed by and connected to social practices (Connell 1995: 5); with marriage being one such practice. Another practice that informs the polarities between the two opposing gendered dynamics is dress and the way we adorn our bodies.

Dress is a phenomenon that is often associated and coded as feminine (Kaiser 2012). The Mandelas, however, complicate this simplified definition. Designer of the Mandelas SONA 2015 outfit, Bongiwe Walaza states that both Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala were central in the designing the outfits (Walaza 2018). Seeing that Walaza's designs don't particularly focus on 'traditional' abaThembu dress or any dress from the isiXhosa-speaking people, but instead uses *isiShweshwe* material to create contemporary African garments that could be worn by any ethnic group, it would be important to have the couple's input on the design. She states that Nkosi Zwelivelile had a very particular brief, which emphasise the importance of the military jacket and outlined what he wanted to wear. (Walaza 2018). Nkosikazi Nodiyala, on the other hand, was more loose with her brief, allowing Walaza creative freedom in designing her dress.

[99] Mini South Africa's campaign follows its parent company, BMW, in its 7 series campaign with respected South African Ndebele artist, Esther Mahlangu. The outcome produced two art cars in 1991 and again in 2016. See BMW press-kit: *BMW7 Series Individual by Esther Mahlangu* (2017). Mavuso's #MINIModernAfricanGentleman collaboration with Mini South Africa is not a new phenomenon of cars being used as an "artistic canvas" (Rice & Brucefield 2019).

When dealing with men, the literature on dress focuses on the transgressive, the subcultural, youth, high style and dandy and the suit (Cooper 2016; Edwards 1997; Farber 2010, 2015 and; Hebdige 1979). In contrast women are heavily marked by what Berger calls "sexualised gazed" (Berger 1972: 47) encumbered by a hegemonic gendered system of looking, which plays a part in the constructions of women's choice in dress.

Furthermore, Gqola (2017: 4) argues for how the identity of Black women's body is read. She reflects on a childhood memory of her "Religious Instruction class" in primary school where her teacher, a Black man, emphasised the closeness of fair-skinned Black people to God and their supposed superiority over other shades of Blackness[100] (Gqola 2017: 6). She foregrounds the effects of colourism on our way of reading the Black women's body (Gqola 2017: 7). Often, the Black woman is defined and scrutinised with a Patriarchal lens riddled with Western beauty ideologies. Black women's bodies thus are layered with problematic definitions of colourism, which coupled with the already daunting domestic roles they are expected to play, affects their self-image and outward body appearance, in relation to the aforementioned beauty and aesthetics.

Within dress practices, masculinity cannot be unpacked without acknowledging of the presence and influence of Feminisms and femininity. As Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger argue, gender studies in South Africa - which developed in the 1990s - brought about the concept of hegemonic masculinity and theorised the role of men (2012: 19). The rise in feminist activism also meant that men's rolse in gender studies were being reframed to include nuances of gender, power and masculinity (Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger 2012: 17).

Similarly, theorists such as Collins (1990); Phillips & MacCaskil (1995); and Stone (1989) have identified and centralised the woman's experience, as well as the importance of self-definition in their Black feminist and womanit writings. Despite the growing work on Black

[100] Colourism is defined as "prejudice or discrimination against individuals with dark skin tone, typically amongst people of the same ethnic or racial group" (Oxford Living dictionaries). Critical race theorists that have unpacked the discourse of colourism include Collins (2005) and Hunter (2005). Burke describes colourism as "the allocation of privilege and disadvantage according to the lightness or darkness of one's skin" (2008: 17). Also see Burke et al. *Critical Race Theories, Colourism, and the Decades of research on Families of Colour* (2010).

feminism and womanism, definitions and portrayals of Black women still remain within the three categories of race, class and gender. These three definitions overlap, however, and cannot be separated from one another when it comes to Black women (Gqola 1999: 69). Nkosikazi Nodiyala is largely defined in her gendered role which draws from her biology and denotes her role in the domestic sphere as a wife to Nkosi Zwelivelile. As a result, Nkosikazi Nodiyala plays a major role in our understanding of the couple's appearance at SONA and their choice of dress.

Prior to the rise of Black feminist theory, Black women such as Nkosikazi Nodiyala and Winnie Madikizela Mandela – wives (and mothers) of politicians and liberation leaders – were characterised by what Gqola (1999: 7) refers to as the trope of "Mother Africa" [101]. As the wives or spouses of liberation leaders, these women, despite their positions as leaders and intellectuals in their own right have remained and continue to be defined as long-suffering women with virtuous strength. They are often isolated from the more dominant struggles of the 'Man' (husband or son) whose stories are seen as paramount over those of women's stories. Other theorists and writers who similarly touch on this "Mother Africa" trope include Edholm (1982); hooks (1982); Nicholson (1993); Ramphele (1996); Lewis (1994); Moore (1988); Thurer (1994) and Dlamini (2018).

Black women are, therefore, ostracised and written out of the history of Black struggle and liberation movements (Gqola 1999: npn). For example, moments such as Madikizela-Mandela's 469 days of solitary confinement in the late 1960s, as well as the countless harassments and torture she endured at the hands of Apartheid security police, have come to define her longstanding, silent struggle. As South African author and radio host, Redi Tlhabi[102] states "Madikizela-Mandela was flattened with either scathing or reductant tropes of simply being Nelson's wife" (Tlhabi 2018).

[101] See Pumla Dineo Gqola's Master's Thesis titled *Black Women You are on Your Own: Images of Black Women in Straffrider Short Stories, 1978 – 1982* (1999). This paper unpacks the question of whether "positive characterization of Black people, as seen as central in the Black Consciousness writing, includes women or not" (Gqola 1999: npn).
[102] See Redi Tlhabi's *Those Who Dwell on Winnie's 'Dark-Side' Ignore Brutality She Endured* (2018).

By extension, we see this scathing and limiting definition placed on Nkosikazi Nodiyala, who is often simply referred to as Mandela's wife (eNCA 2016; TimesLive 2016; DispatchLive 2016, OkayAfrica 2016 and; Jacaranda FM 2015, 2016). By virtue of adopting and wearing Nkosi Zwelivelile's ethic 'traditions' and dress, Nkosikazi Nodiyala's identity is burdened with tropes she may have not intended to adopt.

Naming the Mandelas

Coverage of the Mandelas' 2015 SONA appearance tends to foreground Nkosi Zwelivelile as the more 'significant' and newsworthy figure, over Nkosikazi Nodiyala. Not only has Nkosi Zwelivelile's relation to Nelson Mandela been widely publicised, but his ongoing controversial life – including rumours of infertility, and fights over the Mandela estate – has been scrutinised by various journalists. Furthermore, he emphasises his position as Chief of Mveso in all formal press releases by the Royal House of Mandela and even in his Instagram posts, which informs how he and his wife are defined by journalists.

As journalists write and interpret information differently, there is an inconsistent referencing of names of the Mandelas. Nkosi Zwelivelile is either called Mandla Mandela (Buike, 2016; Fuzile 2018; Geldenhuys, 2012) or referred to by his 'traditional' name Nkosi Zwelivelile (Matume, 2017; Ngonyama, 2018; Sowetan Live 2016). In contrast, Nkosikazi Nodiyala is often referred to by various are publications simply as "his wife", which boxes her into the problematic "Mother Africa" trope that enhances the male gaze (Mngambi 2015; News 24 2016; Power FM 2019; SABC News 2018; Velani 2018). By defining her in these terms, hegemonic masculinity is reaffirmed.

Interestingly, however, in my brief interaction with Nkosi Zwelivelile, it was he who insisted that they (both Nkosikazi Nodiyala and himself) should be strictly are referred to by their full names (Mandela 2017).In contrast, the SABC News interview with the journalist Xoli Mogami showed Nkosikazi Nodiyala responding to the question "Who are you?". She replied "my name is Nodiyala Mandela" (Mngambi 2015). Perhaps, Nkosikazi Nodiyala does not always see the use of being referred to by her full name, which includes the prefix Nkosikazi. It seems simpler to introduce oneself by a first name and last name, if the burden of being a wife to a chief is burdensome. In this thinking. has she subscribed to the normative erasure of women's significant role or has she liberated herself from the role of *uMakoti*?

Narrowing it down to the institution of marriage, how then is Patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity functioning in relation to Feminism and femininity?

Marriage, 'tradition' and Patriarchy – a dismantling:

Nkosi Zwelivelile recently married his fourth wife. His first marriage to Nkosikazi Tando Mabunu-Mandela (see figure 38) ended and was finalised in 2016, after her attempt to interdict his marriage to Nkosikazi Nodiyala in 2016 (Mosupi 2016). His second wife was the estranged, Island of Reunion-born, Mbokazi Nobubele Anais Mandela (previously Anais Grimaud) (see figure 28). The marriage ended after she was accused of sleeping[103] with Nkosi Zwelivelile's brother (Newling 2012).

Nkosi Zwelivelile married his third wife, Nkosikazi Nodiyala – the subject of my study – in December 2011. There have been a number of 'fake news'[104] reports which that alleged that Nkosikazi Nodiyala is a Swazi-born princess (Abbas & Serra, 2016; Jordan & Hartle, 2016; Trapido, 2011). Additionally, there have been reports that have claimed that their marriage was annulled in 2014 after Nkosikazi Tando's interdiction (Abbas & Serra, 2016; Patel, 2016; Rose, 2017; Skiti, 2011; TimesLive, 2017; Trapido, 2011). The two remain together, despite this.

She is followed by the fourth wife, Nkosikazi Nosekeni Rabia Mandela – who is of Indian descent (Jordan & Hartle, 2016). Nkosikazi Nosekeni has so far birthed three[105] of Nkosi Zwelivelile's children and has appeared with him at the 2017, 2018 and 2019 State of the Nation Addresses, a shift from his previous appearances with Nkosikazi Nodiyala from 2013 – 2016. Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala have now been married for eight years and

[103] The birth of Mbokazi Nobubele's son, proved the cheating allegation to be true and Nkosi Zwelivelile relegated his second wife back to her home.

[104] The term *fake news* points to junk and sensational information in news reports (Carson 2019). It became popular in 2017 when USA President, Donald Trump used it to highlight some of the negative and supposedly 'fake-news' reports about him (Singh 2017). A study on digital literacy by researchers from New York University and Princeton University found that '*fake-news*' was mostly shared through the social media platform, Facebook (Cuthbertson 2019). The phrase was named one of 2017's *Word of the Year* by Collins Dictionary (Singh 2017).

[105] Amidst allegations of Nkosi Zwelivelile's 'lack of manhood' owing to his supposed inability to birth children in his first three marriages, Nkosikazi Nosekeni birthed three of Nkosi Zwelivelile's children, Mntanenkosi Mandela Ikram Mandela also known as *Mandela ka Mandela* in 2017 (Fuzile 2017) and twins Nkosazana Nonhlanhla Hannah Mandela and Mntanenkosi Rolihlahla Hakeem Mandela in 2018 (Fuzile 2018).

have no children together. The three lead a "private life" between the Western Cape and Eastern Cape provinces of South Africa (Mandela 2017).



