2.1 Introduction

"...[A]ll knowledge is human-centred or driven by human interests, and therefore indigenous in various respects." (Masolo, 2003: 21)

This chapter presents the results of a literature review into the many definitions of IK, as well as a classification or categorisation of the types of IK. The term IK is often used interchangeably with indigenous technical knowledge, ethno-ecology, local knowledge, folk knowledge, traditional knowledge, people's science, local agricultural knowledge or rural people's knowledge (Ellen & Harris 2000; The World Bank Group 2000; Brouwer 1998; Sillitoe 1998). This research will make use of the term IK as an encompassing term including all of the above related terms.

2.1.1 What is indigenous knowledge?

On a purely semantic level, a definition of IK would be derived from combining a definition of indigenous with a definition of knowledge. Dictionary definitions of indigenous and knowledge respectively are:

"belonging naturally or originally to a place, native to" (Alswang & Van Rensburg 2000:414); and

"awareness or familiarity gained by experience" (Fowler & Fowler 1991:656).

Although the dictionary definition of the term 'knowledge' seems to be generally accepted within definitions of IK, the same does not seem to be true for the term 'indigenous'.

As different definitions by various authors become available, people are included as easily as they are excluded from being indigenous. Because of the various definitions that exist, many discrepancies developed in terms of what exactly IK is and who indigenous people(s) are.

Stavenhagen (2004:1) reports that indigenous populations, according to recent estimates, number around 300 million individuals worldwide. According to the
International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA 2005a) indigenous peoples can be divided into at least 5 000 distinct indigenous groups. IK has become a global term used by many nations to describe a knowledge in danger of becoming extinct, a knowledge that is often positioned in opposition to western or scientific knowledge. Although IK has become a global term, Le Roux (1999:14) points out that the term 'indigenous' is historically associated with Africa, as 'First Nations' refer to America and 'aboriginal' to Australia. The term 'indigenous' was used by people who did not regard themselves as 'indigenous', usually those who were in a position of power as opposed to those who had less power, with the intention of keeping them in a less powerful position (Le Roux 1999:15). This position of power refers specifically to European colonialism. An assumption could be made that the term 'indigenous' knowledge would refer to the knowledge held by indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples can therefore be defined as the:

"aboriginal peoples, original occupants or prior inhabitants of a given land, who have become marginalised after being invaded by colonial power of invaders who settled there and are now politically dominant over the earlier occupants. Typical examples are the Indians of the Americas, the Aborigines of Australia, the Maori of New Zealand, the Inuit of Alaska and the Khoisan peoples of South Africa" (Kemf 1993:3).

Another definition of indigenous peoples, clearly emphasising the original occupancy as opposed to recent settlers, is as follows:

"Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or part of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems" (Barume 2000:33).

Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Populations of the International Labour Organisation adds that "self-identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as
a fundamental criterion" (Stavenhagen 2004:2). Indigenous peoples could be identified clearly in the Americas and other regions of the world, which is not the case in Africa. The reason is that African states usually do not recognise indigenous people among their populations because of their fear of resurgent tribalism and because most Africans consider themselves to be indigenous to the continent (Stavenhagen 2004:1). Furthermore, the complication of determining which African groups should be considered as indigenous to Africa is due to the fact that Africa suffered internal colonisation prior to the invasion of European colonialists. Occupancy of areas by African populations through migration and influxes of fellow African peoples is seen as an internal form of colonialism (Barume 2000:17). This form of internal colonialism also took place in South Africa. The migration of Bantu-speaking populations into South Africa was a mobile pioneering expansion, selecting only the land best suited to their needs and abandoning the fields ruthlessly once fertility was lost (Iliffe 1995:36). Africa's history is dotted with numerous migrations resulting from drought and hunger and motivated by the desire to replenish decimated herds (Webster 1979:15). Barume (2000:35) points out that frequent movement of people resulted in colonisation, displacement and domination of existing inhabitants, which forced them into a marginalised situation. Kenrick and Lewis (2004:5) mention that both black and white colonisers of hunter-gatherer peoples dispossessed them and discriminated against them, not recognising their way of life as a legitimate use of land, and suggesting they lacked culture, were animal-like and childish. The assumption could therefore be made that in the light of internal African colonisation, and the above mentioned definitions the only indigenous people of South Africa would be the Khoisan. Many African cultures in South Africa are then excluded from being indigenous because of internal African colonialism prior to European colonialism. Even after independence most African countries failed to adopt policies that could promote cultural identities, leaving indigenous people vulnerable in a political context (Barume

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1 The term Khoisan, used within this context, refers to the hunter-gatherer peoples living in Southern Africa as a holistic group of people identified on language basis, speaking a distinctive 'click' language, as one of the four language families found on the African continent; the others being Afroasiatic, Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Congo. It is believed that all modern-day Africans are in one way or another descendents of these four major language groups (Iliffe 1995:10-11).
2000:17). For the sake of clarification, the definition of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples cited in chapter one is repeated here:

"Indigenous peoples are such population groups who from ancient times have inhabited the lands where we live, who are aware of having a character of our own, with social traditions and means of expression that are linked to the country inherited from our ancestors, with a language of our own, and having certain essential and unique characteristics which confer upon us the strong conviction of belonging to a people, who have an identity in ourselves and should be thus regarded by others" (IUCN 1997:27).

