

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



Intercultural Learning and Community Mobilisation within eMzantsi

MPhil Diversity Studies Dissertation

Ruvimbo Valerie Gwatirisa

GWTRUV001

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Picture taken from www.emzantsi.org.za

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ARGUMENT: Culture is not static and neither is the way people learn about it. There are differing dynamics in intercultural acceptance and engagement in eMzantsi, which is a site for intercultural learning and community mobilisation in the Southern Peninsula.

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¹ Pseudonyms have been used for all names with * to retain anonymity. The asterisks will be used in the initial mention of the name, and then dropped thereafter.

Abstract

This dissertation is a study of intercultural learning and community mobilisation within eMzantsi, an organisation that seeks to bring together previously segregated communities in the Southern Peninsula, Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa, through various artistic activities and programmes. The programmes all culminate in a Carnival, which has occurred annually since 2005. This dissertation seeks to show how, if at all, eMzantsi is serving as a site for intercultural learning within the communities and how, if at all, it is promoting community mobilisation. In order to conduct this study, I interviewed key leaders in the organisation. I also did a document review of the current thinking on intercultural communication research in South Africa, with reference to the Southern Peninsula in the Western Cape. The study deals with the perceptions that key participants in eMzantsi have of the communities they work with and the possibilities they foresee for mobilisation and intercultural learning. This is linked to their perceptions of South African identities.

Intercultural communication was an all-encompassing theme that brought to the fore varied dynamics of culture, communication and power that in turn led to the different ways in which eMzantsi staff mobilised community based organisations. These core themes underlie the main findings of the project. The dissertation findings are discussed in several categories, based on the perceptions of black, coloured, and white communities in the Southern Peninsula. These categories include the positionality of the members being interviewed, the concept of intercultural learning, what draws people in to the project, who is excluded from the project, challenges that have been faced over the years, the successes of the programme, the importance of community support, and lastly, ideas and recommendations for the project with a special focus on intercultural learning. These different aspects of the dissertation reveal that there are differing dynamics in intercultural acceptance and engagement within the communities of the Southern Peninsula. The research also shows that there are different ways of learning culture, and that culture in itself, is not static.

Keywords: South African Identity, Intercultural Communication, Culture, Communication, Power, Intercultural learning, positionality, community mobilisation

Chapter 1: Introduction

Context and Background

One day during my early years at university, my (black) Zimbabwean friend and I were chatting, as we went up the escalator in a bank. A (white) man impatiently stood behind us, and when we reached the top of the escalator, he stormed past us, stopped and said in a very angry tone: “Now that YOU people have gained your *freedom*, you think you can take up as much space as you like?” We were stunned into silence, as the middle-aged man went on his way. Immediately, my friend and I got into a discussion about race, and we concluded that this was possibly our first negative racial encounter in this foreign country. This conversation is one I carried through my UCT studies – and it fuelled my determination to understand better the different perceptions that people have of each other. I became intrigued by the underlying socio-historical factors that influenced people’s thinking – in effect, the power behind our thinking. Thus, my journey in intercultural learning and diversity bloomed, and eMzantsi became the space in which I was able to explore this fully.

South Africa’s racial history is complex. For the purpose of this dissertation, I adopt Bray et al (2010)’s framing of race which is distinguished between neighbourhoods. Race was seen as a proxy of class, but is becoming less so. As the respondents refer to themselves as black, white and coloured, so shall I, basing this on the descriptor from which neighbourhoods they come within the Southern Peninsula where this research was conducted. The black population is comprised of people who originated from South Africa, as well as those who immigrated into South Africa from various parts of Africa. White South Africans are descended from colonial settlers, predominantly from the Netherlands and Britain. Coloured South Africans are descendants of the above two groups, as well as descendants of the slaves brought into the country from the East Indies, and of Indian and Chinese origin. The relations between these racial groups have historically been tumultuous, which was exacerbated during apartheid. The apartheid era, which entrenched racial segregation and white minority rule, began in 1948 and ended with South Africa’s first democratic elections in 1994.

Almost 20 years later, the legacy of apartheid still affects the ways in which most South African communities are structured today. It has led to unequal access to resources within communities because of earlier laws such as the 1913 Land Act, the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act and later the 1950 Group Areas Act². Such laws imposed the racial segregation of black South Africans, and

² The Group Areas Act gave the government the authority to segregate South Africa by allocating separate areas to demarcated racial groups. The implementation of this policy led to widespread forced removals, and disrupted the lives of millions of (mainly black) people. The act was passed in 1950 and repealed in 1991, though of course its legal repeal has had (to date) only minimal effect on reversing the racial segregation of the population (Dolby 2001: 136).

subsequently to the apartheid era Acts, which meant that the white minority had access to the best land, education and resources, whereas the rest of the population received poorer land and a different (poorer) education system, which in turn meant reduced chances of employment and economic access. The culmination of these acts of legal racial segregation created structural differences based on skin colour. It created racialised class differences, with a significant divide between poverty and affluence, and similarly significant differences in employment and levels of education, based on the community from which one comes.

In post-apartheid South Africa, one of the biggest challenges has been to overcome the country's history of apartheid and the people's memory of racial segregation, as well as to reconcile previously segregated communities. One of the keys to unlocking these complex problems is intercultural communication and creating platforms where it can be learnt, practiced and ultimately passed on to the next generations. The term *intercultural communication* is conceived by Kim (1988) as "direct, face to face communication encounters between or among individuals with differing cultural backgrounds" (Kim 1988: 12). Earlier definitions of intercultural communication assume that it is necessary to leave one's country in order to encounter other cultures around the world. South Africa, however, is a multi-cultural country due to the composition of its people and their movements and migrations around the country. In the past, however, and particularly during the apartheid era, these intercultural encounters have generally not been peaceful; although the system of apartheid, which enforced racial superiority and segregation, has now been abolished, it continues to affect the intercultural encounters within most South African communities, especially since the spatio-geographical arrangement of the country, its cities and its neighbourhoods has not changed significantly since 1994.

eMzantsi aims to create possibilities for spatially segregated groups of the Southern Peninsula in the Western Cape to encounter and get to know one another, through its various projects, viz. Schools Projects, its Music Programme and Mapiko, a space where arts and crafts and puppet building is encouraged. The activities offered by eMzantsi throughout the year culminate in an intercultural celebration of eMzantsi community-building activities such as carnival or mini parades³. eMzantsi is constantly changing, both in terms of its staffing and its activities in response to the changing needs of the communities it serves. For the communities of South Africa, it is important to acknowledge the extent to which different communities can communicate with each other, despite the differences in their cultural and structural backgrounds, both historical and in the present. Ocean View is a predominantly coloured, middle density community, Masiphumelele is predominantly black and high density, and communities such as Fish Hoek are predominantly white and low density. These

³ "eMzantsi Carnival Chills out for 2012" http://www.emzantsi.org.za/carnival.php#2012_read_more

inequalities can hardly be ignored. They create the backbone of the challenges faced in the intercultural encounters within the Valley, as well as the main challenges within an intercultural project such as eMzantsi.

The eMzantsi Carnival was an initiative of Shelley Peters*, a former UCT student who obtained her MPhil in Diversity Studies while starting up eMzantsi under the umbrella of the Harlequin Foundation:

“I think eMzantsi is the fruition of the dreams I had when I was studying my Masters in Diversity Studies at UCT. The first two years of the Carnival coincided with my two years doing my Masters and I felt very strongly that the academic lessons I was learning would balance, and be implemented in the community participation, and that they were complementary processes; I couldn’t have hoped to do one without the other.” –Shelley*

Running since 2004, eMzantsi has experienced highs and lows: at times, the communities have been receptive to the intercultural projects, as shown in the numbers that have been involved in the various events over the years. At other times, they have been less supportive, even seeing the Carnival as a disruption of life in the Valley. The following map shows the communities located in the Valley of the Southern Peninsula, in which eMzantsi is active:

Figure 1: The Fish Hoek – Noordhoek – Kommetjie Valley



Map from *Growing up in the New South Africa* (Bray et al 2010: 2)

The inspiration behind encouraging community participation in eMzantsi is the informal segregation that still exists in the Southern Peninsula, despite the official end of apartheid in 1994 and the advent of democracy. The organisers of eMzantsi realised that it would be challenging to implement the project; the existing class differences among the communities of the Valley needed to be

acknowledged from the outset. Even people who live in geographic proximity to one another have vastly contrasting livelihoods and ways of living. It was acknowledged that an intercultural project like eMzantsi would need to comprehend the pressures faced by the various communities and to realise that intercultural communication involves a gradual process.

Reminders of apartheid persist in the personal memories, socio-economic and geographical structures of the country, where the rich are predominantly white, and the poor are predominantly black and coloured; this too is the case in the Southern Peninsula. A key question in the field of intercultural communication has been: “Can individuals of different genders, ages, ethnicities, races, languages, and cultural backgrounds live together and get along on one planet?” (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 14) Although there may be different answers to this question, in the interests of creating a better South Africa, it is implied that the answer is yes.

Research Question

In 2010, my Honours Research Project for the University of Cape Town focused on how the eMzantsi Music Project was serving as a site for intercultural learning. That research allowed me to explore diversity and its nuances within the context of post-apartheid South Africa. One of the main findings revolved around the importance of community support in encouraging the youth from Masiphumelele, Ocean View and Fish Hoek to participate. Of the three communities, Ocean View youth received the most support from their communities to participate in eMzantsi, while youth from Fish Hoek received the least support, and Masiphumelele’s level of support lay between the other two communities. I selected this as an area for further research in 2011, as the findings raised additional questions: What did it take to mobilise the communities? Why were some communities more responsive to intercultural activities and learning? This dissertation takes the research a step further to gauge the differing dynamics in intercultural acceptance by looking at the involvement of black, white and coloured⁴ communities in the eMzantsi project in the Fish Hoek – Noordhoek – Kommetjie Valley of the Southern Peninsula in the Western Cape.

In order to investigate the findings of my 2010 project further, this dissertation took an in-depth look at the Mapiko Project⁵, the Music Project and the Schools Project. These three programmes form the backbone of eMzantsi.

⁴ Race is understood as a socially constructed category that continues to shape people’s experiences. The areas within the Southern Peninsula are still largely segregated along racial lines. The post-apartheid government accepts these categories as the basis for restitution measures.

⁵ Description from the eMzantsi website: “The eMzantsi recycled costume, puppet and float-building crew are referred to as the mapiko crew. For a long time, we were seeking an African equivalent for the Trinidadian term 'Mas-making' – Mas refers to Masquerade, but we wanted a word that would resonate in the South African context. Following a visit to the Iziko

Primary Objective

The primary objective of this dissertation is to investigate intercultural learning and community mobilisation within eMzantsi. This dissertation taps into the experience of eMzantsi's leaders who have been responsible for engaging their communities in the various activities, in order to gauge how they perceive the intercultural learning and community mobilisation within the eMzantsi project.

Research questions

Based on the participants' views of the challenges and successes of the project thus far, several questions are explored:

- What are the strategies for community mobilisation in the Southern Peninsula?
- What is the positionality of the members of the communities involved in the eMzantsi Project, that is, their historical, cultural, socio-economic positioning within the community?
- What are the hooks that draw people into eMzantsi?
- What excludes some members of the communities from the eMzantsi community?
- What are the motivations behind the eMzantsi project?
- Are these motivations being reached within the communities involved?

The argument is thus that there are differing dynamics in intercultural acceptance, which can be exposed by looking at the engagement of the black, white and coloured communities in the Southern Peninsula. Also, while culture is not static, neither is the way people learn about it.

Value of the research

The following question is relevant in a globalising context, in which individuals from various backgrounds and histories must negotiate their identities within a myriad of contexts: "*What are the differing dynamics in intercultural acceptance and engagement within the communities in eMzantsi?*"

The question is especially relevant in South Africa, which is still only in the youth of its new democracy, and where old and new perceptions of race are intermingled. Programmes like eMzantsi aim to encourage de-segregation not just by transcending racialised geographies, but also by finding innovative ways to change and 'make new' the minds of people, and by helping communities to learn about each other despite differing cultural and socio-economic contexts.

exhibition 'Ghoema and Glitter' we discovered the Makonde word 'mapiko' (from Mozambique), which simultaneously means 'mask-making', 'shape-shifting' and 'wonder' – far more suggestive of the wide range of skills they embody and magic they create than mere 'costume-makers'! 'Amapiko' also means 'wings' in isiXhosa - eMzantsi gives mapiko wings!"

<http://www.emzantsi.org.za/art.php>

The value and significance of the research findings lies in the fact that they will show eMzantsi's leaders their progress thus far, according to the perceptions of the leaders themselves. The findings may be used, with relevant permission, to conduct further post-apartheid studies on other intercultural communication and community mobilisation projects. This dissertation, as well as the report submitted to the organisation, will help it to review and revise its methodologies to find paths that are beneficial to the communities and that will help the organisation to attain its goals for intercultural learning and community mobilisation. Ultimately, this could be a model for how the developing nation of South Africa can creatively bring together previously segregated communities while teaching them about communicating on an intercultural level and about celebrating their diversity.

Overview

This dissertation is divided into five chapters: an introductory chapter (Chapter 1), which looked at the context and background and the research problem and the value of the research. This is followed by a literature review (Chapter 2), which will establish the main themes of the dissertation, and consider examples of similar studies done in the intercultural communication field. Thereafter, the research design and method (Chapter 3) will be presented. Finally, the discussion of the findings (Chapter 4) will be aligned to the main themes of the dissertation in order to answer the main question and an analysis on the differing dynamics in intercultural acceptance and engagement within the communities in eMzantsi concludes the dissertation (Chapter 5).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

It is crucial to understand the concept of intercultural communication, particularly within the context of South Africa. This literature review will combine what is known about the field of intercultural communication under several thematic headings, such as the South African youth and identity; intercultural communication; culture and power. It will also look at current case studies within the field of intercultural communication, highlighting some of the controversies that arise within this field.

South African Youth, Identity and Race

“We live in a period of rapid change, and this change causes us to rethink cultural struggles and identities.” (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 101)

According to Aguillar (1998) and Kurimot and Simonse (1998), definitions of children and youth are not based on biological or chronological age, and do not denote a fixed group or demographic cohort. According to Bourdieu, youth is ‘just a word’ (Bourdieu 1993). Throughout this work, I will regard the term youth to be defined, as Durham (2000) suggests, as a social shifter, viz. that which changes and adapts to varied social environments with no fixed identity; the term youth will be understood as “a relational concept situated in a dynamic context, a social landscape of power, knowledge, rights, and cultural notions of agency and personhood” (Durham 2000:116). These understandings of youth regard it as historically situated in cultural constructions (Ariès 1962; James and Prout 1990), and thus able to change according to socio-political, historical and even economic contexts. As De Boeck and Honwana also preface, social and cultural variables, such as gender, religion, class, responsibilities, expectations, race and ethnicity, play an important part in defining who is regarded or who considers him- or herself as a child or youth. The ways in which young persons are perceived from the outside do not necessarily coincide with their self-definitions. The process of “transition between childhood and youth and the period when youth ends and adulthood begins are not the same everywhere; they vary across and within societies and cultures over time” (De Boeck and Honwana 2005: 3). When the word youth is mentioned in this dissertation, it ought to be understood in this fluid way and the reason this understanding is important is to bring the understanding that people have varied understandings based on the contexts in which they are based. The fluidity of the definitions of youth is a contributing factor to the ways in which people are involved in eMzantsi and the reasons why some choose to accept this intercultural space.

According to De Boeck and Honwana (2005), young people constitute the majority of the population in Africa, and they are at the centre of societal interactions and transformations (De Boeck &

Honwana 2005: 1). The likelihood of young people being at the centre of social interaction and transformation lies in them being in a position to start formulating their own solutions to the lack of access to resources. Youth thus takes on a hopeful identity with the potential to create change where social action is particularly needed. Diouf (2003) also explains why African youth strive to find ways of responding to such crises:

“Excluded from the arenas of power, work, education, and leisure, young Africans construct places of socialisation and new sociabilities whose function is to show their difference, either on the margins of society or its heart, simultaneously as victims and active agents, and circulating in a geography that escapes the limits of the national territory.” (Diouf 2003: 5)

This understanding of youth is especially critical to this dissertation, as the disadvantaged communities researched in the Southern Peninsula echo the description of most African youth as having little or no access to education, employment and livelihoods, healthcare and basic nutrition:

“Apartheid is also echoed in the continuing relationship between race, neighbourhood and class. Almost all white people are relatively rich, as they continue to reside in well-resourced areas and have succeeded in reproducing other privileges even after the demise of apartheid. Almost all poor people are black, or more specifically, African, and live in areas with compromised infrastructure and services” (Bray et al 2010:22).

In this context of the broader Africa, De Boeck and Honwana ask: “Within this stressful environment, how do young people organise and make sense of their daily lives? How do they negotiate their private and public roles and envision their futures?” (De Boeck & Honwana 2005: 1). There is a fracture within definitions of youth. Soudien argues that young people in South Africa are internally divided due to a series of intersecting encounters, which leaves their identities as incoherent and discontinuous. “They are of their apartheid pasts, but simultaneously against it” (Soudien 2001: 314).

Children and youth are understood by elders to be the focal point of the many changes that characterise the contemporary African reality, afloat between crisis and renewal, which is seen in expectations and in creative and innovative modes of popular culture such as theatre, arts, music and dance (De Boeck and Honwana 2005: 1). The youth, more than anyone else, are those who provide answers to the crisis of existing communitarian models (structures of existing communities), structures of authority, gerontocracy (authority of the older generations) and gender relations. (De Boeck and Honwana 2005: 1). The youth play this role as the young hopefuls who have the motivation and inspiration that the older members of society might not necessarily hold any longer. The role of the youth is mutually dependent on the authority and structures and roles offered within

the communities they are raised. The older generation can offer the youth knowledge, wisdom, experience, insight and resources in answer to these problems where the youth fall short.

Jean and John Comaroff write that, in South Africa, “the dominant line of cleavage here has become generation” (Comaroff and Comaroff 1999: 284 in Durham 2000: 113). Generation is an important factor in creating the different definitions of youth within the country, hence the emergence of much contested and multiple meanings of ‘youth’ in South Africa. Most obviously, the youth of the apartheid era understand life differently than the youth of the post-apartheid era. Dolby (2001) analyses South African youth in recent history: During the 1980s, South Africa experienced political protests, strikes, boycotts, states of emergency and violent repression by the state. In the mid-1980s, South Africa was in the midst of an on-going war against the state, and a new generation of children was starting school. By the end of that decade, imminent and profound change was anticipated (Dolby 2001: 7). She states:

“In this generation’s early childhood, many of the laws that defined apartheid were dismantled; by the time they were ten, Nelson Mandela was released from prison; as they entered adolescence, he became president and a democratic South Africa was established for the first time in history. The terrain on which these children grew, and continue to grow up, is substantially different from that of their parents and even older siblings. They are a generation whose past, present and future are neither completely defined by apartheid, nor completely free of it.” (Dolby 2001: 7)

From the early 1990s, young people of all the racial groups were accepted into schools that had previously been designated for white students alone. Dolby’s study on Fernwood High School in Durban shows that cross-racial interactions have been prevalent among school pupils in South Africa for some time. They have not necessarily involved a peaceful and happy mingling of races and cultures, though. She states: “students’ experiences exemplify the tensions and contradictions of negotiating race in a conflict-ridden atmosphere” (Dolby 2001: 96). Looking at the various studies of the history of South Africa, as well as at the impact of this history on the case study of Fernwood High School students gives a glimpse into the ways in which South Africa’s changing context has affected youth identities. Dolby (2001) argues that racial identity is not formed in isolation from other racial groups but in constant conversation and conflict with others. She attests:

“In a society still profoundly divided and defined by race, these students’ lives are not mere reflectors of previous generations’ battles and antagonisms; instead their identities and relationships are productive of the new terrain of race and racial politics.” (Dolby 2001: 1)

She further explains the notion of identity as a discursive formation, which means that categories of identification (that is, race, gender, class, sexual orientation, etc.) are not pre-given essential traits, but constitute cultural meanings and identities into which individuals place themselves while internalising meanings and attempting to stabilise both themselves and the surrounding world (Dolby 2001: 8). Just as identity within the diversity of post-apartheid experiences is constantly negotiated as shown in Dolby's research, so is it constantly negotiated in the Valley community, as alluded to by Bray (2010): "We consider the diversity of experience, opportunity and risk facing young people as they navigate their way through the uncertain and complex post-apartheid landscape" (Bray et al 2010: 22).