Figure 33: Nkosi Zwelivelile marries first wife, Nkosikazi Tando Mabunu-Mandela (year). Photo: Louise Gubb/Corbis for Getty Images.



Figure 32: Nkosi Zwelivelile marries second wife, Nkosikazi Mbokazi Nobubele Anais Mandela. 2010. Photo: Khaya Ngwenya/Gallo Images for City Press/Getty Images.

Marriage practices are complex, ranging from monogamy to the more, supposedly, 'traditional' practices of polygamy. The Mandelas have settled on polygamy. Under South Africa's Customary Marriages Act 120 of 1998, only men are allowed to marry multiple women. In these circumstances, women tend to have fewer rights than their husband, particularly rights related to marital property after divorce. It was only in 2017, that the act was amended to ensure equal rights over marital property (Nyoka 2017).

Nkosi Zwelivelile's polygamous marriage arrangement has not been well received by the broader South African society, despite South Africa's longstanding practices of polygamy amongst Indigenous peoples as their chiefs. As evidenced by Aislinn Laing[106], who criticised Nkosi Zwelivelile as a polygamist and a land-grabber (Laing, 2012), South Africa's diverse racial and ethnic society is continually grappling with the dichotomy between tradition and modernity. As a largely religious-led nation, polygamy, in South Africa, contradicts Christian teachings derived from the Bible, and thus, contests some South African Christians' beliefs. Additionally, commonly associated with 'tradition' and backward customs, polygamy is seen

[106] See Aislinn Laing's article titled, *ANC to meet with Mandela's Grandson Over Accusations of Polygamy and Land-grabbing* (2012).

as retrogressive in most contemporary societies that have normalised monogamous marriages.

According to Juliette Leeb-du Toit[107], women who marry into new cultures are expected to relinquish their culture and to abide with the indigenous practice of the culture they are marrying into (Leeb-du Toit 2016). Women in the abaThembu culture are also categorised according to their age group, which includes*: Intombi zamakhwenkwe* – girls a young age group; *intombi zamadoda/abafana* (virgin or young girl); *Ibakala labafazana* (young women's stage); *ibakala labatshakazi/uMakoti* (the recently married group); *ibakala loomama* (level of old/mature womanhood) and; lastly, as *Ibakala lanuu/hegwazana* (the very old women's stage) (Bongela 2001: 35 – 38). Nkosikazi Nodiyala is, therefore, part of the *uMakoti* group as she recently married Nkosi Zwelivelile and has not borne any children with him.

Additionally, their choice of dress is also informed by the stage they are in. Married women, for example, are seldom seen without *doek* and wrap their breasts with a cloth that reaches their knees as opposed to young unmarried women who are bare-breasted when wearing their 'traditional' dress and sometimes adorn their heads with beaded pieces. Bongela specifies that *uMakoti* is expected to "wear long *imibhaco* and long dresses that drop as far as the ankles" (Bongela 2001, 38). Nkosikazi Nodiyala doesn't appear bare-breasted at SONA 2015, instead she modernises 'traditional' dress with her uniquely designed long dress which, covers her legs. In addition to this, women are expected to cover their arms and heads "as [a] sign of respect" (Bongela 2001, 38). Again, Nkosikazi Nodiyala's head and a large part of her arms are consistently covered. She opts for the three-quarter sleeve in the her SONA 2016 outfit and a full sleeve in her SONA 2015 outfit. She wraps her head in a subdued yet 'traditional' way in order to remain a 'respectable' wife.

The 'traditions' of *hlonipha* are intrinsically involved with defining the role that *uMakoti* plays, even in the contemporary. She assumes her role in her new family, by accepting a new name or being called by her *isiduko* (Bongela 2001). Nkosikazi Nodiyala was previously, Nodiyala Mbalenhle Makhathini and took on her new marital name, Nkosikazi Nodiyala Mbalenhle Mandela, when she married Nkosi Zwelivelile. She is also referred to as MamaMadiba, which

[107] See Juliette Leeb-du Toit's *Embedded Narratives of Oppression in isiShweshwe Cloth in the Work of Senzeni Marasela* (2016).

referenced her new *isiduko*.

In 'traditional' society and ethnic groups, *uMakoti* (a young married woman) – is expected to "maintain restrictions" particularly on how they should conduct themselves and how to dress in public (Bongela 2001, 38). Nkosikazi Nodiyala chooses her dress in accordance with her responsibility as *uMakoti*, in order to maintain a respectable appearance as Nkosi Zwelivelile's wife. Together with the role of being a mother, wives are burdened with tropes of obedience and nurturing, which define how 'good' Black women should behave (Lewis 1991: 12).

uMakoti is expected to *hlonipha* throughout her life. She is not allowed to treat this custom lightly and is subjected to severe public shame should she ignore the rules laid down for her, which include the kinds of clothes she wears in the company of others or in public. With this in mind, Nkosikazi Nodiyala embodies the duality of 'tradition' and modernity, by embracing and redesigning – according to her own preferences and style – abaThembu 'traditional' dress practices for women.

Furthermore, Nkosi Zwelivelile's appearances – starting fromi 2013 through to 2019 – with both Nkosikazi Nodiyala and Nkosikazi Nosekeni, consistently draw inspiration from abaThembu 'traditional' dress practices and attire, that is often worn at 'traditional' events such as weddings and ceremonial gatherings.

Foregrounding Nkosikazi Nodiyala's positionality beyond just being a wife, allows us to deconstruct toxic Patriarchy within 'traditional' abaThembu cultural practices. Specifically, in an age where Feminism remains a topical issue that is being redefined by Black women – who have for a long time been left out of history. Issues of masculinity and femininity, therefore become important in understanding the construction of representation, identity and ethnicity, particularly when looking at ethnic African cultures that place males at the forefront not only as political leaders but also as ethnic leaders.

Naming Nkosikazi Nodiyala

It is important to pause here, to discuss the prefixes in both the Mandelas' names. The prefix, *Nkosi*, according to Collins Dictionary is "a term of address to a superior; master or chief"

(Collins 2014). This prefix, used by journalists, is fitting for Nkosi Zwelivelile as he is in fact Chief of Mveso. Nkosikazi Nodiyala's prefix, *Nkosikazi,* means lady, madam, married woman or queen. Despite this, on the other hand, is often simply referred to as either "his wife", "Mandela's wife", or simply, Makhathini (her maiden name).

The prefixes *uMakoti*, *iNkosikazi* and *Ndlovukazi* are all Nguni terms related to married women. What distinguishes them is the age and stage in which the women are defined. *uMakoti* refers to a young /newly married wife; *iNkosikazi* refers to a married woman or lady; while *Ndlovukazi* refers to queen mother. This is similar to the English prefixes, *Miss* and *Mrs* which denotes young woman, and married women, respectively. *Ms*, which emerged in the 1970s in response to the Feminist objections to the former alternatives, has been adopted by women who prefer not to disclose their marital status.

iNkosikazi, the singular derivative of Nkosikazi Nodiyala's name, is derived from the term, *Nkosi* or king. *Ndlovukaz*i, on the other hand, is derived from the Zulu clan name *Ndlovu* or elephant. Both *Nkosikazi* and Ndlovukazi have the feminine suffix, *+Kazi*. I would, therefore, argue that Nkosikazi Nodiyala's reference as Nkosi Zwelivelile's wife, takes away her rightful title and further entrenches patriarchal and hegemonic masculinities that erase women's significant role in history.

Towards the liberation of *uMakoti*

Despite Nkosi Zwelivelile's insistence on a distinguished chiefdom, many Xhosa-speaking people living in urban areas and cities, do not strictly identify with one particular unified chiefdom and but have adopted varying cultural beliefs and 'traditional' attires that overlap with other chiefdoms and in some cases with other cultural groups. A modernised practice of *hlonipha,* in the contemporary, is widely spread amongst women in both 'rural' and urban environments. For example, the Masikhule women (see Figure 341) from the informal settlement of Joe Slovo Park, which lies between the city of Milnerton and Montague Gardens in the Western Cape Province practice their unique form of *hlonipha*.

As *iStokvel*[108], this group of mothers, sisters, friends and neighbours come together to support one another, culminating in the annual purchasing of gifts (mainly household pots) and groceries, from their annual contributions. Within the group, I interviewed two women, Nomasondo Ndlovu and Andisiwe Skosana who hail from the Joe Slovo Park[109] . The interview gave first-hand experience of how contemporary women are interpreting and putting together 'traditional' dress that reflects their hybrid ethnicities

What was particularly interesting with the group was their choice in dress and its relation to their identity. They informed me that the majority of them identify as the being part one or more of the isiXhosa-speaking peoples' chiefdoms, however, as a result of marriages and a hybridity of cultures, some identified with other ethnic groups such as the Basotho. Those among them with various or hybrid ethnic identities adorned themselves with distinguishable and contrasting garments that dismantled rigid ethnic definitions. They evoked a hybrid and modernised version of Indigenous people who have migrated to urban areas and mark an amalgamation of various isiXhosa-speaking chiefdoms that have come together.

This speaks back to Qunta's argument for a multiplicity of cultural feminism in South Africa[110]. Dressed in their best 'traditional' dress, the group were being photographed with children who mostly wore 'traditional' Zulu skirts. Some women coupled Basotho blankets with open beadwork inspired by isiZulu-speaking people's 'traditional' necklaces and *umbhaco* of the isiXhosa speaking people. They made a melting pot of women celebrating themselves through their ethnic identity, a beautiful sight to see.

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[108] *iStokvel* is defined by Nokuthula Khanyile as "a savings group to which members regularly contribute an agreed amount. The group decides how that money is shared, whether it id a monthly pay-out or invested and shared at the need of the year". See Khanyile's article, *Stokvels – Sharing in the Saving* (2018). Similar informal insurance schemes are commonplace in South Africa and are often filled and run by women. Additionally, the Masekhule Stokvel are similar to the many burial and communal stokvels found in urban areas across South Africa. The group supports each other in times of need (funerals, weddings) with monthly monetary contributions that are converted into gifts and foodstuffs annually.

[109] Joe Slovo Park is an informal settlement that lies between Milnerton and Monaogue Gardens in the Western Cape province in South Africa. The township was designed to replace the shack settlement of Marconi Beam but remains one of the poorest areas in the City of Cape Town with a mixture of houses and shacks. It has approximately 12 000 residents. It was named after the Joe Slovo, the anti-Apartheid activist and former minister of housing and should not be mistaken with the township of the same name in Langa, Cape Town.

[110] See Qunta's *Women in Southern Africa* (1987).



Figure 35: Nomasondo Ndlovu and Andisiwe Skosana dressed in a multitude of 'traditional' garments from the isiXhosa and isiZulu-speaking people.2018. Image by Author



Figure 34: Women from the Masekule Stokvel dressed in 'traditional' dress from the isiXhosa-speaking people. The shades of yellow, earth red and orange resemble the red ochre died material of the Red blanket people as well as the Mandelas 2014 and 2016 SONA outfits.2018. Image by author.



