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Working Lives in Howick

A Case Study by Chenai Kadungure



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Chapter One: INTRODUCTION

Background

In South Africa, the concept of transformation is a cornerstone of government policy, as it attempts to redress the legacy of racial segregation and oppression left by colonialism and apartheid (Tregenna 2004). While the term has been variously defined (Smith 2007; Rembe 2005; Sherry, Chand and Misra 2000; Irogbe 2003; Kriel 2007), this research looks at transformation as meaningful social change. Transformation should positively impact the lives of the oppressed, reversing most of the negative impacts of the Apartheid regime in a way that reshapes the identities both of the previously oppressed and marginalized in South Africa, as well as those privileged by the system of Apartheid (Irogbe 2003 and Tregenna 2004).

Generally speaking, much of the research that has been done around the issue of transformation has focused on the urban sector. The smaller, more rural, towns are mostly excluded from such work. This study is part of a larger project, the Small Towns and Rural Transformation in South Africa Project (STRT) which attempts to rectify this omission.

The project (STRT) is headed by iNCUDISA, the Diversity Studies Research Unit at the University of Cape Town, and aims to investigate the shape of transformation in selected small rural towns across all the provinces of South Africa. At a theoretical level, the project is situated within an emerging social theory paradigm that links discourse on identity, race and transformation to physical spaces. Apartheid was one of the worst examples of racial spatial segregation the world has known. With the advent of democracy, one of the pillars of Apartheid, the Group Areas Act, Influx Control and other restrictive labour legislation which had limited the movement of black people in South Africa, was repealed,. This has potentially, at least, changed the spatial dimensions of both urban and rural town living.

References made to a 'new South Africa' tie into this image of new hope and new identities, and this project seeks to assess how applicable this may be to rural contexts. Rural contexts in particular were chosen by the project coordinators, because rural towns are generally perceived as lagging behind in transformation (Goredema 2009). It questions whether the image of unity and equality which is sometimes voiced in urban work settings (Shandy 2006; Emmerich 2003) applies to the rural workplace. Multiple perspectives on transformation from different rural towns have been collected and assessed to understand how it has played itself out in rural settings. The results of this research, contrasted to that of post 1994 urban realities, make for a clearer picture of what this new South Africa is like in reality

While desegregation may also have created unfolding racial relations, this is not only limited to race, but closely related to class as well. The study on which this thesis is based is set in the rural town of Howick in Kwa Zulu Natal, and investigates how the lives of workers, have changed as a result of the attempts at transformation in post Apartheid South Africa, now that equality and non-discrimination are enshrined in the Constitution (Tregenna 2004). This study provides a a snapshot of what that equality, and particularly racial equality, has really meant in the lives of the proletariat.

I chose the working class in particular, because there is not much information regarding them in academic fields of research outside of the area of trade unionism (Grossman 2009). As a class, they occupy the lower tiers of the social structure, seeming to bring nothing more than labor to the country (SACP Paper 2009).It is necessary hear the voices of the working class, especially concerning their own perspectives of transformation. As a marginalized group, they are generally framed by the rest of the classes as being more like a "problem" when they express their discontent in their workplaces, in comparison to the middle classes who have more credibility (Banerjee 2007). For example, trade union members are seen as disruptive and troublesome: striking, vandalizing properties, rioting and disturbing business days in doing so (COSATU 2009), while the structural arrangements that create their anger or feelings of hopelessness are left mostly unchallenged and even invisible in dominant discourses. This necessitates an analysis of the current discourses on the working class, and attention to their own discourses around themselves and transformation. This research looks at working class people through a different lens, attempting to be more inclusive in approach than merely linking them to trade unionism.

After all, there is also no evidence pointing to the uniform definition of the South African working class (Seekings 2002; Grossman 2009).

This research also attempts to unpack some of the issues of transformation in the area of new ownership, job opportunities and living conditions for the working class in particular. These realities are well illustrated in the working class neighborhoods, which are stronger in discourses around issues of segregation (Piper 2006). Currently South Africa has the highest Gini coefficient in the world, making it the country with the largest gap between the richest and the poorest citizens (Statistics South Africa 2003). The concept of inequality as reflected in the Gini coefficient points to the kinds of pressures endured by the working class in particular, as they lie at the bottom, along with those in the informal sectors and unemployed, as far as status, and sometimes dignity is concerned. This research explores how these dynamics work in a context like Howick, which is presented as an idyllic setting, but like most rural towns (Panelli 2009), is home to a variation of classes based on factors like housing, income, social status, religion.

Research Objectives

This research describes “the story” of the town of Howick as told by the working class inhabitants. It aims to develop a clearer picture of the trends of the current South African working class in Howick, and how a working class identity is shaped in a rural context. A major area, for example, may be around questions of how racialized attitudes intersect with class identities, as we know they do in urban spaces (Shandy 2006; Emmerich 2003). Issues around the intersectional identities of race, gender and sexuality will also be addressed as they all touch on matters of transformation and the qualities of “working classness”. In essence, the study aims to understand what informs the building of a working class identity in Howick, to look at the silences and subtleties as well as the glaring issues.

Research Questions

In order to assess what transformation has done for the working class in Howick, and how their self-understandings have changed from being what the working class was during apartheid, to who they are now, several lines of inquiry need to be followed.

The focus is on socio economic issues that the working class in Howick experience as a social group, and the dominant discourses they use around transformation, or its lack, in their lives. How do they understand it? Do they feel included in the national image of new South Africa? Who of the working class demographic see themselves as authentic citizens of Howick? Are racial and class divisions still as prevalent as they were during Apartheid? If they are, how do the working class members show their displeasure, if they do? In summation, what are the experiences of the South African working class in a rural town now, and how do these influence their self-understandings and sense of identity?

Research Justification

The key benefit of this research is the fact that it addresses the connection between the working class and the questions raised by transformation, or its lack. Currently, they are largely excluded from the vision of Transformation as they do not fully stand to benefit from its components like Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), which prioritizes the interests of middle class members of society (Iheduru 2003). The benefits of such research can be deeper or more meaningful transformation. Since research can find some of the flaws in rural transformation, some of the problems can be rectified once the findings are made public. The participants from the working class in Howick may conceivably be affirmed by having their stories heard as the research method of *Co cultural Research* (Orbe 1995) is employed in this project. Those from other class groups can become more educated about the realities of their fellow community members who define for themselves; what is really taking place in their world.

Limitations

My research has a limited scope, because I only had two weeks in which I could interview people and engage with the town. Nevertheless I was able to gain a good level of access, and valuable data.

Organization of thesis

In the next chapter, I will describe and explain the type of theory used and provide a literature review of current and previous work done concerning the key topics and issues related to the research. After that, I will give a detailed account of how the research was carried out in the

methodology section. I will then give background to Howick, the context in which the research was carried out, which will then be followed by a description in detail of all my findings. These will paint the picture of Howick's working class. Finally, I will analyze the findings, and draw conclusions.

Chapter 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research has incorporated multiple theories, which offer very similar understandings to the Working class. With Marxist foundations around the imaging and illustration of a proletariat in Class theory, this research borrows facets from Muted Group theory and Co cultural theory, as a way of making sense of the equally multiple working class perspectives in Howick. In this chapter, I will briefly explain the theory which informs the way in which the research was conducted.

Class theory is the key paradigm around which this research is carried out. The critical understanding is that there is need for a working class standpoint around certain issues, and that empowerment of the working class should be seen as a goal of transformation (Khosa 2000).

Karl Marx cites that all social life comes down to a battle of the classes, and names the working class as *the proletariat* (Green 2000). According to this view, ever since society emerged from its primitive and relatively undifferentiated state, it has remained fundamentally divided between classes who clash in the pursuit of class interests. My mentioning of the Genie co-efficient earlier; marks the relevance of this logic even today. In the Marxian view, the factory, the nuclear cell of the capitalist system, was the prime locus of antagonism between classes, between exploiters and exploited, between buyers and sellers of labour power--rather than of functional collaboration. In contemporary times, the factory may not be as important, but labour affects the world even more due to globalization and increased world trade (*The Economist* 2008). Labour is still for the most part necessary for the world's functions even in times of advanced technology. The connectedness of countries had risen due to major outsourcing of resources like labor. What has not changed, however, is the class battle, and it seems that Marx may still be correct that class interests, and the confrontations of power that they bring in their wake are, the central determinant of social and historical processes (Marx 1949).

In early industrial enterprises, Marx contended, competition divided the personal interests of "a crowd of people who are unknown to each other. . . But the maintenance of their wages, this common interest which they have against their employer, brings them together "(Marx

1949). There is an understanding that the one thing working classes have in common is their vulnerability to those who have power over them, namely the “higher” classes who give them employment. “The separate individuals form a class only in so far as they have to carry on a common battle against another class; otherwise they are on hostile terms with each other as competitors” (Marx 1949). The question around unionization and the working class, is partially answered by these statements. In this way, the theory informs a current dynamic around what I call *multiple working classes* in this research. The only thing unifying the working classes according to this paradigm is a shared resentment of the middle and upper classes.

Why Co Cultural/Muted Group theory?

In the representation of racial and ethnic minorities, it appears that empirical research tends to marginalize the voices of underrepresented groups, while striving to produce objective generalizations (Collins 1990). As articulated by Strine (1997), efforts to adequately represent voice in scholarly discourse resist the ‘reifying’ tendency of conventional social research. Under the guise of academic disinterestedness, a typical research article suppresses individuating features of the researcher's voice while foregrounding protocols that signal methodological rigor. Similarly, the voices of informants or research subjects are reduced to predetermined categories for analysis or behavior variables for testing (pp.449, 450). Orbe (1995), believes that research must focus on the ‘experiential’ as much as the ‘experimental’. One way to work toward this goal is to put in place methodological frameworks that facilitate opportunities for diverse racial/ethnic group members to speak for themselves inside the center of research (Collins 1986). This is the objective of co cultural research, and thus the objective of this research, presenting different working class voices.

Orbe's (1995) co-cultural theory deals with the problem of “the other” in communication situations. His rationale for the use of the term “co-cultural” is that it implies equality; he believes that other terms, such as sub-cultural and non-dominant, imply inequality, and are typical of most research, which has been informed by the dominant perspective. His theory however, looks at the ways in which inequality in communication exists between the dominant group (white, Christian, heterosexual male) and marginalized groups (all others) and how the “others” adapt.

I am examining some of the issues that take place between the dominant (middle class) and non dominant (working class/es) class, and this is where the co cultural theoretical model can better ground my research. All the different theories that co cultural theory draws from, were used when analyzing the context of working class in Howick. The themes unearthed, tie in all the different approaches, and make the research richer, while grappling with the situations the working class face in trying to deal with Transformation.

Orbe's work is based on two long-standing theories from other fields, "muted group theory" and "feminist standpoint theory" (Orbe 1995). He explains each theory thoroughly and then applies each to his co-cultural paradigm. He also notes that anyone, even someone who is traditionally a member of the dominant group, may become a temporary member of a co-cultural group, and have to adopt different communication behaviors. It is necessary to make this distinction as no one person remains defined or categorized in one way and stays that way. This dynamic acts itself out in discussions about class, as context may influence the condition of being the oppressed and oppressor in certain instances and in different relationships (Orbe 1995).

The problem some theorists have with this theory; is that it is not too clear whether Orbe's groups are specifically demographically or psycho-graphically so (Marx 1848). He mentions ethnic/racial, sexual orientation, gender, class, ability, age. It is not clear what the "unifying elements" are within the umbrella of co-cultural theory and what, if any, are not. Are attitudinal differences considered co-cultural? For this research, the experience of class in a specific space is what is being investigated. This means that this criticism of the theory weighs less in light of the direction the research takes.

The working class in South Africa is one of the current marginalized identities in the country (Tregenna 2004), and this is because of all the intersectional subtle oppressions they face on a daily basis. Marxism fails to address the oppressions that tend to occur separate from the 'production' that the workers go through. Such an angle provided by standpoint theory; creates a better space for me to work with perspectives of the working class

The side of co cultural theory that uses muted group theory will also work to the benefit of this research. Muted group theory focuses on muted or silenced groups, like the marginalized

working class. By definition, the fact that they are a class associated merely as cogs in the capitalist machine of work; brings out the silences inherent in their positionality in the country. They bring more to the world than work, and make up the majority of the population -- there is far more to them than labor. They have many issues which need to be unpacked, and the theory that focuses on bringing out these silences in the form of muted group theory is needed to form a good understanding of the working class experience of life.

Simply stated, the theory is a study of essences .It focuses on the conscious experience of how a person relates to the world that she or he inhabits. Van Manen (1990) adds that this relationship must occur as persons immediately experience their 'lifeworld' before categorization begins. Phenomenological research is involved in explaining phenomena as they present themselves to consciousness (van Manen, 1990). A number of advantages exist when researchers utilize a phenomenological lens to examine the lived experiences of traditionally marginalized 'Others.'

Seven characteristics of the theory, work to include diverse voices within the research design in meaningful ways. First, co cultural theory rejects the notion of an 'objective researcher' and the claims of positivist epistemologies. The theory makes no claims of objectivity because the assumption is that the researcher is fully immersed in the world he or she is studying. By the same token, I do not pretend that my 'middle classness' does not affect my experience or understanding of working class experiences. This research method requires researchers to acknowledge the ways in which they are positioned within the discourse that they are seeking to understand (Nelson 1989).It entails the fact that I must acknowledge my insider/outsider relational status in terms of the working class and the 'baggage' that it brings to the discovery process.

Secondly, the theory seeks to gain a deeper understanding of the nature and meaning of our everyday experiences. This is because co cultural research encourages a certain attentive awareness to the details and seemingly trivial happenings of everyday lives (Fiske 1991). Such a re-focusing allows scholars to make others aware of the presumably inconsequential and taken-for-granted experiences that consume every aspect of our lives (van Manen 1990). By eliciting experiential descriptions of everyday life, researchers can begin to gain understanding of cultural

practices and how they operate larger contexts (Fiske 1991). Such a methodological approach is especially valuable for intercultural relations research given that everyday conversations reflect microcosms of the larger societal and political relationships of a specific place in history (Houston 1997).

Van Manen suggests that the problem of phenomenological inquiry is not always about knowing too little about the phenomenon we wish to research, but instead that we know too much. An abundance of knowledge, however, does not necessarily yield understanding. It is often only after much refocusing and re-bracketing of concepts, that researchers can acquire the true meaning of lived experiences, usually hidden or distorted by assumptions projected by the researcher him or herself (van Manen, 1990). This is true of this research as everyone tends to have opinions and preconceived notions around the idea of “working class” (Linkon 2010). This is why I am very interested in shedding light on what is invisible about them. What is visible in them wearing uniform creates faceless beings that seem only half human. This research seeks to find the face and what is behind it.

Third, this research method differs from traditional research in that traditional research specifies beforehand what it hopes to discover from its research. In this research we had no idea what we would find, making the findings authentic and true observations and discoveries. In the case of the South African working class, this is new knowledge. Van Manen (1990) describes phenomenological human science as discovery-oriented. Such is the case here. The questions asked will be phenomenological questions, which are ‘meaning questions’ that ask for the possible meaning and significance of a certain phenomenon (van Manen, 1990). According to Marcel (1950), ‘meaning questions’ cannot be solved, and thus done away with; instead, the essence of such questions is the opening up and keeping open of possibilities.

Fourth, co cultural theory,

seeks to study phenomena in an open, unconstructing way. Ambiguity is viewed as productive, necessary, and valuable (Lanigan, 1979). Through the process of bracketing and imaginative free variation (viewing the phenomena with and without essential themes), an openness can be

achieved that allows inquiry to be free of structure (Nelson, 1989) and representative of true lived experiences (Orbe 2000).

In this sense, research is not reported via preconceived notions of clearly stated hypothesis, but rather through descriptions of lived experiences to which the person gives consciousness. This assumption is especially valuable in terms of providing opportunities for racial/ethnic minority group members to articulate their experiences in their own voices, without the prevalence of pre-existing structures to distort them.