The constructed nature of identity and identity formation contributes to the understandings of culture as not static as identity plays a firm role in understandings of culture. This dissertation elaborates on Soudien (2001)'s notions of identity struggle between who one thinks one is and who one thinks one ought to be. Hardiman's Generic Stages to Identity development (cited in Ponterroto 1993), which explains how identity formation occurs, will also have bearing on understanding identity formation. The stages suggested are the following: firstly, a lack of consciousness or awareness of one's social role; secondly, acceptance, where one conforms to social expectations of appropriate behaviour (stereotypes are developed during this stage); thirdly, resistance, where an individual rejects the social group to which he or she belongs, while also rejecting previously held beliefs; fourthly, a redefinition, where one becomes more introspective about one's social group and defines specific needs; and finally, internalisation of one's new identity, resulting in increased flexibility, open-mindedness and autonomy. South African youth identity is also understood by the term born frees. Mattes (2012) describes the current generation of young people as the 'born frees'⁶, a nickname for those born in the year of the country's first free elections. They reflect whether or not there has been a societal change towards racial interactions, as they are better able to negotiate their identities within a context that no longer limits interactions as a result of the colour of their skin. Instead, the level of interaction is determined by personal agency and the ability to access an intercultural space where one is able to

⁶ In many ways, the Born Frees confront a totally different world than that of their parents. There are no official limits to where they can go, work or live, or on whom they may date or marry. They have experienced a series of peaceful democratic elections that increasingly turn on new issues and personalities with diminishing links to the past. They consume news provided by a reformed public broadcaster, and have increasing access to privately owned radio and television broadcast news, as well as to increasing amounts of private and international news on subscription satellite television. The combination of a range of growth-oriented economic reforms in 1996 and a long period of growth in the early 21st century enabled the South African government to build over 2 million houses, and provide millions of citizens with access to water, sewerage and health clinics, and greatly expand a series of welfare subsidies to poor households. This period also witnessed the rapid expansion of a new black middle class. Where the preceding generation were often seen as the 'lost generation' with months if not years of schooling lost to school boycotts and political violence, the Born Frees have come through most of their schooling without politically inspired interruption. They have received almost universal education in a reformed school system. (Mattes 2012: 189-140)

meet people from a variety of historical backgrounds and contexts. eMzantsi offers a space where the youth from black, white and coloured communities in the Valley are encouraged to formulate a new intercultural identity.

Race, is a construction that changes according to context: “Historically, as Michael Banon (1988) argues, the idea of ‘race’ has shifted from emphasising lineage within a philosophical and theological paradigm that traced all humans to God, to a scientifically grounded category that conceptualised race as biology” (Dolby 2001: 10). Race is continually being understood different depending on contextual changes in society; the definition of race is not fixed. “Alongside the discourse of biological racism, the discourse of ‘new racism’ has gained strength in recent years. Instead of relying on biological conceptions of difference, new racism invokes immutable, essential cultural differences; race is signified through coded terminology – it is not directly named.” (Dolby 2001: 10) Dolby also states that “‘race’ has been recast as biology, as culture, as nation, and recently as ethnicity, a construction common to the discourse of rainbow nation” (Dolby 2000: 8). The changeability in the definitions of race is pertinent to this discussion as it highlights the differences in the understandings of race during apartheid and post-apartheid. It also brings to light the variances in behaviour towards difference brought about by the meanings people attach to race. This dissertation shows how biological racism mingled with new racism explains the shifting dynamics with regard to intercultural acceptance and engagement within eMzantsi.

Since the end of apartheid, un-institutionalised hostility exists between whites and blacks. Ballard (2004) examines the generally hostile response by many white people to the emergence of informal settlements, which are considered a threat to the formal middle class suburban neighbourhood (Ballard 2004: 48). The research does show that informal settlements are regarded problematic across the races; however there are varying reasons as to why this is the case. The problematic nature of informal settlements affected the communities’ level of involvement in eMzantsi. Ballard, however, emphasises that “hostile responses to informal settlements are indeed not limited to whites nor should it be seen as a necessary attitude of all white people” (Ballard 2004: 49). His argument is that:

“While the instinct to defend property value is indeed at the core of white resentment of informal settlements, this is an inadequate explanation on its own for this resentment. Informal settlements impact on more than the bank balance: they impact on residents’ sense of place and therefore on their self-perception as western, modern civilised people.” (Ballard 2004: 49)

However, race is not the only factor to consider in identity formation, or when analysing how people are engaging with eMzantsi:

“One of the most important scholars of social difference in South Africa, Harold Wolpe (1988), argues that neither race nor class, by itself, is capable of explaining the nature of the South African social formation and the ways in which privilege, power and position are distributed. Neither is it able to grasp the entire history of social division, the hierarchies that operate within society and, critically, how rights accrue or are denied.” (Soudien 2004: 90)

Racial identity is a factor, but not the entire story. In the case of South Africa, however, the history that is shared is one of conflict and discrimination and many of the shared cultural practices are linked to what John and Jean Comaroff (1991) refer to as the ‘colonisation of consciousness’; where the understandings of race are so entrenched in people such that people perform their identity according to their apartheid identities. It therefore becomes a matter of national importance to construct a cultural heritage that can be adopted and owned by all citizens” (Hammond 2004: 106-107). Such a huge project may however be destined to fail if pervasive and persisting conflicts, hierarchies and power struggles are not overcome. In the case of South Africa, there is no commonly shared culture and history which makes it difficult to construct a national identity:

“If communities are constructed around notions of sameness (McGarty & Haslam 1997), technically, shared citizenship should be enough ground for the construction of a nation...In most instances, shared history and culture are employed to unify a group of individuals in the construction of a nation.” (Hammond 2004: 106-107)

The idea of discovering sameness within the realm of difference is one that will be continually explored throughout this dissertation, as it is one of the major challenges in identity construction within the realm of intercultural community building. Soudien explains:

“The official ideology of the post-apartheid government is to promote non-racialism and a new inclusive South Africanism. The identity construction tensions in the new system, however, have not disappeared. The argument I wish to make in this contribution is that schools in the new South Africa, and the students and teachers inside them, continue to struggle with the disparate messages about who they are and who they ought to be.” (Soudien 2001: 312)

When investigating the formation and construction of youth and racial identities in the South African context, it is important to discuss the concept of discourse and its influence on the construction of identities. Identity is formulated within the discourse and discourse informs identity. Soudien (2001) explicates:

“I use ‘discourses’ in the Foucauldian sense as regimens that both shape and are shaped by thought and action. Discourses provide a working interpretive space for individuals and groups and are fluid and changeable.” (Soudien 2001: 312)

Discourses are fluid, and their ability to shape and be shaped by thought and action is key to understanding the root of people’s reactions to intercultural encounters.

South Africa is still developing its identity as a so-called Rainbow Nation. Almost two decades after institutionalised racism was abolished, the new democracy is still trying to create new ways of living together harmoniously – socially, politically, culturally – without the previous inequalities of apartheid (Motsei 2007). Hammond further explains the journey being taken to redefine South African identities:

“Since the dissolution of apartheid and the first democratic elections in 1994, South Africans of all races have been reconceptualising their identities to fit into the discourses of the ‘New South Africa.’ While for many black South Africans this means reclaiming the citizenship they have long since considered themselves entitled to, for many white mainly English-speaking South Africans it involves a radical rethinking of previously established definitions of their identities.” (Hammond 2004: 106)

This identity formation is a circular one, from a national level, to a regional, community and individual level, and back to the national level. Identity formation involves a new understanding of race, which was previously viewed as only a biological reality to recognising it as an aspect of identity that is socially constructed, malleable and fluid, according to the ways in which one defines and is defined by it. The problem lays not so much in race as biological or genetic but in the imposition of value judgements and preferences and hierarchies, and the propagation of differences in regard to the likes of social standing, economic opportunities and educational training. “The process of identity development involves an exploration of one’s abilities, options and values. These explorations often occur in relation to group membership” (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 66). Membership of a group reinforces one’s identity by aligning with the ideas, values and norms of which one is a part: “that part of an individual self-concept which derives from knowledge of his (her) membership of a social group(s) together with value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel 1978: 63). This research will examine how racial difference is perceived, and how eMzantsi encourages malleable identities by allowing the youth’s involvement in activities that interest them, rather than based on their racial classification.

The expression of identity is based on the socio-economic, historical, cultural and political contexts to which one is exposed: “Because we belong to various groups, we develop multiple identities that

come into play at different times, depending on context” (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 66). The concept of ‘performance’ lies at the crux of eMzantsi; whether through puppetry or music, it plays an important role in the interactions of the various communities. It also aids in the recognition of eMzantsi as a space where diversity is celebrated, which culminates in the annual carnival. eMzantsi’s identity is based on the ways in which those who participate in its projects and programmes understand it and view it. Its identity – like the identities of all South Africans and even the nation as a whole – is constantly being constructed, negotiated and reconstructed. In addition, in South Africa and beyond, “... cultural differences demonstrate that identity development does not occur in the same way in every society” (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 66).

eMzantsi’s projects are based on the perception of race and identity not as something unchanging and fixed, but rather as something that is fluid and able to change in response to context. “Racial categories, then, are based to some extent on physical characteristics, but they are also constructed in fluid social contexts” (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 74). In the case of South Africa, prejudices were reinforced and legitimated by the apartheid legislation that created racial hierarchy and division. In the post-apartheid era, racial identity is being redefined, “Our sense of racial or ethnic identity develops over time, in stages, and through communication with others” (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 75), and these are factors that this research aims to identify.

Although much has changed in post-apartheid South Africa, history still plays a significant role in current views of identity, and in this context, youth identities. Martin and Nakayama(1996) note that whether or not we choose to recognise the foundation of our differences, inequalities will continue to influence how we think about others and how we interact. (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 103). Previously disadvantaged communities have their identities entrenched in the persisting inequalities of the past, which continue to limit their opportunities to the same economic, social and structural realm as during apartheid. Similarly, history continues to play an important role in the identity of whites in South Africa who, in contrast, were advantaged by their race. It is thus important to be aware of South Africa’s racial history and to acknowledge the current vivid disparities in social and living conditions, as these factors affect the dynamics in intercultural acceptance and engagement within the eMzantsi space.

Intercultural Communication

“The only true voyage discovery, the only really rejuvenating experience, would be not to visit strange lands but to possess other eyes, to see the universe through the eyes of another, of a hundred others, to see the hundred universes that each of them sees, that each of them is.” (Proust 1981: 260)

Marcel Proust (1981) urges critical scholars to think beyond the ways in which we ‘know’ about others, arguing that “human experience is far too complex for the tools we have been given to generate knowledge. Part of the challenge of the critical project is to create new tools and ways of knowing that will help us to take on very different kinds of projects” (Proust 1981: 596). His writing highlights ways of attempting to move away from ways reductionism, as this type of understanding of intercultural interaction is destined to over-simplify complex processes of being and knowing (Proust 1981: 596). In studies of intercultural communication, it is therefore important to be aware of the possibilities of new ways of knowing in order to develop deeper understandings of societal interactions. This is a challenge I also put forward to the reader. A deeper understanding of social interactions requires reflexivity: Nagata (2004) proposed that self-reflexivity is a crucial skill for an interculturalist, as it entails having an on-going relationship with one’s self, pertaining to what one is experiencing as one is experiencing it (Nagata 2004: 139). Understanding the dynamics of social interactions in South Africa requires one to incorporate reflexivity, a kind of mindfulness approach, during intercultural communication.

Kim (1988) recognises the importance of intercultural communication and allowing for platforms where reconciliation can be learnt, practiced and ultimately passed on to future generations. “The term, *intercultural communication*, is conceived in the theories as direct, face to face communication encounters between or among individuals with differing cultural backgrounds” (Kim 1988: 12). Community projects such as the ones organised by eMzantsi create just such a healing space for previously segregated communities. When setting out to establish a platform for intercultural communication, it is important to note the barriers that may lead to its failure. Gonzales and Peterson (1993) note that one of the barriers is failing to acknowledge values that inform people’s perspectives, or failing to recognise the power positions that are a part of intercultural encounters and thus detract from people living peacefully with one another. The goal of intercultural communication is to allow people of diverse backgrounds to live in harmony. Harmony can be attained within the context of social justice. Martin and Nakayama refer to this as the *peace imperative*: “Given the many forces that structure our world, it is often difficult to overcome barriers to intercultural communication” (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 14).

In South Africa, different communities have embarked on the journey of communicating with each other despite the restrictions of their historic and present, cultural and structural backgrounds. The communities involved in eMzantsi, for instance, are structurally varied. For instance, Masiphumelele is a black, high density township, Ocean View is a coloured, middle density community, and Fish Hoek is a white, low density suburb. The perceptions of these different communities also affect their abilities to engage with one another openly. Higher density neighbourhoods (i.e. where more people live in small spaces) tend to be more community based and interactive. In less densely populated

(white) areas, in contrast, communities tend to be more individualistic, not interacting as much with their surrounding neighbours, or the Valley community as a whole. Another factor is the difference in standards of living, with some communities significantly more economically disadvantaged; this too must be acknowledged, as Bray et al (2010) points out:

“many features of the apartheid era persist, as the legacy of apartheid shapes everyday life after apartheid itself has died. Material inequalities persist and the distribution of income has probably become even more unequal after apartheid than during it.” (Bray et al 2010: 22)

In Bray’s (2010) *Growing up in the New South Africa*, the following images are presented to show these stark differences between Ocean View (the predominantly coloured community), Masiphumelele (the predominantly black community) and Fish Hoek (the predominantly white community) in the Valley:

University of Cape Town

Figure 2: Ocean View Central



Photo 1 from *Growing up in the New South Africa* (Bray et al 2010: 3)

Figure 3: Ocean View Residential



Photo 2 from *Growing up in the New South Africa* (Bray et al 2010: 3)

Figure 4: Masiphumelele Central



Photo 3 from Growing up in the New South Africa (Bray et al 2010: 4)

Figure 5: Masiphumelele Residential



Photo 4 from Growing up in the New South Africa (Bray et al 2010: 4)

Figure 6: Fish Hoek Central



Photo 5 from Growing up in the New South Africa (Bray et al 2010: 4)

Figure 7: Fish Hoek Residential



Photo 6 from Growing up in the New South Africa (Bray et al 2010: 4)

Previous intercultural theorists have been criticised by Ono (1998) for regarding culture as synonymous with nation, that is, within the boundaries of one nation, one culture exists. Ono points out that such theorists fail to acknowledge the complexities and differences within and between nations. The Southern Peninsula is only one example of the social, cultural, economic, historic complexity of South Africa, which is revealed through the unequal demographics, which in turn inform the contrasting ways of living of the rich on the one hand and the poor on the other. Martin & Nakayama (1996) emphasise that, although “communication on the interpersonal level is important, we need to remember that individuals are born into and are caught up in conflicts that they neither started nor chose and yet are impacted by the larger societal factors” (Martin & Nakayama 1996). So, although most of the youth involved in eMzantsi cannot attest to having experienced apartheid first hand, they were born into families that did, and into structures that still manifest the legacy of apartheid. For intercultural communication to work successfully, it is important to understand the structural impact of apartheid and to find ways of overcoming the disharmonies that will undoubtedly follow contact among different cultural groups (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 14).

Martin and Nakayama (1996) also emphasise the *self-awareness* imperative, which is crucial for the success of intercultural communication. eMzantsi provides opportunities for self-reflection, as it recognises the importance of encouraging participants to begin thinking about their own positioning and the way in which they perceive, and are perceived by, others. The method used by eMzantsi is subtle, however; it does not blatantly lay out the academic theories of intercultural communication, but it promotes them through practice and allows people the agency to come up with measures and tools that will assist them in working together in an intercultural context. A level of agency within structure is necessary to allow intercultural communication to be an active choice made by individuals. Intercultural communication is moreover seen as an opportunity for learning: “Living in increasingly diverse worlds, we can take the opportunity to learn more about our own cultural backgrounds and identity and what makes us similar and different from people we interact with” (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 16). In this way, learning about ourselves thus translates into learning about others, and vice versa.

This research on intercultural learning and community mobilisation is based on certain assumptions within the field of intercultural communication: according to Hurwitz (1990), as quoted in Martin and Nakayama 1996), reality is socially constructed, and people are active interpreters of their social environment. Similarly, participants at eMzantsi are encouraged to engage with their communities, and to become part of their social environment through shared talent, thus interpreting and consciously constructing their reality. Hurwitz (1990) also notes that selves and relationships are dynamic, emergent concepts, maintained or changed through communication in multiple social situations; this is precisely what happens within eMzantsi too, as performers collaborate and develop

new relationships and new arts through shared experiences. Hurwitz (1990) states that cultures result from the negotiated creation and shared use of symbols and meanings, which too is what eMzantsi demonstrates through the formation of an eMzantsi community that defines itself as different from the separate and un-integrated nature of the black, coloured and white communities of the Valley. Lastly, intercultural communication occurs when individuals using different cultural symbols and meanings interact; it thus often involves a mismatch of codes (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 22). In the case of eMzantsi, such codes are the ways in which participants use their varied talents and their interpretations of them within an intercultural space.

Martin and Nakayama state that “It is through knowing our own past history that we learn to question the assumptions we take for granted, and to discover their origin” (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 31). Nagata, who writes on intercultural communication, speaks about how to use reflexivity to bridge bodymindfulness, metacommunication and communicative flexibility (Nagata 2004: 139). Bodymindfulness relates to the awareness of physical space; metacommunication requires interactions and communications with deepened understanding as a result of a reflective process and communicative flexibility is about being able switch between different ways of communicating based on the dynamic, changing contexts one experiences. Being mindful of the ways in which people communicate both verbally and non-verbally, and being mindful of their flexibility and adaptability to various contexts requires self-consciousness and self-awareness of one’s own reactions, as well as of the reactions of others. In this way, intercultural communication incorporates skills, talents and beliefs among people of different cultural backgrounds (Nagata 2004: 140). Reflexivity allows individuals to process the progression of relationships, the tensions that arise in spaces of unfamiliarity and the negotiation that comes with identity building based on new knowledge. Without reflexivity, it is not possible to be aware of how difference is navigated or to understand the different contexts in which people find themselves. Cooks (2001) argues that mutual understanding should not be the initial presumption in intercultural relations; rather, the positionality of people and their inequalities and differences must be used as a starting point. Moving away from presumption and instead acknowledging and trying to understand people’s contexts gives room for a more mindful interaction.