Figure 36: Women from the Masekule Stokvel dress dressed in 'traditional' dress from the isiXhosa peoples as well garments from other ethnic groups such as the Basotho Blanket and isiZulu beadwork. 2018. Image by Gontse Mathabathe.

The agency of the women of Masikhule Stokvel beg the question: what role did Nkosikazi Nodiyala play in choosing the design of the Mandelas' SONA 2015 outfit? Granted, abaThembu 'traditional' dress practices may have limited her choice in dress, as per the aforementioned marriage and *hlonipha* practices. One might ask then, what extent of 'tradition' did she really keep in her outfit? With each SONA appearance, her headwrap for example was wrapped in a more subdued manner, tightly and closer to her head. Additionally, the Mandelas - including Nkosikazi Nosekeni's appearance in the later years, indicate a move away from atypical 'traditionalist' dress practices to more modernized versions of 'traditional' dress, as evident in Nkosi Zwelivelile's transition from walking barefoot to wearing gladiator sandals (2013 through to 2016) and Nkosikazi Nodiyala's inclusion of the matching heels and purse (2015, 2016) Could this be Nkosikazi Nodiyala's influence or just an indication of a modernised form of 'tradition'?

There are many other communities who uphold the customs of their respective chiefdoms, such as the Tsolo Anglican Church[111] who identify as Mpondomise or the Imvelo Yama-Mpondo who maintain Mpondo customs. Mahmood Mamdani[112] argues that colonial subjects are directly and indirectly governed by state crafted colonial rule (Mamdani 2018: xiii). The direct rule used European laws to control colonial subjects while the indirect rule used customary law to control tribal leadership and groupings (Mamdani 2018: xiii). This form of governance predates back Apartheid is tied to a focus on land and political spheres of influence and traditional leaders and their power bases, It further reinforced Apartheid discriminatory legislature and can still be seen in many ethnic groups today. The Masekule Stokvel, however liberated their mixing and redesigning of 'traditional' dress, may unfortunately, seem still unfortunately, remain within the boundaries of ethnic grouping of the Nguni people.

[111] According to Nettleton (2013), the Tsolo Anglican mission church was called St. Cuthbert's. The church is located in the town of Tsolo in the Eastern Cape between Mthatha and Maclear (Nettleton: 2013: 38). The area is 'traditionally' of Mpondomise chiefs but includes the Mfengu peoples" (Nettleton: 2013: 38).

[112] See Mahmood Mamdani's *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (2018).

This notion of debunking narrow tropes with which Black women are burdened echoes Gqola's[113] adaptation of "the difficult task of normalising freedom" (2017: 14). Black Women have to navigate the tricky place between Feminism, often rendered non-inclusive by White Feminism and Patriarchal and nationalistic ideologies that often erases or sThis is further entrenched in 'traditional' marriages. This is particularly entrenched in 'traditional' marriages.

Between Patriarchy, 'traditions' and liberation of Nkosikazi

Despite Nkosi Zwelivelile's insistence on wearing and showcasing to the world his abaThembu ethnicity at the widely covered SONA, he shows signs of hybridity and ability to cross-cultural and racial barriers. For example, women have been entirely responsible for the creation of beadwork, within the realm of dress and, specifically, 'traditional' beadwork. In most cases, the beadwork created is gifted to the beadmaker's husbands, partners and/or boy children. Nkosi Zwelivelile – who in SONA 2015, accessorised his outfit with turquoise beadwork – which indicates it was most likely made and bought by female beadmaker.

Unlike both his wives, Nkosi Zwelivelile did not change his name following his marriages - especially after converting to Islam. This shows a need to hold on to his chieftaincy and the desire to retain his power and status, despite having relinquished his 'traditional' religious beliefs[114]. Both Nkosikazi Nodiyala[115] and Nkosikazi Nosekeni have in their own way contributed to his hegemonic masculinity. Through the acceptance of polygamy, and their appearances dressed in abaThembu 'traditional' attire at the public and performative event of SONA, they, to a certain extent, relinquishing their own ethnic identity. Again, this reaffirms the hegemonic masculinity and Patriarchy that Nkosi Zwelivelile embodies. Having the choice to change religious beliefs and maintain your desired high-rank in society is a luxury often afforded to only men.

To further complicate their gendered dynamic, Nkosi Zwelivelile's current wife, Nkosikazi Nosekeni introduces nuances to abaThembu 'traditional' ideologies and, by extension,

[113] See Pumla D. Gqola, *The Difficult Task of Normalising Freedom: Spectacular Masculinities, Ndebele's Literary/Cultural Commentary and Post-apartheid Life* (2009).

[114] This shift for Nkosi Zwelivelile is something I would have loved to explore in my interview with him, as it would have unraveled rich insight into his psyche and identity as a man in relation to his wives. But without his input, I argue for sustained hegemonic masculinity.

[115] I had hoped to add Nkosikazi Nodiyala's voice in this study, but she, unfortunately, declined to be interviewed – this is perhaps another reflection of Nkosi Zwelivelile's hegemonic masculinity and dominance over her.

hegemonic masculinities. She creates an ambivalence in Nkosi Zwelivelile's performed masculinity.

BBC's 2016 article titled, *Mandela's conversion to Islam Sparks South Africa 'Disquiet'*, describes Nkosi Zwelivelile's conversion to Islam, as a "man of tradition" and quotes him saying:

> Although Rabia and I were raised in different cultural and religious traditions, our coming together reflects what we have in common: We are South Africans. (BBC 2016)

What makes this dynamic most interesting is the Patriarch system of Islam, through which Nkosikazi Nosekeni is raised, which forbids her to marry and transition into 'traditional' African belief system. On the surface, she appears as a liberated modern woman, in contrast to Nkosikazi Nodiyala who adopts her husband's culture and 'traditions' and embodies a more 'traditionalist' image as *uMakoti*.

To further reinstate the 'traditionalist' expectations places a newly married woman, Chief Mwelo Nonkonyane – a representative of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa – is quoted saying:

> we reacted with shock on the news of his conversion. We are also concerned. What we know is that the [a] wom[a]n, converts, not the man. That is our custom. (Eddy 2016)

After heated debates amongst the traditional leader circles of Mveso, regarding Nkosi Zwelivelile's decision to convert to Islam, the two (Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nosekeni) married in 2016. The two married in a Nikah ceremony at Hidayatul Islam Masjid in Kensington. They were married by Sheikh Ebrahim Gabriels from Masjidul Rawbie. This was a year after Nkosi Zwelivelile converted to Islam.

Nkosikazi Nosekeni is from Primrose Park in Cape Town, in the Western Cape Province and identifies and a Muslim woman. She is part of a large demographic of Muslim people who reside in in the Western Cape. Nkosikazi Nosekeni, who is named after former President Nelson Mandela's mother Nosekeni Mandela received her full name from the Royal House of Mandela. Her marriage to the Chief of Mveso and grandson of Nelson Mandela, was instrumental in converting an, otherwise, 'traditionalist' man, Nkosi Zwelivelile to Islam. Furthermore it evokes South Africa 'Rainbow-nation' idealism embodied by Nkosi Zwelivelile's grandfather and his contemporaries.

Beyond Gendered dynamic: A future

As gendered dynamics mutate from the 20th century into the current 21st century, contemporary Black women are faced with similarly changing and evolved forms of oppression developed from the narrative of heroic nationalism (Gqola 2017: 26) and patriarchal social systems (Khanyile 2015: 3). There is no denying the fact that Nkosi Zwelivelile's last name – Mandela – holds weight in South Africa's socio-political history. This has direct impact on his wives, who are burdened with stereotypical and domestic definitions of *uMakoti.*

However, I believe that Nkosikazi Nodiyala's role in the construction of identity through 'traditional' abaThembu dress was impactful, however small, in the making of the Mandelas' SONA 2015 garments. Influenced by radical Black feminist thinking (Thorpe, 2018; Gqola, 2017) and black feminism thought and womanism (Christian 1995; Gqola 1999) that challenges normative gender roles, I follow the school of thought that centralises Black women and that encourages our freedom to self-actualise in what-ever form we choose, even through dress. This, of course, is layered with not only the freedom of Black people in general but acknowledges the interconnected forces of oppression that affect women's lives (Gqola 1999: 14).

This chapter, therefore reveals the nuances one may overlook in polygamy and the gendered reactions within 'traditional' African marriages. Furthermore, to quote Connell, this chapter highlighted that everyday life, as well as in the Mandela's SONA moment, is an arena of gender politics (Connell 1995: 3). It is important, in conclusion to this chapter, to state that as

per Daymond argument, “cultural feminism in South Africa does not form a single, coherent movement” (1996: npn). A normalised narration of the Black female body, such as the inherent role that *uMakoti* has to play, particularly within ‘traditional’ weddings is constantly changing and being readapted. A woman’s role is more often than not, unique to the individual woman, circumstance, environment, class and familial dynamics. With that said, Nkosikazi Nodiyala and Nkosikazi Nosekeni, simultaneously, unravel the nuances between normalised of Patriarchy, Feminism and gendered dynamics. Their dynamic and fluid contemporary identity as a wives to a political leader and Chief signals the intersection of both tradition and modernity. The outfits, therefore, provoked a seamless transcendence of gender-conforming ideologies of femininity and masculinity, while eloquently reimaging the institutionsof polygamy and marriage within Black communities.

CHAPTER 4:

The performative

This chapter explores how the Mandelas' SONA 2015 outfits have contributed to broader ideologies of Black identity, self-hood, political performance, political rebellion and the red-carpet phenomena within a South African socio-political context.

The notion of political performance explored in this chapter is unpacked, primarily, in relation to Nkosi Zwelivelile, and thereafter, its effect to his wife, Nkosikazi Nodiyala. As the grandson of the first democratically elected president and revered freedom fighter, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, Nkosi Zwelivelile alludes to a masculine rebellion against the colonial and Western epistemologies, while highlighting fight for liberation for Black people. Furthermore, one could read Nkosi Zwelivelile's military-inspired outfit as a form of resistance against British settlers.

However, how does this notion of resistance overlook the "layered and contradictory valances of dress, attire, accessory and ammunition" (Mokoena 2016: 230)? Does Nelson Mandela and by extension, Nkosi Zwelivelile, subvert White and Western social, economic and epistemological ideologies or is the choice in dress an acknowledgement of their unsavoury alliance to the colonial empire? This chapter seeks to unpack these two opposing arguments to find the nuances that Mandelas evoke.

The idea of the performative being enacted through dress is theorised by various writers within the fields of sociology, the social sciences and anthropology including Allman, 2004; Austin, 1975; Diamond, 1996; Hendrickson, 1996; Johnson, 2003; Hamera, 2007; and Merrington 1995; amongst others.

