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The Carnival Road:
the eMzantsi Carnival and the
promotion of intercultural interaction
amongst the communities of
Cape Town's southern peninsula.

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A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the
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Declaration:

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature:

Date: 5th April 2007

“If the dream of a rainbow carnival for future New Years materialises, it may well reflect the rainbow balls of slavery times, at long last transcending oppression, prejudice and separations.”

Martin (1999, p.181)

“The change is coming, but the road is going to be long and hard. But definitely, it’s going to happen.”

Interviewee Alton (A34)

“Tell me the road you have travelled.”

San greeting

“...if carnivalised academic writing is hard to imagine, this may be because its writers are too reluctant to contemplate the loss of authority that would follow.”

Dentith (1995, p.87)

ABSTRACT

The power of carnival has long been appreciated and theorised. However, the potential for harnessing that power specifically to facilitate intercultural interaction has not previously been examined. This study considers the application of both carnival theory and intercultural communication theory in the context of the eMzantsi Carnival, an event that was initiated to assist integration between the culturally diverse communities of Cape Town's southern peninsula. Qualitative material gathered during six in-depth interviews with a culturally diverse range of people closely involved in the creation of the inaugural eMzantsi Carnival was examined against the backdrop of the larger eMzantsi Participatory Action Research project. The dynamic and ethics of the participatory paradigm were carefully considered, as were methods to ensure rigour and validity. The qualitative software programme QSR Nvivo was used to facilitate early stages of the analysis. The conceptual framework addressed culture, community, third-culture building and change in the eMzantsi Carnival context. Analysis of data began inductively with grounded theory and proceeded to explore relationships between themes from carnival theory (including time, space, play, inversion, transformation and unifying identity) and intercultural communication concepts such as third-culture building, joint improvisation, transculturation and place-identity.

The study found that liberating capacities of the eMzantsi Carnival had a positive impact on intercultural attitudes, both within and between communities. Respondents reported a range of improvements in the intercultural context of their communities precipitated by the Carnival, and described the sense of transcultural 'belonging' it inspired. Despite the withholding of a section of the white community, the proactively inclusive process of facilitated third-culture building during mobilisation for eMzantsi was found to contribute to the potency of the carnival euphoria and increase its intercultural impact. The unravelling of the meaning of 'intercultural' in the context of multicultural communities - considering the complexity of both inter-community and intra-community aspects - results in the presentation of a spiral model of intercultural layers. The eMzantsi project's success in creating a sense of agency which is potentially transformative, enabling a redefinition of identity and opportunity for political and social change, suggests that to take the carnival road is an effective and enjoyable way to begin a journey towards intercultural integration. Further research may be merited in order to build on these tentative foundations to establish a more dynamic 'intercultural carnival theory'.

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ABBREVIATIONS

DAC	the SA government's national Department of Arts and Culture
INCUDISA	Intercultural and Diversity Studies unit of Southern Africa
PAR	Participatory Action Research (see Chapter 4 for definition)
UCT	University of Cape Town

The week before the eMzantsi Carnival:

Phonecall from Kommetjie

After seeing a newspaper report on the forthcoming parade, accompanied by a picture of young people building giant puppets in Masiphumelele, an incensed white resident called and demanded "Why must we close the road¹ for these people, Site 5²? They must stay in their own areas..."

Email from Ocean View

"Hi Sam, so good of you to mail me. Gosh things must be hectic your side with all the arrangements being made for this spectacular event !

Thru all adversities/stumbling blocks, it is persons like you that make one stop and appreciate the difference you make. Thanx on behalf of my 10 year old daughter who is growing up in this Valley.

WE WILL BE THERE I PROMISE.

God Bless

J"

This study seeks to explore the effects of the inaugural eMzantsi Carnival on the communities of Cape Town's southern peninsula, and to investigate its impact on intercultural relations in the valley. The first chapter establishes the context for the Carnival and gives an overview of the eMzantsi project.

¹ The Kommetjie Road, along which the eMzantsi Carnival parades, runs alongside the borders of all three of the communities of Ocean View, Masiphumelele and Sun Valley.