Martin and Nakayama ask: “Can individuals of different genders, ages, ethnicities, races, languages, and cultural backgrounds live together and get along on one planet?” (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 14). This will be responded to within the questions raised with regard to the Valley communities’ level of engagement with eMzantsi. This dissertation takes into account Mendoza’s (2005) analysis of the contexts of intercultural communication, especially with regard to history, power and positionality. Halualani and Nakayama (2010) acknowledge that Mendoza’s (2005) theoretical framing pays attention to movements in history and politics. Mendoza proposes a rounded approach of successful intercultural communication – a framing that I seek to follow throughout this research. Being part of

the eMzantsi process is a step towards reflexivity, which shapes engagement in an intercultural process. Intercultural communication also *creates* boundaries, as it forms new understandings with others based on contact: “Communication is seen as the strategic action that creates and maintains the boundaries between self and other and between one’s group and other groups” (Banks & Banks 1995: 149).

Culture

“From this perspective, to pursue a culture is to seek out its differences, and then to show how it makes sense, as they say, on its own terms.” (Rosaldo 1989: 201)

When seeking to comprehend intercultural communication, it is important to look at definitions of culture. Martin and Nakayama have defined it as patterns of thoughts and beliefs and as a set of behaviours (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 47). Hofstede (1984) linked it to the relationship between thought and action, which requires a “programming of the minds”, by making it central in the mind of the individual. Action is thus based on the programme engrained in one’s consciousness, thereby producing culture enacted in one’s identity. (Hofstede 1984: 21). Martin and Nakayama’s definition comprises only thoughts, beliefs and behaviours and Hofstede emphasises the role of long-term mental programming in influencing a person’s actions and behaviours and thus influencing intercultural communication. In other words, Hofstede emphasises culture as a lifelong process of learning and programming, thus developing certain patterns. Martin and Nakayama, similarly, base their definition on the ways in which thoughts, beliefs and ultimately behaviours, are developed through programming over time. This mental programming is based on the fact that “Every person carries within him or herself patterns of thinking, feeling, and potential acting which were learned throughout (his or her) lifetime. Much of these patterns are acquired in early childhood, because at that time a person is most susceptible to learning and assimilating” (Hofstede 1984: 4). For Geertz, history is an important aspect of the definition of culture: “[Culture] denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meaning embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life” (Geertz 1973: 89).

I have selected these three views on culture as crucial for this research. There is a link between thought, action, history and the ability to learn, internalise and absorb and thus act, and this link allows for the production of culture. Culture is learned, internalised and acted out, but it has not always been understood that way. Johnson (2000) looks at two schools of thought with regard to culture: the Enlightenment theories and the Romantic rebellion against these. Within the *Enlightenment* theories, humans were seen as rational beings, and significant human practices across

cultural settings were regarded as universal or as evolving towards the universal though advancing cultural development (Johnson 2000: 186). This is in line with Goodenough's (1981) civilising process, which was a process of becoming civilised in order to reach a greater or higher *Kultur*. In terms of the Enlightenment definitions, culture was something fixed that one needed to learn to acquire. *Romantic* notions of culture, in contrast, suggested that human beings engaged in rational or 'non-rational' behaviour. Moreover, each culture was seen as unique with patterns that represent no natural or universal order but rather are relative to one another (Johnson 2000: 186). When culture is universal, it resides in abstract knowledge systems people create and language is used as the vehicle that communicates culture – one truth exists so-to-speak (Johnson 2000: 186). When culture is regarded as situated, however, people operate through many different systems of rationality, perceiving different truths and language is a symbolic action (Johnson 2000: 188).

The view adopted in this dissertation is that culture is learned and acquired throughout life, thus there is no 'end goal' or civilisation process but, rather, an on-going learning process throughout life. Moreover, my understanding is that culture is unique, viz. *situated* to use Johnson's (2000) term, and thus allows reality to be relative to specific cultures – effectively this combines the Romantic and situated theories on understanding culture, as explained by Johnson (2000). This understanding of culture is thus developed as follows:

“First with family and people in the neighbourhood, at school, at youth groups, at college and so on... Culture becomes a collective experience because it is shared with people who live in and experience the same social environments and with various groups of individuals.” (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 48 on Hofstede 1984)

eMzantsi, similarly, is a place where different people from varied backgrounds and histories and thus varied cultural influences come together; where a different kind of learning is experienced and a different culture is both acquired and created through inter-cultural contact. However, such contact is not necessarily easy or unproblematic.

Culture is a *contested zone*: “When we use terms such as *Chinese Culture*, or *French Culture*, we gloss over the heterogeneity, the diversity that resides in that culture” (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 51). Understanding culture as a contested zone contributes to a better understanding of intercultural communication, which is also true within eMzantsi, because the participants have different understandings of culture. Some approach it as something that is static and unchanging, which makes it difficult for them to enter fully into the eMzantsi space, where culture is regarded as dynamic and continually changing. It is also important to remember that South Africa is striving to fulfil the image of the Rainbow Nation, viz. one that recognises the differences within the national borders, which in turn make up the nation. Fortunately, there are people who are more open to the dynamism of culture

and who are thus more likely to engage in the intercultural platform offered by eMzantsi. Being aware of these two contrasting views of culture allows for openness to the strategies that can be developed to improve eMzantsi's processes and their approach to the communities. Recognising culture as a contested zone means recognising the influences of location on individuals and communities, while also recognising that such diversity exists not only between but within racially separate communities and their varied cultural spaces. In other words, the various communities communicate *interculturally* – when they leave their geographical spaces to enter into the intercultural eMzantsi space - but also *intraculturally*, as they have differences within their own communities.

A mixture of external influences in varied spaces plays a role in the production of cultures for the people within them, as is the case with eMzantsi. According to Johnson:

“In differing degrees, we all participate in multiple cultural systems ranging from our native culture of origin, to the local cultures in which we interact in daily life, to the global cultures, in which we interact in daily life, to the global culture created through mobility, mass communication, and technology.” (Johnson 2000: 186)

This means that we are all already multi-cultural; moreover, the constant interactions with difference (people, cultures, contexts, systems) allow new elements to develop within a world that is not impervious to diversity.

Cultural space is the “the configuration of the communication (discourse) that constructs meanings of various places. A cultural space is not simply a particular location that has culturally constructed meanings:

“For young people today, the physical and social characteristics of the neighbourhood spaces created during, or as a result of, apartheid have a profound impact on mobility, personally safety, social identity, or choices in peer relationships, certain dimensions of family life, educational and economic opportunities and, ultimately, personhood.” (Bray et al 2010:324)

“Cultural space can also be a metaphorical place from which we communicate” (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 156). Growing up in a certain community means that people can form their own culture within that community; but some communities are less tolerant of individualism than others, and more restrictive and authoritarian. Culture can be re-invented within various spaces and this is shared through communication: Brookes (1995) cites Fairclough (1989), who explains the aim of discourse as follows:

“... to uncover how language works to construct meanings that signify people, objects and events in the world in specific way. It is concerned with the way in which discourse builds

social identities, social relationships and systems of knowledge or belief and how these discourses maintain power through their ideological properties.” (Fairclough 1989 in Brookes 1995: 462)

Discourse influences culture through communication, and, conversely, culture also has the power to influence discourse:

“The discourses that construct the meanings of cultural spaces are dynamic, ever-changing... the relations between those cultural spaces and our identities are negotiated in complex ways... [T]hus because someone is from India does not mean that his or her identity and communication practices are reducible to the history of that cultural space” (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 155)

Although cultural spaces do influence cultural identity, as shown in a study by Hall (1995) of the manner in which British-born Sikh teenagers negotiate their identities, cultural difference is found to be a social construct that has become naturalised by wider society. Cultural spaces and their influence on cultural identity relate to issues of power; this is clearly seen in homes, neighbourhoods, regions and nations, all of which are examples of cultural spaces. This power is reflected and perpetuated in discourse:

“The longer a discourse remains common sense, the more likely it is that the knowledge, beliefs, social relationships and social identities it has produced will become entrenched and therefore more difficult to challenge.” (Brookes 1995: 464)

Cultural spaces are seen as dynamic, accommodating different and coexisting cultural identities. (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 161). When people come together in unfamiliar spaces, they need to adapt. They may initially experience culture shock, which is “a relatively short-term feeling of disorientation, of discomfort due to the unfamiliarity of surroundings, the lack of familiar cues in the environment” (Kim & Gudykunst 1988 in Martin & Nakayama 1996: 169). In extreme cases, it can lead to withdrawal from the cultural space. In order to cope with the stress that can arise from intercultural contact, adaptation is crucial, and it eventually leads to acculturation, whereby a new culture develops. [“Culture adaptation refers to the longer term process of adjusting and finally feeling more comfortable in the new environment” (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 169 citing Kim & Gudykunst 1988)]. Issues of power are impossible to ignore within the Valley, especially post-apartheid; there is a combination of individualistic and collectivist communities; gender inequality; constant uncertainty as a result of having to associate with people from previously segregated communities, and the realisation that available opportunities affect the ways in which people envision their futures. Hofstede (1984) summarises these categories as follows:

- Power distance: social inequality, including the relationship with authority and how this has affected community privilege and advantage
- Individualism vs. collectivism: people's orientation toward the individual or groups and how this affects personal and social positioning in communities
- Femininity vs. masculinity: the social implications of having been born male or female
- Ways of dealing with uncertainty, controlling aggression, expressing emotions
- Long-term vs. short-term orientation to life based on history and visions for the future

These factors play an important role in mobilising communities to participate in eMzantsi. In addition, it must be remembered that that Hofstede does not write within the South African context, but the above factors are applicable.

Functionalist, interpretive, critical humanist and structural humanist approaches are crucial paradigms when defining culture. The approach I choose to focus on for the purpose of this research is the dialectical approach:

“A dialectical approach helps us to emphasise that cultures are not fixed in how we describe them, know about them and see them as ‘different’ – the relational aspect to our own culture and selves can be fore grounded. A dialectical approach emphasises that cultures and cultural knowledge are always shaped in relationship to other cultures. By emphasising a dialectical approach, we can help avoid stereotyping others and misusing that kind of knowledge in cultural interactions”. (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 75)

This approach is in line with Dolby's argument that a more useful way to think about culture is to be found in the cultural studies formulations of Stuart Hall (1991, 1992), as well as David Morley and Kevin Robins (1995). Culture is better thought of, these writers insist, not as an entity but as a set of processes entrenched in the production and circulation of images and as a site of the elaboration of identities in the new globalising context that has overtaken modern nation-states (Dolby 2001: 1).

Gans (2012) surmises that there has never been an agreement on the definition of culture, making cultural sociology a field that is unable to define its central concept. Recognising these varied understandings within culture is nonetheless important for evaluating the effectiveness of eMzantsi as a field for intercultural learning. Johnson (2000) explains that:

“... cultures are learned by humans through both explicit instruction and tacit acquisition that occur in the everyday modelling and practice of meaningful actions. We are not naturally of

any particular culture, but we develop our skill to function in various cultures over our lifetimes. Once mastered, cultural learning becomes second nature.” (Johnson 2000: 186)

Power

“The implication is clear, to develop an understanding of power, attention has to be given to the mechanisms, techniques, and procedures of power, literally to how power functions, only then will it be possible to see how at precise conjunctural moment particular mechanisms of power became economically and politically useful.” (Smart 1985: 79)

According to Foucault (1982), in order to understand power relations, the forms of resistance and the attempts made to dissociate these relations should be investigated (Foucault 1982: 780). One element that cannot be ignored in the struggles within intercultural communication is the element of power as being “pervasive in communication interactions” (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 58). Power determines social interactions and the advantages and disadvantages experienced as a result of it. The systems of leverage within relationships, which are based on power, determine social interactions and the degree and type of communication among people (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 58). In a similar vein, Foucault looks at power within immediate, everyday life; such power categorises the individual, attaches him to his own identity, and “imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which makes individuals subjects” (Foucault 1982: 781). An example of this is the exercise of power among races within South Africa, where the dominant power belonged to the white race during apartheid. Power produces knowledge that is visible in social institutions, and knowledge in turn produces power (Smart 1985). Power enforced the law that legitimised segregation in the country, to the point where individuals believed and acted on their positions within the hierarchies. The Black Consciousness movement was an example of how knowledge was used to regain power through people’s redefinition of their identity. Knowledge of privileges that can be used to the disadvantage of others is internalised, especially within a system like apartheid, where a nation’s racial boundaries and access to resources were stipulated by laws and political systems. Since the abolishment of apartheid, the power dynamics between have become more complex and less restrictive. The context of this research reveals the opening of doors to expanded racial understanding and cultural knowledge under a new South African democracy.

People are discovering ways of re-negotiating boundaries, creating new knowledge and exercising power based on new understandings. South Africans are trying to find ways to overcome past segregation, while creating a democratic national identity. Oldfield’s (2004) research on racial integration in Delft South, a desegregated low-income neighbourhood in Cape Town, examines the effect of relocation on the racial character of economic and social networks. Her paper examines the

relationship between access to housing and practices of social and spatial integration with particular focus on the participation in street- and neighbourhood-level organisations (Oldfield 2004: 189). She reveals the challenges being faced by South Africans who are crossing over the boundaries that had been created by apartheid, and in doing so reveals the embedded racial categories that continue to be made material through daily practices (Oldfield 2004: 200). She also cites Winant (1993) who states that “The formation of racial identities is ‘an interactive combination of cultural and structural relationships, inherently unstable and contested politically throughout society’ (Winant, 1993, p. 109)” (cited in Oldfield 2004: 200). This definition applies to race within this dissertation on intercultural communication within eMzantsi. Oldfield reveals the power of apartheid as continuing to influence modern understandings of identity and race.

Green and Sonn (2005) in *Examining Discourses for Whiteness and the Potential for Reconciliation*, flesh out the meanings behind whiteness, examining how so-called white privilege results in white dominance over other racial groups. What contributes to the continued hierarchy (whites at the top, blacks at the bottom) is the discourse of privilege and dominance that is central to continuing unequal and unfair distributions of power (Green and Sonn 2005: 478). Privilege is situated in the discourse of whiteness, which continues to dominate within certain contexts, as it did during apartheid:

“These privileges, in part, constitute whiteness, which we understand as a series of discourses through which white people are privileged and positioned as dominant in a particular context.” (Green and Sonn 2005: 478)

Steyn (2005) describe whiteness as is an ideologically supported social positionality where the white race serves as a marker of entitlement and advantage. (Steyn 2005: 121) Green and Sonn state that “By conceptualising whiteness as a set of discourses we recognise the connections between discursive negotiations of whiteness and the power of whiteness within social structures.” (Green and Sonn 2005: 489) Although the study is based in Australia and the discourses of whiteness within the country, mentioning the research is also applicable in this study due to South Africa’s history and struggle with white superiority. Not acknowledging the existence of the power of whiteness post-apartheid further entrenches the existence of it and masks it as a norm that is accepted universally, referred to as white enculturation: “White enculturation involves both denying the power of whiteness and assuming its universality” (Green and Sonn 2005: 480).

It is difficult to establish solutions when the problem itself remains unrecognised. Communication and interactions involves those who are empowered, that is, those who exercise power, as well as those who are disempowered, on whom power is exercised. However, power can be negotiated to some extent, and thus it does not always have an oppressive effect on those on whom power is exercised: “The disempowered may negotiate power in many ways” (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 59). Moreover,

“Power is complex, especially in relation to institutions or social structure” (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 59) With regard to intercultural learning and community mobilisation within eMzantsi, these dynamics of power are constantly being negotiated and renegotiated within various contexts over time.

Power transcends individuals, communities and societies. It is dynamic, able to shift and change – power is not always contained in the same sphere but can shift at any time (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 59). Marcel Proust (1981) notes that, as we develop new ways of looking at each other, it is also important to acknowledge the grasp that the past has on us, and thus it is important to bear in mind the power of history in shaping present social interactions. Important questions thus arise from this, including questions of agency, such as:

“What kind of agency do we have under what conditions? How best can we activate and maximise such agency to be impactful across all influential contexts (contexts of learning, governmentality and regulation, economy and commerce, popular culture and media, and communities)?” (Proust 1981: 596)

These pertinent questions are tackled in this study of intercultural learning and community mobilisation within eMzantsi. The power of history, and how it has shaped the present, is one of the common themes currently emerging from intercultural interactions at eMzantsi.

Social, cultural and historical processes are reproduced through discourses, which in turn determine and limit our experiences, our understanding of ourselves and our relationships with others (Blackman & Walkerdine 2001; Burman, Kottler, Levett & Parker 1997; Henriques 1998; Parker 1992; Parker, Levett, Kottler & Burman 1997). These are determined by power and power dynamics, which in turn are entrenched in discourses. Relations of power, dominance and oppression are also reproduced and legitimated through discourses (Augouatinos & Reynolds 2001; Henriques 1998; LeCouteru & Augouatinos 2001; Mama 1995). Thus, if existing power hierarchies and dynamics are not acknowledged within intercultural spaces, they are very likely to become entrenched and re-perpetuated. The re-perpetuation of whiteness, for example, is embedded in its conceptualisation as:

“... a forceful discourse linked to a series of material, institutional and historical relations of power, [which] allows us to recognise the mechanisms of privilege and dominance within the discursive negotiations of white reconcilers.” (Green and Sonn 2005: 480)

Green and Sonn (2005) are writing about white Australians involved in reconciliation with the original inhabitants of the country, but it is as relevant in South Africa. Shome (1999), writing in the context of South Africa, states that relations of power are not complete or uniform, but multifaceted. Shome also states that relations of power are specific, in that they are dependent on context and

historical periods in which they are constructed as well as in the intersections between whiteness and other identity markers, such as gender, class and sexuality. In light of this, it is important to look at the power dynamics prevalent within the Valley as important factors in the acceptance and engagement of the community in eMzantsi.

Examples of cases studies

A few relevant case studies can give insight on intercultural learning and community mobilisation.

Intercultural interaction at a Multi-Cultural University: Students' Definitions and Sense-makings of Intercultural Interaction (Halualani 2010)

In the *Handbook of Critical Intercultural Communication*, Rona Tamiko Halualani presents a case study on the “Intercultural interaction at a Multi-Cultural University: Students' Definitions and Sense-makings of Intercultural Interaction”. She examines how racially or ethnically different students define, make sense of and evaluate intercultural interaction at a multicultural American university. Her study is similar to the research done for this dissertation, in that it is based on the understanding of the development of meaningful interactions developing within spaces of diversity, and in this case, racial (and ethnic) diversities:

“The multicultural university is the site at which students of diverse backgrounds (in terms of race, ethnicity, gender, age, socioeconomic status, religion, political view, national origin, among others) are presumed to be interacting in a meaningful way” (Halualani 2010)

According to Halualani's study, there is a gap in the research about how cultural group members define and interpret what intercultural interaction means to them (Halualani 2010: 306). In this dissertation, the perception of the participants on defining and interpreting intercultural interaction is sought in order to respond to the research question on intercultural learning and community mobilisation and to investigate the dynamics affecting intercultural acceptance and engagement.