It would seem from this definition that being indigenous would largely be attributed to the span of one's memory and one's interpretation of the concept of ancient times. Needless to say that assuming the Khoisan to be the only indigenous people of South Africa totally defies the object of the widespread interest in conserving IK in South Africa. Barume (2000:34) postulates the complexity of an African definition of indigenous peoples by saying that seeing that there is no African state today in which the former colonial authorities are still in power, all African populations should be seen as indigenous ("apart from small minorities of European or Asian descent"), or none would be indigenous, because none is subject to European colonial political domination. In the light of what Barume says, all African populations are indigenous because they are free from colonial authority, but none of the African populations is indigenous anymore because none is being ruled by a European colonial power. To clarify this issue, the definition of indigenous peoples according to IWGIA (2005b) is stated as follows:

"Indigenous peoples are the disadvantaged descendants of those peoples that have inhabited a territory prior to the formation of a state."

Further clarification is found in Daes' (1996:22) reporting on the four principles proposed by the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations:

"(a) Priority in time, with respect to occupation and use of specific territory;
(b) the voluntary perpetuation of cultural distinctiveness, which may include the aspects of language, social organisation, religion and spiritual values, modes of production, laws and institutions;"
(c) self-identification, as well as recognition by other groups, or by state authorities, as a distinct collectivity; and
(d) an experience of subjugation, marginalisation, dispossession, exclusion, or discrimination, whether or not these conditions persist."

Point (a) above correlates with what Kenrick and Lewis (2004:4) points out, that in contrast to the dominant population of a nation-state, indigenous identity is almost everywhere primarily defined in terms of relative historical priority of occupancy of a territory. They further argue that the indigenous identity is not simply established by descent, but also by direct participation in indigenous communities or cultural enclaves, involving a variety of kinships, affinitive and adoptive relations.

Some of the above-mentioned elements are similar to the list of characteristics that The World Bank (1992) identifies, although a few extra elements are added:

"(a) Close attachment to ancestral territories and to the natural resources in those areas;
(b) self-identification and the identification by others as members of distinct cultural groups;
(c) an indigenous language, often different from the national language;
(d) presence of customary social and political institutions; and
(e) primarily subsistence-orientated production."

Although multiple criteria are used, it is not necessary for all factors to be present at the same time in any given situation. An approach by Gray (1995:40) to define indigenousness on a contemporary and self-identification basis for Asian peoples provides a broader definition that could be applied to the African context:

"Indigenousness is not a thing or a person, but an attribute of both personal and collective identity...something that people identify within themselves... [It] is something that is experienced. It is actually a self reflective notion, which means that people have looked at themselves from the outside, identified the problems that face them, and understand why an assertion of their identity is a prerequisite for their survival. Indigenousness is an assertion by people directed against the power of outsiders."
In the context of the elements identified by Daes (1996), the characteristics identified by The World Bank (1992) and the definitions of Kenrick and Lewis (2004) as well as Gray (1995), it is obvious that the Khoisan of Southern Africa are not the only recognised indigenous peoples in South Africa. However, most definitions of indigenous peoples refer to indigenous rights and intellectual property rights, therefore attributing legal status to the definition. According to the South African Government Online (2004) the South African population consists of the following groups: "the Nguni people (consisting of the Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele and Swazi); the Sotho-Tswana people, who include the Southern, Northern and Western Sotho (Tswana); the Tsonga; the Venda; Afrikaners; the English; Coloureds; Indians, and those who have immigrated to South Africa from the rest of Africa, Europe and Asia and maintain a strong cultural identity. A few members of the Khoi and the San also live in South Africa."

The very way in which the Khoi and San are added incidentally in this quotation supports the statement made by the IWGIA (2005b) that many indigenous peoples are still excluded from society and often even deprived of their rights as equal citizens of a state. In most of the literature relating to indigenous peoples that was consulted, only the Khoisan are mentioned by name as being indigenous peoples out of the entire groupings of the South African population as quoted above. Kuper (2003:394) reports that in 1996, when Thabo Mbeki was deputy president, he represented the Khoi and San as South Africa's first freedom fighters, but mentioned that they had since passed from the scene. He also mentioned that it was generally believed in South Africa that the San had died out or had been assimilated by the late 19th century and that the Khoi had been largely acculturated to the so-called coloured group. Kuper (2003:394) states that the government was evidently caught by surprise when the indigenous peoples movement began to campaign for South Africa's indigenous peoples. The first movement to achieve prominence as indigenous peoples of South Africa was the Griqua, although they failed to secure a land claim because of their inability to decide on one representative body for the purpose of negotiation. Another group, the ≠khomani San Association received a grant to claim rights in the former Kalahari Gemsbok Park. Kuper (2003:394) makes the statement that the only ethnic group, whose extinct language is used on the South African Coat of Arms, that receive special status in South Africa, has long vanished from the
scene. Robins (2003:398) comments on Kuper's article and adds that the Nama, San and Griqua ethnic revitalisation movement took place as representative of South Africa's indigenous peoples and that the ≠khome San community returned to the land around the former Kalahari Gemsbok Park from which they had been forcibly removed in the 1960s.