² Site 5 was the portion of land finally granted to scattered squatters by the municipality in 1992; Masiphumelele ("We will succeed") is the Xhosa name given to the area by residents.

1.1 Motivation

'eMzantsi' means 'in the South' in isiXhosa, an indigenous African language of the Cape. The motivation to create the eMzantsi Carnival came from the euphoria and sense of oneness I experienced during Carnaval in Brazil in February 2004 - shared by everyone on the street in Salvador at 3am from grannies to toddlers – and a gut-feeling that it could be recreated with powerful effects in the south of South Africa where I live.

This thesis is an attempt to explain why I felt it could happen and why I think it did and is happening. It relates my journey to find theory and carry out research within the southern peninsula to assess the accuracy of my gut instinct. My research aims to address both carnival theory and intercultural communication theory in my local context. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the two have not been considered in conjunction before.

Following Spivak (1988), I feel it is appropriate to explain my own motivation. I decided to initiate a carnival in my area because I want the valley to be different for my kids when they grow up. I believe it is one of the most beautiful places to live in the whole world, but integration between our historically and geographically isolated communities needs to be speeded up as a matter of urgency. I felt a carnival would showcase the most positive aspects of each of the different cultures in the valley and inspire pride in our communities, while simultaneously bringing them together in the common joy of celebrating their heritage and, in the process, help to create a new common cultural identity.

1.2 Definition of terms

In this thesis I employ the terms 'black' 'coloured' and 'white' as they are generally used in contemporary South African society and in my local communities, but without supporting the notion of any biological imperative and believing personally that the "concept of 'race'...should be viewed as a social construction, an ideological process" (Foster 1991, p.203). Although, as Prinsloo and De la Rey (1997, p.9) acknowledge, "It is helpful to view ethnicity as a social construct, yet we cannot deny that ethnic consciousness persists as a binding force in contemporary society".

In the South African context, 'culture' is often used as a euphemism for 'race', but as definitions of 'culture' are as mutable as culture itself³, particularly in the post-modern era, I prefer my respondents to form their own definitions of culture, in Chapter Five, (as recommended by Charmaz 2005), and map my journey towards an understanding of what 'culture' means in our local context in Chapter Four.

It is also important to note that the definition of 'Carnival' in this thesis includes the whole process leading up to the eMzantsi Carnival, and not just the Carnival day itself i.e. both Carnival and Carnival-building. For clarity, I should add that 'carnival' refers to generic carnival, while 'Carnival' refers to the eMzantsi event in particular.

1.3 Problem statement

In 2004, the year I experienced Brazilian Carnaval, South Africa was celebrating ten years of democracy, yet there had been little discernable improvement in interracial or intercultural integration in the Fish Hoek valley since 1994. As a resident in the area since 1995, I am aware of very few opportunities to forge links between the communities of Ocean View, Masiphumelele and Sun Valley in the greater Fish Hoek area.

Ocean View is a coloured, mostly Afrikaans-speaking township whose fisher folk forebears were forcibly removed from Simons Town in 1967, and re-housed far from the sea. Masiphumelele is an informal settlement of mostly Xhosa-speaking black people from the Eastern Cape that has grown dramatically from its inception in 1992⁴. Saff (2001) comments that:

since the squatters have been given permanent residence, the majority of (white) residents in these areas have attempted to have as little contact with the ex-squatters as possible while simultaneously blaming them for what they see as the decline in their quality of life. (p.7)

³ Definitions of culture have morphed through history from static concepts of 'culture-as-nationality' (Moon 1996), culture as domination (Smelser 1992, p.15), as resource or as institutional expression, to multi-voiced variable, an ever-flowing riverline "expression of semiotic praxiology" and "production of communality" (Wicker 1997, p.41) or political expression of power that alters over time - culminating in the contestation of its very existence (Moon 1996, p.75).

⁴ In the absence of up-to-date census results, local ward councillor Felicity Purchase estimates population figures at 16000 for Masiphumelele, 22000 for Ocean View and 12000 for Sun Valley, with the greater Fish Hoek area including Simonstown more than 117000 (personal communication, 19th January 2007). However, other estimates put Masiphumelele figures as high as 26000 (Wikipedia January 2007). Ms. Purchase estimates unemployment as 60% for Masiphumelele, 40% for Ocean View and 20% for Fish Hoek.