This chapter, also unpacks notions of agency, self-stylisation and making of self-identity. This notion of the self-identity is unpacked in relation to the cultural studies of Richard Hoggart (1957), Raymond Williams (1957) and Sarah Nuttal (2004). Anthony Elliot's text, *Concepts of the Self* (2014) is also used to explore the different manifestations of self-hood. Continuing from the discussion in chapter 3 on gender dynamics and hegemonic masculinities I, therefore, argue in this chapter, that Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala, respectively embody the two aforementioned forms of self-hood. In order to place this paper in the contemporary, I also incorporate a reading various other political guest at SONA who use 'traditional' dress as a form of self-stylisation and identity making. Additionally the chapter highlights emerging art practitioners who use their 'traditional' ethnic identity to reimagine Black identity.

Performance through dress:

The spectacle and performative nature of SONA 2015, adds to South Africa's longstanding imperial history of self-reinforced nationalist ideologies. Peter Merrington's 1997 journal, *Masques, Monuments, and Masons: The 1910 Pageant of the Union of South Africa*, explores the idea of performativity within South Africa's political environment. He traces it back to can be South Africa's 1910 'Union Pageant' which enhanced the identity of English and Dutch-speaking settlers (Merrington 1997: 3). At the time, English-speaking imperialist led the Union and as a result, Indigenous people of South Africa, including the Khoekhoen, the Sân, the Basoto and Nguni ethnic groups, where defined in "primitive and pre-historical" terms, while their social and political interested were largely, ignored (Merrington 1997: 3).

This display of nationalist ideologies, centralised in Cape Town has intersections with today's SONA red-carpeted performance. In a similar fashion, nationalist ideologies, differing as they may be, remain central in both cases: Pro-union leadership "between the colonies and dominions of the empire" (Marrington 1997: 4) in 1910 and a democratised, 'Rainbow-nation' for all in 2015. The iconography of the SONA 2015 event is able to be read and often includes aspects of political propaganda. This iconography and propaganda of SONA's spectacle is fitting for the Mandelas' public performance and preoccupation with the preservation of 'traditional' abaThembu people, as they use the stage of SONA to theatrically perform their ethnic identity and by extension the ANC's nationalist manifesto.

Particular to the Mandelas' SONA 2015 appearance, elements of choreography and performance are displayed in relation to the legacy of Nkosi Zwelivelile's grandfather, Nelson Mandela. The narrative of the world-renowned freedom-fighter, is further promoted by South Africa's 'Rainbowism' ideology that in the contemporary, proves to mystify the racial, economic and political reality.

Various biographies, documentaries and feature films have, further, solidified this rose-coloured narrative, by framing Nelso Mandela as the single-force that stood triumphant against the Apartheid state (Bromley 2014, 40). This includes the DVD Box set, *Nelson Mandela: From Freedom to History* (2010); the documentary, *Nelson Mandela: Son of Africa, Father of the Nation*[116] (1996); and the feature films; *Nelson Mandela: Long Walk to Freedom*[117] (2013) and *Invictus*[118] (2009). Broomley argues that, the stories of Mandela and South Africa's history often render the political as a spectacle, using recreated scenes and footage of protest, violence and everyday life, which has been reimagined by their scriptwriters and authors (Bromley 2014, 43). Further, as Broomley points out, Mandela has not been recorded inscribing himself as such and, in fact, insists that his legacy should be interrogated (Bromley 2014: 52).

The only film that, seemingly, comes close to interrogating his narrated legacy is Khalo Matabane's documentary, *Mandela: The Myth and Me*[119] (2013) which questions the meaning of freedom, forgiveness and reconciliation. Nonetheless, this narrative, which serves the interests and political messaging of not only the ANC but the oppositional party, the Democratic Alliance[120] (DA), remains strong today. Each party through – their differing

[116] This film was directed by Angus Gibson and Jo Menell. It follows Mandela's journey from his early protests against racial discrimination to his election in 1994.
[117] In this feature film, British actor, Idris Elba plays the role of Nelson Mandela. The film is based on the Mandela's 1995 autobiographical book, *Long Walk to Freedom* and was directed by Justine Chadwick.
[118] Directed in 2009 by Clint Eastwood, this biographical sport drama film features Morgan Freeman in the role of Nelson Mandela. The film is based on John Carlin book *Playing the Enemy: Nelson Mandela and the Game That Made a Nation* and follows the events leading up to the 1995 Rugby World Cup (South Africa) in which the South African Rugby team won.
[119] The film by Matabane, *Mandela: The Myth and Me* narrates a young boy's letter to Mandela and unravels the nuances of freedom, forgiveness and reconciliation. Both fictional and realistic, the film includes interviews with various individuals who have known Mandela personal history and biography, including politicians, activists and artists.
[120] As seen in Amil Umraw's TimesLive article, The Royal House of Mandela – led by Nkosi Zwelivelile – demands that the DA refrain from using the Mandelas' name and legacy. This is after the DA's election campaign was disseminated ahead of 2019's National Election in South Africa. Nkosi Zwelivelile accuses the DA of abusing the

manifestos – bring up the legacy of Mandela and the ideologies of 'Rainbowism' to evoke a sense of freedom of all the people for South Africa and to attain more votes.

Furthermore, Elleke Boehmer's 2008 study of Mandela describes how various films and documentaries have rendered Mandela "banal, excavated of all meaning till all sense of the human being behind the public face disappears"(Boehmer 2008: 181). South African author, Zakes Mda's *New York Times* article titled *The Contradictions of Mandela* (2013), also ascribes Mandela as a man who fulfilled many roles including that of an intellect, 'traditionalist' and aristocrat. Mda also notes how Nkosi Zwelivelile's controversially and pre-emptively sold the broadcast rights of his grandfather's funeral, calling him a "petty 'tribal' chief" (2013). Both the Mandelas are, therefore, men of contradictions. In Nkosi Zwelivelile's case, his carefully constructed public image as a 'peaceful' fighter for not only the abaThembu people, but people of colour around the world is made prominent not only through official Royal House press-releases, as well as informally on his Instagram account[121] which has become an extension of his duties, fatherhood and other political interests. Most recently, Nkosi Zwelivelile started a long campaign against Israel Apartheid[122].

his grandfather legacy to "promote their own narrow class interests" (Umraw 2019). It is common for the ANC and the DA (and various other opposing political parties) to squabble over their respective election campaigns, manifestos and various other political ideologies. See Unraw's article title, *Royal House want DA to Stop using Mandela's Name in Election Campaign* (2019) and Solly Moeng's article, *Political Tussle and the Ownership of Mandela's Name* (2019).

[121] See Nkosi Zwelivelile's Instagram account @NkosiZwelivelile.

[122] See Nkosi Zwelivelile's *The Guardian* opinion piece titled; *My grandfather Nelson Mandela fought: Apartheid. I see the parallels with Israel* (2018); Al Jazeers's article on News24 , *Zwelivelile Mandela slams 'Israel Apartheid'* (2019) and Suthentira Govender's *TimesLive* article Mandla Mandela Calls for Israel Ambassador to be banished (2018).



Figure 38: Actress Victoria Rowell arriving at the 61st Annual Primetime Emmy Awards in Los Angeles. 2009. Image by Jason Merritt/Getty Images.



Figure 41: 2016. SASCO WC Chair, Naledi Maponopono, strikes a pose outside the National Assembly. Image by Aletta Harrison/EWN.



Figure 44: Nwabisa Madosi and Hon Tabiso Wana arriving at the 2018 State of the Nation Address. Image by Ludidi Velani for Daily Sun.

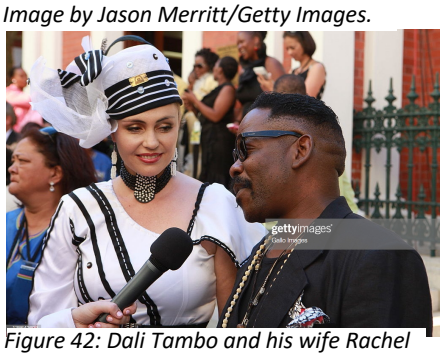


Figure 42: Dali Tambo and his wife Rachel Tambo arriving at the 2012 State of the Nation Address. Image by Nardus Engelbrecht/Gallo Images/Getty Images.



Figure 40: Former Public protector, Advocate Thuli Madonsela arriving at the 2016 State of the Nation Address dressed by Gert-Johan Coetzee. Image by: GALO IMAGES.



Figure 39: Reverend Kenned Meshoe and his wife arriving at the 2018 State of the Nation Address. I2018. mage by Elmond Jiyane/GCIS for PowerFM987.



Figure 43: Minister in Presidency Jeff Radebe with his wife Bridgette arriving at the 2018 State of the Nation Address. Image by Esa Alexander for Sunday Times.



Figure 37: Minister of Small Business Development, Lindiwe Zulu arriving at the 2018 State of the Nation Address. Image by Esa Alexander for Sunday Times

SONA red carpet: Hollywood to Cape Town

Exploring Hollywood's red carpet, Soyini Madison[123] focuses on the appearance of African American actress, Victoria Rowell at the 2009 Emmy Awards red carpet (see figure 51) dressed in Ghanaian cloth (Madison 2013). The material also has origins in Kenya, but according to Madison, it was sourced in Ghana. The material used to create Rowell's outfit, depicts 44th president of the United States of America, Barack Hussein Obama. Similar kinds of printed materials, which were made in Europe and China, are used across Africa to commemorate presidents and world leaders, including materials printed with the faces of Nelson Mandela and King Letsie III Seeiso, of Lesotho. Madison's chapter unpacks how dress is a "communicative sign" that is layered with meaning depending on the social context in which it appears (Madison 2013: 217). It holds a specific purpose within a particular socio-political context and "becomes codes of authority, gender, politics, class, geography, sexuality, power, ethnicity and ideology" (Madison 2013: 218). The communicative signs that dress holds, coupled with the body and the social space within which is it appears, gives dress a performative aspect "that yields new meaning […] and that disturbs a particular phenomenon" (Madison 2013: 218). In the case of the Mandelas SONA 2015 outfits, not only are codes of abaThembu ethnicity evoked, but political codes[124] are highlighted.

Furthermore, the SONA 2015 red carpet event uses dress to reveal "how embodied subjects respond to, or are caught up in, circulating global, national and local messages" (Lewis 2016:72). This is evident in the moments on the red carpet where politicians and parliamentary members parade their outfits and speak to journalists about the inspiration behind their outfits. For example, former Public Protector, Thuli Madonsela said that her bright yellow dress designed by prominent South African designer, Gert-Johan Coetzee, embodies a celebratory and triumphant mood in the face of corruption which has become prevalent in the current governing political party (see figure 47). The dress was dubbed "The Victory Gown" when she called its bright colour, "the colour of victory" (News24 2016). The

[123] See Soyini Madison's *Dressing Out of Place: From Ghana to Obama Commemorative Cloth on the US American Red Carpet* (2013).

[124] The various political codes mentioned are discussed at length in Chapter 3's section*: From Masculinity within the ANC to the Modern African Gentleman.*

opposition party, the Democratic Alliance (DA), on the other hand, wore coordinated black outfits at the 2016 SONA in remembrance of the Life Esidimeni scandal[125] that saw over 100 mental health patients die in public hospitals. The new political party, The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) continually wear their trademark red workers overalls and domestic worker uniforms in solidarity with the Black working class population, whom they aspire to poach as their followers.