Sjørslev (1996:2) points out that the concept of indigenous is a political strategic one relating to the need to establish human and cultural rights to the decolonisation process and to correct generations of violations of basic individual and collective rights. Being indigenous is "...not rooted in either genes nor blood nor relationship to land as such... [T]he relationship to the nation-state in its present role, to colonial and post-colonial processes, and to the dominant population and non-indigenous groups, is the most important to consider... In the political perspective... indigenous is a term that implies the legitimate struggle for certain rights" (Sjørslev, 1996:3). According to Kuper (2003:390) the indigenous peoples movement was not only about land and/or hunting rights, but also about culture and identity, translating to collective rights, as well as individual human rights. Kuper (2003:390) questions whether the indigenous peoples movement considered whether collective rights might possibly undermine individual rights. In the researcher's experience during case study visits, especially in rural areas in South Africa, the voice of the woman involuntarily echoes that of her husband or other men in the community. In some cases the men stated bluntly that the researcher would be wasting her time to interview women as they would not speak their minds but would only say what they thought their husbands would expect them to say. This proves that the collective rights of women that live within certain cultural constraints undermine the individual rights of human beings to have at least the right to think for themselves and to have the freedom to say what they think.

Although it seems logical to define IK as the knowledge held by indigenous peoples, the term IK seems to have become more inclusive. Although various authors have defined the term IK, all authors in some way share a common theme and address more or less the same issues. A challenge posed by the editor of the Indigenous Knowledge and Development Monitor to define IK in order to understand its role and effectiveness better was met with a variety of definitions, of which three were selected, namely:
"The term 'indigenous knowledge' (IK) is used synonymously with 'traditional' and 'local' knowledge to differentiate the knowledge developed by a given community from the international knowledge system sometimes also called 'Western' system, generated through universities, government research centres and private industry. IK refers to the knowledge of indigenous peoples as well as any other defined community" (Warren 1993 in Van Marrewijk 1998).

"The unique traditional local knowledge existing within and developed around the specific conditions of women and men indigenous to a particular geographic area" (Grenier 1998 in Van Marrewijk 1998).

"IK is the sum total of the knowledge and skills which people in a particular geographic area possess, and which enable them to get the most out of their natural environment. Most of this knowledge and skills have been passed down from earlier generations, but individual men and women in each new generation adapt and add to this body of knowledge in a constant adjustment to changing circumstances and environmental conditions. They in turn pass on the body of knowledge intact to the new generation, in an effort to provide them with survival strategies" (Van Marrewijk 1998).

In the South African context, definitions of IK systems (IKS) are preferred to IK, as they are seen as more holistic and encompassing all aspects of the indigenous peoples. For instance, Odora Hoppers defines IKS as follows:

"By way of a definition, the word indigenous refers to the root, something natural or innate (to). It is an integral part of culture. Indigenous Knowledge Systems refer to the combination of knowledge systems encompassing technology, social, economic and philosophical learning, or educational, legal and governance systems. It is knowledge relating to the technological, social, institutional, scientific and developmental, including those used in the liberation struggles" (Odora Hoppers 2002:8-9).

The National Research Foundation of South Africa has identified IKS as a focus area for research as a drive to conserving IKS and defines IKS as the
"...complex set of knowledge and technologies existing and developed around specific conditions of populations and communities indigenous to a particular geographic area. IKS can also develop within communities descended from populations that inhabited the country at the time of conquest or colonisation. These populations - irrespective of their legal status - retain some of, or their entire own social, economic, cultural and political institutions. In the case of this focus area, indigenous knowledge (IK) refers to knowledge developed by these populations in themselves, as well as knowledge developed through interaction with other populations in South Africa (NRF 2005)."

Ellen and Harris (2000:2) identify with the problematical linguistic issues related to defining IK and provide a checklist of characteristics of IK. In some way characterising IK provides a method of delineating the knowledge to whom or to what the concept applies.

2.1.2 Characteristics of indigenous knowledge
The definitions of IK could be ambiguous. By making use of the characteristics, knowledge can be tested in order to determine whether it is IK. The more commonly used characteristics of IK as identified by mainly Ellen and Harris (2000:4), but also some other authors reinforcing particular characteristics, are summarised below:

1. IK is local. It is linked to a particular place and experiences where it has been generated by the people living in that place. When IK is transferred from that place, the risk exists to “dis-locate” it, rendering the IK insignificant when it is outside the local area. Nuffic (2000) reinforces this by stating that IK is generated within communities, it is location and culture specific. IIRR (1996) includes culture and religion as part of IK.

2. IK is transmitted orally or through imitation and demonstration. Written transmission could change fundamental oral or non-verbal properties. Nuffic (2000) also states that it is oral as well as rural in nature.

3. IK is the consequence of practical everyday life and is reinforced by experience, trial and error and deliberate experiment. Failure is a direct threat to the survival of the people and therefore IK has been tested through generations. According to Nuffic (2000) IK is the basis for decision-making and survival strategies.
4. Points 1 and 3 above support the observation that IK tends to be empirical and empirico-hypothetical knowledge rather than theoretical knowledge. Nuffic (2000) states that IK is not systematically documented.

5. Repetition is a defining characteristic of tradition, even when new knowledge is added. Repetition serves retention and reinforcement of ideas (especially in the light of points 1 and 2 above).