Fifth, co cultural and muted group theory, is interested in the study of 'persons,' as opposed to 'individuals' (van Manen, 1990). Primarily a biological term, 'individuals' can refer to any number of things, while the term person describes the uniqueness of each human being. Further, phenomenological studies do not involve 'subjects' as traditional empirical research does. The persons who are involved in the research project are referred to as 'participants,' 'narrators' and 'interviewees' or more recently, 'co-researchers' (Ford-Ahmed 1992; Orbe 1994, 1996). This shift in terminology does not simply represent a more politically correct language, but also reflects the way in which researchers approach their inquiry. Such a distinction in language is important because the terms shape the way in which co-researchers view themselves (Etter-Lewis 1991). In this regard, persons can be viewed as multi-dimensional and complex and from a particular social, cultural, and historical life circumstance (van Manen, 1990), an important consideration when exploring the lived experiences of those groups traditionally marginalized in research and theory.

Finally, this theory focuses on researching conscious experience (*capta*) rather than hypothetical situations (*data*) (Orbe 2000). *Capta* refers to experience, and allows people to assign meaning to themselves. *Data*, refers to that which is given and involves gathering information from subjects as interviewers determine meaning via a pre-set agenda. As Van Manen speaks on phenomenology, he notes that researchers view the co-researchers as human beings who signify and give meaning to and derive meaning from their world (van Manen 1990). Orbe as a supporter of these notions; stresses that 'through radical reflection, "co cultural theorists are active in becoming a medium for the voice of their co-researchers without manipulating, altering, or reshaping their life experiences' (Orbe 2000). In short, phenomenology represents a

philosophical and human scientific research method, which studies lived experiences of people yet remaining sensitive to their individuality (van Manen 1990). With a natural leaning to synergy, this qualitative method seeks to assign meaning to phenomena in a rigorous manner (Orbe 2000).

It is in using Co Cultural and Muted group theory, that the research shapes particular stories and experiences with a focus on the levels of the inclusion and exclusion the Working class in Howick face as a consequence of their status as a Proletariat and often “silenced” group. The literature review, will better frame the arguments around what creates the Working Class lens, and how this may have emerged in certain parts of the research process.

University of Cape Town

Chapter 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review focuses on most of the main issues to be discussed, examined and problematized throughout this research. It begins with outlining some key literature on the type of theories used or considered in the research. The second section of this review addresses literature on key themes focused on in the research: Transformation in Small Towns in South Africa; The Working Class in Small towns in South Africa; and finally, Working Class transformation in a small town in South Africa.

The working class becomes a class as a self-conscious and history- making body only if the members become aware of the similarity of their interests through their conflicts with opposing classes. According to Marx (1848), classes are aggregates of persons who perform the same function in the organization of production. The very fact that each capitalist acts rationally in his own self-interest, leads to ever deepening economic crises and hence to the destruction of the interests common to all. This is how the theory easily explains the recent recession as precipitated by credit driven purchases, with no monitoring of security regarding paying back loans . That seemingly selfish, self serving lifestyle, according to this critical theory, is what leads to self destruction (Marx 1848).

Interesting is the role of bourgeois intellectuals in the revolutionary movement. The *Manifesto* states: ' . . . a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class . . . in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists.' (Marx 1848) This point I feel, looks at the kind of people involved in South African Communist Party (SACP) leadership and others who are/have been part of 'the struggle' but are not part of the working class.

It is the essence of Marx's work that for the working class to become a class 'for itself' requires not simply the absorption of the experience of capitalist society, but the critical struggle against this experience by a party armed with the whole theory of Marxism. Party and class are two opposites at one level (the class 'for itself' and the class 'in itself'). These two poles at the same time, constitute a whole (the working class), which itself is one pole as against its opposite (the capitalist class) in another contradictory whole (capitalist society) (Marx 1848). The working class must realize itself, against capitalism, subsuming all the historical gains for humanity made

by capitalism at the same time as overthrowing it. It is vital to note that in this research however, Transformation can be viewed as a proxy for substantive empowerment. Measuring how 'empowered' the working class in Howick is, is a large part of the questions around the status quo and the use of transformation.

This research, however, is not simply informed by Marxism, that sees capitalism as a kind of enemy to the working class, which needs defeating. It also works within a standpoint theory that gives voice to the concerns of the usually muted working class. Mark Orbe's (1998) description of standpoint and **co-cultural theory**, looks at all the socio economic and political issues that arise out of marginalized identities. This is where the discussion around transformation emerges.

Transformation in Small Towns in South Africa

Steve Keith Abbey (2007), who mirrors the kind of research being done here in an urban Pretoria setting, argues that the most interesting things to note in spaces of desegregation where the working class reside, is the decrease of the white populations of the area and the increase of black. This might be attributable to "white flight" but also to empowerment structures that have been put in place for the previously disadvantaged. This creates very tricky social dynamics especially when the old white neighbors meet the new black neighbors. Even though this point focuses on race, the intersectionality of race and class cannot be ignored. The working class; especially in Howick, is predominantly black. Thus race issues intersect class issues. The tensions between races and classes can be recreated, disappear, or mutate. This is the reality of transformation, especially in small towns that tend to have slower rates of change. These kinds of questions will be opened up in the study of Howick where the shift of blacks to white areas will be examined.

A.J Christopher (1996) ,who has written much on the subject of Post Apartheid South Africa, focuses on urban spaces, but there is evidence to show that some of his work ,is of much relevance for small rural town settings as well. Some of his work on the linguistic separation on South Africa explains some of the class inclusion and exclusion that may take place in Howick due to the use of language as a tool of resistance. Working class members may use Zulu to combat the English and Afrikaans around them, and Christopher deconstructs these dynamics.

The Working Class (in Small towns) in South Africa

There is much theory around the concept of the working class, but the most difficult factor around them is their definition. I will very briefly touch on what several authors deduce about the working class.

The South African Communist party outlines much in its reports around who they see as being part of the working class. For them, at the heart of the working class is unionism (SACP Paper 2009). They are not the only to hold this view. Naturally, COSATU shares the idea of unionism as aimed at empowering the workers, and they both cite a 'national democratic revolution' as necessary to free the working class masses.

Keith Hoggart, however, looks at the working class as being defined by having what can be called a shared identity (2001). For him the very fact that a group can get together and define themselves as the working class is all that is necessary. One can draw a close parallel to unionism in using this definition. He does, however, see occupation as part of what constitutes one's class and so a level of social praxis is part of a working class (Hoggart 1998:5). While he does illustrate that there are multiple identities that can be seen as part of the working class, occupation remains the defining factor. (This will be discussed further in what I call the blue collar argument, below). He also discusses what he calls differential social class identity and problematizes the middle class as nationally defined. A rural middle class differs significantly to an urban one. He talks of Abrahams' (1994) of the formation of social groups in different locations which includes an argument around class being formed in spaces or locations. I will discuss this more in the discussion of other theorists as it comes up quite frequently. Hoggart's position, however, with Pahl (1964) is that identity defines class (Hoggart 2001). This is a theory I am more inclined to agree with as at the end of the day, the collective will affect one's identity and in a sense tell us where we belong. If I identify myself as working class, so I am. However, what happens when a teacher calls himself one of the working class? This definition ignores very political space of engagement in which people speak of themselves as the working class. Marx's notion lies closer to that of the proletariat, or laborers in industry.

Some alternate names for the 'working class' such as the colloquial 'blue collar', already shows how related the working class and type of occupation are. As contextual as blue collar is to

Europe, the reality is still applicable for this research in terms of what I am deeming the working class. British theorists talk of the blue collar jobs as denigrating one to the working class. The obvious problem I have with this theory; is the limitation in analysis of the multiple contexts of working classness. For one to be a gardener in England, is very different to being one in America, and definitely very different to being one in South Africa. This argument illustrates how wages, dominant racial groups and culture all affect working class definition. For example, in some countries especially in the first world, blue collar work pays very well, and the dominant racial group in that area are white Europeans, while in African nations, blue collar work can get a person less than minimum wage, and the dominant racial group consists of black men . As a result, how society perceives blue collar work is also different worldwide, and each country creates a culture of its own around discourses of blue collar workers and their job titles.

The News site for the Bureau for Economic research (2008) discusses how interracial inequality has decreased, while intra-racial inequality has increased. In terms of developments or progress that means that the racial composition of the working class may be growing and the notion of multiple working classes is possible.

Visser however, has a very interesting viewpoint. He is of the belief that the working class has experienced a major shift already, as they were divided historically in terms of race and skills or what they do at work (Visser 2009). He argues that now only trade unionism defines one's status as a working class individual, and this makes it a purely political identity. Who are they when they are not demanding a raise? Surely there is more to them than that. There is also the issue of the invisibility of non-trade union workers. All they have is a social ranking that is seen as impoverished.

Bonnie Braun (2008) believes that inadequate incomes do lead to shared beliefs and inferiority complexes. Although she calls the working class "low income members", the shared identity is still part and parcel of the creation of meaning based on their economic stake in society which leads to a social rating as well. This means that for Braun, one never chooses one's class but one's earnings force one into that position of negotiating a working class collective identity.

After all these multiple opinions on the key subjects of this research, one is left with many understandings around the different aspects of what makes one part of a working class. These

include a collective and shared identity, the type of job, one's earnings, one's living conditions and location, the resources available to one in terms of property etc and finally, the most voiced, trade unionism. In many ways all the factors are interconnected so it is not too difficult to see who may position themselves as part of the working class.

Some theorists however feel that the **class structure of post-apartheid South Africa** comprises three major groups of classes.

“At the top is an increasingly multi-racial upper class or elite. In the middle lie workers in a range of classes: the 'semi-professional' class (teachers and nurses), the 'intermediate' class (ie white-collar workers in public and private sectors) and most of the 'core' or urban industrial working class. At the bottom, are the marginalised sections of the working-class (including especially farm and domestic workers and their dependants) and households where no one has employment” (Seekings 2002).

This was what I found to be one of the best ways of defining the classes. We have already established earlier in this chapter that the notion of class is in fact not only contextual but problematic at all times, especially due to the different factors that come into belonging in a specific class. People in general are never one dimensional and as a result class can never be seen as a set group one permanently belongs to. The navigation of the spaces and levels of class described by these scholars is useful when one is distinguishing skills and levels of education and point to a lower class as a multi layered group as well.

State of the Working Class in South Africa

Whether one defines the working class or classes in one way or another, there are real issues that people face. In most of the literature, what seems explicit is that those whom one would expect to have been the beneficiaries of transformation have not gained much, at least in relation to certain aspects of independence or liberation. This illustrates the inseparability of the class and national questions, given the coincidence of race and class in South Africa; it is not possible to effectively address racial inequality without also transforming class structure.

One cannot look at the working class without having an understanding of inequality. Much work has brought out aspects of inequality, and how its effects are evident in rates of unemployment, property and assets owned by select groups. The most devastating direct blow to the working class has been job losses. Unemployment now stands at 42% (using the broad definition which includes discouraged job-seekers). Unemployment rates are significantly higher amongst blacks compared to whites. Together with rising unemployment has been the growing trend of what Statistics South Africa called 'casualisation and informalisation', further shrinking the formal working class (Statistics South Africa 2003). Such levels of inequality are sure to affect relations, perceptions and policy making at some level.

I am in agreement with Willies Mchunu, who spoke at the first Worker's parliament meeting in Natal Province where he stated that "sectoral sittings of this nature afford us a unique opportunity to engage with the only class in history which has nothing to lose from change, i.e. the Working Class" (Mchunu 2009). He also pointed out that there has been an increase in job loss by saying "Statistics South Africa (Statistics South Africa) Quarterly Labour Force Survey which was released earlier this month, says a total of 208 000 South Africans lost their jobs between the last quarter of 2008 and the first quarter of 2009." This fact alone is what leads me not only to choose the working class as a focus, but to look at how they find themselves positioned in relation to Transformation.

Racial privilege and wealth post Apartheid are relevant to understanding the positioning of the working class. These connect back to inequality, and reflect how it is enacted on a national scale. Official statistics show that between 1995 and 2000, the average income of White households rose by 15.3%, while the average income of Black African households fell by 18.8% (Statistics South Africa 2003). Tregenna points out a very significant point in that "if one considers the economic advance and enrichment of an African elite, the income of the lower strata of African households would have fallen even more" (Tregenna 2004).

There remain important divisions and conflicts of interest within what other scholars refer to as the 'working class as a whole' (Nattrass and Seekings 1998c; Seekings 2000). Moreover, social

and economic change has eroded greatly the correlation between race and class in South Africa. High levels of inequality are increasingly based on intra-racial not inter-racial inequalities (Seekings 2002). There is a consensus amongst most economic and political analysts that approximately 40% of South Africans are living in poverty – with the poorest 15% in a desperate struggle to survive. This means that approximately 18 million out of 45 million people have not experienced the benefits of our newly found freedom. This poses a moral challenge to all South Africans – to work together towards the economic and social integration of the poorer section of our fellow citizens. It is only after having such an understanding of how deep the inequality is that one can critique the current Transformation or experience of the working class in a small town.

Working Class transformation and substantive change in a small town in South Africa

This study focuses on the under researched area of the working class experience and transformation. This lack was important in the interviews and influenced some of the interviewees' responses. As a concept, transformation has everything to do with change. One may never deny what Tregenna (2004) says in that “gains have been made in the labour market regime, with workers now enjoying immensely greater rights in areas such as leave, limit on working hours, overtime pay, protection from dismissal, protection when striking, promotion of centralised bargaining, health and safety protection, and so on.” This marks the immediate and obvious change or transformation currently (Tregenna 2004). The deeper transformation of attitudes however, may not automatically come with the legal forms of liberation. Substantive justice is an issue in such cases. The importance of bearing substantive justice in mind for transformation will be discussed in many sub topics which all relate back to issues of inequality in different spheres. They are briefly discussed below.

- **Redistribution**

Theorists ask the simple question of “Why have the demise of apartheid and the onset of democracy not been accompanied by a decline in inequality?” (Seekings 2002). As Aristotle noted two and a half millenia ago, democracy entails rule by the poor because the poor constitute the majority. This belief is seen as more than idyllic in that the formal equality of representative

democracy has not induced the ANC to introduce more effective pro-poor reforms. The authors attempted to answer this question by saying,

“Regrettably, there are no careful studies of policy-making in the post-apartheid state corresponding to (say) Posel's study of influx control under the apartheid state. In the absence of such studies, we have to resort to the broad sweep of political economy, the strength of which is the linkage of politics to economics and the weakness of which is its treatment of the state as a ‘black box’” (Seekings 2002).

In a similar fashion, Tregenna feels that the lack of true transformation lies in the fact that “The majority of people are still excluded from ownership or control of assets. This essentially capitalist accumulation path has not resolved the systemic structural crisis of underdevelopment, nor can it do so” (Tregenna 2004). This is to be expected and also comes into the argument around ownership, redistribution and recognition. This is because ownership remains concentrated in the hands of a few, although these few are now somewhat deracialised in some places. South Africa is one of the most unequal countries in the world, with the Gini coefficient generally estimated at between 0.61 and 0.63 (Statistics South Africa: 2003). With rising intra-racial inequality, it is the class question that is increasingly coming to the fore.

- **Recognition**

This issue has been explored in detail by Nancy Fraser. In her work, she argues that

“Today, however, we increasingly encounter a second type of social-justice claim in the ‘politics of recognition.’ Here the goal, in its most plausible form, is a difference-friendly world, where assimilation to majority or dominant cultural norms is no longer the price of equal respect. (Fraser 1996)”.

For Fraser, recognition politics are beginning to predominate over the politics of redistribution at times. However, she does not deny that this relationship between redistribution and recognition

works two ways. She notes that certain facets of redistribution completely reject the politics of recognition citing the worldwide increase in inequality recently documented by the United Nations (1996). The UN saw claims for the recognition of difference as “false consciousness,” and consequently a hindrance to the pursuit of social justice. “Conversely, some proponents of recognition applaud the relative eclipse of the politics of redistribution; citing the failure of difference-blind economic egalitarianism to assure justice for minorities” (Fraser 1996). Regardless of the relationship between recognition and redistribution, they are both significant to an understanding of the working class context be it rural or urbanized. Inequality has risen worldwide meaning the differences between rural and urban settings do not change the reality.