The Mandelas (2015) on the other hand, refer to their choice of dress as being an articulation of the abaThembu people's identity in a contemporary world. In a short interview with *SABC News* at the 2018 SONA, Nkosikazi Nosekeni was asked to elaborate on what inspired their choice in dress. This came as a surprise to Nkosikazi Nosekeni who shyly responded "it's inspired by the countryside. It's also Madiba birthday, so we brought a bit of that in with our own kind of modern twist" (SABC News 2018). Seeing that the SONA event is widely covered by mass media, politicians and public workers such as Madonsela, the Mandelas use this moment as a rallying point for their political beliefs. In some cases their political parties dictate their choice in dress and in other cases, personal agendas are brought to the fore in the symbolism of their outward appearances and actions. It becomes important for politicians and public servants to use the symbolism of their dress in order to reach and engage current and potential followers, as well as to emphasise their political manifestos. Whichever gesture informs their choice in dress, this moment does not, however, drastically shift the much larger industry and phenomena of African design and aesthetics.

However, it is at SONA that we witness a showcase of glamorous and elaborate dress on prominent political leaders and personalities, who wouldn't otherwise dress in this manner either at other less-published events or in their day-to-day activities. Guests at SONA dress to the nines to make their appearance near the Portheis entrance of Parliament. They are often seen in glamorous evening gowns and three-piece suits, a reference to Western modes of dress. According to (former) Parliamentary Spokesperson, Luzuki Jacobs (2014), the SONA red carpet becomes "a spectacle" where guests step out in colourful forms of 'traditional' dress or trending gowns and revel in the attention. Apart from a handful of MPs and their guests,

[125] The Life Esidimeni case unfolded in October 2015 after the end of the contract between the Department of Health and Life Esidimeni, a private healthcare provider (Nicolson 2018). As a result over 2000 mental health care patients were moved from March 2016 which resulted in the death of 143 patients (Chabalala 2018).

(including the Mandelas), the wife of ANC MP Siphosezwe Masango, Small Business Development Minister Nini Masango, Lindiwe Zulu and SASCO WC Chair Naledi Maponono who were all clad in garments that took inspiration from 'traditional' forms, the fashion trends at SONA largely borrowed from Western fashion aesthetics. In the 2018 rendition of SONA, other examples of attires, worn by parliamentary members, influenced by 'traditional' forms but tailored in contemporary clothing included he garments of Bridgett Radebe, wife of the Minister in Presidency, Jeff Radebe who wore a black and white hat that draws from isiZulu-speaking married women's hats (see figure 37); and Nwabisi Madosa and Hon Tabiso Wana who combined beadwork from the isiZulu and isiXhosa-speaking people (see figure 39). The large majority of parliamentary members and SONA guests, however, Eurocentric-inspired garments such as three-piece suits and formal gowns. In a world where European design aesthetic rules, what does it mean when a public servant and prominent politician wears garments that reference of their own ethnic culture? Do we move beyond the atypical 'red carpet' fashion phenomenon to a deeper cultural significance and sustenance? Or can the glamour of the 'red carpet' underpinned by celebrity influence of popular culture (Martina Vacirca 2017: 38), co-exist with the importance 'traditional' garments? Do gender dynamics play a role in the making of dress and our subsequent understanding of the wearer and their context? To what extent does culturally saturated gender roles become evident in contemporary urban environments? The SONA 2015 moment is a hybrid one where the political is infused with celebrity culture and the red-carpet phenomenon. It, simultaneously, elevates and amplifies the presence of political leaders and highlights fashion trends.

The red carpet is a space in which celebrity culture has reshaped the fashion industry. A handful of writers have argued for the centrality of celebrity culture in the reshaping of the fashion industry (Gibson, 2011; Lash & Lury, 2007; Martina & Vacirca, 2017; Redmond & Holmes, 2007). However, links between celebrity and everyday fashion such as dress and clothing have had limited theoretical coverage (Martina Vacirca 2017: 38). Similar to the way 'art' and 'craft' has been defined, fashion has been defined by two distinct poles: 'high fashion' and 'street style'. Martina and Vacirca[126], argue that the "Celebrity Brand, in its diverse fashionable manifestations, is not an ephemeral event to be easily dismissed, instead,

[126] See Martina. & Vacirca's *The Celebrity Factory: New Modes of Fashion Entrepreneurship* (2017).

it is a key constituent in the ongoing (re)invention of fashion in Global Capitalism" (Martina Vacirca 2017: 49). They argue that the celebrity is fundamental to the contemporary global consumerism culture and cultural production of fashion (Martina Vacirca 2017: 38). Celebrity culture has lead trends influenced consumer behaviour, and public events such as SONA where the Mandelas appear in ethnic abaThembu dress, has no doubt influenced and highlighted the prevalence of ethnic dress in public culture. The celebrity endorser (Martina Vacirca 2017: 38) plays a big role in how the public consumes fashion and is a bridge between the fashion system and the consumer. SONA is a hybrid moment because of it infuses politics and fashion – which can be argued to be a phenomenon of class or tension of class, as red carpets are usually reserved for the rich. In this instance politicians who are understood as working class citizens too, at this moment show their elitism.

In Raymond Suttner's[127] unpacking of the concept of Africanisation, he argues that the national liberation project, often associated with, and seen to be enacted largely by the ANC, was based on the notion of the unity of Black people (Suttner 2010: 516 – 8). This unifying notion speaks back to the Black Consciousness Movement's (BCM) contest against the relegation of Black people to an inferior status. It sought to insert the power of Blackness and encompassing the valorisation of ethnic identifies. South Africa has attempted to reshape itself as a nation. With the new 'Rainbowism' ideal the country continues to be embattled with ridding itself of the divisive policies and tormenting realities of its past. Consequently, the notion of "Africanness" and oneness arose and manifested itself in all spheres of society including dress. However, it clashed with the ideological frameworks of racism and Apartheid, which sought to maintain its power by emphasising ethnic differences between Black people through the "assertion of divisive identities" (Suttner 2010: 518). Ethnic dress prescribed to distinct cultural groups, which were strongly legitimised by colonialism and apartheid policy such as the Native Land act of 1913.

The Mandelas' performative use of dress as a way to preserve their cultural heritage, is linked to what Nkosi Zwelivelile adamantly claims as being the inspiration behind his choice of dress at SONA. He uses dress as a way of distinguishing his ethnic group and its importance and

[127] See Raymond Suttner's *Africanisation African Identities and Emancipation in Contemporary South Africa* (2010)

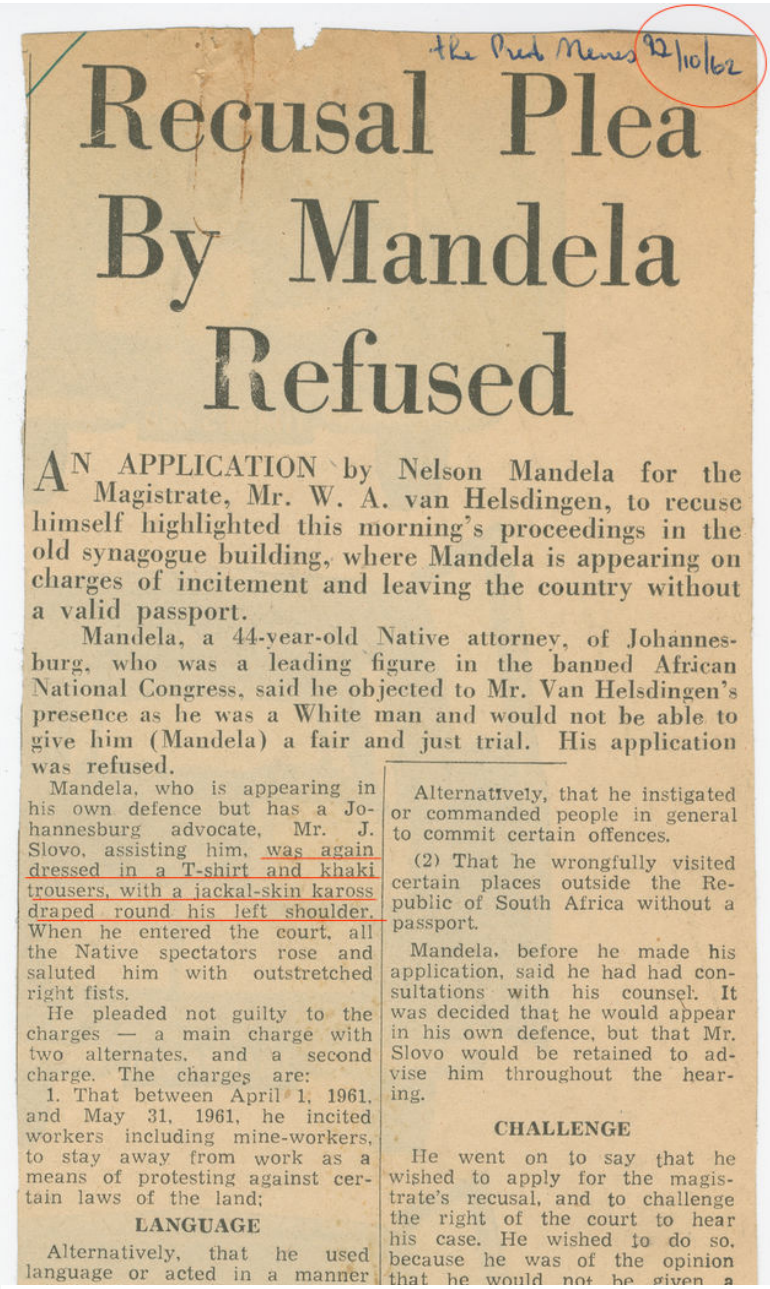
relevance in the current socio-political landscape. Furthermore, and perhaps more negatively, the Mandelas use their dress and its connection to large South African population of isiXhosa-speaking people, to maintain and build a support base for himself, his grandfather post-humously and the ANC, which is now factionalised. The negativity in patronage politics, that Nkosi Zwelivelile adopts, is a divisive and exclusive mechanism that is based in the need to distinguish distinct ethnic or cultural identities. The Mandela's through their SONA outfits, therefore, draw from the ideologies of the racist Apartheid regime that insisted in ethnic difference, as opposed to the unifying ideology of BCM and the ANC. With the unravelling of the South Africa's ideal 'rainbow-nation' narrative and with the rise of movements such as #FeesMustFall, #RhodesMustFall and the emergence of pro-Black economic empowerment[128] political groups such the Economic Freedom Fighters and Black First Land First, it is clear that political leaders are in need of inventive ways to build a strong support base. This echoes Castello's argument that ethnicity is still used by political elites as a key element "to build their networks of patronage" (Castello 2010: npn). However, the manner in which the Mandelas do so, through an emphasis on abaThembu ethnicity, goes against the contemporary emerging Black Empowerment Movements and projects, leaving them out of touch with the youth and the nuance socio-political environment.