6. IK is constantly changing. Although it is often represented as being static, it is constantly being produced and reproduced, discovered and lost. As mentioned by Nuffic (2000) IK is based on innovation, adaptation and experimentation. Grenier (1998:38) mentions that IK is dynamic, innovative from within, and will internalise, use and adapt external knowledge to suit the local situation.

7. IK is characteristically shared to a greater degree than other forms of knowledge, although its distribution is socially differentiated on the basis of gender and age.

8. The distribution of IK is always fragmentary. It does not exist in its totality in any one place or individual, and it is often not transferred from individual to individual in the absence of rituals and other symbolic constructs. The IIRR (1996) mentions that most local people are generalists, knowing a little about many things.


10. IK is characteristically holistic, integrative and situated within broader cultural traditions. It is problematic to separate the technical from the non-technical, the rational from the non-rational.

Use of this checklist could provide meaning to IK in the context of western traditions of knowledge. Although the term IK could be understood better when contrasted with western knowledge, Sillitoe (1998:14) points out that it is not correct to place a division between the two forms of knowledge, as the distinctions between them are currently being modified. It is more correct to see the relationships between scientific
western knowledge and IK as a continuum. Sillitoe (1998:15) uses the knowledge continuum as depicted in Figure 2.1 as an example of how the relationship between western scientific knowledge and IK should be understood. The knowledge continuum portrays on one side the poor farmers with no formal education and only IK derived from their own cultural tradition, and on the other side western scientists that are attempting to incorporate empathy with local perceptions into their own work, wrestling with interdisciplinary problems. Various intergradations of local insider and global outsider knowledge lie between these two ends. The insider and outsider knowledge depends on the community of origin and formal education. Each potentially influences the other as individuals with different experiences within their local region, cultural heritage and formal schooling interact with one another. These different individuals, interacting with one another, fit into the continuum at various intervals, attempting to connect the two poles and facilitate understanding between them. Potentially all knowledge passes into the local pool, blends with what is already known and then informs the present understanding and practice (Sillitoe, Bicker & Pottier 2002; Sillitoe 1998:15).

![Figure 2.1: The knowledge continuum (adapted from Sillitoe, Bicker & Pottier 2002:112)](image)

The knowledge continuum provides proof that IK is continuously changing and has already been affected by scientific knowledge, either through individuals interacting in the community or through government agencies and non-governmental agencies attempting to assist local communities in their day-to-day living. Maurial (1999:28) proposes a circular continuum between the indigenous and western world for the understanding of IK. The circular continuum represents conflict and dialogue that occur as a result of indigenous peoples' interaction with the western world. According
to Maurial (1999:28) the continuum goes from an extreme conflict resolved in the
disindigenization of indigenous peoples into western culture through progress,
resulting in indigenous peoples becoming "workers for industry, consumers for the
market," etc. However, some indigenous peoples then experience conflict evolving
into resistance to western culture and knowledge. Within this continuum resistance
evolves into dialogue or the incorporation of western culture into the indigenous world
without a fundamental loss of indigenous peoples' values. Maurial (1999:28) notes
that the "existence of new commons, or indigenous culture's regeneration, may be
the extreme way of dialogue".

Seeing that IK is ever changing and has been influenced by scientific knowledge, the
identification of what is or is not IK within a given community becomes a very real
problem. Charyulu points out that IK and western knowledge will fuse in terms of
knowledge and practice. Weizenfeld (1998) asks the question whether a rubber tyre
that is used for stabilising a wall can be regarded as IK or modern knowledge. Would
a basket that has been made with plastic bags instead of local indigenous grass be
classified as IK or not? If the plastic basket is regarded as IK, should it then be
weaved according to an age-old pattern or method? If the characteristics of IK
mentioned above and the effect of influences along the knowledge continuum are
regarded as a guiding principle, then the plastic basket, weaved according to any
pattern or method, should be regarded as IK. All information, experiences, skills,
material things, etc. found in a community should then be regarded as IK (Weizenfeld
1998).

If this is the case, to what extent would IK be in need of conservation? In the context
of this study, which has the aim to investigate the conservation of IK at cultural
villages, would a cultural tourist visit a cultural village to listen to a local artist play
traditional music on an electric bass guitar, or rather a bow instrument? Charyulu
feels that it does not matter whether a practice is really indigenous or already mixed
with introduced knowledge, as long as the knowledge is found to be effective for the
goal to which it is being applied. The purpose of a cultural village is first and foremost
to bring a financial benefit to the community, i.e. to make money. Therefore, could it
be said that if the local artist playing the traditional song on an electric guitar makes
more money than the artist playing the same song on a bow instrument, therefore
being more effective within the purpose of the cultural village, the electric bass guitar playing must be regarded as IK? The researcher agrees that with regard to development programmes, which Weizenfeld (1998) and Charyulu refer to above, the knowledge that is found to be effective, be it indigenous or introduced, should be the knowledge that is applied. However, with regard to the conservation of IK seen as cultural heritage, an attempt needs to be made to find the indigenous form of the knowledge and conserve it.

In a recently approved South African IKS policy document (Department of Science and Technology 2004) IKS is seen as developed and maintained by South Africa’s indigenous peoples and pervading the lives and belief systems of a large proportion of the country's population. Although the "large proportion of the country's population" to which IKS refers is not indicated in the document, IK is said to manifest itself through areas ranging from cultural and religious ceremonies to agricultural practices and health interventions. Although this statement could apply to any culture in the world the document identifies four main IKS policy drivers in the South African context. They are

- affirmation of African cultural values in the face of globalisation;
- development of services provided by traditional healers;
- the contribution of IK to the economy; and
- interfacing with other knowledge systems.