There is only one entrance road for both settlements, on either side of the Kommetjie Road between Sun Valley and Kommetjie. Neither area was named on any tourist map of the valley in city tourist offices in 2004. These communities often feel as if they have to compete for scarce municipal resources: in December 2004, Masiphumelele residents blockaded the Kommetjie Road protesting the continued lack of a high school promised to them at the last election⁵ and in May 2005 Ocean View residents burned tyres in the road to protest the lack of housing.

Sun Valley is a white, mostly English-speaking area in the centre of the valley, situated between the larger and more affluent coastal white neighbourhoods of Kommetjie, Fish Hoek and Noordhoek. It has a large Christian population, as its numerous churches testify. Fish Hoek has a reputation for conservatism (being the last remaining 'dry' ward in the city) and an ageing population. While the older white residents of Fish Hoek and Kommetjie demonstrate a marked reluctance to get involved with their neighbours, the increase in young families moving into the greater Fish Hoek area, particularly the relatively cheaper residential areas of Sun Valley, Sunnyside and Capri, signals the potential for change.

Masiphumelele is represented in the local community press mostly in terms of victimhood, with a focus on the community's extreme poverty, vulnerability to natural disasters such as fires, and its high HIV rate. Ocean View, like many coloured areas on the Cape Flats, is mostly presented in terms of crime and violence, particularly involving drugs. Private security companies in the valley are doing a roaring trade which suggests that the neighbouring white communities feel threatened by the scale of the economic desperation on their doorstep.

Figure 1a (overleaf) shows the Cape peninsula, lying to the south of Cape Town, with the long white beach of Noordhoek marking the valley area. Figure 1b shows a close-up of the valley, between Kommetjie on the left and Fish Hoek on the right, with the residential areas of Ocean View, Masiphumelele and Sun Valley in the middle.

⁵ Masiphumelele's high school was finally built and opened in January 2006.

Fig 1: Maps of the area

Fig. 1a) Cape southern peninsula



Fig. 1b) Valley area



1.4 The eMzantsi Carnival project

The eMzantsi Carnival project was initiated in order to forge links between the communities of Ocean View, Masiphumelele and Sun Valley to help bring them closer together. The long-term vision of the Harlequin Foundation (a non-profit organisation) is to establish the eMzantsi Carnival, not as a single day's celebration, but as a year-round community links-building programme that stimulates local arts and culture, and thus the local economy and tourism⁶, but most of all inspires and sustains a sense of cross-cultural identity and pride.

eMzantsi seeks to build on a long tradition of carnival at the Cape. The most famous is the Minstrel or 'Coon' Carnival⁷ that has been celebrated over the New Year holiday season for over 200 years (Martin 1999, p.48), but Cape Town also showcases a Pride parade and the University of Cape Town Rag parade annually. There are also a host of much smaller local carnivals, such as the Fish Hoek Mardi Gras, which has been running on and off since the late 1960s. Each of these celebrations, however, is seen as the property of a particular cultural group: coloured in the case of the Minstrel Carnival; gay in the case of Pride; white in the case of the Fish Hoek Mardi Gras. eMzantsi is the first carnival in the city to actively encourage participation from all of the Cape's cultural groups.

The eMzantsi Carnival could be seen as an important opportunity for the people of the valley, not just for cultural harmony, but also to assist in developing the local economy. At the moment the southern peninsula markets itself to tourists as a nature-lover's destination – the promotional pictures are of baboons and whales and penguins, but rarely of people, who could be its strongest selling point. The eMzantsi Carnival initiative is an attempt to "show ourselves to ourselves" (Bennett 1993, p.6) and build our collective self-esteem.

Figure 2 (overleaf) shows the route taken by the eMzantsi Carnival between the communities of Masiphumelele and Sun Valley.