Contradicting Suttner's definition of a homogenised Africanity, Amina Mama argues for much more nuanced and diverse African identity. She[129] states that there is no one "substantive apparatus" (2001: 10) for identity particularly in Africa and that African identity is "a gross simplification of selfhood" (2001: 11). Similarly, Hlonipha Mokena[130] (2010) argues that South Africa is entangled with the idea of the "cosmopolitan" due to its long embrace with the world (Mokoena, 2010, 46). She states that the country's racialised history, that is still deeply embedded in the fabric of society today, is a history of "denial of the hybridity and indeterminacy created by the forced and voluntary migrations and presence of innumerable cultural influences" (Mokoena 2010, 46).

[128] See Chika Okeke-Agulu's *Post–Colonial Modernism: Art and Decolonisation in Twentieth-Century Nigeri*a (2015) for context parallels on Black Economic Empowerment between Nigeria and South Africa.
[129] See Mama's *Challenging Subjects: Gender and Power in African Contexts* (2001).
[130] See Hlonipha Mokena's *Jacob Zuma and the Evanescent Legacy of the Nineteenth-Century Zulu Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism* (2010).

Rebels or conformists:

The Mandelas' SONA outfits could be read in two lights. The first would be the subtle rebellion against colonial and repressive political systems, which follows from Nkosi Zwelivelile's grandfather's 1962 court appearance in a 'traditional' kaross. The second view may point to Nkosi Zwelivelile's embrace of the very systems his grandfather and other anti-Apartheid fighter sought to dismantle, through the inclusion of non-abaThembu elements such as his military jacket and gladiator sandals.



the Pret News 22/10/62

Recusal Plea By Mandela Refused

AN APPLICATION by Nelson Mandela for the Magistrate, Mr. W. A. van Helsdingen, to recuse himself highlighted this morning's proceedings in the old synagogue building, where Mandela is appearing on charges of incitement and leaving the country without a valid passport.

Mandela, a 44-year-old Native attorney, of Johannesburg, who was a leading figure in the banned African National Congress, said he objected to Mr. Van Helsdingen's presence as he was a White man and would not be able to give him (Mandela) a fair and just trial. His application was refused.

Mandela, who is appearing in his own defence but has a Johannesburg advocate, Mr. J. Slovo, assisting him, was again dressed in a T-shirt and khaki trousers, with a jackal-skin kaross draped round his left shoulder. When he entered the court, all the Native spectators rose and saluted him with outstretched right fists.

He pleaded not guilty to the charges — a main charge with two alternates, and a second charge. The charges are:

1. That between April 1, 1961, and May 31, 1961, he incited workers including mine-workers, to stay away from work as a means of protesting against certain laws of the land;

LANGUAGE

Alternatively, that he used language or acted in a manner

Alternatively, that he instigated or commanded people in general to commit certain offences.

(2) That he wrongfully visited certain places outside the Republic of South Africa without a passport.

Mandela, before he made his application, said he had had consultations with his counsel. It was decided that he would appear in his own defence, but that Mr. Slovo would be retained to advise him throughout the hearing.

CHALLENGE

He went on to say that he wished to apply for the magistrate's recusal, and to challenge the right of the court to hear his case. He wished to do so, because he was of the opinion that he would not be given a

Figure 45: Image courtesy Coen Stork and Nelson Mandela Foundation (full ref: https://www.nelsonmandela.org/news/entry/correcting-long-walk-to-freedom

Let's start by unpacking the former, a more subtle rebellion against oppressive political systems. Nkosi Zwelivelile's grandfather's appearance in a 'traditional' jackal-skin kaross at the 1962 trial signified an act of rebellion against the Apartheid regime, through dress. Contemporary news of the timed escribed how Mandela wore the kaross across his left shoulder and with a t-shirt and khaki trousers. This visual representation parallels the Eli Weinberg photograph taken a year earlier. As he walked into the court, his supporters' – who were mostly Black – raised their fists in support. Their clenched 'struggle fists' evokes the ongoing fight for a free and democratic society, for all. Both Nelson Mandela and Nkosi Zwelivelile take on the cultural practice of dress that, as Durham (1999: 390)

suggests, is imprinted with colonial and post-colonial relations. Mandela's image (1961) and court appearance (1962) is concerned with the dismantling of the colonial enterprise on the Black body, while Nkosi Zwelivelile is more concerned with the post-colonial and post-1994 relevance and preservation of 'tradition' and ethnicity.

Mandela legitimises Black ethnicity at his 1962 court appearance while Nkosi Zwelivelile continues to insert Blackness into the political event of SONA. Both create a subtle, non-violent subversion in an attempt to preserve, what Magubane (1998), called, a "vanishing culture" (Magubane 1998). The suggested subversion through dress will be explored in relation to the intellectual movement known as Afrocentrism, using Molefi Kete Asante's text, *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change* (1980) which launched the first full discussion on the movement. Raymond Suttner's text, *Africanisation African Identities and Emancipation in Contemporary South Africa* (2010) will also be considered.

With the dawn of democracy in 1994, a new form of masculinity that directly opposed the Nationalist Afrikaners' rigid hierarchical social order was embodied by many struggles leaders from the Apartheid and colonial eras, including South Africa's first democratically elected president and Nkosi Zwelivelile's grandfather, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela (Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger 2012: 17). Not only did Mandela fight the discriminatory regime that saw to oppress people of colour, but he symbolically rebelled and affirmed his Blackness through dress. The photograph taken by Eli Weinberg (see figure 52) shows Mandela dressed in a make-shift abaThembu attire. The black and white photograph shows Mandela looking into the distance (away from the camera), and dressed in a beaded necklace and a leather bracelet with rivets on his forearm. A white cloth (which was supposedly a bedspread) is draped downwards across his left shoulders downwards exposing his chest, shoulders and abdomen. The image was taken in a tiny flat of Communist Party member and political activist journalist, Wolfie Kodesh in Berea, Johannesburg when Mandela was in hiding before his trip across Africa to strength ANC support. However, he showed up at the Rivonia Trials wearing a suit. The image depicts Mandela wearing the Rivonia Trials dressed in a wide beaded necklace in the gold, green and black colours of the ANC, a golden arm bracelet on his bicep and a 'traditional' leopard-skin kaross of the abaThembu ethnic group (Gambade 2013). His wife, Winnie

Madikizela-Mandela also wore 'traditional' dress (see figure 51) in support. This image is a landmark example of his rebellious masculinity[131] and subversive resistance through dress.

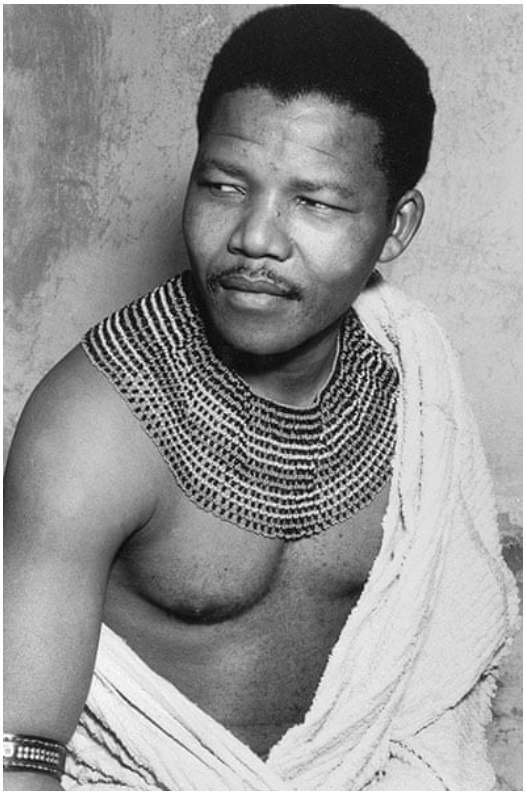


Figure 47: portrait of Nelson Rolihlahla in Wolfie Kodesh's apartments in Barea, Johannesburg. 1961. Image by Eli Weinberg courtesy of Robin Island and Mayibuye Archive, University of the Western Cape.



Figure 46: Winnie Madikizela Mandela arriving at Rivonia Trials in Pretoria. 1962. Image by associate Press.

Speaking on his choice of dress at the 1962 court appearance, Mandela points to the importance of cultural heritage in the liberation struggle in his autobiography, *Long Walk To Freedom*:

> I entered the Court that Monday morning [the first day of the trial] wearing a traditional Xhosa…*kaross* instead of a suit and tie. The *kaross* electrified the spectators… Winnie [his wife] also wore traditional beaded headdress and an ankle-length Xhosa skirt.

[131] The phrase *rebellious masculinity* that I use here and throughout this chapter draws from the masculine performance of Black men, particularly as a resistance against Apartheid and in the context of intense political conflict and struggle. (expand)

> I had chosen traditional dress to emphasize the symbolism that I was a black African walking into a white man's court. I was literally carrying on my back the history, culture and heritage of my people. That day I felt myself be the embodiment of African nationalism, the inheritor of Africa's difficult but noble past and her uncertain future. The *kaross* was also a sign of contempt for the niceties of white justice. I well knew the authorities would feel threatened by my *kaross* as so many whites feel threatened by the true culture of Africa. (Mandela 1995: 384 – 5)

Against the backdrop of colonialism, and missionaries disdain for 'traditional' dress amongst those they attempted to convert, 'traditional' dress – according to Costello (1990), Procter and Klopper (1994) and Zungu (2000) – was used as form a resistance against White epistemic and economic power (Gqola 2017: 22). Mandela's 1962 appearance in 'traditional' and royal abaThembu dress with beadwork (Castello 1995: 384 – 5), was a visual representation of resistance against Western law and the political regime which sought to oppress African people. Protesting against the South African apartheid regime (Proctor & Klopper, 1993), Mandela subverted what was considered 'normal' dress for political leaders and brought to life the need for Indigenous dress in political environments (Betancourt, 2015).

Similarly, Madikizela-Mandela, a revered anti-Apartheid political leader, wore 'traditional' abaThembu dress in support of her husband, Mandela (See figure 51). Their appearance signaled Black and Pan-African[132] affiliation (Betancourt, 2015) which has trickled down to Nkosi Zwelivelile and many other contemporary political leaders.