Racial or ethnic groups engage in and perceive communication according to their own cultural mindsets, symbols and values (Halualani 2010: 307). In light of this, Halualani noted that certain difficult questions must be confronted such as:

“What kind of interaction do we want among social groups; why does such interaction exist; how do history and power imbalances shape these interactions; what kind of understanding can be reached among different groups?” (Halualani 2010: 321)

eMzantsi answers the question about the type of interaction wanted among social groups through encouraging intercultural communication by encouraging participants to develop a better

understanding of each other, reinforcing this with self-reflexivity, they are also learning about the present positionalities and histories of the Valley.

Cultural Similarities and differences in seeking social support as a means of coping: a comparison of European Americans and Chinese and an Evaluation of the mediating effects of self-construal. (Mortenson 2010)

A second case study looked at for this research is the study by Mortenson et al (2010) which looks at varying support seeking strategies by different cultural groups; this is also relevant to this research on eMzantsi: one of the main drivers of the project is the support systems within the communities that have kept and will keep the project running. The support sought is encouragement from the community to keep those supported strong and capable, and to help and promote those who need the support. Differences and similarities exist when it comes to community support of eMzantsi by the Valley communities.

An understanding of one's own communities while entering into a space of intercultural meeting is crucial in the journey of intercultural learning. This dissertation will look at how people construct meaning for themselves in relation to their lives and how eMzantsi participants are constructing their identities within the prevailing power relationships, cultures and discourses. The dissertation will also show relationships between intra-cultural understanding and learning in order to achieve intercultural learning. Mortenson et al (2010) have studied the "Cultural similarities and differences in seeking social support as a means of coping" (the title of their paper), by comparing European Americans and Chinese, and evaluating the mediating effects of self-construal. This is a relevant case study. as it shows the importance of community support in dealing with identity construction within spaces of cultural similarity and difference. eMzantsi is a space of intercultural similarity and difference: the similarities reside in the shared history of the communities in the Valley, and the differences are highlighted when these people from different histories mix. These differences and similarities change frequently, as people adapt in response to one another's experiences. The space of intercultural learning and communication is indeed a dynamic one.

Mortenson et al show that it is important to recognise that there are individualist cultures as well as collectivist ones. The individualist cultures are more likely to rely on themselves to solve problems, whereas the collectivist cultures are more inclined to seek community support.

"...some research suggests that, on average, people from individualist cultures see themselves as more unique, independent, and separate than people from collectivist cultures (Singelis & Brown, 1995). In contrast, Triandis (1994) suggests that people from collectivist cultures see themselves, on average, as members of an in-group in which their personal goals and

identities are closely connected with the goals and identities of other in-group associates such as family members and close friends.” (Nakayama et al 2009: 210-211)

Mortenson et al (2010) cite Nakayama et al (2009) as they conclude that there may be both cross-cultural differences and similarities in support seeking (Nakayama et al 2009), which is true in this dissertation too. The results will show that the white communities, based on their geographic location and their ways of life lean heavily towards individualism, which affects the level of support that they give to community projects like eMzantsi. The predominantly white community of Fish Hoek is contrasted to the black and coloured communities, which are more collectivist in nature – and thus more inclined to seek support from others and thus more likely to be involved in community activities. This research shows that there are different problems dealt with in each community. Some of these reasons lie in the fact that for one reason or the other, certain communities do not feel welcome in eMzantsi. There is indeed a level of antagonism towards white inhabitants of the Valley for being seen as the holders of privilege, which thus plays a role in the lack of contribution to community projects. Structurally, social or community projects are designed for the benefit of the poorer communities or those with less resources, and they rely on the cooperation, willingness and generosity of those with more resources, whether time, money, infrastructure, skills, etc. – but there must be a fair exchange or appreciable and visible benefit to both parties if the project is to survive in the longer term.

The influences of apartheid, South Africa’s new democracy, and the construction of people’s identities in line with the vision for South Africa’s Rainbow Nation will be discussed in relation to the participation and engagement of the Valley communities in eMzantsi activities. Further, the mixture of individualistic and collectivist communities will also be highlighted in the experiences and social relationships discussed by the interviewees:

“People from distinct cultures diverge in the manner in which they deal with emotional experiences and social relationships. These differences have been commonly explained by using dimensions of cultural variability such as individualism and collectivism (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1988)” (Nakayama et al 2009: 210)

However, a gap exists in the study of the precise cultural variations in *seeking* support; thus far, research has tended to examine the provision and reception of support:

“Although increasing research has examined cultural influences on the provision and reception of support (e.g., Pines & Zaidman, 2003), comparatively little research has examined cultural variations in seeking support. This represents an important gap in our understanding; support seeking has a major influence on processes and outcomes associated

with both support provision and support receipt (e.g., Goldsmith, 2000)” (Nakayama 2009: 209)

Community support is a crucial aspect in the dynamics of intercultural engagement within eMzantsi. It is thus important to understand why some communities are more inclined than others to be involved in community projects. A community is understood as a group with shared understanding, interests and knowledge, and a community of practice is the result of sharing and experiences and learning from one another (Wegner 1998), much like how eMzantsi focuses on being a site for intercultural learning. The concept of a community of practice is strongly linked to the theory of social constructionism. (de Gruyter 2007: 457). It highlights how culture is not fixed or static, but rather negotiable, mutable and often goal-directed. It further highlights the fact that “Members of societies are agents of culture rather than merely bearers of a culture that has been handed down to them and encoded in grammatical form... the relationship between person and society is dynamic and mediated through language” (Ochs 1996: 416).

Growing up in the New South Africa: Childhood and Adolescence in Post-Apartheid Cape Town (Bray et al 2010)

The last relevant case study is *Growing up in the New South Africa: Childhood and Adolescence in Post-Apartheid Cape Town* by Bray et al (2010). The book is based on the experiences of adolescents in post-apartheid South Africa. It is thus an especially relevant resource, as it speaks specifically to the communities of Fish Hoek, Ocean View and Masiphumelele and the history and context of the Valley communities. Bray et al describes post-apartheid South Africa as one where all adults have the right to vote, government is led by black political leaders and legislation discriminating against black people has been abolished. Black people’s status has changed; there is a reallocation of public funds from schools, hospitals and municipal infrastructure, welfare has been extended, racial restrictions on jobs have been removed, and statutory racial restrictions determining where people could live and requiring them to carry passes are no longer in force. Prohibitions of having sex or marrying someone from a different racial group have also been removed (Bray et al 2003: 22). This signifies a very different South Africa from the one that experienced apartheid.

Bray’s research is also important in that it describes race, which is also used as a proxy for class or class background. She conducts an in-depth analysis of the effects that living in particular neighbourhoods have on different aspects of life and how race might denote distinctive cultures in terms of values and beliefs (Bray 2003: 30) It is a good representation of the differences and similarities within community experiences of post-apartheid South Africa and thus adds value to the context of this study.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Method

The title of this dissertation is *Intercultural learning and community mobilisation within eMzantsi*. This research thus tackles questions around the dynamics of intercultural acceptance and engagement in the eMzantsi project based in the Southern Peninsula. It examines the factors that attract community members to participate in the projects offered by the organisation – the Music Project, the Schools Project and Mapiko (the sector of the organisation responsible for float and puppet construction). The research also looks at what factors make engagement in eMzantsi difficult, as well as the challenges that have been faced by the organisation. Fourteen in-depth semi-structured interviews were held with key members of the organisation who have been involved in these projects over a number of years.

Primary Objective

The primary objective of this dissertation is to discuss intercultural learning and community mobilisation within eMzantsi. In order to better understand these dynamics within eMzantsi, it was important to interview and gauge the perceptions of those who have been involved in the organisation and have seen it develop through its various stages since its inception in 2005. This was done in order to address the following sub-questions: What are the strategies for community mobilisation in the Southern Peninsula?

- What is the positionality of the members of the communities involved in the eMzantsi Project?
- What are the hooks that draw people in to eMzantsi?
- What excludes other members of the communities from the eMzantsi community?
- What are the motivations behind the eMzantsi project?
- Are these motivations being reached within the communities involved?

Data Collection

In order to conduct this research, a qualitative, interpretive and descriptive framework was used. Heath and Cowley (2003) state that “Social interactions create meaning and shaping of society on individuals” (Heath & Cowley 2003:142). This dissertation will investigate how meaning is created and how people interpret their relationships and involvement as a result of their social interactions. Using a qualitative, interpretive and descriptive framework is thus useful, as the primary aim is to ascertain different people’s perceptions of intercultural learning through eMzantsi, allowing a focus

on how people attribute meaning to intercultural communication in the Southern Peninsula. According to Steyn (1997), the research “design should be such that it shows maximum respect for the meanings participants themselves attach to communication behaviours” (Steyn 1997: 70). This respect is ensured through showing a level of sensitivity towards the participants, which allows room for more honest responses and interpretations by participants (Steyn 1997). Sensitivity and respect requires correct documentation of responses, allowing for privacy and anonymity and only using participants’ responses for the purpose of this research. The interpretive framework used was able to elicit more honest responses within a comfortable setting where neither researcher nor participant felt pressured, or pressed for time, as they were able to ask further questions when clarification was needed; all responses were recorded in the participants’ own words (Minichieollo et al 1990). The interpretive framework was presented in the form of qualitative interview; this “is essentially a conversation in which the interviewer establishes a general direction for the conversation and pursues specific topics raised by the respondent. Ideally, the respondent does most of the talking” (Babbie et al 2008: 289).

Using qualitative research methods allowed for a study of human action in natural settings through the lenses of the participants themselves; this facilitated detailed engagement with the participants, and the flexibility to adapt and make changes to the study where and when necessary (Babbie et al 2008: 278). Semi-structured in-depth interviews were used, using Rubin and Rubin’s (1995) approach, which involved a flexible iterative design. Such a design comprises an iteration or repetition of gathering, analysing and testing information, in order to draw clearer conclusions (Rubin and Rubin 1995: 289): “The continuous nature of qualitative interviewing means that the questioning is designed throughout the project” (Rubin and Rubin 1995: 46-47).

In-depth interview look beyond the answers being given by asking further questions of *why* in order to understand *how* individuals frame and construct meaning (Babbie et al 2008: 291). Babbie et al discuss the importance of being aware of contradictions in responses during interviewing in order to gain a deeper understanding of participants’ constructions of meaning and opinions. Contradictions are particularly helpful in gaining a deeper understanding as they allow for a broader spectrum of the meanings that the participants construct.

The fact that only qualitative approaches, rather than quantitative ones, were used in the research was a limitation. According to Kruger (1994), using a variety of research methods to address similar issues is beneficial, as it confirms and reinforces the findings and expands on the information obtained. Although only qualitative approaches were used in this case, it was important to note Steiner Kvale’s (1996) approach to using a holistic interviewing process. His approach comprises the following steps: *thematizing* to clarify the purpose of the interviews and the concepts used; *designing* the process and taking ethics into consideration; *interviewing* the relevant respondents; *transcribing* or writing down

the recorded text; *analysing* to determine the meaning of the information gathered; *verifying* the reliability and validity of materials, and *reporting* or telling others what has been learnt from the research (Babbie et al 2008: 290). All of Kvale's stages were completed during the course of this research in order to gain the most from the interviews conducted.

eMzantsi and its Participants

eMzantsi was chosen as the case study, because it is currently the most well-known organisation in the Valley with regard to the facilitation of intercultural communication through its various activities. The key informants for the research were identified by the founder and Managing Director of eMzantsi, Shelley Peters. Some of these informants also identified other key participants who could be interviewed in turn: "Snowball sampling is appropriate when the members of a special population are difficult to locate" (Babbie et al 2008: 168). This approach was useful, as it relied on personal referrals from one participant to the next, based on their first-hand knowledge of eMzantsi and their long-term involvement in its programmes. However, the snowball method is not the most objective method of research: it is rather subjective, as participants tended to recommend particular colleagues at eMzantsi, based on their personal or professional relationship with them. Babbie et al state that using a snowballing effect can result in "questionable representation" (Babbie et al 2008: 167). In retrospect, the questionable representation would have been less so had others not working in organisation been interviewed as well. This was however not a sufficiently serious problem to skew this research's findings.

Sample

Fourteen participants were chosen for this research, comprising the leadership and management of the organisation. They all participated in in-depth semi-structured interviews that lasted between half an hour to two hours, depending on their feedback. The following criteria were used to select the sample:

a) Organisational Participation

It was important to select participants who had been involved in the eMzantsi projects over several years, and who could thus give the most relevant feedback on the questions posed about their perceptions of the dynamics of intercultural acceptance and engagement in eMzantsi as a community building organisation.

b) Race

Race was an important criterion, given the core aim of eMzantsi to provide a platform for intercultural communication among previously segregated races. The various communities that participants came from were indicative of the level of geographical segregation that exists in the Valley today, although

apartheid ended nearly two decades ago. Each respondent represented his/her community and spoke on his/her experience of eMzantsi and their community's reception of eMzantsi thus far. They also gave opinions on their place within eMzantsi, and discussed how their perceptions of the other participating communities had evolved as a result of their engagement with eMzantsi.

c) *Nationality and Language*

The nationality of the participants was acknowledged as participants were all speaking about their experiences within the Valley through eMzantsi. One of the participants was Zimbabwe and thus it was of interest to take into account the issues raised from the perspective of a non-South African. All participants, however, were expected to be able to understand and speak English, whether or not it was their first language.

d) *Gender and Age*

Nine men and six women are represented in the research. The primary focus was on who was in charge of the programmes, regardless of what gender or age they were. The average age of the female participants was 35 years old, while that of the males was 28 years old.

Figure 8: Research Sample

Geographical Area	Total Number of Respondents	Black Respondents (n= 5)	Coloured Respondents (n=5)	White Respondents (n=4)
Ocean View	5	0	5	0
Masiphumelele	4	4	0	0
Capri	1	0	0	1
Noordhoek	1	0	0	1
Fish Hoek	1	0	0	1
Marina de Gama	1	1	0	0
Scarborough	1	0	0	1
TOTAL Nationality	14	5 South African (4) Zimbabwean (1)	5 South African (5)	4 South African (3) British (1)
Age & Gender	Average Age of Respondents (years)	Black Respondents Age (years)	Coloured Respondents Age (years)	White Respondents Age (years)
Females:	35 years old	31, 26	33	45, 41

Males	28 years old	35, 24, 21	29, 24, 24, 31	47, 21
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Informed Consent (see Appendix 1)

Each participant signed a consent form at the beginning of each interview. Each participant was also informed of the purposes of the research, who it was for, as well as what the research findings would be used for afterwards. Pseudonyms were used for anonymity; however the positions are likely to make some of the participants identifiable. The participant’s consent form, which was signed by all informed the participants that their transcripts would not be shared with other participants; the research was conducted were part of the research project on eMzantsi which was being conducted by iNCUDISA (Intercultural and Diversity Studies of Southern Africa). The participants were also given the option to keep their identity anonymous, and for their identity to remain confidential if they chose; all participants gave their consent to the terms and conditions, understanding that their names would not be reflected, as well as understanding that their designations would likely make them identifiable.

Data Management and Analysis

All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed by the researcher. The interviews were coded using QSR NVIVO software. The responses were sorted into various categories and themes, such as *motivations behind the project, strategies for community mobilisation, positionality of members, hooks, exclusions, challenges, successes and innovative ideas*. This made it easier to code and finally analyse the data collated. These responses were aligned to the “code and retrieve system”, which Hollway and Jefferson (2001) note as useful when analysing unstructured data. Grounded Theory was the analytical framework that informed coding. According to Mead (1934), Grounded Theory reports lie in symbolic interactionism: this means that individuals are self-aware, able to see themselves from the perspective of others, and able to adapt their behaviour according to the situation (Mead 1934). Heath and Cowley (2003) explain: “Thus, grounded theory’s aim is to explore basic social processes *and* to understand the multiplicity of interactions that produces variation in that process” (Heath & Cowley 2003: 142).

Rather than generating theory in an abstract way, grounded theory is developed empirically, resulting from rigorous and structured data analysis (Glaser and Strauss 1967). It starts with formulating a broad research question, identifying the general area to be studied; both qualitative and quantitative methods can be used at different times. As findings are compared at every stage, data can be continuously refined; theory is developed when no more new concepts are seen to be emerging (Glaser and Strauss 1967 cited in Luff and Lacey 2001).

In social research, any data collected must be grounded within the theory (Tesch 1992); in this case, I have grounded the data collected in theories on intercultural communication, looking at identity

construction, constructions of discourse, adaptation, social constructionism and performativity. Sheridan and Storch (2009) emphasise the usefulness of grounded theory, as it includes the development of researchers' intercultural competencies; in their research on migration, they show how it allows the exploration of various theories in different fields and the emergence of new or deeper interpretations of intercultural experiences, including where research has not engaged deeply with or avoided intercultural contexts (Sheridan and Storch 2009).

According to de Wet and Erasmus (2005), various levels of analysis are used in Grounded Theory to produce a systematic analysis of qualitative data. I followed the various stages, which can be represented in the diagram below:

Figure 9: Using Grounded Theory and NVIVO for Analysis of Data

Read the data retrieved from the transcripts
Transcribe data
First level coding: code own ideas in NVIVO
Second level coding: Create tree nodes in NVIVO and insert data according to the correct node
Link nodes to theoretical frameworks in order to answer research questions
Identify patterns in data and develop findings from the transcripts

These are not linear or sequential stages; rather the process of grounded theory is cumulative and iterative, involving “frequent revisiting of data in the light of new analytical ideas that emerge as data collection and analysis progresses” (Luff and Lacey 2001). This research aims to identify the dynamics of community mobilisation, as shown through the perceptions of the respondents. Existing theories on the subject of intercultural communication are used to determine whether they are applicable in this context. According to Yvette Abrahams (2001), exploratory research is done concurrently with thinking and theorising, thus establishing a relationship between theory and practice. This research aims to see whether some of the theory selected is indeed applicable to the eMzantsi context.

Limitations

The factors that limited data collection were lack of time and minimal resources. It was time-consuming to travel to the respondents and to coordinate times suitable for both parties. I was continually aware of my positionality as a young, black, Zimbabwean, middle-class student from the University of Cape Town. Reflexivity was thus important throughout the interviewing process, as I needed to be aware of the differences between my positionality and that of my interviewees and the meanings that they derived from it. I also endeavoured to be objective and impartial with regard to the

information shared by the respondents. It was additionally challenging, as I had worked with the interviewees previously, and thus needed to separate the findings from the previous research when pursuing current areas of inquiry. However, the relationships that had been established through the previous research did offer great levels of trust, which allowed for easier and more insightful interviews.

Ethical considerations

To address some of the ethical issues that might come up during this research, it was important to ensure that the eMzantsi managers identified the relevant key respondents, based on their knowledge about the project as a result of their longer term involvement in eMzantsi, which made them more likely to supply credible information. All respondents were fully informed of the process and advised of their right to participate or withdraw from the research; each person signed a consent form before the interview and these forms were kept and submitted together with the report written for the organisation. A copy of the unsigned consent form is attached (see Appendix 1). Furthermore, pseudonyms were used throughout this dissertation to maintain the integrity and confidentiality of the respondents. The interviews were recorded and transcribed, which assisted in the accurate analysis of the research findings. Lastly, as researcher, I had the required language skills, interviewing experience and background to conduct the research.