The main IKS policy drivers give an indication of the "large proportion of the country's population" to which IKS in the South African context refers. Based on the discussion above and in the light of being disadvantaged descendants of those peoples that have inhabited a territory prior to the formation of a state, the following South African population groups could then be considered as indigenous:

- Nguni people:
  - Zulu
  - Xhosa
  - Ndebele
  - Swazi.

- Sotho-Tswana people:
- Southern Sotho
- Northern Sotho
- Tswana (Western Sotho).

- Tsonga
- Venda
- Khoisan (collectively the Khoi and the San)

According to Kuper (2003:389), in a foreword written by UN Secretary General Boutros-Boutros Ghali he identifies common problems that indigenous peoples suffered in the modern world. He states that they had been "relegated to reserved territories or confined to inaccessible or inhospitable regions". Under South African apartheid laws this "common problem" is true for the above selection. Kuper further mentions that the Secretary General noted a national and international change taking place and that collective rights in historical homelands are being recognised and land claims are being processed. This is also true for the above selection in the South African context.

However, the above selection does not mean that the author disregards other South African population groups, not mentioned above, as non-indigenous. Two of the population groups mentioned in the South African Government Online pages are the population groups of the Afrikaner and the Coloureds, were both non-existent prior to the formation of a state. The mere fact that they developed as cultural groupings on South African soil renders them nothing other than indigenous to South Africa. Both these population groups have very specific knowledge indigenous to the cultures and associated to the particular geographic area (refer to definition by Grenier [1998] in Van Marrewijk [1998] quoted in paragraph 2.1.1). For that matter the English and Indian immigrants to South Africa have also altered their culture to adapt to the new geographical area and developed IK true to South African conditions in an effort to provide them with survival strategies (refer to definition by Van Marrewijk [1998] quoted in paragraph 2.1.1).
Kuper (2003:389) refers to a UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations meeting, which was held in Geneva in 1996\(^1\), where a delegation of “Boers” disrupted the meeting and demanded to be allowed to participate on the grounds that they too were indigenous peoples. They claimed that their traditional culture was under threat from the newly elected democratic government. Kenrick and Lewis (2004:5) mention that this "delegation" was demonstratively ignored and that a large part of the audience left the hall during their speech. Kuper (2003:389) states that the drama reflects the difficulty of defining and identifying "indigenous peoples". The reference to the term "Boers" gives an indication that this self-appointed delegation represented a minute minority of right-wing Afrikaans-speaking individuals that did not represent the culture and tradition of Afrikaners in South Africa.

Unfortunately an incident like this one creates a completely incorrect impression of the true nature of the Afrikaans culture. Whether this group’s motives were pure or not, whether they were ignored or not, does not mean that the knowledge that the culture collectively holds is not IK.

It thus seems that a completely different set of rules applies when referring to indigenous peoples, than when referring to IK. The quotation by Masolo (2003:21) mentioned in paragraph 2.1 stating that all knowledge is indigenous in various respects, rings very true in this case. In comments on the article by Kuper, Omura (2003:395) states that indigenous peoples have the potential to redefine indigenousness and that the Inuit peoples that hunt with guns and snowmobiles defined this method of hunting as tradition regardless of criticism by environmentalists that it is a deviation from authentic tradition. Omura (2003:396) says that it is not the Euro-American essentialist ideology of what the indigenous culture is supposed to be like, but rather the daily practice of indigenous peoples on which the focus should be placed. This comment by Omura (2003:396) contradicts the notion that has been put forward by the researcher to attempt to identify the indigenous form of the knowledge and conserve it. In support of this notion another

\(^1\) Kuper refers to the inaugural meeting of the Forum of Indigenous Peoples. Kenrick and Lewis (2004:4) wrote in response to Kuper's article, correcting the inaccuracy.
comment on Kuper's article by Ramos (2003:398) makes a very important statement that supports the notion of identifying the indigenousness not on a global scale, but within the context of each local situation:

"What is an appropriate analysis for South Africa will not be for Amazonia" (Ramos 2003:398).

This statement is confirmed by Kenrick and Lewis (2004:6). They say that in Africa the term is best understood relationally, where Africans view themselves as indigenous relative to colonial and post-colonial power, but recognise former hunter-gatherer groups as being indigenous relative to themselves. The same can then apply for the Afrikaners and Coloureds of South Africa. The roots of the Afrikaner and Afrikaans speaking Coloureds go back to the seventeenth century. Giliomee (2003:xiv) recalls that the Afrikaners were both colonised people and colonisers themselves, not different from any of the Bantu-speaking colonisers mentioned by Iliffe (1995:36) above. The Afrikaners were the first anti-colonial freedom fighters of the twentieth century, when they took on the British oppression (Giliomee 2003:xiii). Although the Afrikaners were descendants from mostly Western Europe, they settled as farming free burghers at the Cape, and were among the first colonial peoples to cut all ties with their colonial powers. They developed a distinct sense of self-consciousness, they established their own religion, and together with their slaves and semi-free servants they turned the Dutch language into Afrikaans, before the British colonised the Cape. Their "mobile pioneering expansion, selecting only the land best suited to their needs" was called the Great Trek and resulted from the marginalisation they experienced under British colonial rule. Relative to Africans, Afrikaners and Coloureds are indigenous to South Africa, and in the same sense the South African English are indigenous to South Africa, etc.