⁶ "Oil and natural gas are depletable resources, but carnival is forever" (Schechner 1994, p.6)

⁷ 'Coon Carnival' is the traditional South African description of Cape Town's New Year celebrations, originally inspired by North American blackface minstrels (Martin 1999).

Fig.2: eMzantsi Carnival route



The parade set off from Chasmay Road (dotted), to the left of the entrance to Masiphumelele, and moved up the Kommetjie Road to the fourway stop in the heart of the Fish Hoek valley. The parade turned left onto Ou Kaapse Weg and concluded at the green in front of the Sun Valley Mall (where X marks the site of the stage show).

Creating a common culture through carnival is what has given Brazil a vibrant, multiracial image (whatever the social realities on the ground, Guimaraes 2001); the eMzantsi team is hoping that our Carnival can do the same for the Cape's southern peninsula. This thesis examines, at a theoretical level, the potential of such a process.

The research monitoring the effects of the Carnival on the attitudes of people of the valley was proposed in order to facilitate initial funding and to direct the future growth of the Carnival, and is managed by iNCUDISA at UCT. The South African national Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) granted funding to the eMzantsi research project for two years; DAC is committed to disseminate the findings as a template for culturally diverse community interaction to other areas around the country.

My relationship with DAC began in 2002 when they agreed to become a joint sponsor of a Proudly South African international festival tour I organised in 2003. I was subsequently commissioned to do some research for them in my capacity as an arts developer and promoter. I approached them with the idea for the eMzantsi project following a national conference on the role of culture in NEPAD held in Pretoria in November 2004, where the Department was tasked with leading the SA government's attempts to raise awareness around issues of cultural diversity.

The eMzantsi Participatory Action Research project focuses on the intercultural interaction sparked by the mobilisation of communities to create the Carnival, monitoring both that process and the Carnival's impact on the cultural attitudes of local residents. The research project consists of two main strands: a quantitative component examining data gathered through a series of surveys, and a qualitative component comprising analysis of interviews with community members involved in the Carnival. This thesis is primarily concerned with the qualitative material, although reference will be made to the wider context within which it is embedded.

Having established the context for the eMzantsi Carnival, the next chapter presents an overview of carnival theory, and some important themes in intercultural communication theory, which will be utilised in this study.

The Carnival was due to set off at 2pm so we had all agreed to meet at 1pm on the dirt road next to the new Masiphumelele high school, where there was plenty of space for everyone to congregate and arrange themselves in parade order. At 1pm exactly I took a photo of the completely deserted Chasmay Road. "This will be really funny later" I thought, grimly, and considered at what point I would allow myself to panic: quarter past one, twenty past, half past?

Twenty minutes later, the road was heaving with hordes of dancing people and excited children, with a multicoloured bull on wheels rearing up and down. As the minstrels came pouring off the buses, instruments already in their hands and at their lips, tears of relief and gratitude were running down behind my sunglasses. It was finally happening; the dream was becoming real.

This chapter reviews carnival theory, beginning with Bakhtin, and identifies major carnival themes: time, space, play, inversion, transformation and identity. The chapter also introduces a range of intercultural communication theoretical concepts: third-culture building, joint improvisation, transculturation and place-identity.

2.1 Carnival theory: Bakhtin and beyond

Traditionally, carnival theory begins with Mikhail Bakhtin, the Russian writer who was the first to theorise carnival in the 1940s¹. Bakhtin's thesis *Rabelais and his World* set out to rehabilitate the great French contemporary of Shakespeare and Cervantes by encouraging a more sympathetic reading of Rabelais' apparently coarse and lowbrow imagery and reviving its medieval humanist context. For Bakhtin, the carnival of the Renaissance as expressed in Rabelais conveys an affirmative, anti-authoritarian attitude, encompassing a joyful acceptance of the body, which was subsequently suppressed by European rationalism and modernity from the seventeenth century onwards (Dentith 1995, p.66).

Bakhtin was, however, writing about carnival in the context of literature² – examining how Rabelais used carnival as a metaphor for an alternative reality, an inverted universe. In truth, Bakhtin was writing less about 'carnival' than about 'the carnivalesque'³. More importantly, he did so in the context of Stalin's Russia, using his thesis to subtly challenge the status quo. It could be said that his emphasis on anti-authoritarian tropes and inversion has, as a consequence, been overplayed when it comes to the analysis of individual carnivals.