This research design contributed to a structured methodology where findings could be logically and ethically analysed.

Chapter 4: Findings

In order to recognise the differing dynamics in intercultural acceptance and engagement within the communities, it was important to ask questions that spoke to the motivations behind the eMzantsi project, the various strategies used for community mobilisation, the positionality of the members, the pull factors that attracted people to eMzantsi, the factors that made others feel excluded, and the challenges and successes experienced thus far.

Motivations behind the project

The eMzantsi Carnival was initiated by Shelley*, a former UCT student who completed her Masters in Diversity Studies, while starting up eMzantsi under the umbrella of the Harlequin Foundation. The project has been running since 2005, and has undergone various transformations while aiming to encourage intercultural communication within the Valley.

Shelley was inspired to initiate this project after seeing the segregation that still existed in the Southern Peninsula, despite the end of apartheid and the advent of democracy. The white communities were still the most affluent, and the coloured and black communities had clear memories of their relocation under the Group Areas Act which had resulted in the forced removals of people who were not white from arable land, preserving the better areas and allotting ownership of it to the white minorities. Even today, the laws of apartheid still influence perceptions and definitions of race. This can be seen most clearly in the legacy of the Group Areas Act of 1950 (reformed in 1957), which ensured that South Africans would live in racially demarcated and divided areas. Similarly, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No. 49 (1953) guaranteed that public premises would be reserved for the exclusive use of one race only. These acts were forcibly implemented, with millions of individuals, predominantly black, required to relocate to remote, barren, 'ethnic' homelands (known as *Bantustans*), which were governed by South African-appointed and controlled dictators. (Dolby 2001: 21). The legacy of these homelands left a large socio-economic difference between those previously disadvantaged by the act and those who were legally advantaged by it during apartheid. With regard to education, the after-effects of so-called Bantu Education continue to affect parents and school pupils, as well as the future of the generation whose parents experienced the implementation of the Group Areas Act and the Bantu Education Act of 1953. These acts entrenched stratified education, which reinforced ethnic identities among Africans (Dolby 2001: 21). Also continuing to affect racial identity is the Race Classification Act of 1950 (also known as the Population Registration Act), although it has been abolished years ago. This act divided South Africans into a hierarchy of specified racial groups: Afrikaners at the top, followed by other whites, Indians, coloureds, and Africans at the bottom. This construction of race under apartheid was

challenged by the likes of Steve Biko who “promulgated a ‘blackness’ that included Africans, Indians, and coloureds (Biko 1978)” (Dolby 2001: 22), with the intent to form a unified front against the privileged whites.

One of the key ways of incorporating eMzantsi into the communities was to use activities in which everyone could participate, regardless of this apartheid history and their socio-economic circumstances. They also realised that an intercultural project like this one would take time. Nonetheless, the aim was to have fun with the project: ‘Fun’ emerged as the mantra that all eMzantsi participants spoke of during the interviews and throughout their workshops and even personal conversations. Whenever she spoke of those who wished to be a part of the project, Shelley said:

“I hope these people understand the pressures and that it’s process over product, and if you’re not having fun you’re not doing it right.” (Shelley, personal interview, 2011)

“First it’s about fun, then comfortable mixing, then learn; if the approach was different, then (people would be) more reluctant...” (Mark*, personal interview, 2011)

Mark*, who also reiterates Shelley’s sentiments, was a rapper at the time of the research. He was raised in Ocean View and George, and then moved to Fish Hoek with his family. Having been raised in Ocean View, Mark straddles the boundaries of the white and coloured racial categories. He had been involved in eMzantsi for two years, and was head of the Music Project as well as the High Schools Project. His focus was on recruiting participants and bridging relationships with those from Fish Hoek. Intercultural communication is understood as something that happens as a process, over time: it is not an outcome or event. Mark mentioned that, the project is also about ‘comfortable mixing’, entailing an acknowledgement of differences, which are brought together within a single space, thus bringing about learning. He acknowledged the difficulties and challenges of this process, which could potentially create discomfort and conflict, by stating that, if the approach were not fun, people would be more reluctant to participate.

eMzantsi needs to be sensitive to the community’s needs:

“The main point is that it doesn’t really matter what we are doing as long as we are doing it together, I mean, we can’t really get it wrong. If something isn’t working, we don’t pursue it. We respond to the needs of the group.” (Shelley, personal interview, 2011)

If something does not work or is not receiving a sufficiently positive response, then the organisation is willing to explore a different route. Such sensitivity to the communities’ needs can be mistaken as charity – creating an image of an organisation that seeks to uplift people within the disadvantaged

communities of the South Peninsula. Aviwe* from Durban, who was twenty-six years old at the time, clarifies one of the key motivations of eMzantsi:

“... they [those not involved in eMzantsi] see us as a charity but we are more than that, trying to make community a better place...” (Aviwe, personal interview, 2011)

Mark shared his perceptions about the difficulties of making eMzantsi work while bearing in mind the various communities’ beliefs and mindsets:

“[We are]... basically trying to change people’s beliefs; if someone was brought up in a certain way, brought up to be afraid of black people or [to] think white people are a certain way or whatever, it’s difficult to change their mindsets coz they are brought up in that; changing mindsets and beliefs is almost impossible but it can be done; we have done it before; it will be done; we will keep trying.” (Mark, personal interview, 2011)

For eMzantsi, bringing people together is the initial goal. The aspiration is to change people’s mindsets within the racial contexts of South Africa. Comfort zones are contained within each community, and venturing out to participate with others outside one’s community requires motivation; Shelley specifies whom eMzantsi approaches:

“... eMzantsi carnival is about people in the whole South Peninsula who would like to get out of their comfort zones and don’t quite know how to do it or are scared to do it.” (Shelley, personal interview, 2011)

The communities that eMzantsi aims to reach and which are represented in eMzantsi are divided into white, black and coloured communities. Masiphumlele represents the black communities, Ocean View represents the coloured communities, and Fish Hoek, Marina da Gama⁷, Sun Valley, Kommetjie, Capri, Noordhoek and Scarborough are the white communities.

At the time of the research, a key motivation for eMzantsi was that, according to the respondents, no other organisation was doing what they were doing in the Valley. Some organisations are using the arts and promoting talent, but their main objective was not to encourage intercultural learning and intercultural communication, which is the fundamental motivation for eMzantsi. The organisation takes pride in this, and for some, this is one of the criteria for measuring organisational success:

“I mean the cultural stuff is not their [other organisations] priority so I feel that is our role and we fill a gap, and that’s why I think we have been successful because nobody else is doing it;

⁷ Marina da Gama, does not geographically fall into this area, it is closer to Muizenberg, Kirstenhof and Lakeside, however, one of the respondents lives in the area and mentions it in her interview; some of the eMzantsi participants are from Marina da Gama

and so even though arts and culture is something that happens in the venue in every situation, we are the only ones that bring all the communities together to take part in the activity and that being our major motivation for doing it, because *what* we do is secondary to *how* we do it.” (Shelley, personal interview, 2011)

The *how* relates to the emphasis on approaching each activity with the intention of having fun and open to being in an intercultural space and building relationships with different people.

Strategies of community mobilisation

The interviews held with the members and key leaders in eMzantsi revealed that one of its principal strategies that has emerged as a by-product of its activities, is to produce ambassadors of the organisation, in other words, people who are willing to promote the projects offered by eMzantsi and often become leaders of eMzantsi activities. Shelley, looking back, summarised how she felt about the progress made:

“Generally I’m happy as can be because I never expected it would be like this in my wildest dreams, to have so many people involved now, and so committed and so personally it makes me feel that they are eMzantsi ambassadors.... there is this big difference and that to me is a huge success in that you can feel the relationships of working are bigger, stronger, longer, genuine... you know, you can’t fake that.” (Shelley, personal interview, 2011)

It is important to find other means of recruitment into the organisation and to ensure people are well informed of the opportunities offered within the organisation. Shelley writes and promotes the organisation’s activities in the local print media, viz. *The People’s Post*, *the False Bay Echo*, and *The Full Circle*. One of the participants indicated that there might even be information overload, with people reading the articles, but very soon forgetting about it. eMzantsi is understood to be a community building exercise, which can serve the Southern Peninsula as a whole beyond its internal activities; however, it is clear that better strategies around communication should be implemented to ensure that information about eMzantsi is retained and not forgotten.

Charmaine*, who at the time had been involved with eMzantsi since 2005 and was the Operations Manager, also mapped out the strategies eMzantsi uses in order to have people involved and fully participating in its projects:

“...We phone the churches, we do all of that so nobody has not gotten the invitation, it’s up to them to take up the invitation or whatever that’s their own reason but I don’t think anybody gets left out.... They constantly get emails; they haven’t been taken off any databases or anything like that... We cater for everyone, provide space for them; send out messages that we

have this opportunity so they can come and be part of the process.” (Charmaine, personal interview, 2011)

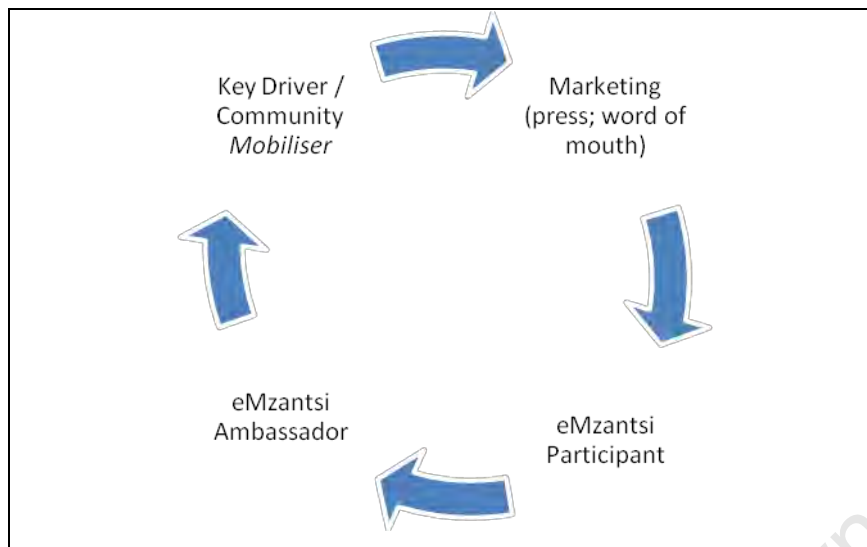
Their marketing strategy is to keep their database up to date, and to notify as many people as possible. Jake* from Scarborough stated that, if eMzantsi continued to do this, “then people are going to get more familiar with it and more people are going to come and start participating”. This was echoed by Shelley who said, “Once you get them into the space, they will enjoy it... and usually at the end of the day, it’s word of mouth.” Jake, then 47, heard about eMzantsi from people who spoke about it within the community. Having already worked with carnivals in Johannesburg before moving to Cape Town, he met with Shelley and joined the organisation as a volunteer. He worked on creating and building the elements and puppets that are used for carnivals and eMzantsi activities, managing to train others; he has been pivotal in creating a crew that now consistently does the puppetry for eMzantsi.

eMzantsi projects cater for young people roughly between the ages of nine and twenty-five, although it does not restrict participation to this age group. Shelley explains that “School’s usually our first point of entrance to get involved in eMzantsi programmes...” (Shelley, personal interview, 2011)

Communicating to the Valley what eMzantsi is about, targeting those who are keen to find out more about intercultural communication, as well as targeting the youth are the strategies used to mobilise and engage the communities of the South Peninsula in eMzantsi’s work. Having a team that mobilises the community is just as crucial as communicating with the newspapers and targeting the youth: “... a driver needs to be there, a person that people will listen to.” (Michelle, personal interview, 2011)

At the time of research, Michelle* lived in the local village of Capri; she became involved in eMzantsi through her friendship with the founder, Shelley. She has been involved since eMzantsi’s second year, focusing on artwork while teaching and motivating her team. eMzantsi thus functions in a circular mode that allows for the creation of its ambassadors, who become key drivers or community mobilisers, able to market the organisation and attract new participants, who in turn become ambassadors of eMzantsi and continue the process as summarised in the diagram below:

Figure 10: eMzantsi Marketing Strategy



Commonalities within communities

The people who form the backbone of eMzantsi are these organisers who become drivers of their community. The one common feature of all the Valley communities was that the youth all experience despondency; because of their lack of hope for the future and their fear that they will not find employment and thus be unable to contribute to their own livelihood and to society, which can serve as position from where change and transformation may stem for young people:

“Excluded from the arenas of power, work, education, and leisure, young Africans construct places of socialisation and new sociabilities whose function is to show their difference, either on the margins of society or its heart, simultaneously as victims and active agents, and circulating in a geography that escapes the limits of the national territory.” (Diouf 2003: 5)

Besides eMzantsi, the facilitators participate in a variety of community development activities that address this despondency faced especially by the youth, as well as the other problems that they identify within their communities. For instance, they may help the Masiphumelele libraries to increase literacy and access to education; or they may mentor young girls who are likely to be victimised and abused; or to be part of the various forums, churches and NGOs; some help to run soup kitchens, to assist with the lack of food in homes, or to introduce young volunteers from overseas to the communities, or to teach yoga and meditation and so much more. Their identity evolves as eMzantsi comes to the centre of societal interactions and transformations (De Boeck & Honwana 2005: 1). eMzantsi echoes the construction of a nation that comes as a result of a shared history and culture (Hammond 2004: 106-107).

Positionality of Members – eMzantsi Communities

The fieldwork revealed that the differing dynamics of intercultural acceptance and engagement were influenced by the positionalities of the people who were the key runners of the eMzantsi projects. Understanding the communities from which participants come would bring more insight into the push (what draws people to eMzantsi) and pull factors (what keeps people away from eMzantsi).

Masiphumelele

Masiphumelele is a predominantly black community in the Valley:

“It’s classified black, previously impoverished, black community, disadvantaged, all those terms refer to Masi⁸ because it’s got shacks, right now, there is government people, people are trying to build and they are building more houses now, which is fantastic especially after those fires that were burning down the place. There are good people in Masi, lots of *scollies*⁹ and dirt, we still have gullies that need to be cleaned... you can see pictures and it’s all dirt and garbage. People still don’t have toilets and things like that. It’s like an eye-sore”. (Simon*, personal interview, 2011)

“Umm, well it’s a township, next to suburbs, which is Noordhoek, Sun Valley and Fish Hoek. It’s a community where majority is black people from the Western Cape, few coloured people and other people from other countries like Zim (Zimbabwe), Malawi and all that. It’s an informal settlement, there is lots of activities going on, lots of other NGOs doing different stuff and churches, activities to prevent crime, yea there’s lots of alcohol abuse... and yea, basically that.” (S’bu*, personal interview, 2011)

Simon* and S’bu* stay in Masiphumelele. Simon, an immigrant from Zimbabwe, was working on what he referred to as the “creative side” of eMzantsi. At the time of research, he was a part of Mapiko, in a team he established and named “Paradox”; their work centres on the creation of the puppets and floats. S’bu was involved in the Music Project and in recruiting Masiphumelele participants. He started as a volunteer who became an employee of the organisation. There is much activity in Masiphumelele with non-governmental organisations, the community and churches working towards crime prevention, advocating against alcohol abuse and alleviating poverty. Simon’s response shows the generosity that exists within his community – if one runs out of a commodity in the middle of the night, they can visit a neighbour and ask, and will be offered help. All is aimed at improving the living conditions in the community, which is spoken of positively despite its struggles:

⁸ Masiphumelele

⁹Also known as Skommie (Afrikaans) Sleazy ruffian Also skollie, skate, skebenga, skelm. (<http://www.southafricalogue.com/travel-tips/south-african-slang-a-comprehensive-look.html>)

“The difference is in celebration, when you look at it paradoxically you find that Masi is the poorest but paradoxically speaking it is the richest because it is the only place with a true sense of Ubuntu. It is the only place where if you run out of salt at quarter to ten in the evening you can even be blessed...” (Simon, personal interview 2011)

Ocean View

Ocean View also faces a variety of challenges, as described by 25 year-old Tariq*, then a musician and teacher of music in the eMzantsi Music Project. Based in Ocean View, he referred to his community as an area to which so-called coloured residents of the Valley were relocated because of the Group Areas Act:

“Ocean View has a lot of different people, I think because people come from a lot of different locations and have been thrown together; but back then like I know some of the history, the people... with the Removal Act, it brought a lot of feuds among the people so the people started fighting each other and back then the cops didn’t care if the coloured people killed themselves as long as they don’t break the law, like in for instance, trespassing white property, stuff like that.” (Tariq, personal interview, 2011)

His description suggests that there is significant conflict in this community; moreover, there is no one way to describe the coloured community, as everyone has their own individual (political and personal) histories:

“Initially Ocean View was very tiny and it existed mainly out of families that were relocated from Simon’s Town, Noordhoek etc. and as I was growing up I would say probably until the age of thirteen, everybody knew everybody in Ocean View. There was a great sense of community.... [T]he population has totally boomed there – completely. I don’t walk around... Our community’s changed completely, but I think that’s because of the things that have been happening in all other communities with gangsterism and drugs.” (Charmaine, personal interview, 2011)

Jaden*, involved as a leader in the Music Project at the time of the research, summarised these societal challenges: “... the community thrives mostly on drug addictions, alcohol abuse, women and children abuse...” (Jaden, personal interview, 2011). Alcohol and drug abuse offers an escape from a difficult reality: the new democratic system is not catering sufficiently to the needs of low income communities. Jaden declared that “half the people are unemployed” and that Ocean View is the “worst drug-infested area in the Western Cape”. Quick fixes to the problems associated with socio-economic inequality are often found in substance abuse and violence, two major problems affecting black and coloured communities across the country. This is Sean*’s conclusion: he headed the Music

Project in the same way as S'bu and Mark did, and his primary focus is Ocean View. He has gained a very good reputation within his community, and is known as a celebrity within the Valley, having recorded his own rap albums, which contain songs about Ocean View and the challenges it faces. He surmised that:

“Kids are trying to find comfort outside their homes where there are strained relationships. The reasons for strained relationships are because people are angry at the system, alcohol and drugs become an escape from reality.” (Sean, personal interview, 2011)

Aside from the apartheid history, which is the reason why people relocated to Ocean View, community members also face insecurity and fears for their safety. Another challenge faced is the idleness that is prevailing among the youth, which is likely contributing to the increased drug use and crime:

“There is absolutely nothing for the youth to do, honestly that is the reason why most of these young kids are on drugs. The soccer was great there, people messed up the soccer fields, can't play soccer anymore. You have to go out of your community, to Fish Hoek or something if you wanna play sport.” (Charmaine, personal interview, 2011)

There are contrasting views on the state of Ocean View: some feel that it is becoming more dangerous, while others believe that there is more control and less negativity. eMzantsi offers an escape from some of its problems, as explained by one of the participants:

“Ocean View is both an awesome place to be in and also is a place where young people want to get out of a great community; it's a place where people also wanna get out especially, where a lot of families started and so children would wanna keep the heritage of the coloured community in Ocean View going; also because the crime and stuff like that abuse of alcohol and drugs and some other stuff which also sometime drives young people to wanna leave the community.” (Eduardo, personal interview, 2011)

Some of the community involvement in eMzantsi is based on this desire to escape in order to find a more positive way to live:

“I came out of a very dark background and I had been into a lot of negativity – gangsterism and stuff, and trying to focus all that negative energy into doing something positive was a big change for me.” (Tariq, personal interview, 2011)

It is important to bear in mind these contexts of the Valley, and to remember how they vary quite drastically from one community to another, even though these communities may be located within the same geographic space.