IK is plainly stated by Semali and Kincheloe (1999:3) as the "everyday rationalization that rewards individuals...especially the millions of indigenous peoples...who live in a given locality. [...] Indigenous knowledge reflects the dynamic way in which the residents of an area have come to understand themselves in relationship to their natural environment and how they organize that folk knowledge of flora and fauna, cultural beliefs, and history to enhance their lives."
However, the purpose of this study is to determine the extent to which IK is conserved at cultural villages in South Africa. In identifying the cultural villages, the cultures that were found to be represented at the villages were: Zulu, Ndebele, Xhosa, Southern Sotho, Tsonga, Northern Sotho, Venda, Tswana, and Khoisan. One cultural village also represented Indian and colonial British culture. However the latter two groupings were not included in the study, as they do not make up part of the grouping of disadvantaged descendants of those peoples that have inhabited a territory prior to the formation of a state.

In the light of great international interest in conserving IK it seems as though it is not the culture containing the knowledge, but the knowledge captured by the culture that needs to be conserved, especially where adaptations of the knowledge (be it indigenous or introduced) and cross-cultural knowledge occur.

2.1.3 Why is indigenous knowledge important?

The World Bank Group (2000) identifies five reasons why IK is important and should be conserved:

- IK provides problem-solving strategies for local communities, especially for the poor.
- IK represents an important contribution to global development knowledge.
- IK systems are at risk of becoming extinct.
- IK is relevant for the development process.
- IK is an under-utilised resource in the development process.

Bearing in mind the purpose of the World Bank Group, four of the five reasons to conserve IK have to do with development. As mentioned previously, development strategies often utilises effective knowledge, whether it is indigenous or introduced. Grenier (1998:8) discusses the importance of IK as the alternative where development planning has failed. The benefit of considering IK according to Grenier (1998:8) is as follows:

- Create mutual respect, encourage local participation, and build partnerships for joint problem resolution.
• Facilitate the design and implementation of culturally appropriate development programmes, avoiding costly mistakes.
• Identify techniques that can be transferred to other regions.
• Help identify practices suitable for investigation, adaptation, and improvement.
• Help build a more sustainable future.

Yet again the conservation of IK is the prerequisite for development strategies, which allows for introduced knowledge to take precedence over indigenous, if it is more effective. Charyulu stresses the fact that IK is an under-utilised resource in development strategies and that special efforts are needed to understand, document and disseminate IK for conservation, transfer or adoption elsewhere. Although IIRR (1996) also discusses the usefulness of IK from a developmental point of view, the following very important statement is made:

"...[L]ocal people...must come to appreciate and value their indigenous knowledge. When people disregard their own knowledge, traditional wisdom and practices are slowly lost."

This statement implies that IK, without being a means for development, or upliftment, or decision-making, is important enough in itself, as a matter of cultural pride, to be conserved. It should be conserved purely because it is at risk of becoming extinct.

"IK is stored in people's memories and activities and it is expressed in the form of stories, songs, folklore, proverbs, dances, myths, cultural values, beliefs, rituals, community laws, local language and taxonomy, agricultural practices, equipment, materials, plant species, and animal breeds" (Charyulu). Because of the broadness of the expression of IK, a classification of IK is required for this research.

2.2 The classification of indigenous knowledge

In order to appreciate the scope of IK several authors developed a classification of IK. The IIRR (1996) developed a manual with guidelines to record IK. Charyulu also uses this classification. The World Bank Group (2000) and Grenier (1998:2-3) have different classifications. For the purpose of this study none of the existing
classifications would be sufficient to determine the extent to which IK is conserved within the cultural tourism venture. The existing classifications all differ from one another and seemingly similar categories are classified into various categories, which would be relevant to the original purpose intended by each author. A new classification is therefore developed by incorporating all the above-mentioned classifications by classifying similar categories together. Some activities that would take place in a cultural village, through which certain aspects of the category would become evident, are also indicated in the categories below.

2.2.1 Learning systems and communications
Grenier (1998:2) classifies learning systems as the indigenous methods of imparting knowledge, indigenous approaches to innovation and experimentation, indigenous games and indigenous specialists. It is interesting to note that the 'language' used in IK communication is often unique and different from the everyday language of the community (Kaniki & Mphahlele 2002:20). Communication, according to IIRR (1996) refers to stories and messages as well as traditional information exchange mechanisms. Cultural festivals are organised with the purpose to entertain, inform and educate through dance, song and drama (Kaniki & Mphahlele 2002: 20). Experimentation, according to IIRR (1996), would be issues such as the integration of new species into existing farming methods, or the testing of new plant medicines by healers. Education would be traditional instruction methods, apprentices and learning through observation (IIRR, 1996). Initiation schools are the perfect example of traditional methods of education. It is there that young members of the community learn about the tradition itself, beliefs and having respect for themselves and others (Kaniki & Mphahlele 2002:19).