This fact lies at the heart of why certain moves have not been made by the government, middle class and even trade unions, in that there is a price to real recognition. The complexities of being in the working class are that they may also grapple with these issues intersectionally. Lack of recognition will almost always create a lower class that has no power. Like, Fraser, Tregenna sees recognition as a key issue in the lack of transformation.

“COSATU was also cognizant of experiences in some other cases the rest of post-colonial Africa and elsewhere, where trade unions reined in their constituencies in the name of some “national interest”..... goals such as national development were emptied of their class content, allowing for an accumulation trajectory that privileged the emergence of national bourgeoisies above the interests of the working class. Such political subservience also did a disservice to vibrant popular democracy in these cases” (Tregenna 2004).

What this statement argues is that the idea of what the nation looks like needed to change after Apartheid. Given the political history, race naturally intersects with race due to the disadvantaged and underprivileged state of the black poorer classes, and this assumption endured to the detriment of the specific interests of the working classes. Due to the lack of recognition of class and the inequality inherent in it, class questions have been more marginalized than race

- **Land rights and Reparations**

Once again there are issues around substantive justice when the issue of land emerges, as it is part of the conversation around redistribution. Bronwen Manby (2002), reveals how there are still issues around the recognition of a need to empower rural black people with land as a means to greater Transformation measures. She discovered that,

The depth of the change in attitude that has been required is illustrated by the results of a referendum conducted by the Transvaal Agricultural Union (TAU) in 1990, in which 94.52 per cent of the 11,895 farmers who participated –representing close to 20 per cent of all South Africa’s white farmers at the time – voted ‘yes’ to the question ‘are you in favor of farmland being preserved for white ownership?’ (Manby 2002).

Such revelations speak volumes around class empowerment as well. Most of the people living on farms would have a chance to experience new freedoms of land, but it appears that the feelings of the white farmers are often counter-productive to this idea. They do not recognize black farmers as having an entitlement to the land regardless of their class. Manby (2002) found that it was not only the farmers but the government themselves, seven years after Apartheid, who refused the lower class any right to land.

“In July 2001, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) capitalised on this discontent, by ‘selling’ plots of land at Bredell, near Kempton Park, Gauteng, for R25 each. The government obtained a court order for the eviction of the hundreds of people desperate for a place of their own who rushed to take advantage of this initiative .While robustly declaring that ‘disrespect for the law cannot be tolerated’, amidst scenes of demolition uncomfortably reminiscent of apartheid-era forced removals, the ANC rapidly made commitments to speed up land redistribution” (Manby 2002).

There is a clear problem around who is entitled to what, based on those same understandings of recognition leading to what one may refer to as ‘real Transformation’. These are the kinds of oppression the working class experience in certain spheres, illustrating very clearly how there is more to a working class than ‘work’ or labor issues. This is why the next theme around the working class interaction with other classes is of relevance to an understanding of the current South African working class situations.

- **Inter Class Contact in Middle Classism**

The notion of the “Rainbow Nation” informs the imagery of the transformation in South Africa. This is a representation of how after the barriers of apartheid were abolished, people magically changed the way they thought and their economic freedom allowed for them to cross over to any areas they wish. The reality is that many social and class dynamics have maintained the barriers and all that has changed is that the barriers have been expanded from being purely racial, to intra class. There becomes a stronger defined middle class that is positioned as the norm, while the lower classes are seen as threats and dependants. The dynamic formed is a newer term called “middle classism”. The middle class meets, only its own interests and those who pay taxes and rates to municipality feel entitled to define the state of the lower classes. This not only hampers true democracy, but changes the way in which post apartheid space is used, positioned and communicated in what can be called a middle class discourse.

Foster (2005) looked particularly at racial contact, but the intersectionality of race and class makes the hypothesis relevant to class relations as well. He says,

With the demise of apartheid, this sphere, the everyday spaces in which persons ‘encounter one another in situations of bodily co-presence’ is again opened for negotiation. How have these newly opened spaces been used? In an impressive series of studies on the public space of beaches in South Africa, the researchers found that despite quite complex swirls of patterning in space and through time sequences, racialized segregation remained the norm (Foster 2005).

When discussing the assumptions of contact theory, Foster says that it argues in two directions, ‘On the one hand, it claims that a lack of contact has deleterious consequences; on the other, it hypothesizes that contact, only under certain optimal conditions, could potentially have beneficial effects for both sides of antagonistic group relations’ (Foster 2005).

Contact theory can be simplistic in that it ignores the fact that even when there is contact, the effects may worsen any future or real integration. This is made evident in Ballard's (2004) work on the perceptions of the middle class around informal settlements.

Ballard draws on Saff's work in arguing that "although 'racial prejudice' could be the basis for some exclusionary discourse, the dominant underlying cause of such responses by whites to groups such as informal settlers is the defense of their private property and 'relative privilege'." The link between privilege and exclusion is, for Saff (2011), illustrated by the fact that groups other than whites express similar rejections of informal settlements" (Ballard 2004). The effects of the "middle classism" described above is so strong that race is seemingly removed from the equation. Ballard finds that according to Saff (2001), there is an 'attitudinal convergence across space' when it comes to opposition to squatters, and that this can only be explained by referring to the mutuality of interests that relatively privileged groups, irrespective of race, have in protecting 'their' space from the encroachment of those lower down the urban order (Ballard 2004). This is the middle classist effect he defines here. It has the power of the middle class being regarded as the norm, the entitled, and the more correctly 'human'. This is why more people fight to identify as middle class (Carpenter 2010). Squatters are seen to have "no right" setting up camp in suburbia. 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. The effects of middle classism affect ideologies and redesign blackness as closer to whiteness when one is in a certain class bracket. A well off black person is free to criticize the lower class, in the current state, and see no connection to them even if they came from the same background. To dissociate from poverty may be a symptom of the aspirational norm of whiteness, and informal settlements represent the poor blackness of before. This dynamic once again affects contact and intra class relations. Such dissension makes capitalism thrive in the post apartheid state.

Sarah Ives (2007) said that television,

with its depictions of the dramas of everyday life, provides a compelling medium for building a normative national consciousness. Since television first arrived in South Africa

in the mid-1970s, it has influenced the countrywide belief system, first as an apparatus of apartheid and later as an intended voice of the New South Africa. Today, South African television provides an image of South Africa that serves the government's attempts to construct a nation out of a divided past. (Ives 2007).

The television, is seen as a tool of talking back norms to the nation or interpellating them into the discourse of 'the nation'. Ives however found that,

The construction of the nation put forth by some South African television programming can mask enduring racial and economic inequalities and move responsibility for these inequalities from the state to the individual. These material effects play a role in reasserting hierarchical relations of power, especially along race, class, and gender lines. In these hierarchies of power, the idea of the Black middle class becomes increasingly central in contemporary South Africa. The image of this thriving middle class, a class that is distinctly South African, but also 'modern' and internationally oriented, invokes the alleged success of current political and economic policies, while eliding continuing racial and economic tensions"(Ives 2007).

This is how a new so called 'BEE' generation can dissociate itself from the Apartheid past and also the disadvantaged lower classes, positioning active Middle classism and its exclusionary nature as normative. The hope and success of the few black people in towns and companies becomes a reason to stop attempting deeper Transformation, and it becomes easier to ignore the plight or even state of the underclass. This is yet another issue around recognition, sure to affect an argument for redistribution.

To add to the issues surrounding the tool of Post Apartheid media, "It is important to note that television in South Africa is not a strictly 'private' experience that occurs solely in domestic spaces. Television watching for Black populations in particular is often communal, taking place in shabeens (bars) or other public spaces (Kruger 1999; Krabill 2002). This fact partly explains why only 21 million South Africans own television sets, but around 90 percent of South Africa's 44 million people watch television" (SAARF 2003). One can only imagine the type of

interpellated messages sent to the working class, rural or urban, in relation to their positioning in the world.

From this review of literature, it becomes clear how many aspects of working Classness are good indicators of the level of Transformation a city would have undergone. As a marginalised group, the working class, are most aware of changes that are meaningful as they occur most in their neighborhoods and work places be it infrastructural, social, economical, legal or environmental. In the results section, it will be important to refer back to some of the concepts unpacked in this review, and how they may connect to stories from and about the working class in Howick and how they make sense of their position.

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Chapter 4: Research Methodology

4.1 Self-reflexivity: Negotiating my positionality in relation to the field

As a Zimbabwean woman, I have always known that all written research, news, stories etc pertaining to a place are always political. I knew from the beginning that whatever I found out about Howick online before going there (and there was very little), I was still going to be surprised in some way or another. Despite all the preparations one may put in place, being in the field ultimately shifts and shapes not only the ways in which research is conducted but the research itself, as new information comes to the fore, and as one is changed by the process of the research itself.

I prayed that I was prepared enough and had my interview guidelines ready. I had read all the relevant materials. I was secure in my own ability to get people to open up, talk and be receptive. I knew of the world I was entering into. I expected to be an outsider. After all, even though I was not fluent in the language spoken (Zulu), I could speak and understand it to some degree, and therefore, communicate. I was lucky in that I didn't have to go alone and had a Zulu speaking assistant ready for interviewing, in particular. Thus, while I was regarded with suspicion at first, with her reassuring the people in Zulu, letting them know that I was a friend, I gained easier acceptance. Milner (2007), states that "Like Tillman, I do not believe that researchers must come from the racial or cultural community under study to conduct research in, with, and about that community" (Milner 2007). Milner's words helped me to work with my own outsider feelings as positive and necessary for a real research experience in the foreign field. Hopkins (2007) also supports this notion by adding that,

Difference can never be characterized, therefore, as "absolute otherness, a complete absence of relationship or shared attributes." The similarity deployed to measure difference and otherness requires, then, just as close an examination (theoretically as well as politically) as does the

production of otherness and difference itself. Neither can be established without the other. To discover the basis of similarity (rather than to presume sameness) is to uncover the basis for alliance formation between seemingly disparate groups (Hopkins 2007).

The statement above indicates that within ‘difference’ do not always lie barriers, but similarities that make conversation easier. For example, I discovered that in my native language Shona, there are similarities in words; that are changed by a single letter e.g. “l”s are exchanged for “r”s and the meaning remains the same. This also opened my mind up to the way in which assumed difference acts as a barrier to discovering similarities like these. Had I completely switched my mind off when Zulu was spoken, I may have failed to have a feel for what emotion was being communicated.

The translator helped to facilitate this process of finding commonalities through which the processes of teasing out the differences occurred. This moment was important for the full research to take place. As part of the process, one saw the change as one walk into a room, as the other, the researcher, the foreign; but thanks to translation, would walk out having a sense of making a connection or shared experience.

Another aspect of different positionality that I sometimes had to negotiate in the field was race. Tatum (2001) writes,

In a race-conscious society, the development of a positive sense of racial/ethnic identity not based on assumed superiority or inferiority is an important task for *both* White people and people of color. The development of this positive identity is a lifelong process that often requires *unlearning the misinformation and stereotypes* we have internalized not only about others, but also about ourselves (p. 53).

Tatum’s work challenged me to understand that my own race is something I have to work with at all times whether I am researching or simply being. For the research, however, interviewing white people always brought with it an entirely different feeling; and part of this was my feeling insecure about my race, especially after having to repeatedly show my official letter of

permission to research before beginning my interviews with white interviewees in particular. Hopkins, in mentioning other reflexive theorists, sheds light on the fact that

“Pratt et al. (2007) make a similar point in suggesting that cultural, social and economic differences can be used productively in research: ‘Indeed, recognizing this productivity is one means of working with – rather than attempting to overcome – difference’. So, as well as considering differences, it is also useful to think ‘past difference’ and recognize positions of ‘betweenness’”(Hopkins 2007).

The inbetweenness described speaks of a middle world where no one is an ‘other’ but a sense of similarity and equality emerges. There is less of seeing the Zulu speaker as completely foreign and thus potentially alienating them, and more of finding a middle ground and mutual understanding instead. For me, that took place while attempting to translate for myself, and actually trying to use keywords that elaborated what was being said in a foreign language but became my own in a sense. The way the questions were structured helped to break the ice, overcome strangeness, awkwardness, and “borrowed” citizenship. I would start the interview by finding a conversational opening that would establish rapport, such as my education, commenting on books in the room, for example, where some shared interest or value could be drawn on.

It is my deepest belief that without engagement in the world of those one is researching, one cannot hope to be successful in a research project, no matter how prepared the researcher may think she is. This is especially because the stories of people’s lives don’t just emerge, but are like the peeling away the skins of an onion, becoming comfortable to peel away layers of information for the researcher.

Milner’s framework was also helpful in that it reminded me that “Some education researchers have given privileged status to dominant, White voices, beliefs, ideologies, and views over the voices of people of color. Researchers’ multiple and varied positions, roles, and identities are intricately and inextricably embedded in the process and outcomes of education research (Milner 2007).I kept focused on who I wanted to research and why I was researching as a tool to

maintain the integrity of the research itself. This responsibility is reiterated by Hopkins when he says “Being reflexive is therefore only a small part of the overall research process, as there are a range of other important questions to be asked about the motivations for doing the research, the methods used, analysis techniques and processes for dissemination” (Hopkins 2007). This brings me on to the research method I chose.

4.2 Data Collection and Fieldwork

4.2.1 Selection of the town

Case study – The selection of the town for my research was largely a matter of convenience. I chose this province because towns in each of the other the provinces had already been studied in the Rural Towns Project, and a case study needed to be done in KwaZulu-Natal. Moreover, I had access to a Zulu assistant who could support me in many ways throughout the research process, since I am not South African and do not speak any other local languages fluently except English.

The town of Howick was attractive to me because it has a diverse population, and is small enough to be seen as rural, and thus meets the aims of the STRT project. In this regard, I would be able to not only to meet with people from all departments and sectors of Howick, but also to speak with ‘ordinary people’ from the CBD or town to establish more broadly the conditions of life for these citizens in post-apartheid South Africa.

4.2.2 Desktop research

This method; involved desktop research prior to going into the field. I began by simply using Google’s search page, using certain themes pertinent to the research, but found that most of the data collected was not only superficial, but it seemed to mainly present itself as Howick; a town for tourists. There was still a sense of the absence of locals in Howick. It is through Google that I

found other tourist related sites like the Kwa-Zulu Natal government website. I did, however, find some town statistics, which was my first real connection with data on the town.

The websites became crucial in establishing some people and departments that I knew would lead to good usage of my time in the town. Thus, the internet also helped me gain access to Howick residents.

4.2.3 Ethnography

This is a method of research focusing on the sociology of meaning, through close field observation of socio-cultural phenomena. In finally going to the field, I found that I learnt most about the town by simply watching and experiencing the town; and this is what confirmed that I had chosen the correct method. A popular definition of ethnography is found in Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), who say,

We see the term as referring primarily to a particular method or sets of methods. In its most characteristic form it involves the ethnographer participating overtly or covertly in people's lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions--in fact collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995).

I did just that in Howick where I had to deal with the issues of public transportation, socializing etc as would anyone else living in the town. I developed a sense of what it would mean to live there, and the benefits and disadvantages that came with it. For one, I found that the route to town was short in terms of distance (two kilometers), but my experience of getting to town daily made me understand why those without cars living in the town, would speak of stresses like a lack of transport.

My actual visit extended from the 3rd to the 14th of December 2009. Although this is really quite short for an ethnographic study, for the duration of my one two week stay in Howick, I lived with one of my interviewees who owned and ran the Bed and Breakfast with her husband. .

4.2.4 'Talking' the town

The husband of the B and B owner, 'talked' me through the town, alerting me to important places or spaces, and the stories behind them, from their (his and his wife's) perspective. It gave me 'quick' access to the town's history. This process began on the very first day, within the very first hour of my arrival from the airport. Because he is an old white English South African man, the biases he may have held however, shape his stories. Because my own bias is all too aware of how race, gender and nationality affects one's opinion on matters as controversial as Transformation, I accepted that when he spoke, he spoke with a privileged, white male lens, which is not mine. By the same token, my presence as a black female researcher he was speaking to, gave me access to certain truths, that were packaged in a way that would be fitting for a press conference and less taboo as race and class discussion can tend to become.