Fish Hoek and the “white” Southern Peninsula Communities

In addition to the black and coloured communities of the Valley, there are many white communities. Where Masiphumelele is one big township occupied predominantly by black residents, and Ocean View is a middle to high density area, housing mainly coloured residents, the white communities from the Valley that are involved in eMzantsi are located in Capri, Scarborough, Fish Hoek and Noordhoek. The participants’ descriptions of these areas highlight the sharp contrast between these areas and Masiphumelele and Ocean View. However, there are also differences among the white communities:

Capri: “... it’s very suburban, people get on with their own lives; there isn’t really much of a community spirit,” said Michelle*: the community is more individualistic than collective. “We have some Chinese people there, we have mixed races but it’s not hugely mixed. It’s predominantly white.”

Scarborough: Jake described Scarborough as “an affluent community, definitely, kind of a hippy place, probably ten/fifteen years ago; now much more yuppie, lots of 4x4s (cars), lots of professionals go there and have children; quite small; great for children... quite a wide open space.” Interestingly, despite the material privilege of the place, Jake mentioned that “One of the main problems is despondency”. This is a similar sentiment to that expressed by Mark below, speaking about the boredom experienced by those living in Fish Hoek.

Fish Hoek: “My take is Fish Hoek is not so bad; people are scared.... there is still a lot of racism, not blatant racist, don’t even realise you’re racist. It’s a boring place for anyone under the age of twenty-five...” Mark is more outspoken about his perceptions of racism in his own community.

Noordhoek: Shelley, founder and manager of eMzantsi, summarised the differences between the various white communities, and the black and coloured communities of Masiphumelele and Ocean View:

“Noordhoek is a, I wouldn’t say it’s a close community; it’s a typical rich, white, suburban, Capetonian¹⁰ community... It’s not the kind of community that immerses itself into each other’s lives in the way that I feel Ocean View and Masiphumelele do. You know, they are much closer. I think what’s interesting is there is a strange sense of community where you will find people say ‘oh community doesn’t approve of that’ or ‘community NINTY, which is not in Noordhoek thank you’, they kind of say ‘oh no, no we couldn’t possibly have that, not in Noordhoek we don’t do that, that’s not what we do here’.” (Shelley, personal interview, 2011)

¹⁰ Cape Town resident; from Cape Town

Although Shelley describes Noordhoek as a community of people who are not very close to one another, a certain level of solidarity can be found. Despite such a common understanding of what is acceptable in the white communities, all the above descriptions refer to a level of separateness within the white communities that contrasts with the communal nature of the coloured and black communities. A communal approach is not necessarily better than an individualistic approach, neither is an individualist vs. collectivist approach *necessarily* associated with race although the white communities tend to be individualistic and self-reliant where the black and coloured communities are more collectivist and reliant on each other. With regard to their participation in eMzantsi, Fish Hoek is the only white community participating in the project, which underscores the lack of involvement of the white communities in the Valley. While Masiphumelele and Ocean View have most of their community activities rooted in community development, church activities and poverty alleviation, the research findings show that white communities are more focused on environmental preservation, the neighbourhood watch, and the Navy, all of which can be attributed to a protection of privilege and the discourses of whiteness. It may also be argued that just because they are not involved in eMzantsi in particular, does not mean that they are not actively supporting all kinds of community projects to help the poor, the homeless, the unemployed, and people living on the streets.

Steyn refers to the vulnerability of white people to losing their identity, which is entrenched in privilege (Steyn 2005: 126). Green and Sonn similarly note that whiteness constitutes privilege, and that protecting such privilege further positions white people within contexts of dominance (Green and Sonn 2005: 478). Steyn (2005) maintains that the discourse of whiteness by definition needs to prevail in order to maintain its advantage, the discourse of whiteness being its normalisation within people's consciousness:

“The phenotypes, especially skin colour, around which the notion of ‘race’ was organized, acted as a useful means of naturalizing what in fact were political and economic relationships, supporting the fiction that the inequalities structured into the relationships were the result of endogenous, probably genetic, inequalities between ‘races.’ Whiteness is the shared social space in which the psychological, cultural, political, and economic dimensions of this privileged are normalized, and rendered unremarkable.” (Steyn 2005: 121)

In South Africa, privilege is also being attained by a new black middle class and the new black upper class. Black Economic Empowerment and affirmative action have worked as solutions to distributing economic privilege to previously disadvantaged people in South Africa, however the distribution remains uneven as a result of the desire to hold on to power through nepotism, corruption and cronyism. It is no longer a valid generalisation that *all* white people are wealthy or even excessively

wealthy, and that *all* black or coloured people are poor or destitute. The situation has become far more complex and fluid, thus race becoming less of a proxy for class (Bray et al 2010).

The pull factors that draw participants to eMzantsi

Having discussed the motivations behind eMzantsi, its strategies to involve people involved, and its realisation that the contexts of its participants is a significant factor, it is also important to investigate the various ways in which people became involved in eMzantsi.

Volunteering, word of mouth advertising and talent –based recruitment

Initial involvement in eMzantsi often came through volunteering. For some, eMzantsi became a place where they could either work with their talent, or find out what they were good at and pursue it further:

“At first, before I knew what it was about, I liked that they offered music... I got more attracted to the type of work; very real, not fake like other groups I have worked with.... it helped me become the person I and now... being with eMzantsi helped me to find what I wanna do.” (Mark, personal interview, 2011)

Some participants mentioned that they were invited or recruited based on their individual talent. Another factor that attracted them was the opportunity to celebrate and promote their own talent within eMzantsi:

“What attracted me was that we were going to get a chance to perform on stage but we were going to have some other people from other communities, and the carnival thing was a new thing to us so we wanted to try it out.” (S’bu, personal interview, 2011)

“The performance and being on stage, the opportunity to do our stuff, we were like ready to be known.” (Magic* from Masiphumelele, personal interview, 2011)

It was only after being involved in the project that some participants became aware of it being more about intercultural communication *through* shared talent. For most participants, this spoke to a deeper need to work more with the community. Eduardo*, an Ocean View participant, indicated that he had a “passion for the children, passion for seeing people to grow” (Eduardo*, personal interview, 2011) Others recognised the cultural pull from the onset, followed by a desire to promote talent among the youth and to gain individual experience:

“It’s the fact that in eMzantsi there is such a great diversity in the sense that you are not just restricted to your own local community and eMzantsi ... I love challenges and I love being socially involved with people and I loved working with people”. (Tariq, personal interview, 2011)

“The diversity, through the different schools and children, working with children, I love it. And it’s part of the work which I do every day, children’s theatre, working with schools, performing, facilitating, workshops and all that kind of thing.” (Awiwe, personal interview, 2011)

Opportunity for employment

Some of the participants initially expressed reservations, as it was mainly volunteer work at the beginning, which meant an investment of time and skill without a monetary reward. One participant mentioned that she was not keen to leave a secure job to become involved in the project, but after being asked several times she eventually agreed, and then secured a post as an employee in the organisation. She stated:

“I have a life now. I have. I have learnt much more as a person this year than I learnt ten years working in one place. It has improved my communications with people that I haven’t met before, you know, like strangers... improved how I can start conversations and improved my home life – it improved a lot of things.” (Charmaine, personal interview, 2011)

Belief in eMzantsi

Another important pull factor is the participants’ strong belief in the work that the organisation is doing, and the value that it adds, not just to the community of eMzantsi, but also to the individuals, whose lives are changed as a result.

These pull factors discussed above encourage people to participate in the project, through word of mouth, by means of volunteering and sometimes by offering employment. Consequently, the people involved in eMzantsi begin to experience a commitment to an environment that nurtures intercultural learning. This process is implemented by community mobilisers, leaders and organisers of the eMzantsi programmes.

The individual experiences gained are crucial, in that they develop skills that can also be used outside eMzantsi. Engagement in eMzantsi projects thus has unexpected benefits, both individual and collective.

Exclusion

In contrast to the aforementioned hooks, however, some factors stop community members from becoming involved in eMzantsi. These factors, which discourage other community members from becoming involved in eMzantsi, go against the promotion of non-racialism as it limits Valley’s inclusiveness of all races and communities. Exclusion from intercultural activities slows down Soudien (2001)’s proposal for “a new inclusive South Africanism” (Soudien 2001: 312). Soudien

raises a key underlying struggle, which applies to eMzantsi too, namely, that there is a continued struggle with contrasting messages about who one is and who one ought to be (Soudien 2001: 312).

A limitation of this research is that this research relies on the perceptions of those who *are* involved and their assumptions of why others are *not* involved. A common response as to this lack of involvement and level of disinterest was:

“Anyone who gets left out are the ones who are apathetic and don’t want to see community. You get the same, you get people who are apathetic and are not interested from each community, it doesn’t change.” (Michelle, personal interview, 2011)

“The people that get left out are the people that is not interested.” (Tariq, personal interview, 2011)

There is a danger in ‘writing off’ particular communities that organisers believe to be set in their ways and not likely to come on board with intercultural community projects:

“There is a certain section of Fish Hoek that was never, is never, and will never get involved with eMzantsi. They tend to be very old, very conservative and not remotely interested in anything to do with the cultural at all and would rather be living by the pool or holidaying by the pool...” (Charmaine, personal interview, 2011)

Ballard’s paper in 2004 examines the generally hostile response by many white people to the arrival of informal settlements and vagrants who are, in various ways, portrayed as a threat to the formal neighbourhood (Ballard 2004: 48). This hostility, though harsh, is similar to that displayed by the more conservative inhabitants of the Valley to whom Charmaine refers; they also uphold the privilege that is not accorded to other poorer coloured and black communities. Unemployed and impoverished residents are seen to pose a threat that may lead to pervasive and insurmountable social problems because of their sheer vast scale. White communities’ exclusion from these encounters forces a re-evaluation of who eMzantsi should approach – eMzantsi is likely to obtain more support from the younger generation that is less set in its ways and is more willing to assist with change.

Some residents also have inaccurate assumptions on what eMzantsi actually does: “There are people that are always left out, people who are not conscious enough to know what carnival is all about and those people who think in certain boxes...” (Simon, personal interview, 2011) Although Simon raises a valid point about perceptions, he also perpetuates the same division and stereotypes – the ‘us versus them’ mentality – associating such stereotypes with race – ‘whites bad – blacks and coloureds good’. eMzantsi’s intercultural learning framework purports to dismantle this thinking, thus such comments also highlight that eMzantsi is still a work in progress as it aims to tackle improving intercultural

communication even within the organisation. This will also assist eMzantsi in its production of *positive ambassadors* in the communities, *regardless* of whether the communities are rich / middle-class / poor / coloured / black / white.

Wolpe (1998) argues that, beyond race and class differences, privilege, power and position have profoundly affected the nature of South Africa's social formation. Race and class do not give a full explanation of the social division and hierarchy that exists within South African society (Soudien 2004: 90). Another factor, which may explain why some community members do not participate in eMzantsi is that eMzantsi is primarily targeted at the youth, and thus excludes older people:

“I think we're focusing on children and youth. I wouldn't say we are really including parents and older people in our programmes that we do.” (Jake, personal interview, 2011)

In addition, some respondents feel that there are people who would like to be involved but who are too far and cannot travel to the Valley; there are also people with disabilities who are not sufficiently included in the organisation's programmes. One respondent noted that there were few Xhosa speaking males involved in eMzantsi, and described eMzantsi as being male dominated; he mentioned that there were not enough males who spoke Xhosa, which is the dominant language of black communities in the Western Cape; one would make the assumption that the programme is not popular among them. This is an important point, as language is a significant part of someone's identity, affecting the level of understanding and relating to one another, which in turn informs the level of comfort one has with others. The more comfortable one is, the more likely one will enjoy intercultural interactions, especially if these attract others from the same and from similar backgrounds and communities. A paradox exists: on the one hand, participants are willing to engage with others from different backgrounds (which is often uncomfortable or difficult), on the other, they prefer to engage with people from their own backgrounds (which is easier and more comfortable). For some, the less they understand others (because of language and cultural differences), the less comfortable they are likely to be in a place where difference is to be negotiated and appreciated.

When asked why these were some of the exclusionary factors, participants responded that some of the lack of involvement and the disinterest in engaging in intercultural learning were based on fear:

“... but their non-involvement is not a matter of conscious choice, or decision; an inherent fear to do something creative, which is a disease sometimes of criticism, a disease of ego...”
(Simon, personal interview, 2011)

This sentiment expressed by Simon shows his perception of why some people are not keen on being involved; however, it excludes the factor that the decision to not be engaged in eMzantsi is a matter of choice. It may also be said that those who motivate for others to join eMzantsi also have a dismissive

attitude to those who are not interested in partaking in its intercultural activities for one reason or the other; thus reinforcing the importance of deeper intercultural learning by the community mobilisers.

There are undoubtedly fluctuations in intra- and inter-community involvement for a variety of reasons. Although most areas have heard of eMzantsi and are aware of its processes, not everyone engages with it or is committed to it. This is well explained by Shelley, who has an acute understanding of eMzantsi, having founded it and having managed its processes:

“So I think certain communities value a strong community driven venture more than others. I think in my experience, communities which are more, feel more fractured are more aware of the weaknesses and vulnerabilities within the youth and are keen to interact but fact is, all of youth in this area are challenged and quite frankly Fish Hoek youth are in dire straits actually. I mean in Ocean View they have a living place where they can go down when they are stressed but they can't do that within Fish Hoek. The kids are really lost; there is no place to congregate, there is no central place for them to go so you can't set yourself.... I mean Ocean View can get support from people outside their families...” (Shelley, personal interview, 2011)

Exclusion from the community building projects also goes as far as the highlighted difference in economic standing across the communities, a problem Dolby (2001, 92) identifies in her research at Fernwood. She notes that the legal and economic barriers of the past limited the possibilities of interracial and intercultural relationships, and similarly, the same limits can be seen as a reason for the lack of intercultural crossing.

Challenges

Having assessed the entry points, motivations and driving forces behind the differing dynamics in intercultural acceptance and engagement from the Valley communities, it is important to look at the challenges experienced within eMzantsi. These varying degrees of success can be categorised into the challenges of working with people; the challenges of working with people in the context of varying backgrounds; the conflicts between various mindsets; the challenges within specific projects, as well as the financial challenges faced by the organisation itself.

Organisational Challenges

When it comes to working with people, some of the challenges identified related to people with different creativities working together in one space.

“The biggest challenge... I think it's to get everyone synchronised: a bunch of creative people that are, I think, creatively, seem to be quite... individuals and to get everyone to work in sync.” (Michelle, personal interview, 2011)

Michelle echoes the problem experienced by eMzantsi as a whole: getting individualist communities to work as a greater community. Along with managing creative talent comes managing the participants' different views and perceptions. Racism exists even within the eMzantsi space, which causes contention when it comes to working together. Ocean View based Tariq responded:

“But I don't know, but the white people are not keen of working with Africans and coloured people...” (Tariq, personal interview, 2011)

A white respondent from Fish Hoek also recognised this racism as a challenge:

“It's difficult to get patience with people; can hear how blatantly racist people can be where I wanna tell them to fuck off but you can't coz you're an eMzantsi ambassador and have to be patient; the work we do is difficult, it's not easy, the more I do it the more difficult it is...” (Mark, personal interview, 2011)

Because of these racial conflicts even within eMzantsi, people are afraid to engage in the organisation's projects; it also stops others from wanting to participate. Such racial conflict is mainly seen as a challenge among the older generations who likely experienced apartheid firsthand:

“... most of those older groups are older people who have older agendas and have their own mindsets on things that will benefit them and not necessarily the youth...” (Charmaine, personal interview, 2011)

Some participants openly stated that getting older people involved is much more difficult because of the generation that still thinks in the same way they did during apartheid; they use phrases such as they are 'too set in their ways'. Capri based Michelle spoke about her relationship with her mother for example:

“The older people? I don't know, they are too set in their ways. I even have arguments with my mother that I can't understand how I still do but it's just because of propaganda and things that were put in their heads. They experienced a different lifestyle, they experienced the apartheid era full on, full force in your face so some people hold on to that and some people are willing to open up and change and unfortunately you still have that percentage of people that aren't that open. I think people aren't all that open now, I mean, they are still a little bit maybe scared but they are definitely more open. But you still have people that are... funny enough after how many years of democracy that are still very funny... but that's the way it is.” (Michelle, personal interview, 2011)

It is also part of the intercultural learning process to come face to face with some of the negative perceptions people have of racial difference. How they choose to manage them is part of eMzantsi's

teaching ground – through fun activities such as creative workshops that allow for expression through song and plenty of interaction within every activity, which – it is envisaged – will lead to greater acceptance of others. The fun emphasised also has the potential to censor racism and masks it within people’s sense of humour, and referring to people’s mindsets as negative or using words like ‘agenda’ tapers down blatant racism. Censoring encourages the failure to acknowledge people’s perspectives which Gonzales and Peterson (1993) see as one of the failures in achieving intercultural understanding. Shelley observed an inability to lead properly and confidently in the face of these problems:

“I think I found very recently the most challenging aspect is persuading my team to be confident in their abilities.” (Shelley, personal interview, 2011)

This is in line with the fears of continuity of the project, and thus management is aiming to delegate as much as possible within the context of the various challenges. Building confidence is very important, as is not relying on one person to continue the eMzantsi work:

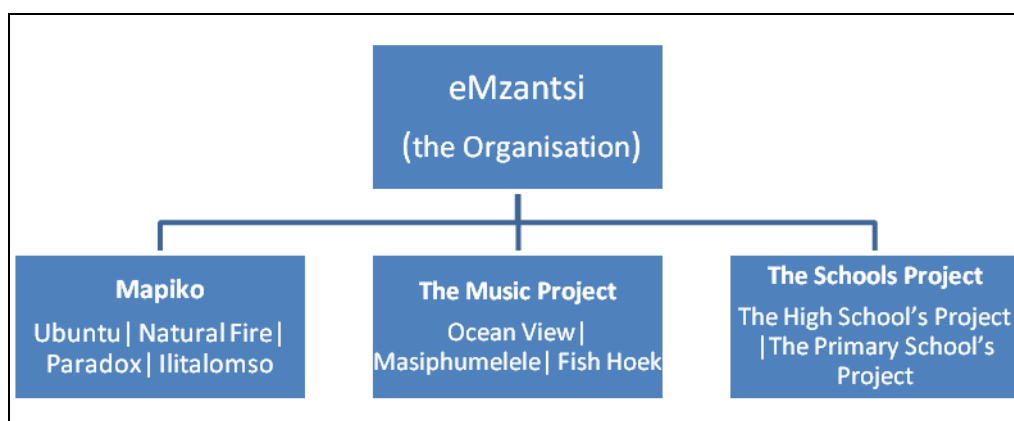
“My challenge right now is to make them believe in themselves more and survive without me; I have complete faith that they are going to be able to do it without me.” (Shelley, personal interview, 2011)

There are also organisational worries about the involvement of people and the recruitment of participants, but as some of the respondents noted, it is a learning process and they have learnt from trial and error how to communicate with certain people. When Michelle spoke about mobilising the Capri community, she noted that “what didn’t work was not knowing how to approach people but now I would know”. In this way, and over time, new methods of communicating with community members are always being developed.