2.2.2 Local classification and quantification
A community's definitions and classification of phenomena, local flora and fauna (Grenier, 1998:2) are classified by IIRR (1996) under the heading 'Information', which will also include trees and plants that grow well together, and indicator plants such as those indicating soil salinity or the coming of rain. Quantification refers to the indigenous method of counting and quantifying (Grenier 1996:2).
2.2.3 Beliefs
According to the IIRR (1996) beliefs play a fundamental role in people's livelihood and in maintaining their health and the environment. Holy forests may be protected for religious reasons, but they could also maintain a vital watershed or could conserve the biodiversity of the area. Religious festivals could be an important source of food during times when people have little to eat. Beliefs would be revealed through story-telling, dancing, taboos, crafts and practices. Ancestors acting as intermediaries with God are often part of a wedding ceremony when an animal is slaughtered in the yard, paving the way for a healthy marriage and partnership (Kaniki & Mphahlele 2002:18).

2.2.4 Community organisation and human resources
This classification is derived from Grenier's (1998:2) classification 'Local organizations, controls and enforcements, as well as IIRR’s (1996) Human resource classification. Issues included in this category would include common property management practices, decision-making processes, conflict resolution, traditional laws, community controls, local organisations such as kinship groups and councils of elders, as well as healers and blacksmiths. Categories, as classified by The World Bank Group (2000), such as microfinance, community development, conflict resolution and poverty alleviation, are included. A chief would, for instance, not only control physical resources in a community, but also valuable knowledge resources. The chief would call upon individuals such as rainmakers, or healers, to deal with specific situations. Although traditional healers used to have the authority to make final decisions, the move, nowadays, is towards democratic governance (Kaniki & Mphahlele 2002: 19).

2.2.5 Health and medicine
This category incorporates 'human health' (Grenier 1998:2), 'practices and technologies' (IIRR 1996) as well as 'primary health care' and 'post-harvest technologies and nutrition' (The World Bank Group 2000). Issues included in this category would be nutrition, protection against vermin, food preparation, storage methods, disease classification systems, disease treatment and bone-setting methods, traditional medicine and herbal remedies. The location of medicinal plants and collection time, useful parts and the methods for preparing and storing medicines
would also resort under this category. The harvesting and preparation of mopani worms and morogo, as well as the brewing of beer for preservation for later consumption, are examples of food technology techniques (Kaniki & Mphahlele 2002:20).

2.2.6 Natural resources

This category is derived from 'biological resources' (IIRR 1996) as well as 'water' and 'soil' (Grenier 1996:3). It also includes 'natural resources and environment' (The World Bank Group 2000). The individual issues that would be included in this category are soil and land classification, use and management of natural resources and environment protection, long-term cycles of climate, influences on the environment, traditional water management and water conservation techniques, hunting grounds and seasons, foraging and gathering processes and times, irrigation techniques, aquatic resource management and soil fertility enhancement practices.

2.2.7 Agricultural techniques

This category is derived from 'biological resources' (IIRR 1996) as well as 'animals and animal diseases', 'agriculture', 'agroforestry and swidden agriculture' (Grenier 1996:3). It also includes 'agriculture', 'animal husbandry', 'post-harvest technologies and nutrition' (The World Bank Group 2000). The issues included in this category are cultivation, plant protection, animal husbandry, ethnic veterinary medicine, traditional fodder and fodder species, seed storage and processing, pest management systems, fallow management, ploughing techniques and techniques to improve crop yields. Kaniki and Mphahlele (2002:20) report that when a field is left to lie idle for a season, the soil is often covered with ash to protect it from unwanted insects.

2.2.8 Technology, tools and materials

Tools would include household tools, furniture, cooking utensils, hunting tools, agricultural tools and crafts. Materials are housing construction materials and materials used in making tools and handicrafts, such as basket weavery and jewellery, clothing and fabrics. Technology would be evident in the use of cow dung to decorate floors, or to seal the lids of cooking pots to maintain even baking temperatures. The traditional method of making charcoal would also be classified under technology. Decorative and utility products that are made within different
communities are often unique and sophisticated. Decorations on utility items often communicate specific messages or uses (Kaniki & Mphahlele 2002: 19-20).

The need to classify and categorise knowledge into different categories is a western one. IK, according to the tenth characteristic of Ellen and Harris (2000:4) discussed previously (par. 2.1.2) is holistic, integrative and situated within broader cultural traditions. The above classification is purely done in order to assist in determining the extent to which IK is conserved by cultural tourism initiatives. In practice the categories of the above classification will obviously overlap and be integrated with one another, as many aspects will be impossible to separate.

Figure 2.2 attempts to indicate these integrated parts of issues within the categories of the classification. This diagram is not intended to be static. There is also no hierarchy to the level of importance of the different categories. In actual fact, all categories are linked and related to one another. In order to determine the extent to which IK is conserved in cultural villages, it is necessary to list the activities that take place at cultural villages, and connect these activities to the classification discussed above.

Figure 2.2: Classification of indigenous knowledge
2.3 Integrating cultural village activities and classification

Table 2.1 summarises the activities as listed in pamphlets, internet sites and marketing tools of about 32 cultural villages identified in South Africa. These cultural villages and the selection of case studies have been discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

It is then possible to adapt Figure 2.2 and add activities to determine the extent to which IK is transferred and therefore conserved within the cultural villages by associating specific activities with certain categories.