Schechner (2004) has judged Bakhtin's insights to be inappropriate in the post-colonial context, seeing carnival to be a far more complex site of contested power, with far greater potential for affirming identity, than Bakhtin allows for. But while it may be that the character of the post-emancipation carnivals of the New World needs to be differently theorised than that of the medieval carnivals of Europe, Bakhtin's original expression of the essence of carnival should not be completely discarded. When grappling with the nature of carnival as human interaction, many of his concepts are still fundamental. As Dentith (1995) says,

The controversy over Bakhtin's notion of carnival and the powerful positive charge he attaches to it reflects the energies that are still engaged in those various attempts at regulation, contestation and repression. (p.79)

¹ Though, importantly, his work was only translated from Russian in the late 1960s when it became a seminal influence on the French philosophers and literary theorists in the revolutionary era of 1968.

² Examining concepts such as 'the ambivalence of carnival laughter' and 'grotesque realism'.

³ Crowley (1999) gently mocks Bakhtin's complete lack of "field experience with carnivals" and as a result, concludes his ideas to be merely "an elegant artifice" (p.220).

Just one paragraph from Bakhtin contains the seeds of much written on carnival in the twentieth century:

carnival does not know footlights, in the sense that it does not acknowledge any distinction between actors and spectators. Footlights would destroy a carnival, as the absence of footlights would destroy a theatrical performance. Carnival is not a spectacle seen by the people; they live in it, and everyone participates because its very idea embraces all the people. While carnival lasts, there is no other life outside it. During carnival time life is subject only to its laws, that is, the laws of its own freedom. It has a universal spirit; it is a special condition of the entire world, of the world's revival and renewal, in which all take part. Such is the essence of carnival... vividly felt as an escape from the usual official way of life. (Bakhtin 1984, p.7)

Encompassing themes such as 'total theatre', unity, egalitarianism, 'time out of time', liberty, universality, renewal, and escapism, Bakhtin's vision of the freeing capacities of carnival was inspiring to many. The culture of "folk carnival humour", which for Bakhtin encompassed everything from clowns, fools and carnival jugglers to comedians and literary parody, "offered a completely different, non-official, extra-ecclesiastical and extra-political aspect of the world..." (ibid. pp.4-6). This 'extra-everything' aspect of carnival, existing as it did outside everything officially sanctioned, allowed the 'out of time', 'out of space' idea to develop in carnival literature.

Bakhtin's fundamental recognition of carnival as a special space allowing common people the freedom to comment on society, as if everyone had the right to be the court jester just for the day, was critical for twentieth century theorists. However, the emphasis in contemporary post-modern analysis is not on how people are parodying authority or challenging the elite, but on how they are expressing themselves (Riggio 2004). Whether this reflects a true change in the practice of carnival or merely a shift in the gaze of the critic remains to be seen.

Bakhtin (1984) states that:

carnival celebrated temporary liberation for the prevailing truth and from the established order; it marked the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms, and prohibitions. Carnival was the true feast of time, the feast of becoming, change, and renewal. It was hostile to all that was immortalised and completed." (p.10 my underlining).

But the emphasis of much carnival theory after Bakhtin was on the first half of the preceding paragraph and not on the second i.e. it focused on what was being challenged rather than what was being created, on the anarchic and not on the constructive. It seems the latter aspect of Bakhtin's carnival theory, examining its potential as the "feast of becoming, change and renewal", has been neglected until now.

Fundamental to this study is Bakhtin's (1984) notion of carnival as "the second life of the people, who for a time entered the utopian realm of community, freedom, equality and abundance" (p.9) i.e. carnival as an opportunity to experience a harmoniously integrated society, not as a distant dream, but here and now. For Bakhtin, carnival has the power to "present the victory of this future, of the golden age, over the past"(ibid. p.256). Morris (1994) believes that Bakhtin's carnival "enacts the triumph of a new order over the old...(and) expresses a utopian belief in a future time in which fear and authority are vanquished" (p.207).