Whenever something interested me in the town, I took field notes not only describing what I saw but explaining why it interested me, and what I thought it all meant. I tried to identify what repeats or mimics itself as overall noteworthy for a report of the entire town. This made me even more sensitive to the spatial dimensions of town, and observing events, interactions, and facial reactions and expressions in interviews, alerted me to certain interpretations. I also noted all of the places I visited in order to access certain groups, and attempted to get as diverse a case study as possible. By also partaking in things like an evening church service or eavesdropping passerby conversation, I felt more immersed in the town.

I used my digital camera to get pictures and video footage with commentary from myself and my assistant of the entire research process. I also recorded videos of the surroundings (obviously gaining permission where necessary) to give viewers a feel of the story of the town as one would do in making a documentary. These however, were for my own records and are not key to most of my analysis.

4.2.5 Sampling technique

I had an assistant with relatives in Howick, who were my first contacts. . I had already telephonic interviews before I got to Howick with some officials, which were not really data, but a way to get more leads on who to speak to once I was actually in town. This assisted with any time constraints I may have had while in Howick, and gave me information to work with before I got there.

- **Combination of both Purposive and Snowball sampling:**

The host couple, municipality and general people on the street, were instrumental in leading the way as far as finding out who to interview next. The sampling in itself was a matter of convenience and opportunity. I made sure I connected with people of different roles and positions. This was because it gave the research more depth in terms of understanding the town, because all classes and race group are important when trying to get a sense of place occupied by so many different people.

4.2.6 Interviews

I selected this method, because not only was it a prerequisite to doing the project for INCUDISA, but it was my key source of data as well. The research was done using mainly semi structured interviews with people from Howick.

The interviews were semi-structured because it always allowed for more information to trickle in, especially; when one gets a respondent who needs explanations on every question. This method I find brings out areas the researcher never thought of before, which are key to the research but only come to light during interviews. Thus said, it makes the research richer. The working class participants' interviews are obviously key to the study, because the research questions relate specifically to the way their identities are formed, or have been influenced by

transformation. In order to meet the requirements of the iNCUDISA research protocol, I interviewed thirty five participants and of these, fourteen interviewees were workers.

The interviews varied between 15minutes to 1 hour in length and took place at the participants' homes, workplaces and schools. The interviewees themselves mainly chose the places, and most times those places were the most convenient locations for interviews. Most interviewees signed consent forms, but some who were in a rush or insisted on giving verbal consent on the recording. Some bosses and a teacher also gave consent on behalf of a group. It gave me access to their lifestyles and their degree of poverty or wealth which added another level of insight to what they were saying. I managed to tape record all interviews, which were all transcribed. There were three interviews done in Zulu, while the rest incorporated only English. I managed the interviews conducted by the interpreter by letting her translate and transcribe, and by asking her to translate whenever I did not have a sense of what the Zulu spoken meant. The process had its advantages, in that I could still access a non-English speaking demographic, while the disadvantages came in losing some connection with the interviewee as a researcher. Another disadvantage is that I cannot be fully secure of sure of the fidelity of the translations, and to some extent have to simply trust that the interpreter, who has known the language and spoken it as a mother tongue since birth, would faithfully reproduce what the interviewees referred to.

As touched on before, a factor that did affect my research was that there were two of us asking questions instead of one. Some of the intimacy with the interviewee is lost in having a three way conversation at times. This would happen during Zulu interviews, in particular, where I was the outsider to the experience, and felt somewhat like an intruder. I preferred the English interviews where the interviewee struggled than to have an interview I could not understand. However, I did establish that Shona, and its similarities to Zulu, assisted me in assessing the interpreting process.

It must be emphasized, that due to the research methodology incorporated in this type of work, involving working class stories, that they are just that: stories. Stories are biased, stories are contradictory, and oftentimes take a form of their own. The reality here, is that all stories referred to as 'empirical evidence', illustrate only a certain perspective informed by different factors, moments and incidences. The stories do not define what the truth itself is, and this research is not

fully in itself a ‘fact’ finding expedition, but purely an attention to what the other side is. In this phrase, the working class is that ‘other’, whose side of the story we must hear. Most stories that are given weight do come from “experts” and other educated middle to upper class people, who are seen as the gatekeepers of knowledge. They cannot tell the working class stories, and I am one such person in such a position as the “researcher” that can only interpret what has been said.

In this regard, every story was an opinion and does not in any way constitute truth. I can only hope that it is indeed a snapshot of that working class reality which I desired to capture. I wanted to query the authors before me who see working classness as being one sided and one linear, yet this research brings out that level of diversity of working class. This research is not to be mistaken as a crucifixion of the middle class and white people of Howick, as they in fact are not the enemy, but simply role players in working class stories, that have the unfortunate position of power which is received in different ways by different people.

I hope that I managed to fairly represent all sides, even if the focus was on the working class itself. By that same token, my illustrations based on those same interpretations are opinion. This is what people were communicating according to my opinion, and can also not be the entire truth. I hope I never misunderstood key points. It is not easy to deduce a story teller’s heart or mind, and the act of anthropology in itself is no small feat. As highlighted earlier on; the anthropological rigor of this research is marred by the amount of time spent in the town.

Interview Schedule

Below is the interview schedule I used. The schedule consisted of 30 to 40 questions (depending on specific questions leading into others, e.g. “if not why?”) directed at all the participants. These questions were required by the overall Rural Towns Project. There were an additional 14 to 16 (depending on specific answers leading into others) for the working class residents in particular. In retrospect, it might have been good to ask the same work questions to non working class members as well to get a real comparison of their differing lifestyles.

- Where were you born and raised?
- Did you move away at any point?

- What do you do for a living and how did that come about?
1. Tell me about this town. What is happening here?
 - What is it like to live here?
 - What do you like about living here?
 - What are the things that people complain about here?
 - What are the major problems here?
 2. Has anything changed in this town since 1994? If so, what has changed?
 - Do people like these changes?
 - How is this town coping with this change?
 3. Would you describe this town as a single community?
 - What are the groups in this town?
 - Does everybody know each other here?
 - Who are the ones everybody knows?
 - Are some groups associated with certain parts of the town?
 4. Have relationships between groups in this town changed in the last 15 years? If so, how?
 5. Are you aware of groups in this town that dislike each other?
 - Is there conflict in this town?
 - Are there friendships across different communities in this town?
 6. Are things better or worse in this town than it was prior to 1994?
 - In what ways?
 - Is this true for all parts of the town?
 - What is the most changed or transformed place in the town?

7. Can you tell me one or two stories that would illustrate some of the things we have spoken about transformation in Howick?
8. What areas are included in your town?
9. Mention 3 or 4 places in your town that you feel most /least comfortable in?
 - Ask interviewees to mark these places with an X on the map provided. Allow them to label the map as they see fit.
 - Why do you feel comfortable/uncomfortable here?
 - Where do you never go? Why?
 - If you could change something about this place what would it be?
10. How town is connected to other places?
 - What do you know about folks from places further down the road (coast, whatever is suitable).
 - Do people visit those places?
 - Is this small/rural town different to cities? In what way(s)?
 - Do you think this is a small town? How would you define it?

Additional Interview Questions directed specifically at the working class

- Do you feel that what you earn is fair for the work you do?
- What would make your job more bearable or better?
- Do you like your boss(es)?
- Do you like working here?
- What is difficult about working here/
- How were things here during apartheid?
- Do you think they were better in the past/
- What did you expect would happen after apartheid was ended in 1994?
- Is your boss a nice person?
- If you could work anywhere doing anything where would that ideal place be?
- If you could live anywhere where would that be?
- How expensive is rent and food here? Cost of living?

- Are you happy with your current quality of living?
- Do you work overtime?
- Do you get paid overtime?
- Do you belong to a trade union..if yes how effective have they been

The relative focus on work in the questions directed at the working class participants is based on Banerjee's (2007) observations. After making multiple comparisons of working class and middle class people, he concluded that the relevant differences in their job situations are the most important differentiation between the two classes. He brings out where the middle class get their power (and possibly sense of entitlement) from when he notes:

“The reason why this matters---indeed why it might matter a lot--is that it leads us to the idea of a good job. A good job is a steady, well-paid job, a job that allows one the mental space that one needs to do all those things that the middle class does well. This is an idea that economists have often resisted, on the grounds good jobs may be expensive jobs, and expensive jobs might mean fewer jobs. But if good jobs mean that children grow up an environment where they are able to make the most of their talents, one might start to think that it may all be worth it” (Banerjee 2007).

This is why many of my questions for the working class are about work. It is what places them in a fundamentally different place from the middle and upper classes. I will explore this issue further, in the next chapter.

4.2.7 Focus groups:

I did focus groups because I had limited access time to the group, and felt that using that method, we could get more data more quickly, as ideas tend to bounce off interviewees faster and in some ways clearer when more than one person gets to respond. I discovered that people became more enlightened about their own views, and watching some people engage with an idea for the first time, and have them voice this feeling or realization, made the groups important to the interviewees as well as myself. The interviewees also tended to behave as though they enjoy themselves more when in a group. The school children and the guards were best candidates for this method.

Two focus groups of five people were conducted. One was of the school students and the others were security guards at a government mental hospital. Permission was cleared with the school informally through the principal's office. Interviews were taped and held where respondents felt most comfortable. This was in the guard house for the security guards and in the dorms for the students. I did not need much to get people to participate as they were all very ready to talk. It felt as though people were happy to have a space to vent their thoughts about their circumstances.

4.2.7.1 Interviewee Sample

For this research, I focused on the stories of working class members at multiple worksites, gendered male and female, aged between 18 and 40. I chose these ages because they represent people who were alive during the apartheid era, some of whom are old enough to remember it, yet are working in the present. This means it is easier for them to pin point how much has actually changed within the town since 1994. Statistically speaking, Africans makes up the largest group (40%) in Howick, followed by Indian people (30%), then white people (25%), and lastly colored people (5%) (Integrated Development Plan Review 2007). This information increased the probability of mainly African raced workers in my sample group, and ratifies my decision to take a Zulu assistant with me as that is the dominant language. I was displeased that the sample was less diverse than it could have been, but happy to include the stories of the black working class members in the greater Rural Towns research project. It was a shame that the sample I had was not completely reflective of all the town demographics, as detailed below, but it was representative enough of the racial and cultural groups living in Howick.

Participant Profiles

Summary of Demographical Information

Total number of participants: 35

Gender Distribution: Female informants made up 51.4% of the sample, 18 out of the 35 participants. The number of men made up 48.5% of the sample with 17 out of 35 participants. The men in that area also tend to be engaged in migrant work and are away from home for most of the year.

Racial Distribution: The racial demographics Were discussed earlier on. My study reflects a similar ratio, in that the largest group was black, due to the aim of the research (working class predominantly black) making up 65.7%, white people interviewed standing at 28.5% with 10 out of 35 participants, and both coloured and Indian only making up 2.8% with only one of each out of the 35 participants. These percentages do not fully reflect the town demographics, but are affected by accessibility of interviewees, project aims and company protocol in some cases. For example, most government representatives interviewed were black, and so such limitations affected the sample size.

Age Distribution: The average age of informants in my study was 42 years. The youngest person interviewed was 16 years old while the oldest person was 68. This is not surprising given that most young people work in neighboring towns like Durban and Pietermaritzburg and come home intermittently.

Location within District: An important question was where in the district informants lived -- the town, the outlying township or even further out in the village area. I interviewed one person from the village; 27 ‘townspeople’ and 7 township dwellers. This was important in order to capture the similarities and differences that people living in these different spaces have within the context of the town and, more generally, of the new South Africa.

Table 1: Participant Profiles

Pseudonyms were used to protect the identities of the informants of this study.

No.	Name	Age	Race	Gender	Country of Origin	Profession	Location in district

1	Lorraine	40	white	F	South Africa	Estate agent	Gdale/town
2	Grant	55	white	M	South Africa	Pub owner	Gdale/town
3	Tebogo	21	Black	F	South Africa	Tour guide	Mpophomeni township
4	Nelson	47	Black	M	South Africa	Teacher	Township
5	Xolani	26	Black	M	South Africa	Security guard	township
6	Robert	53	white	M	South Africa	Commercial Farmer	Dargle/village
7	Annette	48	white	F	South Africa	Ordinary resident	town
8	Simpiwe	36	Black	M	South Africa	Assistant mayor	town
9	Nceba	22	Black	F	South Africa	Security guard	township
10	Yanela	19	Black	F	South Africa	Security guard	Township
11	faith	20	Black	F	South Africa	Security guard	Township
12	stella	24	Black	F	South Africa	Security guard	Township
13	Melba	19	White	F	South Africa	Student high sch.	Town
14	Chris	16	White	M	South Africa	Student high sch.	Town
15	Mary	17	Black	M	South Africa	Student high sch.	Town
16	Ahmed	16	Indian	M	South Africa	Student high sch.	Lives out of town
17	Percy	17	White	F	South Africa	Student high sch.	Town
18	Lutho	22	Black	M	South Africa	Unemployed	Township
19	Leti	25	Black	F	South Africa	Farm labourer	Village
20	Mary	34	Black	F	South Africa	Shop owner	Town
21	Nandi	24	Black	F	South Africa	Domestic worker	Town
22	Joanne	51	White	F	South Africa	Reverend	Town
23	Thando	22	Black	F	South Africa	Shop teller	Town
24	Michael	45	Black	M	South Africa	SAPS commissioner	Town

25	Lindela	30	Black	M	South Africa	Taxi driver	Town
26	Linda	44	Black	F	South Africa	Matron nurse	Town
27	Kelly	33	White	F	South Africa	Museum curator	Town
28	Clinton	22	Black	M	South Africa	Hospital receptionist	Township
29	Misa	25	Black	F	South Africa	Township guide	Village
30	Lindisa	34	Black	F	South Africa	Paralegal	Town
31	Phumza	24	Black	F	South Africa	Gardener	Town
32	Karen	20	Coloured	F	South Africa	Hair stylist	Town
33	Liam	68	Black	M	South Africa	Caretaker	Township
34	Mkhize	35	Black	M	South Africa	HR Officer	town
35	Tendai	31	Black	M	Zimbabwe	Immigrant/vendor	Township/shiaz

Data Analysis:

This research includes words, pictures and videos so naturally it includes discourse and semiotic analysis. I used discourse analysis mainly, as the interviews acted as key data, and a little content and semiotic analysis when looking back at pictures and symbols from my photos archive for the research. Semiotic analysis looks at meaning that comes from interpreting signs and symbols. For example I refer to certain billboards and newspaper observations in the results section. However, the pictures and videos are not being analyzed per se, but act as a reference point for myself to remember certain moments. They then give me a frame to do a little semiotic analysis from. These, I will not touch on as I am focusing solely on interview data . Thus said, discourse analysis is key to the research. Discourse analysis assumes that language is ideologically informed, and interrogates possible meanings. Dellinger (1995) stresses that texts enable critics and researchers like myself to ‘denaturalize’ or expose the ‘taken for grantedness’ of ideological messages as they take place in isolated speech (Dellinger 1995). Dellinger also discusses how

combining this method of analysis with ethnography, as I have done creates a good common ground (Dellinger 1995).

In working with the interview transcripts, I first read through all the interviews, twice, while highlighting points of interest in each. Afterwards, I started ballooning or grouping repetitive themes or responses to specific questions and formed a mind map of what could be valid and what was not as important. Because many interviewees had similar backgrounds, there were points of expectation of what some would view as negative and positive, and this gave a sense of some of the informing ideologies. Certain themes were dominant for every group interviewed, as I point out in the results section, and I found these tie all the other themes together, to make sense of the seemingly broad information gathered. I took particular interest in people who spoke ‘on behalf’ of the town, as I had to validate whether what they said was true for everyone or just relevant to a particular group. People who spoke with much emotion or animation also stood out as they were clearly impassioned by what they were talking about.

Chapter Five: (Un) Transforming working lives in Howick

I have put my findings under four headings that bring together the multiple issues that arose in the data, around the working class and transformation as related by both the working and middle class demographic of the town. Firstly, there is the context of the working class. This looks at the positioning of Howick's working class based on what those in the town say about them as well as their relation to other classes. Secondly, I tackle the issues around what seem to be challenges faced by the working class. This section includes commentaries on how transformation as a policy helped in creating or solving some of the challenges. Once again the data reflects both a middle class, as well as working class lens on working class issues. Thirdly, I describe all the positive and hopeful aspects of the current working class transformation taking place in Howick, to finally summarize the overall integration process in the town.