Table 2.1: Listing of activities at various cultural villages according to classification

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<td>7 Meal etiquette</td>
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<td>10 Herding/milking</td>
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<td>12 Collection of firewood</td>
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<td>13 River bathing</td>
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<td>14 Hunting</td>
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<td>15 Story-telling</td>
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<td>16 Games</td>
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<td>17 Dancing and singing</td>
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<td>18 Cultural festivals</td>
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<td>19 Musical instruments</td>
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<td>22 Traditional dress</td>
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<td>23 Tool making</td>
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<td>24 Leather tanning</td>
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<td>Weaponry demonstrations</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Medicinal plant use</td>
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<td>Environmental education</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Traditional healing</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Midwives</td>
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<td>Sacrifices</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>Religion/customs/rituals</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>Rites of passage</td>
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<td>Graves</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>Family structure</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>Governing structures</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>History</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
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</table>

Figure 2.3 shows that medicinal plants could be part of beliefs as well as health and medicine, but are also part of agricultural techniques and natural resources for that matter.

Figure 2.3: Classification of indigenous knowledge and related activities
There is no dividing line between different categories or the activities that display the knowledge. The activity of story-telling and games could take place as a dance in order to display the use of a tool to teach an apprentice by making use of traditional instruction (learning systems and communication).

Sillitoe, Bicker and Pottier (2002:110-120) identify three dimensions of knowledge. The first dimension is a line of knowledge, as discussed previously in the knowledge continuum (par. 2.1.2 and Figure 2.1). The second dimension of knowledge refers to wheels of knowledge and can be related to what has been depicted in Figures 2.2 and 2.3. The third dimension of knowledge that they identify is a globe of knowledge. Each of the activities mentioned in Table 2.1 can be plotted within globes of knowledge. Figure 2.4 depicts the global plotting of the activity of dancing and illustrates the interconnectedness of one form of IK (i.e. dancing) that can be transferred in the context of cultural villages.
In Figure 2.4 the cultural village activity of dancing is illustrated as a potential mechanism to transfer IK as part of the classification of learning systems and communication, beliefs, as well as tools and materials. In actual fact Sillitoe, Bicker and Pottier (2002) developed global plotting of knowledge to illustrate the position of IK and scientific knowledge. However, the diagram can be applied to this study, as each meridian represents a different domain of knowledge. Variations in knowledge according to disciplines can be accommodated and the meridians can be changed to accommodate any knowledge domain relevant to the enquiry (Sillitoe, Bicker & Pottier 2002:118). The global plotting of knowledge allows the enquiry to be set within a broad cultural context, instead of merely considering technical issues. The globe represents an interaction domain and can be used to plot individuals or, in this case, activities to position these within the domain according to the knowledge represented by the meridians.

In order to determine the extent to which knowledge is transferred, and therefore conserved within cultural tourism initiatives, it is important to identify the individuals who have particular knowledge about their culture. Different types of knowledge exist in a community that would be linked to different types of people.

2.4 Types of indigenous knowledge and communities of practice

The IIRR (1996) identifies three types of knowledge:

- Common knowledge: most people in the community would know how to cook the staple food of that community.
- Shared knowledge: not all community members would know how to raise livestock or know basic animal husbandry.
- Specialised knowledge: only a few people in the community had special training to become healers, midwives or blacksmiths.

Various people in a community are custodians of different types of knowledge based on the following issues:

- Age
- Sex
It is therefore important that the correct people are interviewed to obtain the relevant knowledge. This is referred to in knowledge management terms as communities of practice. According to Wenger (1998), a community of practice is different from a community of interest, or a geographical community. A community of practice can be identified in the following three dimensions:

- What it is about, i.e. the joint enterprise that is understood and continually renegotiated by its members.
- How it functions, i.e. the mutual engagements that bind members together into a social entity.
- What capacity it has produced, i.e. the shared repertoire of communal resources (routines, sensibilities, artefacts, vocabulary, styles, etc.) that members have developed over time.

Communities of practice are found everywhere and all people belong to a number of them as core members, or people belong to others more peripherally. Communities of practice will develop around things that matter to people and therefore reflect the practices that members regard as important within their own understanding of what is important. Through communities of practice knowledge is retained in 'living' ways that differ from databases or manuals (Wenger 1998), conserving the tacit aspects of knowledge that formal systems cannot capture. The people that form part of cultural villages are therefore the communities of practice that will preserve the tacit IK. The elderly in a community have different sub-forms and levels of knowledge compared to the youth, therefore they would make up a community of practice. Women have different knowledge from men in a community and traditional healers are custodians of different knowledge. All these groups make up communities of practice. All
knowledge may not be accessible to all members of a community and often in traditional communities the sharing of knowledge is facilitated by the head of the community.

2.5 Summary
This chapter defined IK firstly in terms of indigenous peoples and then as an entity separate from the strict definition of indigenous peoples. Characteristics of IK and the importance of IK were pointed out. A classification of IK was made in terms of a number of classifications suggested by various authors. The activities that are offered at cultural villages were placed within the identified classifications. Types of IK and communities of practice were identified.

The communities of practice that this research will be investigating are a selection of cultural villages that had to adhere to a certain number of criteria in order to be included in the research. The identification of cultural villages in South Africa is discussed in Chapter 3.