Project-specific Challenges

Three main programmes are run by eMzantsi: each has its own facilitators and its own challenges to achieve their various goals throughout the year. The structure of eMzantsi is as shown in the diagram below:

Figure 11: eMzantsi's Structure



The Schools Project encourages interaction between children from various schools, regardless of location: schools from disadvantaged communities and schools from affluent communities are given opportunities to meet through eMzantsi's annual school year-long workshop programmes. The projects at the primary schools have been successful, and they have become a key entry point for eMzantsi within the various communities. In 2011, the High Schools Project was piloted but it was not as successful as the eMzantsi team had hoped it would be:

“The only thing that has not worked is the high schools’ programme but we tried it wrong, incorrectly last year... so it’s trial and error and if it doesn’t work we need to sit and that’s something we always do – sit and brainstorm our positives and negatives, how can we change this, how can we make it better and that is something that will always help evolve the project into something that is sustainable and something that people want to get involved in.” (Chamaine, personal interview, 2011)

In the Music Project, the main challenge was producing an intercultural music album by participants from all parts of the Southern Peninsula. The logistics around the album management seemed to be the biggest issue:

“... the album didn’t work... had to cancel because the Music Project became too big... the reason was good coz we now have more involved. It’s process over product so we don’t care if we have nothing; it’s more about music and building life skills”. (Mark, personal interview, 2011)

Too many people wanted to become involved in the Music Project to create an intercultural album, which made it difficult to manage, and the decision to discontinue the album making project, or shelve it for a later stage had to be negotiated. Nonetheless, as Mark explained, it was about learning and processes, rather than creating a final product, and it helped to increase the numbers of participants in eMzantsi. However, the numbers of youth who attend weekly practices within the

Music Project are inconsistent, perhaps because the practice times are scheduled for the evenings. Parents are concerned for the safety of their children; Charmaine, from Ocean View, said she does not walk alone in the evenings because it is unsafe to do so in her neighbourhood. The venues may also be a problem, due to a lack of transportation to venues in other communities, especially from Ocean View and Masiphumelele into Fish Hoek. It seems to be much easier for those from Fish Hoek to travel to Masiphumelele and Ocean View as most would have to use personal transport but this creates an additional problem for the white participants, because they and their parents are fearful of townships and high density areas.

The main challenge for the Mapiko project within eMzantsi, that is, the puppet builders and crafts people, is to sustain the budget throughout the year. There are also difficulties with constructing certain puppets: for example, the crew was used to constructing puppets for the daytime shows at eMzantsi, which occur throughout the year. In 2011, however, Mapiko had to build a float for the Cape Town Parade, which was held in the evening; they were challenged to build something that would be suitable for night-time – but they were not as prepared as they would have liked to be. Dealing with the different themes of the year proved difficult as well, and the current “eMzantsi goes BOS”, a recycling initiative that promotes environmental friendliness within eMzantsi proved particularly challenging, especially when it came to educating children on the theory and value of the theme.

Finances

The overall challenges of eMzantsi lie in the management of its finances and sustaining the projects as a result. Although eMzantsi is now receiving far more funding than it did initially, the management is still concerned that it is not enough to sustain the organisation. Some also would like to see more reward for their work within eMzantsi through being paid for their work and facilitation:

“I think what hasn’t worked is that the millions haven’t started rolling in as much as I want them to be because this is the time where we can really make use of money and be creative...”
(Simon, personal interview, 2011)

“I think some problems, the immediate one, is always one of funding, not getting paid, waiting on lottery money.” (Jake, personal interview, 2011)

Waiting on money from the National Lottery (which is the major funder) is also frustrating, as it is a small amount and takes a long time to be deposited. In addition, some of the management feels that the organisation could make better use of their resources:

“The way it’s run with money and everything... I get frustrated a lot e.g. phone calls in the office, phoning each other all the time is unnecessary, a lot of unnecessary driving; everything

is still pretty much well done; lots of internal problems; we often don't speak; we are not straightforward enough; difficult because what we work in is so sensitive". (Mark, personal interview, 2011)

Some respondents also indicated there are not enough people to manage the excellent structures in eMzantsi. This could also be attributed to the fact that people are not able to make a living through the organisation, and that it is difficult to devote time to it without receiving any monetary compensation. These challenges, affect the levels at which people can be involved in the eMzantsi Projects and its intercultural processes.

Successes

It is crucial to acknowledge the effect of power dynamics, particularly in an intercultural communications and community mobilisation project such as eMzantsi, as it is through understanding them that our understanding of the self and others are shaped. Nagata notes that being self-reflective improves our relationships (Nagata 2004: 141). The participants displayed much excitement and pride when speaking about eMzantsi's success:

"The best quality is the joy and smiles that it brings on the day and for me the family spirit that I get from seeing my fellow team you know working and yeah, the kinship the camaraderie, you have genuine interest in the camaraderie you know and I look forward – it's almost like a celebration each time I get to work with them you know, like 'yay, the eMzantsi party is on again'." (Michelle, personal interview, 2011)

These factors draw people into the project, and sometimes, keep them involved. Simon, based in Masiphumelele, states that "heaven can wait, this place will do", which reflects the level of positivity the programmes elicit for some. Although there are financial challenges, people are motivated to continue with eMzantsi work regardless:

"... the money is not great for the participants but it's kinda steady and regular, it keeps people off the breadline, and employed, and learning new skills, so there has been a lot of new skills learnt through this and the opportunity and hard work..." (Jake, personal interview, 2011)

One particular benefit for the participants in eMzantsi has been the opportunities that arose to become in other projects; for instance, some of the Music Project participants performed outside the Valley, such as during the FIFA World Cup in 2010. Also, the various projects have had significant input from several organisations, such as the organisations of the Cape Town Carnival, which gave the

Mapiko crew an opportunity to participate. Afrika Burn¹¹, Red Zebra¹², and Jungle Theatre¹³ have also played significant roles in skills development among the eMzantsi participants and facilitators. eMzantsi will become sustainable, as more people are equipped to carry out its projects, which was one of the fears that management expressed. With these external influences, there is much positive energy and improvement of the standards of facilitation and leadership within eMzantsi, leading to growing relationships across communities. Some interviewees mentioned that some key successes revolved around breaking barriers by exposing individuals to different cultures. Charmaine, who was proud of the team's enthusiasm, urged them *not* to be complacent:

“Consistency in our enthusiasm and becoming more creative and getting branching out is what is going to give people excitement that is growing... and it is getting better...”
(Charmaine, personal interview, 2011)

There has been tremendous support built from the relationships that have developed within eMzantsi. An indicator of the successes of the organisation in bringing together the community is the reactions of the communities to the xenophobic attacks in 2008. eMzantsi leaders were at the forefront of offering assistance and safety, and of communicating with the communities in Masiphumelele regarding xenophobia. Community mobilisation extended to encouraging residents of the Valley to preserve one another's lives and living spaces by applying eMzantsi's principles of celebrating diversity to a national crisis. This level of adaptation goes to show the immense acceptance and commitment that the organisation has to community needs. Adaptation at every level of reinforces the formation of eMzantsi's identity as an organisation brings communities together.

¹¹ AfrikaBurn is the result of the creative expression of a community of volunteers who, once a year, gather in the Tankwa Karoo to create a temporary city of art, theme camps, costume, music and performance! It is as a community of participants who come together to create art, burning structures, costume, performance, theme camps, music, mutant vehicles and much, much more. AfrikaBurn's aim is to be radically inclusive and accessible to anyone. The values of AfrikaBurn are: experience before theory, moral relationships before politics, survival before services, roles before jobs, ritual before symbolism, work before vested interest, participant support before sponsorship. It is a de commodified zone with a gift economy that's about giving without expecting anything in return. <http://www.afrikaburn.com/about>

¹² Red Zebra uses music, dance and creativity to design projects and workshops that are inspirational and unforgettable. It was formed in 1994, and now has offices in UK, South Africa and the United States. RedZebra engages people in a way that meets them in their world creating involvement and total ownership of the experience. Red Zebra processes are integrated into training, events and conferences. Activities include: drumming and percussion; dance, music and carnival. <http://www.redzebraglobal.com/Community/Home02.html>

¹³ Jungle Theatre uses family theatre and drama to promote its vision of a society that is environmentally, socially and culturally conscious and active. It is an award winning, dynamic non-profit and public benefit organisation, that bridges the divide between commercial and community theatre. Jungle Theatre aims to create original proudly South African productions that use the mediums of multi-lingual storytelling; visual puppetry and physical theatre and are accessible to all. <http://www.jungletheatre.co.za/>

“[W]e adapt to situation; we accept that nothing will ever go exactly how we plan, when things go wrong we adapt straight away; able to adapt and be flexible; we are transparent...”
(Mark, personal interview, 2011)

Shelley gives an account of the attacks:

“I think I often tell the story of 2008 as being a very critical moment for me, personally, with the xenophobic attacks that were widespread across the country. My faith in national government was utterly crushed; the destruction of all the ideals of 1994, which was when I immigrated into South Africa and decided to make my life here. It was the idea of the contribution being completely nullified but what happened in 2008 and yet the flipside to that was that the eMzantsi network that had been formed since 2005 was mobilising the communities of Masiphumelele, Ocean View and Fish Hoek and how those networks came together to respond to that crisis... that there is a local response to a national crisis and at the end of the day, that’s what’s important, that the first sign of defence is the first sign of true community and without that eMzantsi network, I realised there was a lot and it gave me the strength to carry on. So now everything we had been preaching as we did carnival, went to Ocean View, went to Kalk Bay, became very official and it formed very solid networks for people who when the chips were down were able to come and work together very, very effectively at a time of great stress and difficulty because of the carnival process.” – Shelley

Another notable success is that talent within the Valley is increasingly being noticed; community ‘celebrities’ are emerging and even the facilitators of the schools’ projects are being recognised long after the children have left the programmes. The ability to promote their talents is seen as a move towards a professional career in the arts. It leads to the appreciation of the diversity of talents and cultures that exist within eMzantsi, which affects the dynamics of engagement, involvement and acceptance of the intercultural project, as people observe tangible successes despite the challenges experienced. The more media coverage the organisation receives, the more people talk about it and the more likely others will want to become involved. Charmaine, however, likened eMzantsi to the social networking site Facebook, where people initially become excited about something new and trendy, but after a while, their involvement decreases as the ‘hype’ decreases. This could mean that people could regard intercultural learning as ‘*trending*’ (that is, fashionable and current) at the moment, and after a while, they ‘*log out*’ of it and never return, or it could mean they are involved in the process so much that it becomes ‘common sense’ rather than a trend to be given up when something new surfaces. In my research, I have found that participants are working towards the latter form of involvement – intercultural learning is a process that teaches communities to interact with

others beyond eMzantsi – and this becomes a life lesson that allows communities to handle differences in their social spaces.

Site for Intercultural learning

Ocean View participants stated the following about their intercultural learning experiences:

“... I still learn a lot from other cultures.” (Eduardo, personal interview, 2011)

“Yea. eMzantsi, yes. It is an intercultural learning, it is a learning experience, the only region where you have the intercultural working together.... but it also brings us to a point of we are not just thinking as one unit, we are thinking in various entities. Yes, eMzantsi is the current hub for intercultural working; we are the current hub that makes things happen.” (Jaden, personal interview, 2011)

“The process of intercultural collaboration is hard.” (Charmaine, personal interview, 2011)

Most respondents agree that eMzantsi is serving as a site for intercultural learning. Some participants feel that many people know about the Carnival, which happens only once a year, but that they do not know enough about what happens for the rest of the year, that is, the process over the product. As a Masiphumelele mobiliser and Music Project coordinator S’bu stated:

“Umm... not everyone... in my community not everyone really knows the meaning of intercultural or no one really cares about such intercultural stuff so most of the people don’t really care about that.” (S’bu, personal interview, 2011)

This is a perception of the people who are not directly involved; however, with the successes of the project thus far, not all participants need to be aware of what intercultural learning is to be able to act on it. Tariq, for example, shows that his method of engaging on an intercultural level is learning to speak Xhosa, although he is Afrikaans speaking and this allows more comfortable mixing as he is acknowledged as trying to understand those who speak differently from him. Outside eMzantsi, he finds it more difficult to communicate in the same way and be accepted – he shows that intercultural learning and engagement can work within eMzantsi, and the challenge is also to take it beyond the eMzantsi space.

“Yeah, because you can see that it’s working. People can see it’s happening at a rapid speed, a rapid pace. You get more of the coloured guys going to the African places in Masi, or going to hang out with the bands of Fish Hoek and spend the evening there. We get the guys to hang around and do this thing, which means they are comfortable being around these people so which tells me that what we are trying to do is actually working. There’s even some dignity in this intercultural thing. My two friends used to say they wouldn’t go there, but now they love

them and talking about marriage and stuff. ... they are people they never thought they would talk with, or get along with but now they even start relationships with them. Not saying this is actually such a good thing because among them lots of activity happens. It's just it happens today, you are among these people, you see what they do, you follow their culture, you eat what they eat, you know that's the only thing that is supposed to be, because what you are busy doing and what you are trying to do is working." (Tariq, personal interview, 2010)

Intercultural learning is thus indicated in the diminishing of boundaries between communities, the ability to communicate and formulate relationships with people, mixing with others and immersing oneself in previously unfamiliar environments and social settings. The diminishing of boundaries goes to show that more than one culture exists within one nation, as Ono (1998) postulates. Gradually, the participants become more comfortable despite and within such differences:

"Yeah, even especially for us, you know now, the different cultures, we are good at things, we share cultural things, different cultures... you have to know the good and the bad things that you must say to each other regarding the culture." (Awiwe, personal interview, 2011)

A balanced view of the good that comes from engaging in intercultural spaces is necessary, as is the acknowledgement of the discomforts that persist entrenched in power relations. Mendoza (2005) focuses on power relations, historical situatedness, and positionality that does not dismiss or exclude collective representations or reframing. Paying attention to situated politics and power dynamics at hand and considering who is involved, in what historical and political moment, articulated by whom, in what positioning and in terms of what is at stake – all these questions encourage valuable intercultural learning. It also allows for the boundary crossings necessary for enriched cultural experiences; Nagata (2004) refers to this as communicative flexibility, which allows individuals to tailor the content of their communication within different intracultural and intercultural spaces (Nagata 2004: 145).

Not all people may be changed by the process, however:

"I think that everyone, all the youth who are directly involved in our programme are very aware of why they are there and what their primary responsibility is.... And I'm not saying every single one of them do it, and I'm not saying every single one of them is transformed by the process, but many of them are, and many of them feel far more comfortable in intercultural situations after this." (Shelley, personal interview, 2011)

As a result of the collaborations with the various communities, respondents hope that, ten years from now, the Valley will have a very different identity – it will have changed from one where there was

much fear and little interaction, to one where mind-sets have changed and there is much more interaction.

Innovative ideas

The respondents came up with some innovative ideas for improving the running of eMzantsi. In order to recruit more people, participants noted the importance of having their own rehearsal space specifically for eMzantsi, perhaps a youth centre with a studio and sufficient resources to “expose them and invest in their talent” (as suggested by Sean). A crucial aspect of increasing community engagement lies in using marketing techniques that speak to the various communities of the Valley. As each community has its own identity, various approaches must be used. It was also recommended to use more indemnity forms and door-to-door communication in areas where parents are more protective of their children and where they need to be given the space to ask questions. Other marketing ideas include having spots on the radio to promote eMzantsi, and using awareness campaigns about the drug, poverty and alcohol abuse struggles faced in the communities to bring more awareness to eMzantsi.

Several participants spoke of expansion beyond the South Peninsula, mentioning disadvantaged communities in Langa and Khayelitsha¹⁴ townships; some would like the whole of Cape Town to be involved. However, this would require extensive marketing, and it might be more feasible and realistic to involve far more people in the Valley before venturing beyond the South Peninsula. It was also suggested that giving people recognition was a way of keeping them involved in the processes of eMzantsi: a combination of recognition and friendship would reassure participants that they were playing an important role. In addition, offering skills development workshops would engage people in these activities, while promoting diversity and intercultural appreciation. Another area to be developed would be sport, which is quite limited in all parts of the Valley.

Generally, if any intercultural idea is to work, it does not matter how many times people may have heard about it: but if an individual is not drawn to the activities offered, or is disinterested in the community interaction, they are not likely to come to eMzantsi. Moreover, reflexivity needs to be a part of the intercultural process. Nagata’s (2004) emphasis on reflexivity as a bridge between bodymindfulness, metacommunication and communicative flexibility within intercultural communication summarises the importance of the individual’s agency in allowing intercultural initiatives to be worthwhile working processes. Reflexivity enhances personal experience and, according to Cooks (2001), it encourages mutual understanding that entails initially taking a sharp look at the positionalities of one’s inequalities and differences. Acknowledging power dynamics is crucial too, as it brings to light the extent of these dynamics in intercultural communication. Personal

¹⁴ Townships in Cape Town, South Africa

experience will ultimately be what drives people to experience more of eMzantsi. Additionally, allowing for the navigation of the intercultural relationships requires the existing power dynamics within the eMzantsi space to be recognised. These power dynamics can be observed in the factors that draw participants to eMzantsi, as well as in the factors that cause them to be excluded or to exclude themselves from its projects. Power imbalances also create organisational challenges, project specific challenges and financial challenges and, similarly, determine the success of the intercultural projects. In serving as a site for intercultural learning, eMzantsi requires participants to be aware and conscious of how to use the learnings from the challenges in order to provide innovative ideas so that the organisation is able to reach its overall objective to be a site for intercultural learning.

The respondents showed that different communities and individuals include or exclude themselves in the activities eMzantsi offers for varied reasons. eMzantsi reveals that intercultural relationships may or may not form as a result of intercultural communication. Many aspirations for an integrated Valley community can be seen amidst the challenges faced. These challenges stem from underlying power dynamics which shape understanding of self and other which shall be discussed further in the next section.

University of Cape Town

Chapter 5: Analysis and Conclusion

This research sought to unearth the differing dynamics in intercultural acceptance and engagement in eMzantsi. Qualitative in-depth interviews created a safe space for respondents to talk about their understanding of the progress of the eMzantsi project, the impact it had on them and their communities, as well as the ways in which its programmes have affected the dynamics in intercultural acceptance and engagement within the community. When analysing the findings, the various aspects of intercultural learning emerged, through the Valley community's support for eMzantsi. The different signifiers for the intercultural learning that was taking place was that the participants discovered how to show the ways in which they understood their identities – as individuals, as a community and within the intercultural eMzantsi space. They also identified different aspects of intercultural communication, the difficulties of this, and the importance of taking into account that it takes time for learning to be successful and to be consolidated. The paths that allow intercultural learning to occur through communication and acknowledging other cultures were also mapped out through the findings. It was important to acknowledge the power dynamics that shape our understandings of self and *other*, as awareness of such dynamics enables, but does not guarantee the navigation of intercultural relationships.