Class configurations

Class is still very connected to race in the town, with the enduring pattern of whites "at the top" and blacks "at the bottom". This pattern was established throughout the town's history since Howick was a white Europeans settlement, where black servants worked on the land as laborers working and living near and around farms. This colonial history explains the continuity of the rural areas like Kwahaza, Impendle and others surrounding the outer space of Howick since before Apartheid resettlement. While I was there, I got the impression that there is a growing black middle class, and this was spoken about by interviewees, especially a farmer and some of the townspeople. However, the middle and upper class certainly seems to remain dominantly white, especially the seniors I came across in the age bracket of 50 to 75 years old. It was notable that Thabo from the antiques store called *Thabo's Antiques*, was the only representative the town's people repeatedly used as an example of black people doing well. Robert's comment is typical:

There is an emergence of a class of black businessmen, and now you've got the Thabo's antiques. And if you go to the middle of meander too I know those guys have a wonderful set up, that are running tourism in Mpophomeni. Ya, great guy. (Robert, Farmer, Upper Class, White male: Dec 2009).

Thabo was the only wealthy black man referred to, and my observation certainly was that most black people were working class.

Class seems to be what limits the rate of desegregation in Howick. This is due to the fact that class is what currently allows for a small impact on integration, which is key to transformation. Some white people have black neighbors, like my hosts in Merrivale (Dec 2009). That this is in some sense progressive spatial transformation as was pointed out by the estate agent when asked if race is still an issue:

L: Not at all .You don't notice it and especially with us in the estate agent people where there's people buying into different areas where they were not before. There's no resistance, no I can't live there or don't want to live there. In schools we've got very good schools, primary and the high school they're totally integrated no problems. (Lorraine, Estate agent, Middle Class, White Female: Dec 2009).

Those who are economically sound take up residence in the town and are able to access electricity, water, and other services while some residents in the outlying township and villages have one or neither of these basic provisions. Massie summarized their situation,

People in the townships....They live in small match box houses. They are quite small. The township schools, the conditions are poor, the standard of sanitation is not managed properly causing germs spreading fast to primary and those are the things for me that the government or the community need to sort out, because 1994 in terms of schools I really think things have not changed very much. I mean we had sanitation problems before so now there should be a change. We should have proper toilets that are running smoothly. You have systems, plumbers and engineers now in the game and that should mean developing in a sense (Massie, Businesswoman, Upper Class, Black Female: December 2009).

People living under such conditions were the majority. There are complexities, however, and for some conditions had become considerably easier. A gardener I interviewed owned a three bed roomed house in Mpophomeni, was contented, and reports having a really good relationship with his boss. When asked if he enjoys his work, he answered:

R: Yes is do, because I get along with Baas Graham and we are able to just talk.

I: There is a term labelled “transformation” that is mainly to do with change. Would you say that you have gained from this?

R: Yes, because as the black servant you would be looked down upon by employers but in my place of work I am relaxed and at freedom to operate as I please.

I: Do you belong to a trade union for workers?

R: No, I hadn't explored that option as yet, especially since the relations I have with my employer are good and I don't see the need of including a third party to mediate as yet.

I: In what kind of house [do you live]?

R: A 4-room house.

I: If a problem were to arise, how would you go about solving it?

R: We would talk it out, have a meeting, sit down and just discuss it.

I: Would you like to work in another place?

R: At this point and moment, no (Phumza, Gardener, Working Class, Black male: Dec 2009).

This account contrasts to other working class interviewees who only had complaints of hardship, while living in the same area like Mpumi and the guards who I mentioned earlier.

Class is clearly hard to place and not experienced in the same way. This confirms the diversity of working classness as I problematized it before (Banerjee 2007, Hoggart 1998, Visser 2009), and will be further unpacked later. As much as the working class made up the majority, there was a “dominant minority” where the predominantly white middle class were concerned.

The Dominant Minority: The (White) Middle Class

Banerjee (2007) makes a strong observation in highlighting that “The key distinction between the middle class and the poor is who they are working for, and on what terms” (Banerjee 2007).

He highlights the fact that the vulnerability of the poor and working class members lies in the way in which they work. A person who has a secure job, health and home insurance, for example, has a level of autonomy by virtue of their job. For working class members, by contrast, easy exploitation takes place based on their minimal rights and benefits in a work environment. As a dominant minority in Howick, the white residents, make up the ruling class in the immediate surroundings. Panelli (2009) argues that certainly in the case of English rurality,

The rural can be described as a repository of White values, ideologies and lifestyles, contrasted with an urbanity that is multicultural and cosmopolitan. As Dwyer and Jones (2000, p. 210) argue, White identity is accordingly 'the normative and often unspoken category against which all other racialized identities are marked as Other', and rurality is its spatial corollary (Panelli 2009).

Anglocentricism and White (Talk)ness

Howick has a very English history and the Anglo ethos remains overwhelming. It was named after Lord Howick which was the new name of Earl Grey of England in the early 1900s. A resting place for the British soldiers during the Anglo Boer War era, it still remains a resting place for some Europeans at the retirement village they built in the town. The European, or more specifically, British, cultural domination is seen in the nature of the booming antique shops, and the popular Bowling and Croqueting club and team. All the buildings in town are from before the 1900s, and are well maintained as part of the preservation of the cultural heritage. Even pubs and hotels are maintained like monuments to the town's early settlers. English and Zulu are the only languages used and Afrikaans is not used frequently. Coming from Cape Town, I was struck by how both Zulu and English were spoken by most people. The pub owner I interviewed; referred to a pub which was frequented by 'trouble makers' and he expressed that coincidentally, they were all Afrikaners. As part of the dominant minority, he had a far greater tolerance for the black residents of the town than for the Afrikaners. Once again one can see the resemblance to Panelli's (2009) description of English ruralities:

Rurality perpetuates a privileged whiteness that serves to exclude not just non-White groups, but also minority White groups who are imagined as 'not-quite' White. The ambivalent position of such groups in the English countryside is demonstrated with reference to gypsy-travellers, a

group whose representation as dirty and deviant has tainted their whiteness and provoked a variety of exclusionary acts (Panelli 2009).

With its history rooted in the Anglo Boer war itself, Kwa- Zulu Natal as a province still has a somewhat strong English community. This was also evident in the fact that every white person I interviewed, even those I spoke to in town and in the streets, identified themselves as English. This is not to say that all white people in Howick are English, but most of them are. It is for this reason that the dominant white voice in Howick has been categorized as that from the ‘Anglo culture’. Standing alone, the antique stores, attention to dogs and monuments would not be striking, however, as I mentioned before the repetition and discourse around these objects is something deeper which becomes symbolic of something greater for Patriotic minds. As these items do not speak to the Proudly South African mantra, I can only classify them as ‘Anglo’ in nature. This is how an antique store in Japan may not hold the same meaning, but the context in which the perception of the antique store is informed , by what can only be called an Anglo culture. The romanticisation of the British countryside, is something that Howick boasts, and it is the picturesque imagery of the ruralities Panelli illustrates (Panelli 2009). This does not occur in Japan, where the country boasts of certain other symbols which embody different meaning to different cultures.

Also in line with what can be seen as the Anglo culture, I observed more pet shops and SPCAs than clinics, shops and even schools in Howick. One of the key taglines in the newspapers was “Dogs are people with fur coats on”. Trained/ thorough bred dogs in particular are in almost every home (and I know this because everywhere I went the dogs went crazy barking at me!). Not that only white people care for animal rights, but in my experience, it has been a taken for granted notion that white people personify dogs more than the dominant black Africans tend to. In some instances white people may spend more on their pets than they do on their domestic workers as the dogs are just as much ‘a part of the family’. The only other thing prioritised as much as dogs in Howick is the Hospice, which is a predominately white old age home. Fundraising is done for the two establishments almost every weekend, and some cited it as the one thing that “glues the town together” in terms of community spirit. One wonders if Mpophomeni was included in this definition of the town spirit. One interviewee summed up some of these observations by saying,

Howick, looking at the name Howick, that is a name from England and this place, the people that stay here they are African and I feel bad as to why the name has not changed. The formation of the name, what is Howick? Who is Howick? There must be changes on all these things (Lutho, Ex Student, Working Class, Black Male).

This brings me to my understanding of the ‘White Talk’ of the town. Steyn describes white talk as the types of resistant white discourses that inform much of white sense-making about living in post-apartheid South Africa (Steyn 2007). In the interviews the extent to which white people’s interests were prioritized was very clear. The lack of cognizance of the racialized nature of the town’s inequalities, the conspiracy theories around crime, and the complaints over relatively trivial issues by comparison with the poverty or lack of housing in the townships revealed white talk in action. Panelli (2009) asserts,

Constructed as White spaces with overwhelmingly White histories and values, the national myths of English rurality and countryside (and their transference to and transformation in colonial settings) allow little room for ‘people of colour’ or Indigenous groups. Consequently their contributions to the spiritual, physical and social character of that countryside are hidden, as is their growing presence within an increasingly multicultural rurality – both as residents or tourists (Panelli 2009).

An interesting way in which white talk was expressed in the town was in the very conceptions of what counted as “the town,” raising issues of “citizenship”. The people from Mpophomeni in many ways are excluded from the definition of the town in the discourse of white residents who, like the estate agent, maintain that ‘everyone knows each other’ or ‘goes to the same school’ and ‘goes to the same church’ (Lorraine, Estate agent, Upper Class White Female: Dec 2009), clearly demarcating who is “everybody” in ways that exclude the townships.

This paints a boundary around the people who live in the Central Business District (CBD), and cancels out the rural community as well as township and informal settlements’ residents, who predominantly make up Howick’s entire working class. What these examples show is that there is in fact no single community in Howick as some argued. The ‘everyone’ and ‘everybody’ described in interviews like this, referred only to fellow white counterparts. A racial as well class issue emerges, because in talking to this estate agent, I discovered that houses start at a minimum

of five hundred thousand rand in Howick. This is way too expensive for the average person, and only applies to many white people, foreigners with foreign exchange rates in their favor, and rich black people. More of this dynamic is discussed in detail in the section on the challenges faced by the working class.

(Un) Employment in Howick

Given the 43% unemployment rate recorded in the 2007 Integrated Development Program (IDP) Review, it was no surprise that unemployment was mentioned by many participants (13 out of 35) as the key problem that the town faced, especially in the townships. For example, the assistant Mayor highlighted that

[W]hen you are in Mpophomeni you can see what it is happening in Howick. . . . unemployment, you are talking about the majority of people, lack of houses and service delivery from our side the municipality (Simpwile, Assistant Mayor, Middle Class, Black Male: Dec 2009).

Some white residents concurred with this assessment of unemployment as the major problem facing the town:

I think other things have definitely come in to fill that gap but there still is little doubt of unemployment because in terms of the working class areas there s a lot of unemployment (Kelly, Museum Curator, Middle Class, White Female: Dec 2009).

Finally, one hears the same problem voiced in working class representatives like the township dance teacher (placed as working class as he does not have a secure job with set salary and lives in Mpophomeni) who said ,

I haven't got so much about crime, but there is crime. You know what causes crime, is the lack of employment and opportunities (Nelson, Teacher, Working Class, Black Male: Dec 2009).

I found his point on what he felt causes crime very interesting, since some white people sited crime as the major problem, as opposed to unemployment. The respondent put it into perspective by illuminating the fact that with more available jobs, people are less likely to turn to crime.

This point on crime being an issue; was highlighted across race, gender and class, and some middle class and working class people saw unemployment as the only problem. Life was very difficult for people in rural areas and informal settlements in particular. Quite a few people working in the town were from out of town, adding to the complexities of finding work in Howick. Those born and raised in Howick struggle to find work and feel they have to move out to make a life for themselves. The museum curator insisted that the outward flow of people was due to the fact that,

“There is a lot of unemployment. It shows by the big squatter camp” (Kelly, Museum Curator, White Middle Class Female: Dec 2009).

At the Dunlop plant, on the HR Officer’s desk, were many filled application forms, for people requiring payment after retrenchment, retirement and termination. There were several ex employees waiting outside the factory regarding the same issues and this seemed to be a daily occurrence. This would potentially explain the desperation of some of the people interviewed as they knew that they were lucky to be employed, and thus tolerated unbearable or deplorable work conditions. The guards at Umgeni Mental Hospital, for example, unanimously said they would leave their jobs should any other opportunity arise: (DM) we work here because it is better than doing nothing, if an opportunity arose we would definitely take it. (Guards, Working Class, Black male and Females: Dec 2009).

Others, like Nandi, felt the same way:

I’m working here because of having nothing else. It’s only mum because my dad left, so I have to pay electricity and all sorts of things. (Nandi, Domestic Worker, Working Class, Black Female: Dec 2009).

Save for the two content workers, every other working class interviewee felt the same way. Unemployment lies at the heart of why certain interviewees accepted less favorable working conditions, because it was their only other option. While a middle class person can create opportunity for themselves, if they really hate their job, the working class members live in a situation where having any kind of job is a privilege. Even black upper class people felt that they have to improve their lives by themselves, like Massie, Thabo’s wife, who insists:

It's also up to individuals to change their status of living, to work hard and to make a difference to other people's lives then that will sort of help you. (Massie, Businesswoman, Upper Class, Black female: Dec 2009).

Education

Education is one of the key elements that separate the classes, as it creates opportunities. People can earn more when they are well educated, have more options for employment which will raise them economically and also get skills that uneducated people cannot attain. There are four well known high schools in Howick with two in Mpophomeni and two around town, but schooling is mainly done out of town. As expected, the Mpophomeni High school is completely 'black' in terms of racial composition; there is an 'Indian School' in Howick West, while Howick High and Hilton are the most expensive, and racially integrated. The majority race in the two schools is white however.

The students I talked to were all boarders at Howick high and certain rules at the school did not permit them to go into town, especially the taxi rank area, as it was deemed dangerous. If any issues needed to be dealt with one had to go to Pietermaritzburg to discuss issues with the people at the Department of Education there. This dynamic is further discussed later when I talk of 'satellite headquarters'. It is needless to say that the experiences of students were also dependant on which part of town their school was. This type of foundation, made the difference between the unemployed student who wanted to be a farmer and dropped out of Mpophomeni High school as he saw no value in it (Lutho, Ex Student, Working Class, Black Male: Dec 2009), and the people who know that they too will easily go to The University of Cape Town after graduating from Howick High school.

The Challenges faced by Howick's Working Class

Race

The highly racialised nature of poverty was an issue that confronted the working class poor at Howick. While white people largely remain privileged in the Howick community, the poor are predominantly raced black in very much the way Apartheid classification intended them should be.

The Indian community in Howick appears to be relatively privileged in comparison to the black community. My research assistant grew up in Mpophomeni and feels that “in KZN, the Indian is king”. She felt that this was heightened by the fact that when she was in Cape Town and Johannesburg, she felt a less dominant Indian community in comparison to Durban. The majority of Indians that came into South Africa historically, would have remained in Durban which is a coastal town. Their presence has been felt there ever since, and some of the black community felt that they were not as assisted post apartheid, since those in power during apartheid displayed a preference of Indian people over black people in the workplace in particular.

The infrastructure in Howick west, is not only within Howick Town, and very close to uptown Greendale and Merrivale so to speak, but is better by far in comparison to Mpophomeni, where Howick’s chief working class resides on the margins and outskirts of town. In this way the Apartheid history has not transformed spatially. There may be a colored and black person here and there that resides in Howick West, but it is a common notion that this is very predominantly the Indian stronghold in Howick.

Indian privilege was made apparent when an Indian Rubber worker who stopped work after illness and still received three thousand rand a month. He complained that this was low; illustrating the comfort he was used to in the past. According to the Human Resources officer, the black workers did not commonly receive the same treatment (Mkhize, HR officer, lower Middle class, Black Male: Dec 2009).

This is not to say that Indian people did not have financial struggles or did not need any assistance in bettering their lives. They seemed to have a better foundation, position and starting point to their black fellow workers.