2.2 Carnival themes

The following pages follow many of Bakhtin's themes through carnival theorising in the forty years since his seminal work was published. From the literature there appear six main attributes of carnival relevant to this study: time, space, place, inversion, transformation and identity.

2.2.1 Carnival time

Turner (1986) declares that carnival differs from other celebrations because it is severed from ordinary historical time:

Truly, carnival is the denizen of a place which is no place, and a time which is no time... For the squares, avenues and streets of the city become at Carnival, the reverse of their daily selves. (p.123)

DaMatta (1991) similarly describes Brazilian Carnaval as a zone:

where rational, normal time is suspended... where problems are forgotten or confronted...here, suspended between automatic routines and the festival that wishes to reconstruct the world, we touch the realm of liberty and the domain of what seems to be essentially human. It is in these spheres that the power of the system is reborn... (p.4)

Importantly, Turner (1986) states his belief that rituals such as carnival:

separated specified members of a group from everyday life, placed them in a limbo that was not any place they were in before and not yet any place they would be in, then returned them, changed in some way, to mundane life. (p.25)

For Turner, carnival inhabits the threshold between secular and sacred living – where loops in linear progression are possible, and where society reflects upon itself. His important study of “Liminality and Communitas” in *The Ritual Process* (1969) defines liminal entities such as carnival as existing in “a ‘moment in and out of time’”; “neither here or there: they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial.”

While it may be that the intensity of the carnival experience allows people to step outside of their daily routine and gain a new perspective on life, at the same time its particular historicity is vital. Schechner (2004) emphasises the weight of historical time:

No matter how celebratory, Trinidad Carnival lives within the shadows of slavery, indentured labour, colonialism, imperialism, and, now, globalisation⁴. Carnival is not sunshine dispelling these shadows but a means of overcoming them, assimilating them, and playing them out. (p.6)

The majority of the Carnivals that are celebrated across the globe today were initiated by slaves taken from Africa – to Brazil, to the Caribbean and to the southern United States (Sheriff 1999, Patton 1995, Stewart 1986). From these African roots more than sixty other ‘diaspora of the diaspora’ carnivals have sprung up in the UK and Europe, the northern US and Canada (Nurse 1999). Nurse characterises these carnivals as “colonisation in reverse”⁵ (ibid. p.674).

But while they may share roots, each and every carnival is site-specific and historical-context specific. In Canada, a nation that celebrates its immigrant foundations, Toronto’s Caribana festival celebrates the West Indian background of the participants, whereas in London the Notting Hill Carnival emphasises the black British identity of the participants (Nurse 1999). Thus two seemingly comparable carnivals in historical terms i.e. both started by Caribbean immigrants, have different emphases according to contemporary needs.

⁴ In the eMzantsi context, I would add apartheid to the list of post-colonial burdens.

⁵ A quotation from Jamaican Louise Bennett’s poem describing the passage of Caribbean immigrants to England.

2.2.2 Carnival space

DaMatta (1991) declares that all the varieties of Brazilian Carnaval, rural and urban, northern or southern, traditional or modern, are dominated by the idea that:

here we have a very special moment, a gathering outside of time and space and marked by actions contrary to ordinary patterns of action. (p.14)

It is this very juxtapositioning of the everyday with the fantastic that allows “*communitas*” to emerge (Turner 1969, p.127) for, as DaMatta (1991) suggests, “the order of things is displaced and every thing becomes emotionally moving, allusive, symbolic and representative” (p.105). DaMatta specifically describes how areas normally reserved for cars are taken over by “the vehicle-less” (p.81) and how there is a reinvention of city space: the CBD becomes a “special space”, altered, “designed exclusively for Carnival” (ibid.).