In contrast to Nelson Mandela's use of dress as a form of rebellion against the anti-Black Apartheid regime, one wonders what political statement Nkosi Zwelivelile makes as he appears in 'traditional' abaThembu dress at SONA annualy? May it be against South Africa's

[132] Pan-Africanism is a worldwide cultural movement that encourages the union of Black Africans. Led by African Americans in the Diaspora in the mid-19th century, Pan-Africanism attempts to bridge the gap between African Americans and Black Africans. The movement in the West was led by Martin Delany and Alexander Crummell. (Adeleke, 1998; Wahle, 1986). I link this movement to South Africa's liberation struggles and the ANC, using Kwandiwe Kondolo's (2009: 282) argument on the appropriation of "Africanist orientation of the PAC [Pan Africanist Congress]" with the politics of South Africa's new democratic government led by the ANC (Landsberg 2012).

adoption of Western political systems or the continuing need for economic and political freedom for Black and disenfranchised people? I would argue that Nkosi Zwelivelile is concerned with the latter, which is concerned with the liberation of colonised people. He has been vocal, not only about South Africa's political landscape (Mandela 2018c), but the ongoing wars in Syria and Israel (Mandela 2018b,e; Mandela 2019a). Using Instagram as a platform, Nkosi Zwelivelile documents both his personal life and political opinions, the latter of which uses formal press release formats. He rallies behind the ANC (Mandela 2018a,d; Mandela 2019a) and continually elevates the legacy of Nelson Mandela by reminding us of the injustices of the past and the fight against it, which according to him was led by his grandfather. Most recently, Nkosi Zwelivelile has been most vocal about the human rights violations and genocide of the Palestian people in Israel (Mandela 2018b,e; Mandela 2019a). He enacts what Deborah Willis calls "subversive resistance" (2003) by subverting dominant narratives of Eurocentric ideals and dress forms. Furthermore, he acknowledges his heritage and culture as being central in the continuing fight for social and political justice. As noble as this fight for social and political justice may be, it continues a male hegemonic status quo of power and authority in politics and highlights his privileged position as a wealthy and powerful man with the Mandela name.

The Mandelas reaffirm their place in South African politics while attempting to assert their 'tradition', through dress. As their garments include modernised aspects of 'traditional' abaThembu dress and incorporated garments from other cultures, it is not definitively 'traditional'. This, however, does not deter their assertion of 'traditional' abaThembu ideologies. By using the widely watched SONA platform, which encourages a performative act in its red carpet moment, the Mandela yield new meaning on our understanding of politics in relation to 'tradition' and culture by bringing those two, sometimes disparate worlds closer. Additionally, on his grandfather's history of rebellion through dress, a masculine performative aspect is evoked.

The commitment to human rights under the new constitution meant that new heroic masculinity which went against the previous regime was born with the Mandela name. Following his grandfather's lead, Nkosi Zwelivelile's SONA 2015 outfits use 'traditional dress' to enact a powerful symbol of African nationalism and speak to the need to preserve

abaThembu heritage, culture and history. Additionally, Nkosi Zwelivelile continues the subtle rebellion against the Apartheid and colonial political systems. By combining the military jacket with 'traditional' abaThembu dress, Nkosi Zwelivelile ensures that the abaThembu's history is solidified in the country's history of war, struggle and rebellion against colonial settlers. Not only are the clothes a symbol of their culture as abaThembu men, but are symbols of resistance and rebellion (Carver 2007: 34) which add to the formation of their self-identity.

In contrast to the resistance against colonial and Eurocentric political regimes, one could argue that Nkosi Zwelivelile, in fact, embraces those very same discriminatory systems. He chooses to wear a military jacket in his SONA 2015 outfit, which references the violence of the state. The military jacket, as stated in Chapter 2, has its origins in 18th-century Hungarian light horse troopers and 19th century Napoleonic-era French and Russian armies (Payne, 2015; Neward, 2009: 205). Associated with authority status and masculinity, the military jacket was worn in scenes of violent battles. He also chose to wear gladiator sandals which refer to the male culture of one-on-one violence from the most colonial and completely unequal ancient European society of the Ancient world. This argument, however, doesn't hold validity as it contrasts Nkosi Zwelivelile's sentiments as to why he choses to wear the military jacket. He uses the jacket as a reminder of the abaThembu's involvement in the Frontier wars that took place between 1779 and 1879. By coupling the military jacket with 'traditional' ethnic pieces, such as the turquoise beadwork, be brings the two worlds of war/battle and 'tradition' into one conversation. But, there is something to say the effect these garments have on how we read the Black body that wears them.

By wearing these overtly, non-abaThembu garments (military-style jacket and gladiator sandals), Nkosi Zwelivelile's outfit has the same effect as what the sartorial subcultural groups that Farber explores (2015). These subgroups include the Sbhujwas, the Saartists, the Smarteez and Izikhothane; all who integrated the suit into their outfits. Traced back to the amaKholwa[133] – the first generation of converts to Christianity and mission-school educated Black intelligentsia of the late 19th century – the suit is an example of subversive resistance that disrupted normative codes (Farber 2015: 114 – 5). The suit was worn to dislodge the

[133] See Hlonipha Mokoena's *Magema Fuze: The Making of Kholwa Intellectual* (2011).

stereotypical associations of backwardness that came with 'traditional' dress. By placing a 109 dehumanising suit, which was often associated with progression and civilization, on a Black body which was, in the colonial era, often read as "inferior and bad" (Biko 2005: 75) in relation to more 'civilised' White body, these subcultural groups unshackle the Black body of the negative and dehumanising associations. This contemporary freeing of the Black body through dress, I believe, draws on the Afrocentrism movement.

The intellectual movement known as Afrocentrism was popularised in the 1960s when many African countries became independent (Asante, 1980, 1990, 1991a, 1991b, 2017; Diagne, Mama & Nuamnjoh, 2001; Mazama, 2002; Olaniyan, 1995). Molefi Kete Asante, a leading Afrocentric writer, describes Afrocentricity as

> the intellectual work of a group of African philosophers, historians and sociologists during the twentieth century with varying degrees of attachment to the central idea that the key crisis in the African world is the profoundly disturbing decentering of African people from a subject position within their own narrative (Asante 2017).

Afrocentrism is involved with the move towards re-centralising African people in the history of Africa and while acknowledging the achievements and historic relevance of Africans (Mama 2001; Mokoena 2010; Suttner 2010). In South Africa, anti-Apartheid political leader, Bantu Stephan Biko, lead the Black Conscious Movement (BCM) which was about the "philosophical psychology of consciousness, [a] desire for a decolonising of the mind and the liberation of Africa" (Ahluwalia & Zegeye 2001: 455). The dominant ideology of the BCM gave rise to a new precedent that set to liberate Black people from the oppressive and institutionalised force of race brought by Colonialism and Apartheid in South Africa (Gqola 1999: 2). Afrocentrism in dress is closely linked to the creation or resurrection of Black cultural symbols and representation such as 'African dress' in general or the resurrection of the 'Afro'; the headwrap and 'dashiki' in the African American political environments (Lynch & Straus, 2014; Lemelle, 1993). Other Afrocentric symbols that rose in America included headwraps, dreadlocks and wooden jewellery. However, these symbols of African identity and representation have been distorted and affected by Eurocentric conceptualisations that ensured the erasure of African cultural productions (Lemelle 1993: 93). Both BCM and

Afrocentric movements in the USA sought to increase the visibility of positive blackness in a world that implied the inferiority and undesirability of the Black body. However, as Gqola (1999: 2) notes, that BCM and similar movements of the late 90s have sexist overtones which often mute or ignore the representation of Black women. The gender bias towards Black men is evidenced in the way women have been portrayed, as not part of the emancipation struggle, which involved both men and women. The male rhetoric that dominates how history is written would need to be debunked and de-centred in order to dismantle gendered hierarchies. In so doing, women like Madikizela-Mandela and Nkosikazi Nodiyala who have been overshadowed by the "generic male" (Phillips 1991: 2) and masculine hegemony of their husbands will be liberated from these bias and gendered hierarchies, allowing them a personalised voice and fullness of portrayal.

Within this complex and nuanced resistance to colonialism and Apartheid in South Africa, it's important to see how the Mandelas' SONA outfits fit in the framework of Blackness, tradition and culture. Nthabiseng Motsemme[134] coins the term *itradition* and associates it with the recent phenomena and fashion trends seen amongst Black female South Africans. She describes how this part of the population embraces Afro-femme designs that borrow from African aesthetics and that disrupt normative Western notions of beauty and fashionable dress (2003: 14). This is evidenced in the rise of African-inspired material cultures such as wax print fabric, beaded necklaces and head-wraps which have now surpassed the confines of weddings and social events to being seen on television[135], in fashion magazines[136] and on

[134] See Nthabiseng Motsemme's Distinguishing Beauty, Creating Distinctions: The Politics and Poetics of Dress among Young Black Women (2011).

[135] An example of the rise of African Aesthetics is seen in the 2016 doek (head wrap) scandal associated with the leading news and information media house, eNCA. Reporter Nontobeko Sibisi's story on African cross-border music was removed by her line manager due to attire, which featured an African wax print doek. This escalated tensions on how Black Africans should dress and culminated to a social media trend and movement of #RespekTheDoek that showcased the rise of African aesthetics and a larger call for change in contemporary South Africa.

[136] Various fashion magazines from around the have attempted to keep up with the rise of African aesthetics. Elle magazine has been at the forefront of disseminating African aesthetics and fashion trends. Starting with their January 2013 issue that celebrated the spirit of African fashion featuring an editorial fashion shot in Johannesburg with model Sharleen Dziire. Popular South Africa magazine Destiny, in its April 2016 edition depicted South African celebrity and it girl, Nomzamo Mbatha clad in a black and white shawl by South African designer Laduma Ngxokolo, whose label Maxhosa by Laduma is inspired Xhosa aesthetics and beadwork. Elle magazine once again gave a nod the Ngxokolo's Xhosa-inspired designs in their February 2015 "Sisterhood" issue where cover girls, models and twin sisters Suzana and Suzane Messana were dress in Ngxokolo's Designs.

influencer's[137] social media pages. Most recently leading celebrity, fashion and gossip magazine, Glamour Magazine was at the forefront of foregrounding Black and local faces in their September 2018 issue, under the leadership of new editor-in-chief, Asanda Sizani.

Self-stylisation and the emergence of self-identity:

Self-hood, subjectivity and self-identity are concepts are rooted cultural studies and associated with Richard Hoggart[138] (1957) and Raymond Williams (1957). Self-hood, as understood by sociologists, is defined in two ways: firstly, through an active agency, self-stylisation and self-management and secondly, as an infringed form of self-hood which is determined by external cultural conventions and social practice (Elliot 2014: 14). Stylising of the self through dress is a phenomenon that Sarah Nuttall[139] (2004) unpacks. She describes self-stylising as:

> how people seek to transform themselves into singular beings, to make their lives into an oeuvre that carries with it certain stylistic criteria. I am also referring to the emergence of explicit forms of selfhood within the public domain and the rise of the first-person singular within the work of liberation.
> Nuttall 2004: 432

Stylising through dress involves the curation and formation of an outward expression of the self and one's identity. Furthermore, It is an attempt to formulate and express both our collective and individual identities. The Mandela SONA moment and Nkosi Zwelivelile's insistence on the preservation of abaThembu culture, foregrounds the play between individualised and collective memory of culture through dress. It is through the interactions we have with the garments and their materiality, that our identity and the values we attach to them is constructed. Barbera & Payne states that the subject, "born into language culture

[137] A growing Xhosa-inspired fashion trend has gained traction through various influencers and so-called "cool kids of Instagram". This includes style blogger, Kwena Baloyi, founder of Kwenasays known for her elaborate *Afrika Krown* hairstyles and lifestyle blogger Siyah Beyile behind the popular styling company, The Threaded Man, known for his eloquent masculine style that often borrows from his Xhosa culture.
[138] Richard Hoggart is an English writer on cultural and social change. In 1964, he founded the University of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) that "investigated an energetic cross-disciplinary exploration of areas within media, youth cultures, education, gender and race" (Barbera & Payne, 2010: 115).
[139] See Sarah Nuttall's *Stylizing the Self: The Y Generation in Rosebank* (2004).

and race, class and gender politics… is never autonomous" (2010: 3). The wearer is in constant flux with the socio-political environment around them as they define the self and by extension their expression of self-identity through dress often not reflect the world around them. In this light therefore, the Mandelas abaThembu inspired garments at SONA 2015 not only reflect a 'traditional' and nostalgic past, but materially displays the modernity and the contemporary South African socio-political landscape.