Crime

In many of the interviews there was a marked sense of fear of crime. This emanated mainly from the white population, and commonly concerned issues of hijackings and robberies. Comments focused especially on the case of the Dorning farm murder that took place in 2009 as illustrated by *The Witness*, a Kwa-Zulu Natal newspaper in 2009. The case made it into the national media, yet not much is newsworthy about Howick in general. The crime statistics appendix (appendix 1) shows that the crime statistics of the town in 2009 actually decreased, and so the fear cannot be

explained by statistics given by the SAPS. All forms of violence have lessened significantly over the past two years. When I spoke to the Chief of police, he was adamant:

[If you compare Howick to other places, we are handling crime, we are managing it here! (Michael, Chief of Police, Black Middle class Male: Dec 2009).

Given the good reputation Howick SAPS seemed to have, it becomes clear that service delivery is not an issue between the police and the public. Not one interviewee associated police negligence in any way in connection with crime. One interviewee, on being asked about the SAPS said they are:

good, good we interact with them and they have the community police and have a good structure going and they are reinvigorating so I think that's going to work well and ja. I haven't got a complaint about the desire of the SAPS to do their jobs properly because some have been let down (Robert, White Upper Class Male Farmer: Dec 2009).

It was interesting, however, to discover in the town newspaper that an SAPS police officer was being connected to the murder and robbery at the Dorning farm (*The Witness* 23 Nov- Dec 2010). It would have been good to interview residents again after this was revealed, especially amongst the white community who clearly had more issues with crime than the black people.

Spaces seen as responsible for criminal activity were Mpophomeni, the taxi rank and Shiyazi. Except in the case of Shiyazi informal settlement, where black working class interviewees also felt unsafe, only white interviewees felt unsafe in townships and the taxi rank. Sothos in particular, and more generally all non Zulus, are perceived as a threat to some black Zulu speaking residents and are seen as 'perpetrators' of crime. The perceived rise in crime is attributed to them, as is the growth in the informal settlement, which is considered crime ridden, as testified by two workers. Some places, like the informal settlement, Shiyaz, are so heavily stereotyped as dangerous that there are no media trying to unearth what lies behind the stereotype or actual state of the settlement.

Service Delivery

Tourism lies at the centre of all infrastructure in the town, but even this sector has suffered due to the fact that the municipality seems to fail to deliver. This was made evident when one interviewee said:

From the tourists side we had one little caravan park on the river and it wasn't cared for and it closed. It's sad that there isn't that. It's expensive to camp and stay there cause it's not for the basic traveler (Lorraine, Estate Agent, White, Upper Class Female: Dec 2009).

Immigrants, who are commonly vendors of curios, wooden animals and such like, benefit from this sector, but also seem to feel that standards have somewhat gone down in the past few years:

This place is filthy, look around (pointing at Howick Falls area), look around...it's filthy" (Tendai, Immigrant, Working class, Black Male Dec 2009).



This sign was everywhere in the CBD

I was surprised to discover that the political party with a majority vote in the town was the Democratic Alliance (D.A.). They had equal ward votes to the ANC in 2009 at 48.74% of Ward 2 votes and went on to secure the town (The Midlands Herald 2008). I had assumed that the ruling African National Congress (ANC), or the Inkatha Freedom Party, would have a majority

vote in the predominantly black province which is also the province that President Jacob Zuma is from. It is often held that the DA is a predominantly white run and supported party. Everywhere I went, I encountered the sign above.

As mentioned earlier, in 2008 Howick had a strong DA support base and further information outlined, shows that this only increased closer to now. Nationally, the DA does not do this well in terms of voter percentage, and so one can see how Howick is seen especially by the people in the town as 'belonging' to the DA.

In the year 2009 alone, the DA secured 80 thousand voters in Kwa-Zulu Natal, and has never suffered a decline in voter numbers since. Even if the newest voters came for other cities like Pietermaritzburg or Durban, it is clear that they have gotten very strong in the province, and can only get stronger. In comparison to this, the IFP which held on to the province even more than the ANC saw a drop in numbers and now ANC and DA battle it out for the province (West 2010).

As outlined in the article "There were still perceptions of the DA as a white party, but this trend was beginning to change and there was potential for a stronger DA performance in local elections, and to become the province's official opposition in the next provincial and national elections" (West 2010).

It is interesting to note that Prof Butler chairman and Head of Department of Politics at Wits feel that the D.A.'s rise in KZN is more an effect of the IFP's weakness rather than that of the DA's strength (West 2010). Regardless of the reason for the DA's rise in the province, it is clear that the simple black and white people voting according to race argument goes out the window. It is positive transformation in terms of all races agreeing that it takes more than racial make up to rule a country, but may also be a negative white washing and push for the agenda of whiteness by the DA, who still speak very strongly to the white voters, Afrikaans and English combined. The measuring tool for good transformation is very difficult, and I describe this conundrum more in my conclusion section.

I asked a resident, an ex student, why this was the case, and what the issues that led to D.A. domination were and he said:

it's because of the trouble that we've been reading about in the papers, and the DA is involved in the investigations taking place with the council. . . . It has to do about finance (Lutho, Ex Student, Working Class, Black Male: Dec 2009).

Lorraine felt the same way as Lutho did as she added,

..the major thing is service delivery from the electricity department, from the water board. There's no power cuts there used to be but with Eskom it was unavoidable. But with the potholes or the street lights aren't working it takes forever. . . . You know basically, the people running the council are there getting the money but, are not doing the work (Lorraine, Estate agent, Middle Class, White Female: Dec 2009).

But the complaints were not confined to a racial or class group:

Municipality! People all complain about municipality here. That is for sure. Service delivery is terrible! (Nelson, Teacher, Black Lower Middle class Male: Dec 2009).

The issue of service delivery was the one issue that seemed to unite races and classes. The Pub owner supported his complaints with the assurance that:

[T]here are also issues with municipality in Mpophomeni, who did protests marching, so it's not just the whites who live here, there are quite lot of black middle class people who live here as well complaining. (Grant, Pub Owner, Upper Class, White Male: Dec 2009).

There was a small part of the township that still backs the ANC and has hope for things being bettered, but the vast majority in Mpophomeni, are also just as displeased with service delivery and cleanliness, echoing what other white interviewees were saying.

As seen above, money has been highlighted as an issue around service delivery. The issues around service delivery may have also had to do with the fact that people from various Howick Departments, like the rest of the municipality, were based in Pietermaritzburg, and were responsible for other towns as well as Howick. The town's people believe that the town is never really prioritized, and thus complain of neglect. According to some residents interviewed, some officials do not even know how to get to Howick or where it is. This explained how a Mpophomeni paralegal could complain:

government department who do not deliver one would be the most famous of them all [complaints], and when they go to home affairs to apply they are told that they cannot get ID papers for example...having to go to the new Home affairs in Maritzburg. We do have a mobile office but it was open two or three days a week and then started being closed a lot (Lindisa, Paralegal, Middle Class, Black male: Dec 2009).

This also explained how some municipal representatives in the Pietermaritzburg Head Offices felt that the town budget was enough while the townspeople and Howick municipal officers complained that the services were poor because,

They don't understand and you mustn't expect them to understand. There's a budget we are operating which is nothing, not a drop in the ocean. They even complain about functions we don't even offer like Education as well. The main offices are in PMB and here they don't even take issues. So if a certain school doesn't have water they come to the municipality or like the Department of Education. Unemployment, lack of housing, a lot of people are relying on grants....It's not fault of municipality or government but everything needs money. Unfortunately the legislation that they took doesn't do quite a lot. How can you say that you never paid for a farm and then when the government wants the farm you want millions, so the government were to pay 2 million on a farm instead of taking it...all in all they have changes but they just not enough. Housing in areas in Mpophomeni talking ten thousand houses but still a list of six and seven thousand who have no houses in Mpophomeni alone (Simpiwe, Assistant Mayor, Middle Class, Black male: Dec 2009).

Service delivery by the municipality was criticized in different ways by almost all the interviewees. It was right at the top of the agenda for many people and there was clear resentment of the way in which the town is run. This was the only thing that could be agreed upon by all residents as a problem that needs fixing. There was a demand for better service delivery as a way to make the town better. One problem which stuck out was the issue of the municipality being seen as middle classist in the way it excluded the township. A teacher said:

As I'm telling you now there is something going on of which is in the municipality I don't know there is something wrong with our municipality is there anything you want to know they don't tell you. They don't include us (Nelson, Teacher, Working Class, Black male: Dec 2009).

There is more commentary on the exclusionary aspect of middle classism later in this research.

What was also interesting to note was the distinction between rate payers and non rate payers as some kind of “politically correct” way of looking at the classes. Rate payers were viewed as the middle class, and non-rate payers, as the working class. This terminology is problematic, in that it assumes a certain entitlement of middle class members for better living conditions because they pay for them. For example you have farmers, like Robert, who comments:

I think the overall income levels have increased significantly, you’ve got two very distinct proficiency levels in the town if you want to link it to ratios, the majority, are the ones who determine the minority who are the ones who do pay the rates, how to spend the money. What I’m saying? is you’ve got a situation which is used within the rate paying circle. Your council is an ANC dominated municipality and because of the way the rate base is structured, the majority who elect the ruling party, it could be any party who in power, don’t pay rates, structure, but the people who then elect the opposition into power are the rate payers. You’ve got those who don’t have a rate paying bench in terms of how the money is spent but less so out of here in the rural areas. But nevertheless that is reality. (Robert, Farmer, Upper Class, White Male: Dec 2009)

The Municipal representative in the mayor’s office insisted that the citizens of Howick did not realize that they have a very insufficient budget for better services. He also attributes this to the very distant headquarter at the Pietermaritzburg (Simpitwe, Assistant mayor, Middle Class, Black Male Dec 2009). There seems to be a lack of accountability regarding the maintenance and development issues, and one is left asking, who is to blame? Nevertheless it is clear that while the inconvenience affects all residents, the working class and poor suffer more as a result.

Health in Howick

There are no government or general hospitals in Howick, and the only one is the private hospital which is expensive and has limited access, and is located in Greendale. At the Umgeni hospital, which is near the Howick West turn off, is a government mental health hospital for intellectually challenged patients. The facilities are few, the upper management is white, and the nurses and nurse aids are all black. The nurses feel that due to their race they are treated differently, and white patients, doctors and nurses who make up the minority at the hospital are given preference. The nurse interviewed replied strongly that race was an issue in Howick:

Race? Yes even here in the hospital. The whites! Even the patients too they are mentally retarded but you can see. The way they behave, the way they talk. You see. All our leaders are white and the difference in treatment of staff that are not white like myself. (Linda, Matron Nurse, Black Middle Class Female: Dec 2009).

Such perceived racism based on observation of body language illustrates Linkon's (2009) assertion that racism is not always direct. People may act out their racism because,

It may be that working-class people, who value directness, are more willing to admit that race matters, while people with college degrees have been trained to hide their racism (Linkon 2009).

With challenges in the health sector of Howick as well, it seems that there is not much for the working class in Howick except for work. How one is treated came up as a serious issue for the working class interviewees and this will be discussed further in the section on working class relationships with those in especially the middle class.

Transport

It's a struggle to get into town. The buses in KwaZulu-Natal had some strikes and issues during the year and thus taxis are the chief mode of transportation. Some mornings, we waited for over an hour, trying to hitchhike, and failed in what we assumed was a friendly town. We walked far distances to get around, to the point that it hampered our productivity. We walked half a kilometer every morning to an intersection where the taxis from Mpophomeni passed by, and sure enough would get a taxi immediately. We spent R16 one way to get to town which was a ten minute drive away every day. When one does not earn much, paying twenty rand a day, just to go to town and back, would surely be a challenge. As the taxi driver I interviewed said:

I would say the problems are that a lot of people complain about the lack of transport available to commute to places. In addition, work also, you will find that a lot of people will have to go work in farms in order to have some sort of income. (Lindela, Taxi driver, Working Class, Black male: Dec 2009).

Taking such issues into consideration, one can see how life can become very frustrating when one is working class, when getting to work alone is such a costly challenge in terms of money, time and energy.

The Middle Class and Working Class Relationship: Recognition and Respect

The White middle class appears to be central to almost all of the working class members' (work) issues. And because of the positioning of the working class, they are vulnerable to middle class and especially white middle class agents. For example, all the guards, the nurse, the maid and factory workers were under white management or supervision. That makes up more than 75% of the working class interviewed (Interviews December 2009). Of the working class members interviewed, the majority worked for white middle class members (15 out of the 17 working class participants). Of those, only one was content, namely the gardener (Phumza, Gardener, Working Class, Black male: Dec 2009). Most disgruntled, unfulfilled and unhappy working class members, like Nandi the maid and the nurse, cited ill treatment due to race as the reason for their woes (Interviews December 2009). The guards, on the other hands, felt their lack of education spawned their ill treatment (Guards, Working Class, Black Male and Females: Dec 2009). This shows that as much as transformation is a government policy targeting the workplace, it has not been able to change the pattern that employers who are commonly white or middle class, or both, have the power to affect the (mostly black) worker's job satisfaction in a small town like Howick. They have the power of determining the psychological empowerment of the worker, one of the three forms of empowerment that Khosa refers to, namely social, political and psychological (Khosa 2000). This is key to psychological "Transformation" which leads to the confidence to execute or effect other forms of Transformation for the working class members.

The problem with power, as Milner (2007) observed, is that,

People in power are often, in discourse, supportive of research, policies, and practices that do not oppress and discriminate against others as long as they—those in power—do not have to alter their own systems of privilege; they may not want to give up their own interests to fight against racism, confront injustice, or shed light on hegemony. Power and interests are connected. (Milner 2007)

Equally problematic, is the lack of responsibility taken by those in power when they refuse to acknowledge their power. Milner cites Delpit:

Delpit explained that those with power are frequently least aware of—or least willing to acknowledge—its existence. Those with less power are often most aware of its existence... Quite often, those in power are not interested in having to negotiate or question their own privilege to provide opportunities to empower people of color or to “level the playing field” (Milner 2007).

The issue around the way they are treated could be due to race, as the nurse felt, or it could be the common stereotypes of those in the working class described by Linkon (2010):

“Working class” is a confusing concept. It’s not just that the term is hard to define. It also carries different, even contrasting connotations. Sometimes it’s merely descriptive. “Working class” refers to hard-working, blue-collar and low-wage workers without college education who struggle to get by economically. But “working class” can also bring to mind lazy, unproductive failures who are going nowhere, or relics of earlier era of industrialization (Linkon 2010).

The complexities Linkon describes were encountered in every part of this research and manifest themselves within the working class people themselves. More often than not, however, they have the latter description ascribed to them while they experience the former. Distinguishing who is at fault is quite perplexing. Linkon also does state however, that there are positive perspectives of working classness which is more empowering:

Blue-collar work, especially, has long been viewed as “real” labor. Many working-class people take pride in the toughness of doing physically-demanding and often unpleasant work day after day. Whether it’s building cars, cleaning toilets, or even ringing up sales at a grocery store cash register, working-class jobs require resilience, physical strength, and endurance. You’ll hear many references to this version of working-class culture during the football and political seasons. Football commentators praise linemen for their “blue-collar values” of toughness and doing the dirty work without complaint (Linkon 2010).

It is the ‘without complaint’ that is a central problem here in that those who oppress the working class take advantage of their endurance. They see them as able to do everything, yet pay them little which is part and parcel of the exploitation and ‘othering’ that comes with their

experiences. There needs to be a balance where the worker feels like an employee and less like a slave. For example, a domestic worker shares;

C: Do you feel that's it's hard to work here because of the cleaning or the characters?

D: It's hard I'm not doing the house work only I do the gardening sometimes

C: So they are making you a gardener and a domestic worker at the same time?

D Yes

C: Do you belong to a trade union?

D: Trade union? What is that? No... no (Nandi, Domestic Worker, Working Class, Black Female: Dec 2009).

It seems that for Nandi, having to double up as a cook, cleaning lady and gardener all at once was a major point of contention. She is not the only to report feeling this way. This was the same case with the guards, whose work went beyond security as they had to 'babysit' the mental patients at the hospital where they worked. This was not in their job description, and they are fully aware of the exploitation that comes from such circumstances (Guards, Working Class, Black Male and Females: Dec 2009). I had a sense that the interviewees are generally willing to work since they are paid to do so, but they did not appreciate being taken advantage of. They are always aware of it when this happens, and needless to say, people know when they are being looked down, pitied or insulted.