Jackson (2003) identifies in the pedestrian-orientated pre-removals innercity areas where the main Cape Carnival began, those “incendiary themes of mixture, contact and contingency that officials and planners have most come to fear” (p.74). Jackson characterises these liminal zones as possessing a “general climate of diversity and ambiguity” (p.74), and points to developments such as the sanitised uniform blocks of Century City⁶ as in direct opposition to such spaces. Jeppie (cited by Jackson 2003, p.77) describes the Cape Carnival as “a raucous inversion of the dominant symbols of control and social order that prevailed the rest of the year”; as such it became “a public declaration of control over the meaning of streets... a site of struggle”. Jackson (2003) concludes that:

reterritorialising (Cape Town) involves reclaiming and imaginatively reviving symbols and spaces associated with the contingency, contact and liminality that once allowed residents to define boundaries from below. (p.81)

After the forced removals of the late 1960s, the ‘Coon Carnival’ parade was effectively banned from the streets, and exiled to enclosed stadiums. Eddie Matthews, a minstrel born in 1929 and interviewed by Baxter (2001), describes how troupes would leave the stadium after the competition, and have to get on bus and go back home:

That was a damp carnival then... there was no expression of the culture... the road march is the essence. (p.101, my emphasis)

⁶ An exclusive commercial and residential development to the north of Cape Town.

The essence of carnival as liminal power is in claiming the territory. Carnival has to be created in contested space, otherwise the defiance has no grounds; there is not the piquancy of challenge to the established order, or the temptation to get intimate and blur borders. To contain carnival in a concrete bunker is antithetical to its very being: the displacement of Rio Carnaval from the city streets to the ticketed Sambodromo⁷ is equivalent to the Group Areas Act displacement of Cape Town's Carnival from the streets of the city centre into a stadium, and no less a statutory infringement of the rights of the poor (Sheriff 1999). Baxter (2001) speaks of "a critical connection between space and carnival as a form of popular expression. Carnival, particularly when manifested as street parade and procession, arises, defines, even manipulates, urban geography" (p.90). Riggio (2004) agrees that:

the essence of carnival remains its inherent capacity to appropriate spaces and transgress boundaries in order to manifest and celebrate aspects of human community (p.15)

and believes that carnival affirms "the village within the city" (ibid.) in the teeth of all forces expanding in the opposite direction, towards urban anonymity and isolation.

Examining the Notting Hill Carnival, Tompsett (2005) underlines both how a recognition of history is key to understanding the nature of carnival, and the critical importance of its claiming of public space:

Carnival's possession of the street holds in the memory and the psyche the right of a free people to occupy the public thoroughfare. It connects past to present... Carnival performance says 'I am here'. (p.46)

Proclaiming their right to be on the street and to occupy public space in ways previously prohibited to them was as vital for carnival participants in Trinidad in the post-emancipation era⁸ as it was in Notting Hill in the 1970s when, in the face of white hostility, the carnival became both a "statement of presence and celebration of identity in the Black British community" (Tompsett 2005, p.43).

2.2.3 Carnival escapism and play

Turner's (1982) examples of the celebrated feeling experienced during ritual of "euphoria...that perception of shared emotional states I have called *communitas*" (p.21) include Freud's "oceanic experience", the Christian *unio mystica*, the Zen

⁷ The Sambadromo was designed by Oscar Niemayer (the modernist architect responsible for the monumental city of Brasilia) and erected in 1984. This vast grey monolith comprising a central avenue flanked by steeply raked concrete seating was built in the suburbs of Rio, and is in use for only the four days of Carnaval, otherwise spectrally deserted all year.

⁸ See also Riggio on appropriating space 2004, p.24.

sartori, the Quakers' "inner light", Thomas Merton's "transcendental consciousness" and the yogic *samadhi* (p.13). To that list could be added Martin's (1999) description of the Muslim *tariék*, the "trance-like state" (p.40) reached by participants in the *ratiep* or *khalifa* ceremony where acts of self mutilation are performed for the glory of God. In a 1994 interview, a troupe Captain describes how this "fever" (Martin 1999, p.41) overtakes participants in the Cape New Year Carnival at the height of festivities:

The *tariék*, this thing, you put yourself in another frame of mind. You're now at another level... You're in a different world. Now all this apartheid business is at the back of you, and everything is free. Your chains is broken and everything is free and we're flying now and the band is playing, the tambourines is playing and... you're tired but you're not tired... The overwhelming joy here, that is being felt is like being in love... (p.180)

Turner (1986) believes that "Clearly, carnival is a form of play" (p.124) but for him "Play...is a serious matter" (p.18). Turner devoted a great deal of time to examining the importance of play in communal rituals such as carnival:

"(Play)...has the power of the weak, an infantile audacity in the face of the strong. To ban play is, in fact, to massacre the innocents." (ibid.)