A person's race, community, the impact of apartheid history, financial stability, and the family in which one is raised, are all elements of one's positionality, which affects an individual's intercultural acceptance and engagement within eMzantsi. This positionality is crucial when analysing people's reactions towards intercultural projects, as it either drives or hinders the intercultural communication process:

“‘Positionality’... it directs attention to the *context* in which subjects are situated rather than focusing on the individual characteristics of the person. In this way, subjects become embodied, contextualised, historicised – a site of contradiction rather than one which is static, unitary, stable, fixed, and thereby indifferent to context and history.” (Moon 1996: 76)

The identity of individuals and the ways in which they perceive themselves in their communities, as well as the ways in which they perceive other communities, can attract them to or exclude them from the intercultural processes that eMzantsi facilitates. When entering an intercultural space, it is important to consider all the factors that make up one's positionality. This will allow for a better understanding of non-participants – which may in turn create room for them to be encouraged to become participants and ultimately ambassadors for a well-integrated South Peninsula community. Moon suggests that an “inquiry must address interlocking and overlapping nodes of identity (i.e., race,

class, and gender) rather than focus on any one node alone” (Moon 1996: 76); this is important in understanding the various aspects that influence people’s identities. In the same way, there needs to be awareness of the ways in which people define themselves and others, and the possibility of reproducing stereotypes that keep identities static, which thus ends up contradicting the fact that mentalities can change, and that people can indeed become a part of an intercultural community, by not being confined by the singular identities given to them by other people. It would be helpful to regard identity as malleable. The high context communities within eMzantsi are the individualist white communities. Individualist communities are described further as:

“...self-reliant, autonomous, and self-directed to freely choose their own goals, purposes, beliefs, and values. Individuals are seen as highly reflective of their own unique configuration of internal attributes, traits, and abilities. From these, individuals organise their everyday behaviour, which they consider to be essentially their own business.” (Roland 1994: 12)

Some of the interviewees criticised these communities for being not as community driven, but more focused on self-development rather than community development. Ocean View and Masiphumelele, in contrast, are low context communities, as they are community driven and collectivist. However, if one regards identity as non-static and malleable, then there is a possibility that these contexts can be shifted through constant reflexivity. Remaining stuck in these definitions, however, may “creat[e] a crisis of representation that suffocates and slices cultural groups” (Halualani et al 2009: 290). eMzantsi does not demand communities simply to conform to static, unchanging identities, instead, eMzantsi aims to open up identities from their static definitions, encouraging participants to find commonalities in the activities that can be enjoyed by all:

“Once we recognise that a person’s self-identity is profoundly related to his/her community and culture, it becomes apparent that the very makeup of the self can vary significantly.” (Roland 1994: 15)

When entering the spaces at eMzantsi there is an effort to transform the ways in which people view other communities in the valley, necessitating the re-construction of the self and each other through eMzantsi. Roland (1994) explains this transformation as necessary from a psychological level. This echoes some of the participants’ responses that the mindset in the Valley has not changed enough, and that this is one of the reasons why not everyone in the South Peninsula is involved in eMzantsi. Roland explains what happens in a society that looks derogatively at other races, and treats them as such:

“On a psychological level, there is an inevitable unconscious projection of the forbidden aspects of the self by the dominant group onto the subordinate ‘others’. Thus the dominant

group views the subordinate group in an intensely negative way. This not only results in a poisonous image being assimilated by those in the subordinate group, but also a highly rigid, defensive, and superior image being assimilated by those in the dominant group.” (Roland 1994: 17)

Reforming the South African identity within an intercultural space requires a large level of introspection, and sensitivity from every participant through understanding the positionality of each person, that has brought them into this space; moreover, it requires awareness of how their positionality is shaping their experiences of eMzantsi as an intercultural space. This introspection may follow Hardiman’s Generic Stages to Identity development (cited in Ponterroto 1993), which explains how identity formation occurs: a lack of consciousness or awareness of one’s social role; acceptance; resistance and redefinition. These stages also show that identity is not fixed but that it develops itself over space and time. In eMzantsi, a similar progression of identity development occurs. Initially, before an individual approaches eMzantsi, there is not much awareness of what the organisation has to offer until someone introduces it firsthand. Being part of eMzantsi allows for engagement with its methods of achieving its intercultural goals. As data analysis revealed, exposure to eMzantsi and its programmes encourages individuals to question their own identities and reject previously held beliefs about their neighbouring communities in response to growing opportunities to learn more about the individuals that come from them. This leads to a redefinition of identity within the intercultural context of eMzantsi, and those who fully internalise these redefined concepts of self become eMzantsi ambassadors. They become more open-minded (about themselves and others); autonomous and behaving according to this new identity, they evolve within the eMzantsi space, and beyond. Allowing the participation of black, white and coloured communities in eMzantsi requires movement of each from their home community into the eMzantsi community, where intercultural communication is learned and passed on into the greater Valley community. These movements become an important initial step for identity construction, where people are able to relate not just within their micro home community, but within the intercultural macro space of eMzantsi and subsequently the Valley community. On this score, Young indicates that “moving from one place to the other is not only a bodily experience, but also a process of identity construction” (Young 2009: 160).

In order to engage with people who perceived as different, it is important to recognise the essence of communication, and its role in achieving the intercultural goals of eMzantsi. Identity reconstruction and re-contextualisation take place when individuals move between spaces that are culturally distinct to one another. Young (2009) confirms that identity is constantly being reconstructed. With intercultural communication comes an acknowledgement of boundaries that must be crossed, be they misconceptions that groups and individuals may have of each other, fears based on histories, prejudices that people may have – these boundaries need to be crossed and communication is the

transport that allows this. Intercultural communication also *creates* boundaries, as it forms new understandings with others based on contact: “Communication is seen as the strategic action that creates and maintains the boundaries between self and other and between one’s group and other groups” (Banks & Banks 1995: 149). The most obvious communication tool involves establishing common ground, and this is reflected in the primary objective of eMzantsi as “having fun”. Activities are thus used that participants find enjoyable, such as music, crafts building, float construction and the like.

For those who choose to be a part of eMzantsi and its processes, the dynamics of acceptance and engagement are governed by the level of adaptation to the intercultural space. While communicating and reforming their identities, they are also adapting to the environment as a whole, which is part of the intercultural learning process. According to Kim, adaptation to one’s social environment occurs through communication: “adaptive changes in individuals continue as long as they are engaged in a given sociocultural environment in which they send (encoding) and receive (decoding) messages” (Kim 1995: 174). Adaptation is a complex and dynamic process: “the person’s adaptive process, furthermore, is multifaceted, in that various parts of his or her internal system and the environment are engaged simultaneously and interactively, mutually influencing one another” (Kim 1995: 174). eMzantsi participants pride themselves in their continued enthusiasm and creativity; they also aim to be aware of systems that work and those that do not, and adjust accordingly when something is not working. For example, they have had to rethink ways of conducting the High Schools’ Project, as well as adapt to reshaping the idea of developing an intercultural album in the Music Project because this did not work out as envisioned. This openness to see where ideas are not working, and this willingness to try new methods and projects that work better for eMzantsi require a keenness to adapt as leaders, and an understanding of complexities that regularly occur when plans and objectives are set. Adaptation thus happens within an organisational framework as well as individually, as well as within the team – with all aspects mutually influencing each other.

Along with these various means of facilitating intercultural learning, points of acculturation within eMzantsi must be identified. Berry (1992) uses a framework to understand acculturation, incorporates the ecological, cultural, social and institutional (that is, the population level) with the ways in which they associate and develop behaviour, identity, values and attitudes of the individual shows the characteristics of acculturation within an intercultural environment. Through communication, identity formation and adaptation, the members of eMzantsi are navigating between the ways in which individuals behave, the broader context of South Africa, and eMzantsi’s goals of bringing intercultural learning to the Valley. Acculturation is important in the context of eMzantsi, even more so because it will require a long-term approach. Some of the interviewees mentioned that more time is needed for eMzantsi to reach its ultimate goals of a culturally integrated Valley. According to Berry, there is a

difference between contact that is continuous and first hand and contact that is short-term and accidental (Berry 1992: 236). eMzantsi's long-term objective for intercultural communication requires for continuous, first hand contact that will allow participants to experience acculturation.

Such first hand and continuous contact requires involvement with the projects offered throughout the year and immersion into the culture of eMzantsi. Length of involvement definitely determines the intensity of cultural and psychological changes, both in the actual participants as well as in future generations. One participant speculated that she would be very interested to know what the Valley would be like in fifteen years. Berry also makes a pertinent point about this:

“During the process of acculturation, individuals and groups are faced with many choices (about how to live, what to eat, what language to speak) and much day-to-day variability can be observed in the choices made. Later on, however, a fairly stable pattern of behaviour may be exhibited as people settle into a preferred way of living in the acculturative arena.” (Berry 1992: 236)

The process of acculturation within eMzantsi is thus a necessity. eMzantsi has shown that social interactions are dynamic and that they cause shifts in preconceived notions of identities and cultures. People tend to be perceived in certain ways depending on the racial and spatial distribution of their communities in the valley. eMzantsi offers a space where these perceptions are challenged; as people get to know each other across racial and cultural groups, relationships are formed and new knowledge is created, both about oneself and others. People have an opportunity in eMzantsi to be less restricted by the borders of their own communities and their own perceptions; instead, a more open-minded view of culture develops, as something that is fluid and that can be changed through communication, identity development, adaptation and not being spatially bounded.

In the same way that political boundaries were seen to bind culture, so did the Group Areas Act bind cultures within the Valley. Halualani states that “histories of domination, takeover, and control of certain groups by other effectively position cultures differentially in relationship to each other” (Halualani et al 2009: 27). Geographic placement and displacement ensured that races remained separate and thus they formed their own ways of living. “Culture is a contested terrain where meaning is contextually, historically, and politically produced” (Halualani et al 2009: 28). This perception of culture from a static, non-changing perspective also changes:

“Culture... is not a template for action but a resource for actual situations, a symbolic repertoire that, while inherited, nonetheless is subject to transformation in each instance of interaction.” (Banks & Banks 1995: 150)

Relationships between white, black and coloured communities in the new democratic South Africa have shifted due to structural and political changes. eMzantsi aims to encourage these changes in a positive and fluid environment. The organisation thus facilitates a turn-around from being bound by a political system that shaped the ways in which cultures (and races) were seen to a self-reflexive space, which allows for the incorporation of context and history, as well as a need to connect contemporary issues, global relations, historical context and socio-political urgencies (Halualani et al 2009: 20). It is also important to acknowledge, however, that eMzantsi is also a power tool in the creation of identity within the Valley – it is re-defining the perceptions of culture and in doing so, it is utilising power through encouraging intercultural relationships among the diverse communities in the Valley. Intercultural communication scholars encourage awareness around these issues, by asking: “Who ultimately has the power/privilege/right to define and reproduce ‘culture’? Who benefits from the creation of ‘culture’?” (Halualani et al 2009: 25). eMzantsi’s motivation is to communicate across the racial barriers created through apartheid, and thus to contribute to social integration in the South Peninsula and to inspire the people of the Valley to develop their own agency in doing so.

Successful intercultural communication requires recognition of difference, transcendence of borders and an eagerness to have relationships beyond the comfort zones of people’s home communities, which is undoubtedly difficult to do individually. Kim (1995) acknowledges this as an “emergent cultural identity”, described as having “functional fitness” and “boundary ambiguity” (Kim 1995: 178-9). This means that the various communities of eMzantsi will be able to function well together, despite their differences, and that they will be able to cross over to other communities while easily communicating with members of those other communities. The recognition of difference and effort to communicate in the Valley on an intercultural level will ultimately develop a new identity, but this will require critique, deconstruction and a clashing of perspectives (Halualani et al 2009: 32), as shown through the interviewees’ responses.

The process of intercultural communication and adaption to the environment occurs when some stress is experienced (Kim 1995: 178-9). The stress within eMzantsi can be seen as apprehension, fears or discontent that people face when entering into the eMzantsi space; this stress is experienced at different levels, depending on the conflicts that may arise while working together. Whenever the stress occurs, however, a new intercultural learning is experienced that shifts the dynamics of intercultural engagement, acceptance and involvement. Identities thus also constantly shift in response to these factors (Banks & Banks 1995: 150). To overcome these stresses and to deal with the conflicts that arise from such contact and communication within the intercultural learning space, eMzantsi has developed the following top tips for working together:

- OPENNESS to new ideas, to different ways of doing things.

- WILLINGNESS to engage, to be present in the space, to commit to the process.
- COMMUNICATION: listen, listen, listen – and get comfortable with being uncomfortable sometimes.
- CLARITY is vital to avoid misunderstandings, voice opinions, don't clam up when feeling abused.
- BE PATIENT with each other, and with the process. Respect each other's languages. Resolve differences through a neutral person.
- BE PREPARED TO BE FLEXIBLE: give before you take. TRUST THE PROCESS – GO WITH THE FLOW. Be prepared to be surprised!
- PROCESS OVER PRODUCT: Don't be pressured about outcomes. It's not what we do, it's how we do it: TOGETHER.
- TIME is incredibly important: give yourself and your teams enough time to bond as well as produce. Manage time carefully and respect the time of others – don't waste it.
- RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP: lead by example, show sensitivity and RESPECT at all times and model the behaviour set out above. Teams must share the responsibility of leadership.
- CREATE AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT: warm, friendly, balanced (gender etc), show empathy got to the other's space, "always have enough peanut butter"¹⁵... Opportunities for just getting to know each other are good, more parties!
- CHERISH YOUR TEAM: take the time to demonstrate your trust, support and appreciation.

(eMzantsi Top Tips for working together 2011 passed on by Shelley Peters)

These top tips of eMzantsi show the organisation's level of understanding and awareness of the intercultural learning process and its difficulties. The process considers the impact of socio-political situations; shifting South African identities; the varied levels of intercultural communication, which require adaptation and acculturation with an acknowledgement of the impact of time; the effects of communication and the power dynamics present all through the process of intercultural learning. People are seen as active interpreters of their social environment, and the self and relationships are also dynamic, as they are constantly maintained or changed through communication in social situation (Martin & Nakayama 1996: 22). Within eMzantsi, as stated by Martin and Nakayama, cultures are constantly constructed through the negotiated creation and shared use of symbols and meanings. It is

¹⁵ An eMzantsi expression that encourages sharing and a method used to break the ice when meeting new people

thus pertinent to summarise the dynamics of intercultural acceptance and engagement shift in eMzantsi within the knowledge that reality is socially constructed, and that people are active interpreters of their social environment. The differing dynamics within the communities of the South Peninsula shape the development of an intercultural identity here.

The motivation for wanting people to participate in eMzantsi is to change the mindsets of those who are still stuck within the mentality of apartheid. On the one hand, racism still exists, as do fears where groups of people are not entirely sure how to interact with one another. eMzantsi acknowledges people's varying backgrounds and histories, and it creates a safe space where these differences are celebrated through finding commonalities that can allow people to relate with one another. The emphasis on process over product is one that provides the path that can be taken to motivate people to accept, engage and involve themselves in the intercultural processes of eMzantsi.

The organisation experiences both challenges and successes in implementing its goals. The challenges lie in resolving organisational challenges, such as synchronising how different people work together. Also, the challenges of racial miscommunication need to be constantly addressed, and one of the tools used for this is the "eMzantsi top tips for working together" guideline.

Although achieving the highest level of adaptation and competence will require time, there is much optimism about the current successes of eMzantsi, because people do see it as a site for intercultural learning and communication. They understand that it is hard work, but eMzantsi prides itself in the work it has done thus far, in spite of its challenges. eMzantsi reveals how cultures are not fixed, neither is the way we come to know about them. It reveals how intra and inter-cultural understanding is improved through interactions and how new ways of knowing may constantly be developed within an intercultural context. This research has highlighted that culture is not static and neither is the way people learn about it. The findings have shown that there are differing dynamics to acceptance and engagement in intercultural learning, and eMzantsi contributes to, but does not guarantee intercultural learning.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Participants Informed Consent Forms



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



I, _____ (name), agree that I am participating willingly and voluntarily in one one-hour interview with Ruvimbo Gwahirisa, on this day _____ (date) at _____ (place).

I understand that these interviews form part of a research project on eMzantsi which is being conducted by iNCUDISA (Intercultural & Diversity Studies of Southern Africa), a research unit based at the University of Cape Town

The topic and purpose of the research has been explained to me and I am willing to participate

I understand that iNCUDISA may use the information from these interviews

I understand that the interview will be audio recorded so that iNCUDISA may more accurately reflect my views in the report.

I understand that my interview transcripts will not be shared with other participants.

I expect that my name will remain anonymous and my identity will remain confidential **if I choose** (Yes/No)

I am aware that I may discontinue my participation at any stage of the research.

I agree to iNCUDISA and eMzantsi publishing research findings on these terms and conditions.

I understand and agree to the above terms and conditions.

Signature (participant) _____

Date: _____

Signature (researcher) _____

Date: _____

Appendix 2: Interview Schedule

Demographic info:

Age, race, gender, community

About you and your work with eMzantsi

Why and how you got involved (motivation and channel through which you learned about eMzantsi)

How long have you been involved with eMzantsi?

What kind of work are you doing for eMzantsi?

What does participation in eMzantsi mean for you and your life?

About you and your community

How long have you lived in your community?

How would you describe your community in terms of social relationships, level of civic participation?

Do you hold any leadership positions (outside of your capacity as an eMzantsi ambassador, community mobilise)?

About your community and eMzantsi

How involved is your community in eMzantsi?

How familiar is your community with eMzantsi?

What, if anything, have you heard members of your community think or feel about eMzantsi?

What, if any, challenges have you encountered in mobilizing community involvement in eMzantsi?

Which members of your community are most involved or interested in eMzantsi?

How, if at all, do you think that your community differs from others in the Valley in terms of mobilizing involvement? Does your community have any “special needs” in terms of gaining support for eMzantsi?

Why do you think there is resistance or support for eMzantsi in your community?

What do you think it will take for more members of your community to become involved in eMzantsi?

Appendix 3: eMzantsi Top Tips for Working Together

eMzantsi Top Tips for intercultural interactions with youth

Spread the love – SMILE and be happy

Be POSITIVE at all times, no matter what

RESPECT every individual, no matter what

Come with an OPEN MIND

COMMUNICATION is critical

REASSURANCE is key – arrive confident with a plan, deliver, be consistent

Trust your gut – report any uneasiness before a problem develops – EARLY warning please

eMzantsi is cutting edge – don't stress about challenges – enjoy them!

SELF-REFLECTIVE PRACTICE – constantly interrogate your own attitudes

IF YOU ARE NOT HAVING FUN, YOU'RE DOING IT WRONG!!

Primary schools extra:

Demonstrate UNITY and support each other in front of kids – teach by example

POSITIVE reinforcement, shower compliments

CONTROL – start strict with clear rules: the better the discipline, the further you can take them

CHALLENGE them to overcome obstacles together and feel safe enough to do so

BE FLEXIBLE – have a back-up plan

Appendix 4: Interview Transcripts (on Disc)

Appendix 5: Interview Coding (on Disc)