From the interviews however, one can truly see how Marx's description of a working class that has a common 'enemy' or plight may ring partially true. There is a definite connection between all working class members interviewed, in terms of their being vulnerable to the middle class and/or resenting it. Not one of them felt that their job description per se was central to their frustrations or problems of living in Howick. Their relationship with their employers, and superiors however, seemed to determine how many complaints they had. For example, those who disliked their employers apparently disliked their jobs. When I asked the guards how respected, valued and perceived they were at work, they had these things to say:

(DM) No, they don't respect us. They often talk down to us because we are not educated and treat us as though sometimes our heads aren't operating well...for instance, if something goes missing inside the premises we are the first suspects. And especially since there are mentally unstable patients here, if one is to run away you must chase them. Sometimes they climb onto things and you are expected to get them down, so most of the time our safety is on the line. And that is a problem, because we have not been medically trained to know how to handle a person like that and the people who are knowledgeable are the nurses but they don't bother. So we are always at risk.

(BM) And at times a patient may run amuck late at night, it doesn't matter if it's 1 o'clock in the morning you must ensure that you find him...

(SA) It's like my job now is to go searching for missing people

(BM) And say for instance they must receive medication or an injection, the nurses are scared to hold them down and I must place my life in risk and hold him down. They (nurses) get compensated should a patient hurt them or retaliate, I get nothing from my company because I am not recognized under government. I am not insured because I am employed by a private company

(DM) And they get immunized against diseases for working with these kinds of patients, and we don't so it's extremely difficult working in these conditions.

I asked the same question to Nandi, the domestic worker, and she felt the same way. She did not feel respected and valued, and on being asked what challenges she faced as a worker, she said, "She's not a nice person. We do not respect each other". This was due to the fact that she felt her employer spoke to her like she was a child (Nandi, Domestic worker, Working Class, Black Female: Dec 2009).

Clinton who was a receptionist said,

I don't like working here, but it's closer to my family. That's the only reason... There are those who respect you then the others don't respect you... Why is it personality clashing ... especially those on the higher ranks? (Clinton, Receptionist, Working Class, Black Male: Dec 2009).

People really worked in places they didn't want to, due to the context in which they were. By contrast, but still supporting the same point; those who were content had good relationships with their employers. This is illustrated in the dialogue below:

C: Do you like your bosses?

S: Yes, they are very nice people?

C: Do you have a good relationship with all your superiors?

S: Yes all of them (Thando, Supermarket teller, Working Class, Black Male).

As mentioned before, Phumza the gardener was most content. And finally, even those who seem indifferent like Lindela, the taxi driver, said of his relationship with his employer;

I would say that it is alright, as most of the time we do not need to see each other
(Lindela, taxi driver, Working Class, Black Male).

For him, there is value in not having to deal with the employer at all times as this can lead to many moments of frustration.

Banerjee's (2007) work elaborates on this dynamic and adds that the middle class holds all the cards as far as their working class counterparts are concerned. They have the education and resources that the working class often lacks, and this translates to power. The proper use of the power must come in the form of recognition. Recognition of power; in knowing who has it, and of viewing workers as people. Finally, there is a need for recognition of the inequality that makes workers vulnerable. The assistant mayor shed light on this issue by stating that:

But for the people who have money, they are gaining a lot in terms of development. They can fund their smallholdings and so on. But for the ordinary layman on the street there is nothing much going on. And a lot of people rely on the municipality. We are about 83000 people in Howick and of that 35000 are found in one township where most of us were forcefully removed from other farms and other group areas Act. So half of the population stay in a commune like Mpophomeni and you'll never find someone who can do whatever he or she wants or a rich person (Simpwiwe, Assistant mayor, Middle Class, Black Male).

Politicians are the heroes of the middle class, and more often than not focus on seemingly middle class needs. This may be because most of the time the middle class, is portrayed as a 'working

class' ,meaning a class that provides workers in key industries like commerce, medicine, law etc that represents the norm in terms of a more dominant class, while the working class are only relevant in trade union and industrialised contexts. This is why people like Linkon say;

I'm happy to hear politicians and pundits talking directly about the working class for once, instead of insisting on the euphemism of "working families" or pretending that everyone is middle class (Linkon 2009).

Development (Transformation) in Howick

On being asked whether life in Howick had improved since 1994, the informants had contradictory opinions. On the one hand, some stated that things had definitely improved in the district, that indeed things were better. However, when it came to service delivery all interviewees said things in that section were worse off as is highlighted in the service delivery section.

This contradiction exemplifies what can be described as 'developmental isolation', typical in the new South Africa where infrastructure and service delivery are not taking place fast enough, especially in small towns and villages. Statements like these indicated that that there was a sense that while there had been some improvement since 1994, it was sporadic, incomplete and slow. Informants explained that the town of Howick was the centre of the development while the peripheral areas like the townships and villages received little to no development. As the museum curator complained,

The disorganization. The place is not as maintained as it should be. It's actually quite surprising me and my colleagues have actually traveled around a lot of towns and every time we come back we sort of say those other towns are so clean. Why is our town not so clean? So that sort of thing just there is a sense that it doesn't need to be like this (Kelly, Museum Curator, Middle Class White Female: Dec 2009).

One may feel that there is symbolism in the way the town is deteriorating in structure and appearance to walls in Italy that Musiani found significant in being the microcosm of the macrocosm of deterioration and degradation. While referring to the symbolism of walls in Italy, Musiani says that the state of the walls;

Walls, is the quiet acceptance of a lingering unhappiness about the current “devolution” of concepts such as solidarity, belonging, community. An unhappiness that, beyond the walls, should worry responsible citizens and policy-makers at a much deeper level: because the quietness of the acceptance can at any time turn into rebellion, and the lingering unhappiness can abruptly detonate. The static, almost entrancing, presence of a wall – even if misleading with respect to its intended purpose – can be a very true signal of this danger; one we should rapidly decipher and act upon, for our own good, that of our cities, and that of our communities”

(Musiani 2007)

Even the more rural areas, located just thirty minutes from the CBD, do not have running water and are characterized by mud houses. The farmer interviewed, stressed that

Development, infrastructure more issues around roads and telecommunications, if you take a businessman here, its drivers, suppliers delivery guys. Before last week we had 14 days of no phones because someone stole the cables, but how do we stop people for doing that kind of thing. That is a challenge, infrastructure big issue and crime of late (Robert, Farmer, Upper Class, White Male: Dec 2009).

The promise of development that the ANC government has repeated since their 1994 elections, including their famous slogan “Housing for All”, is however partially lived up to in the township of Mpophomeni where there was fast tracked housing. Some interviewees however had issues with the housing in terms of quality, accessibility and time it was taking to complete. The museum curator had much to say on this topic saying,

There’s also been a lot of housing developments, low cost, and then the other extreme exclusive, and my concern to that is its been too fast and there hasn’t been the infrastructure not just in the town but even in the rural areas...Because those houses aren’t what they could be. There’s been a lot of fast tracking on both and across the board. I don’t think there’s been the capacity to really manage it but of course there’s been the boom area. (Kelly, Museum Curator, White, Upper class, Female: Dec 2009).

They do however appreciate the effort, given the fact that many townships have never been assisted in this way around the country. Instead, people are waiting and watching in the hope that at some point, some true and lasting change will come. In the meantime, the youth of Mpophomeni and the rural areas in particular are suffering the consequences of this gross lack of infrastructure, employment and proper tertiary education.

Howick is one of the poorest areas in KwaZulu-Natal, with 90% unemployment in Mpophomeni, and just over half the population with no income whatsoever. Ten percent of people in the area have no education at all (IDP Review June 2007). It is not surprising that several informants complained that due to lack of jobs or social development opportunities, they had to move out of town or settle for terrible jobs.

The working class youth in the area feel limited by their backgrounds, i.e. poorer, disadvantaged backgrounds, and the lack of opportunity synonymous with it. Speaking to a young man I learnt of his dream of becoming a farmer, and the opportunities that came his way to support this but felt that there was no real education in the town except a very expensive farming school in Lidgetton. He was discouraged from finishing school altogether and is a high school dropout. Most young people find work in neighboring towns. Migration to neighboring towns is a common phenomenon, especially by young men. This in turn removes skills from the area affecting social development further, given that as many young people put it, “There is nothing to do in Howick” which adds to one woman’s assertion that “I think it’s more for the youth, that might complain more about having nothing to do (Annette, Ordinary Resident, Middle class, Female: Dec 2009).

‘Transformation Manifested? Overall Level of Integration

The sum of all these issues brings forth the issue of integration. Social and racial integration seem to be key components in perfecting the right kind of ‘transformation’, especially because of the harshness of the Apartheid segregation, which had opposite aims. Integration is shown in the most obvious way by people's personal relationships. In Howick, there is a certain level of integration, but it is hardly sufficient for one to truly say that there has been transformation in the town. This section of the report highlights this slow process of transformation in Howick has

became evident during research in the way that many contexts still resemble the old Apartheid South Africa. For example there has been very little spatial integration. As one student said

It's not discrimination per se but I would say there is almost racial segregation. I mean it's broken up into the cardinal points almost you could say literally. There's Howick west where you get the Indians. There is no Howick North but the North and you get like the white types of areas (Ahmed, Student Upper Class Indian Male: Dec 2009).

Beneath the discourses of integration, there was some evidence that integration was not so peaceful. Firstly this was shown by the students at Howick High which is 'racially integrated' but the students there were well aware of racial tensions in the town and their own school. One student said:

Actually I do think we do have a racist type thing at hostel, I mean like you have your group, everyone has their group, mine (Ahmed, student, upper class Indian Male: Dec 2009).

This student also cited racism in the town and in the older white people in particular, whom he described as 'set in their ways'. He had a fear that:

Yeah but it's the youth..it's affecting the youth now ... we learn from our elders now, and whatever they do we do (Howick Ahmed, student, upper class, Indian male: Dec 2009).

The museum curator pushed for the need for dialogue:

You've got some very conservative white people and there hasn't been enough work that kind of poll or community forum space or wherever for people to engage. Even though the schools are mixed, people are not comfortable with each other yet, yes there are some people but its not that it needs to be formalized but somehow there needs to be intervention to let people get beyond the issues and suspicions and uncertainties of difference...You can go where you want to and do what you want to but you don't see people really connecting personally (Kelly, Museum Curator, Middle Class White Female: Dec 2009).

The town is a business centre, attracting not only local business people but foreign nationals too. On one level, locals and foreigners present a unified picture of cohesion, where foreigners are welcome and experience no real problems. However, deeper inspection reveals that Howick's

black township residents in particular grapple with “foreign presence” when it comes to seeing them as a crime threat. This is illustrated in the crime section of this report which follows this one. Also around race, one interviewee said,

Not so much, I think people have settled down. I don't think there are people who still have hang ups from the past but as far as the integration goes, they are not integrated socially but there is acceptance across the board (Joanne, Reverend, White Upper Class, Female: Dec 2009).

However, it was interesting to note that the same woman went on to say:

We tried to integrate our black community into our service this year but they were not ready for it, not because of prejudice but because of their preference of doing things. The white congregation was not so happy to do the same thing typically.

As far as the black community is concerned, the reverend commented on incompatible customs:

Well, the men sit in the front and the married women sit over there and the unmarried women sit in the back. The white community is not ready for that, they are used to everyone sitting together, and our black community; like it that way (Joanne, Reverend, White Upper Class, Female: Dec 2009).

For her, race and culture were somehow synonymous in that she attributes the raced nature of the services to the cultural practice. She felt comfortable enough to speak on behalf of the black community and somehow excuses the lack of integration as a fault of the black community, who apparently like being set apart from their white congregation members. This is what Panelli (2009) refers to when she says,

“Whiteness is indicated less by its explicit racism than by the fact that it ignores, or even denies, racist indications. It occupies central ground by deracializing and normalizing common events and beliefs, giving them legitimacy as part of a moral system depicted as natural and universal. Human beings produce landscapes that conform similarly to ideals of beauty, utility, or harmony, values not immediately associated with “race” but predicated upon whitened cultural practices” (Panelli 2009).

Had it not been for the questioning looks I received when I came in to meet her, and her saying before the interview “You speak so well, you must be Zimbabwean”, I might have been inclined to believe her. By the same token, when looking at integration between black people, there were tensions there as well. An excerpt from an interview with the HR Officer in the town’s main industry is revealing:

HR Officer: I think the conflict is between the blacks and the Indians because if you look for example in this company, most people getting the opportunities are the Indians. Once they are in power, they don’t want to see the blacks in the same position. They don’t like to see them progressing in life.

C: Do you have to deal with a lot of Indians?

HR Officer: I deal with a lot of people equally.

C: What’s the treatment like?

HR Officer: They don’t really expect help from me, because of my color they think I don’t know anything. But after I do help them, they see me differently (Mkhize, HR Officer Black Lower Middle Class Male: Dec 2009).

The words spoken by Robert, the farmer, seem to encapsulate the complexities of all the issues when he says:

I don’t know about that I might be ... Howick... but the change in the people and the attitudes of the groups if you think about it, it is a quite polarised set up. There are many skilled people living in the town or village that could add quite a lot of value. But on account of mistrust people start to slang each other in the media and so on. If I was sitting where Dumisani (a Municipality worker) is, not now, but I would have liked to go up to those people and ask them or talk to them, but maybe the manner of the people has been inappropriate and it would be a question of different people trying to add value to the community as a whole. But you could probably agree that it is a South African norm. (Robert, Farmer, Upper Class, White Male: Dec 2009).

As long as certain attitudes around integration don’t change, like the resistance in the rural areas, real integration may not occur. For example, the assistant mayor told a story of how even six years after Apartheid, there was strong resistance which continues even now. He said that:

In 2000, there was a Minister of Agriculture, he passed away. He really was anti informal settlement we wanted to get rid of them because everyone needs decent shelter. He visited an informal shelter and after a year he bought that farm so that people could live there. Now it's 2009 and nothing happened, and do you know why? It's because the farmers around don't want it to become a black township and the department of housing has been appealing cases after cases. They mention all these things about beautiful butterflies that will be disturbed...they stay few meters from Umngeni river they say black people stay there, the river will be contaminated. . . so six years down the line! In Howick they will never change. Maybe when I die cause I'm in my 40s. . .this is what we are dealing with but we mustn't let people lose hope (Simpwiwe, Assistant mayor, Middle Class Black Male: Dec 2009).

On the issue of hope, one can see then that integration in Howick may still be superficial, but also not hopeless. It is happening with the youth in particular, but being compromised by intolerant parents.

Hope for the Working Class

One of the most encouraging things I experienced during my stay in Howick was meeting a paralegal who worked in the paralegal office in Mpophomeni. Having studied elsewhere in South Africa, he returned to give back to their communities. His name was Lindi, and he felt that the privilege he had in becoming a lawyer needed to be used to empower the township. This was important as the township did not get much assistance from NGOs like other townships around the country. The paralegal office is the only activist point in the area and thus only churches from around and The Fern Hill hotel fund the paralegal office's work. This office deals in employment and housing disputes and educates the community about their rights around workers etc. It is even safe to say that this space is invaluable in terms of the transformation that is implemented by community members, regaining agency in an exploitative world.

The many compliments given to the police service in the interviews also speaks volumes of trust and satisfaction that townspeople across racial and class lines, have with a predominantly black police force. As the historian and museum curator points out

You can go where you want to and do what you want to but you don't see people really connecting personally..of course in the workplace there is that sort of a thing but if you look at the schools they still have a way to go, and that's where it's really key to start

engaging and also the other thing is the society (Kelly, Museum Curator, White Middle Class, Female: Dec 2009).

As previously mentions, the farmer pointed out in Howick is “the economic barrier where the haves happen to be white and the have-nots happen to be black but there is an emergence of a class of black businessmen and now you’ve got the Thabo’s (Robert, White Upper Class Male Farmer: Dec 2009)”. That is the reality of the problem of the town and its hope all highlighted in one sentence. What is happening in this town is that not much has really changed since the end of Apartheid, especially for the working class. For example as the coloured hairdresser said “I can marry a white man now” (Karen, Hairdresser, Working class, coloured female: Dec 2009). The only thing stopping a person from doing what they like is resources, which will always be an issue as long as most people are vulnerable to the sensitivities of their employer in terms of a fair salary etc as was the case.