Dress in the South African context has played a vital role in our understanding of the current socio-political context and the wearer's performed personal and social identities. From everyday moments captured by street photography trio, *I See a Different You*[140] and influencer and photographer, Trevor Stuurman's[141] *Stuurman Style Diary*, to artistic representations by South African artists Penny Siopis[142] and Mary Sibande[143] and playwright-duo Yael Farber and Thembi Mtshali-Jones[144], dress is a material culture and social symbol (Mitchel 2009) that highlights the wearers identity and the current socio-political context.

SONA is a moment that is deeply entrenched in the public domain through mass media. Within the 21st century context of increased access to information and technology (Elliot 2014: 1), self-hood is often altered through our interaction with one another through information systems. The formal proceeding of SONA is preceded by the 'red carpet' moment in which journalist engage with and disseminate the images of political leaders, MPs and other distinguished guests. The 'red carpet' phenomenon – popularised in Hollywood through events such as the Oscars, the Emmys, or the BET Awards – is a media spectacle with strong commercial objectives (Swiatek 2014: 2). Creating an ideal space for journalists and

[140] *I See a Different You* is collective of a Soweto-born, trio of brothers - Justice Innocent and Vuyo - who, through their own style and camera lenses, work to tell the story of Africans change the perception of Africa

[141] Trevor Stuurman is a South African born popular street style photographer. His breakthrough moment occurred in 2012 when he was named ELLE's street style reporter and he has since become a household name in South African fashion, style and blogging industries. He is the brains behind the popular blog Stuurman Style diaries that capture the styles and fashion trends on South African streets and celebrity filled-events.

[142] Penny Siopis is a South African artist best known for her paintings which foreground the materiality of paint, the accumulation of found objects, politics of the body and material memory.

[143] Mary Sibande is a South African sculpture and photographer who uses the imagined character of 'Sophie', to reclaim the Black female body in post-colonial and post-Apartheid South Africa.

[144] Singer, actress and playwright, Thembi Mtshali-Jones cough the attention of directors and playwriters in her appearance in Welcome Msomi's play, *Umabatha*. She later collaborated with writer and director, Yael Farber in the 1999 one-woman play, *A Women in Waiting,* which was commissioned by the Joseph Paps Theatre in New York.

photographers, the red carpet brings together the celebrity (or in the case of SONA, the politician) and the viewer through mass media, photography and journalism.

The red carpet, Graham Berridge notes, offers a chance for interaction:

> However brief and however stage managed – it nevertheless presents them in the flesh. For members of the public, this is also their moment to be within the same space as the people they idolise and to, almost, be within touching distance. And there always remains the possibility that something will happen to make interaction more personal and real. (Berridge 2018: 202)

On the red carpet, women tend to be at the forefront of the conversation around dress and styling. At SONA, however, this centralisation of the woman and her dress is debunked as we see Nkosi Zwelivelile take centre-stage. With the exception of of one or two questions directed to Nkosikazi Nodiyala, journalists largely focus the interview on Nkosi Zwelivelile, as he is most likely to attract 'click-bait' and readership. In the moment where Nkosikazi Nodiyala engaged, an emphasis on the inspiration beyond her choice in dress is foregrounded, as opposed to an enquiry into her political viewpoint.
Additionally, seeing that the couple adopts his abaThembu cultural identity and 'traditions' of dress – as oppose to Nkosikazi Nodiyala's Zulu identity – journalists tend to direct questions to him in order to get a meaningful response about the inspiration behind the garment's design. SONA is primarily a political event, and therefore, there is far less in-depth coverage on fashion trends that make their way inon its red carpet.

South Africa, with its complex past and its transition into the new democratic dispensation where the "rainbow nation" narrative used to contain the brewing tensions of the past is shifting with palpable race tensions as seen in Fallist[145] movements, political corruption and social media exposure of racists. The societal fabric, as a metaphor, is stitched through dress and the return to 'traditional' African attire. Despite its peripheral presence, dress practices

[145] The Fallist movement in South Africa came as a result of *the #FeesMustFall* protest by tertiary students which began in October 2015. The protests addressed the lack of access and financial exclusion from university and tertiary institutions such as the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of Cape Town.

within Black culture, has created a demand for diversity within fashion related imagery. The Mandelas alongside young bloggers and influencers, use dress to outwardly display their ethnic identity and self-identity.

The SONA event, a widely publicised and consumed moment in South Africa's political calendar, therefore, allows political personalities to play and perform through dress. Dress becomes an outward expression of the self and is used as an extension of one's identity in relation to the socio-political environment.

Furthermore, the performative aspect of SONA requires the participation of an engaged audience who responds to the outfits and the personalities that wear them. Viewed through the lens of mass media, the Mandelas use of 'traditional' dress reshapes and reimagines the representation of what contemporary abaThembu dress and ethnicity is today. Despite this, we also see how the Mandelas' preservation of abaThembu ethnic 'traditions' and culture, continues to highlight tribal segregation which divides black South African across ethnic line. This, in turn, encourages the Apartheid and colonial enterprise by further dividing Black Africans across ethnic lines.

Conclusion

To conclude, I reflect on the countless times, throughout this research, when I was asked: why would I – a sePritori-speaking, and ethnically Sepedi-identifying researcher in the field of history of Art – be interested in exploring an on-depth study of dress and fashion practices? Moreso, worn by a seemingly, 'traditionalist' MP and Politian, Nkosi Zwelivelile and his wife Nkosikazi Nodiyala?" On a primary level, I was simply drawn to the design and aesthetics of their SONA 2015 garments. The beautiful mermaid silhouette on Nkosikazi, Nodiyala's body enhanced her femininity while the striking yet, gender non-conforming gladiator sandals on Nkosi Zwelivelile evoked his 'manliness'.

Additionally, the combined used of 'traditional' turquoise beadwork on Nkosi Zwelivelile and the woven fabric of Nkosikazi Nodiyala's collar began to interest in the world of fashion and design was intrigued.

The outfits provoked a seamless transcendence of gender-conforming ideologies of femininity and masculinity, while and eloquently reimaging the institution of polygamy and marriage within Black communities.

Moreso, the social-media and online 'buzz' on their outfits provoked the dated, 'traditionalist' layer, and showed a transcendence into the contemporary. This ability to move between past and present, traditional and modern prompted this nuanced study of dress and fashion practices in Post-Apartheid South Africa.

As my research developed, I realised the important gap this study will fill in critical and cultural fashion studies.

This research paper has taken an in-depth look at Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nkosikazi Nodiyala's appearance at the 2015 State of the Nation Address in Cape Town, in the Western Cape province. Through this case study, I have unpacked the developments of 'traditional' abaThembu dress through a historical analysis that places their SONA appearance in the

socio-political context of South Africa. The Mandelas' SONA outfits, therefore, indicate an evolving index of culture and reveals the evolution and adaptation of abaThembu 'traditional' dress in the contemporary and urban environment.

Central throughout this paper were the three groups of terms and theoretical frameworks, namely: modernity and modernization; globalisation and glocalisation; hybridity and hypersampling. This paper has evidenced how the Mandelas 2015 SONA outfits combine seemingly disparate worlds of 'tradition'/contemporary; rural/urban; old/new, history/future and; African/Eurocentric.

Through the historical analysis of abaThembu people, this paper has revealed that despite Nkosi Zwelivelile insistence on a distinct ethnic group with distinct 'traditional' dress practices, abaThembu people and their material culture, in fact, was hybrid in nature. The evidence of borrowed dress practices and material culture from ancient Roman and 1800 British military regalia reveals the phenomenon of hypersampling which is often seen in subcultural groups in South Africa. This study has found that abaThembu dress is, in fact, not tied to a specific geographical area but embodies a fluidity that crosses geographical, temporal, cultural and linguistic barriers and distinctions.

Furthermore, this study has revealed the gender dynamic between the couple which has been complicated by Nkosi Zwelivelile's fourth wife, Nkosikazi Nosekeni. At first, Nkosi Zwelivelile seems to epitomize a rigid 'traditional' masculinity through practices of polygamy and his positionality within a hegemonic and patriarchal society and political party. It also appeared as if Nkosikazi Nodiyala was further entrenching his problematic gendered positionality in her submission to an adaptation of abaThembu cultural practices when she marries him. However, this is hegemonic gender dynamic is complicated when Nkosi Zwelivelile marries - his forth wide -Muslim-Indian, Nkosikazi Nosekeni. She introduced an unpredictable dynamic by influencing Nkosi Zwelivelile's change in religious belief systems. Unheard of in civic marriages, and more so in 'traditional' polygamous marriage, men rarely change their name or relinquish their cultural identity to religious belief systems to their brides. It is expected for women to *hlonipha* their husbands by submitting to the rules and customary practices laid down for her as a new wife. However, Nkosi Zwelivelile takes on part of the feminine role

when he converts to Islam in order to marry, Nkosikazi Nosekeni, disturbing the hegemonic masculine tropes he embodies.

This study has unpacked the performative qualities that come with dress and public appearances. Drawing from Nelson Mnadela's - Eli Weinberg photograph and 1962 court appearance, both which involved 'traditional abaThembu dress, Nkosi Zwelivelile's SONA appearances reveals a subtle performance of rebellion against violent supremacist political systems that seek to oppress Black Africans. Both Nkosi Zwelivelile and Nelson Mandela use dress to subvert White economic and epistemic power by centralising the importance of the Black body and ethnic 'traditions' and culture. In addition to this, by distinguishing themselves as specifically, abaThembu and by using ethnic and tribal divisions to uphold, preserve and disseminate one particular ethnic group, the Mandelas evoke the Apartheid and colonial past that was based on the disempowerment of Black people. Their efforts to only uplift the abaThembu people directly contrast the work of pro-Black movements such as the Black Conscious Movement, Afrocentrism and Pan-Africanist movements that seek to empower all Black people.

Despite the apparent lack of strong Black voices in the literature of ethnic dress, this study contributes a nuanced perspective into a field dominated by White scholars. This study is not a historical work which intends on analysing and covering the full history of abaThembu people, but one which seeks to illuminate the contemporary. It adds to the already existing historical writings and analysis of 'traditional' ethnic dress; while looks inititate a nuanced conversation on the developments in 'traditional' dress of the abaThembu people today within the socio-political and post-colonial context of South Africa.

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