Settlement of land issues was another good symbol of moving forward in a positive way that acknowledges the injustices of the past. It was a hot topic in Kwa-Zulu Natal as some people, including my assistant’s father, were eligible for claiming some compensation either in the form of land or money, to right the wrongs of the past when they were taken from their homes and relocated to Mphopomeni under apartheid. Even the young unemployed man was in the process of reclaiming for his family. It is better that there is some form of restitution taking place. Further research must be done to see how helpful it is in reality.

Chapter Six: Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Conclusion

The image of a new South Africa, of a nation transformed from its brutal apartheid past to a democratic nation, is quite remarkable. The political change in this society is well celebrated throughout the world. Since 1994, there have been multiple socio-political policies and programs put in place to undo the ruptures in society. Unfortunately, however, much has stayed the same. The disadvantaged during the Apartheid era are still disadvantaged. This may not be in every aspect of their lives, as their limitations have significantly decreased, but in the economic and educational standing they are still in the lower levels. Transformation in these areas may alleviate the struggle through the government scholarship systems, and maybe access to welfare, but a quality education is difficult to attain for a person born in the rural areas in particular as well as the townships. Substantive justice is still an issue, where all the necessary realities say that all are free to make choices, but there is still a case that some have the privilege to make the choices many more times than the other. The persistence of discourses of a “new South Africa” does little to mask the slow process of transformation along many socio-political and indeed economic lines.

With the entire section of literature covering multiple aspects of what transformation should look like, there is no doubt that Howick is progressive, but has more to do before it can say it is in a great place. It is not to say that its status as a small town has worked against it. In fact as a small town in South Africa, the treatment I received in Howick was better than sections of Limpopo or the Cape, so the area itself is ahead of others in the country. The fundamental issue is whether there really has been a paradigm shift and the mental states or realities of people have changed from that of apartheid. There is more confidence created by those who act as role models to the working class, and there is a level of choice in that some can take that leap into new territory as Apartheid was so limiting in comparison.

As mentioned throughout this thesis, white presence is dominant in Howick, facilitated by the town's niche as an idyllic place to retire, a “brand” which the town continues to enjoy. As a student put it “a waiting room for death” (Chris, Student, White Upper Class Male: Dec 2009). Many have spent millions creating their little haven of paradise there. In terms of town

citizenship, it was clear that most people were not born there, but had either come there in their retirement years, or, come from Pietermaritzburg and neighboring towns in order to work and build a life. This is evident in that only four participants were born in Howick. The white presence that had been behind the formation of the town in the late 1800s and early 1900s was still very much there. Having places like Merrivale, which was dominantly white during Apartheid, integrated is a positive move towards meaningful transformation. Black, Indian and coloured people who would normally have been in Howick west and Mpophomeni before had moved into Merrivale since democracy. This is a symbolic example of how race relations and racial spaces were a little less defined; and thus transformation has minimally taken place. The town is not asleep but learning to grow in building opportunity for workers by bringing things like food franchises closer to home.

Harsch (2001) summarizes the story of Howick's Working class the best, by saying,

Six years after the election of South Africa's first democratic government, significant progress has been made in bringing better education, health care, housing and other social amenities to the deprived black majority. Yet poverty is still widespread and income disparities remain enormous, as economic liberalization and tight budgetary policies complicate efforts to improve living conditions and expand opportunities for the poor (Harsch 2001).

One also needs to take into account the new challenges that come with Transformation and transition due to the high levels of inequality which are increasingly based on intra-racial not inter-racial inequalities (Seekings 2002). Because there are more opportunities, there is also more competition and working class people in Howick, also deal with the middle class black people who may further push the agendas of those same white people who prefer things as they were during apartheid, or who do not want to worry about the removal or decrease in levels of their own privilege. As established in the literature, the effects of the "middle classism" as illustrated removed race from the equation. This was Ballard's (2001), description of 'attitudinal convergence across space' due to the mutuality of interests that relatively privileged groups, irrespective of race, have in protecting 'their' space from the encroachment of those lower down the urban order (Ballard 2004). Space in this case is not just of physical spaces, although the discourse around Shiyaz, and down town spaces seem to echo these sentiments. Space is also the realm of opportunity, and how the middle class would prefer to keep their opportunities

unthreatened, yet there can be no real change without the economic freedom or selection of choice being limited in order to accommodate the disadvantaged. This is why the dichotomy of tax payers, as well as non tax payers speaks into the middle class entitlement to opportunities, versus the working class desire for opportunity. There is a constant power struggle.

It is saddening to find that what was contextually relevant to South Africa in 2001 is still not far off from now which is 2011. There is a level of corporate patience, which nations need to have to survive the transitional period. South Africans can dream, and that is far more than they could ever do in 1990. The working class, may have less to look forward to, but as long as they are free, they can demand recognition. One cannot ever fully conclude this issue, as it remains partially negative and positive. It will be best to accept that as long as processes are taking place to create deeper transformation, which is always a more positive step.

6.2 Recommendations:

The people of Howick, if one were to take the real definition of 'everyone' in Howick, need spaces where they can actively and peacefully engage. The need to connect with Pietermaritzburg must be cut if the town continues to call itself a town.

They need to see each other as people and reclaim their humanity. As much as unionizing is seen as the only tool for working class empowerment, employers need to learn in the same way that the corporate leaders in urban sectors learn to communicate and treat their workers as fairly as possible. The real issue here now is not so much what to do but who will want to do it. Even in urban sectors the resistance to change has been strong with anti BEE discourse that has existed even before its implementation. The onus is now on the middle class to truly reflect on their current situations and ask themselves if they have truly and unequivocally recognized and seen the face of those that work for them. The use of uniform needs to be reengaged, while, an element of making decisions, supposedly for the good of employees needs to be investigated.

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University of Cape Town

CRIME INFORMATION MANAGEMENT - SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

Crime in the Howick (KZN) Police Precinct from April to March: 2003/2004 - 2008/2009

Crime Category	April 2003 to March 2004	April 2004 to March 2005	April 2005 to March 2006	April 2006 to March 2007	April 2007 to March 2008	April 2008 to March 2009
CONTACT CRIME (CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON)						
Murder	22	20	12	28	26	23
Total sexual crimes	34	42	43	50	33	40
Attempted murder	23	23	16	19	12	11
Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm	168	169	163	163	179	175
Common assault	177	197	151	167	91	89
Robbery with aggravating circumstances	91	105	68	54	38	47
Common robbery	68	76	50	43	27	36
CONTACT-RELATED CRIME						
Arson	14	13	9	12	9	9
Malicious damage to property	114	82	92	70	98	81
PROPERTY-RELATED CRIME						
Burglary at business premises	95	44	63	78	45	75
Burglary at residential premises	351	330	227	200	263	235
Theft of motor vehicle and motorcycle	76	70	56	72	66	78
Theft out of or from motor vehicle	361	176	130	120	105	127
Stock-theft	37	33	24	38	32	39
CRIME HEAVILY DEPENDENT ON POLICE ACTION FOR DETECTION						
Illegal possession of firearms and ammunition	5	13	16	5	7	10
Drug-related crime	19	15	41	31	85	146
Driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs	36	23	47	53	78	152
OTHER SERIOUS CRIME						
All theft not mentioned elsewhere	461	357	288	265	349	341
Commercial crime	56	57	46	59	78	104
Shoplifting	61	33	35	44	57	58
SUBCATEGORIES OF AGGRAVATED ROBBERY FORMING PART OF AGGRAVATED ROBBERY ABOVE						
Carjacking	7	8	4	5	3	6
Truck hijacking	9	15	3	1	2	2
Robbery at business premises	0	1	0	0	3	4
Robbery at residential premises	1	1	1	0	1	7
OTHER CRIME CATEGORIES						
Culpable homicide	35	17	24	14	18	19
Public violence	0	0	0	1	1	1
Crimen injuria	37	60	37	32	21	31
Neglect and ill-treatment of children	3	3	4	3	2	4
Kidnapping	1	0	0	0	4	0

2.1.2 **Population and Access to Services (See also Annexure 2)**

The population of uMngeni in terms of the 2001 Census figures given on the Demarcation Board Website in 2003, is 73 896 (See **Table 1**) which equates to 8 % of the population of the District. The Statistics South Africa Community Survey sets the 2007 population at 84 775.

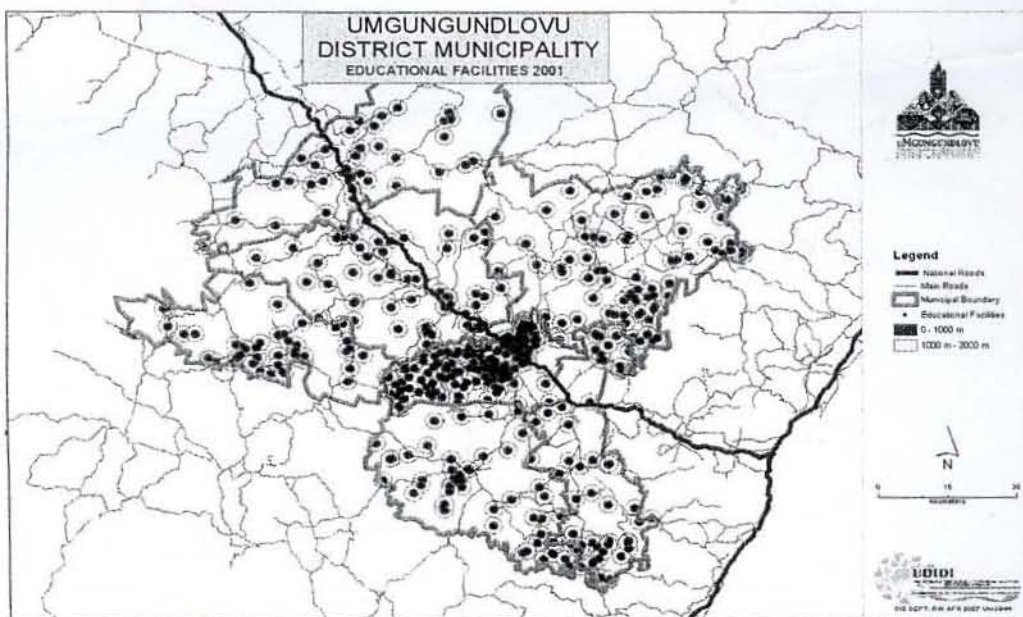
The extent of the uMngeni Municipality is 1567 km². The resultant population density in 2001 was 47 persons per km². By 2007 this had increased to 54 persons per km².

The number of households given in the adjusted Demarcation Board 2001 Census figures for uMngeni is 20 486, which implies an average household size of 3,6 persons. In 2007 the number of households had increased to 21 588. This yields a slightly increased household size of 3,9 persons.

The number of households without access to potable water in 2001 was 1573 (8 %), and the 2007 figure was 1163 (5%); those without access to electricity in 2001 stood at 5274 (26 %) and the 2007 figure was 6130 (28%); those without access to at least a VIP (ventilated improved pit latrine) in 2001 was 4296 (21%) and the 2007 figure stood at 3317 (15%); and those without access to municipal waste removal in 2001 was 8871 (43%), the 2007 figure stood at 7992 (37%).

In the analysis section of the District IDP Review for the 2007/08 budget, an indication is given of progress with service delivery for the 4 year period 2001/02 to 2004/2005. Some 2793 households were serviced with water (This included upgraded levels of service), 2123 with electricity, and 3457 households were provided with reticulated sewerage in uMngeni. National Targets are to reach a 100% access to potable water by 2010, sanitation to at least VIP level by 2010, and access to legal electricity by 2012.

Map 3 show that uMngeni is reasonably well serviced with schools, but use is made of schools within Msunduzi.



Map 3: Educational Facilities

UMNGENI MUNICIPALITY KEY MUNICIPAL DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION BY WARD ADJUSTED 2001 CENSUS

WARD	WARD SIZE	POPULATION	POP DENSITY	NO. EMPLOYED	NO. UNEMPLOYED	% PERSONS UNEMPLOYED
1	4km ²	5503	1376	1339	1000	43 %
2	2km ²	3370	1685	879	365	29 %
3	604km ²	8044	13	3721	748	17 %
4	278km ²	6100	22	2293	533	19 %
5	295km ²	6692	23	2737	796	22 %
6	113km ²	8033	71	3035	684	18 %
7	64km ²	5961	93	2362	.80	14 %
8	15km ²	993 9943	663	1445	2859	66 %
9	189km ²	8497	45	2331	1096	32 %
10	1km ²	4887	4887	792	1206	60 %
11	2km ²	68685	3433	1260	1870	60 %
TOTAL	1567	73895	47	22193	11536	34 %

*Howick +
Meyerton.*

Table 1: Population by Municipality, 1996 and 2001

	Mkhambathini		Msunduzi		uMshwathi		Mpofana		Impendle		uMngeni		Richmond		Total DM	
	Pop	%	Pop	%	Pop	%	Pop	%	Pop	%	Pop	%	Pop	%	Pop	%
Population 2001	59067	6	553223	60	108037	12	36819	4	33569	3	73896	8	63222	7	927833	100
Population 1996	46089	5	521805	60	114136	13	24785	3	33948	4	69741	8	62108	7	872717	100

2.1.3 Economy

Table 2 is an extract from the District-Wide Integrated Local Economic Development Strategic Plan (2007) key economic data for uMngeni.

This report indicates that the uMngeni economy is healthy and its growth rates significant.

The report states that uMngeni's economy *"although largely reliant on agriculture, is well diversified, and turnover and wages in real terms are so high that peoples income exceeds the national per capita average. Unemployment is below the national average"*.

The report recommends the implementation of the LED Strategy developed by the municipality at the 2006 uMngeni LED Strategy Workshop.

The following strengths were identified in the LED strategy:

- Location close to N3 for access to Gauteng and International markets
- Existing industry base
- Good local infrastructure
- Agriculture and Forestry
- Tourism

	uMngeni
Total Population in 1996	56290
Total Population in 2004	61165
Number of People in Poverty - 1996	58,9%
Number of people in Poverty - 2004	44,5%
Population Density (number of people per km ²) - 1996	35.22
Population Density (number of people per km ²) - 2004	38.27
Urbanization rate (% of people living in urban areas) - 1996	62.9%
Urbanization rate (% of people living in urban areas) - 2004	89.9%
Economically Active Population (EAP) - 1996	20,694
Economically Active Population (EAP) - 2004	27,067
Number of Unemployed People - 1996	6,042
Number of Unemployed People - 2004	10,184
Unemployment Rate (%) - 1996	29.2%
Unemployment Rate (%) - 2004	37.6%
Formally Employed People Agriculture - 1996	2,364
Formally Employed People Agriculture - 2004	2,608
Formally Employed People Manufacturing - 1996	1,576
Formally Employed People Manufacturing - 2004	1,089
Formally Employed People Community Services - 1996	1,273
Formally Employed People Community Services - 2004	1,713
Formally Employed People Total - 1996	8,322
Formally Employed People Total - 2004	8,427
Formally Employed People & Agriculture - 1996	28.4%
Formally Employed People & Agriculture - 2004	30.9%
Formally Employed People % Manufacturing - 1996	18.9%
Formally Employed People % Manufacturing - 2004	12.9%
Formally Employed People % Community Services - 1996	15.3%
Formally Employed People % Community Services - 2004	20.3%
Gross Domestic Product by Region (DGR-R) 1996 (Constant 2000 Prices, R1 000)	632860
Gross Domestic Product by Region (DGR-R) 2004 (Constant 2000 Prices, R1 000)	654261
Gross Domestic product by Region (GDP-R), Average Annual growth 1996	-3.2%
Gross Domestic product by Region (GDP-R), Average Annual growth 2004	4.1%
Gross Domestic Product by Region (GDP-R), Per Capita Current Prices, 1996 (Constant 2000 Prices)	8345
Gross Domestic Product by Region (GDP-R), Per Capita Current Prices, 1996 (Constant 2000 Prices)	14595