He believed "The way people play perhaps is more profoundly revealing of a culture than how they work, giving access to their 'heart values'..." (Turner 1986, p.124).

2.2.4 Carnival Inversion and subversion

Many theorists since Bakhtin have emphasised how carnival offers a twin experience in the Twelfth Night sense – when just for one evening of high revelry all is turned upside down: rich and poor trade places; masters become servants and servants become masters (Sheriff 1999, p.12). This is particularly true of carnival celebrations which have their historical roots in commemorating an emancipation from slavery, either temporary or permanent e.g. In Brazil (Sheriff 1999, p.11), Antigua (Patton 1995, p.70), Trinidad (Stewart 1986, p.300) and Cape Town (Martin 1999, p.33, Baxter 2001, p.87, Jackson 2003, p.77).

DaMatta (1991) agrees that Carnival allows the poor to become rich and "permits the transformation of domestic workers...into samba experts who can arouse the envy of their bosses" (p.134). Carnaval for DaMatta offers a temporary inhibition of hierarchy and inequality, allowing people to experience the world in reverse "without running the risk of seeing the world turned upside down in any permanent way" (p.135).

DaMatta describes how Brazilian Carnaval transforms marginal and inferior people

into 'persons' of status and prestige and vice versa. As a result, the intelligentsia and the upper class abandon the city during Carnaval as a reaction to the loss of their privileges (DaMatta, 1991, p.133).

DaMatta (1991) makes an interesting comparison between the identity and ideology of Brazil and US Carnivals as represented by Rio Carnaval and New Orleans Mardi Gras respectively. He contrasts the inclusive and egalitarian spirit of Rio's celebration with the aristocratic and exclusive aspirations of its American counterpart, and proposes that the dichotomy can be explained by the difference in the day-to-day realities of society in each place, the social roles played by each geographic locale and thus the respective inversions that occur during each carnival (p.118). In the US, which DaMatta views as an "egalitarian and individualistic society" (p.118), carnival is a "special place" organised by aristocratic upper class organisations called krewes where crude racial stereotyping is portrayed. For DaMatta, the Mardi Gras is "an attempt to put back a principle of differentiation into a social milieu from which it was legally and judicially excluded by the official social and political creed" (p.130) and it is "precisely because the egalitarian creed is strong and omnipresent that hierarchy has to be insinuated in a noxious and ...perverted way" (ibid.).

In contrast, DaMatta feels that in Brazil's usually "hierarchical and authoritarian society", the samba schools, traditionally run by the poor and marginalized, "open up a social space where two poles of Brazilian society can meet and 'see' each other" (p.126). In Brazil "everyone knows his place" but "Brazilian Carnaval...transforms the holistic hierarchy of everyday life into a fleeting moment dominated by magical individualistic equality" (p.130).

Although DaMatta's perspective is thought-provoking, it seems an unnecessarily polarised explanation of aspects of South American culture directed principally at a North American audience, and leaves one unsure of where an African carnival might fit. As South Africa is a country in transition, with a hierarchical authoritarian past and only a constitutionally egalitarian present, it follows that there may be aspects of both aspirations in our carnivals. Turner (1986) seems to allow for such a coexistence of opposing urges – his opposition⁹ argues that a linear progression:

fails to take in to account (carnival play's) dialectical nature, which moves from structure to antistructure and back again to transformed structure, from hierarchy to

⁹ Turner's argument is with Roger Caillois' evolutionist theory of play in carnival and other rituals.

equality, from indicative mood to subjunctive mood, from unity to multiplicity; from the person to the individual, from system of status roles to *communitas*. (p.125-8)

It could be argued that Bakhtin's (1984) emphasis on the subversive role of carnival inversion has been overstressed. Dentith (1995) cites the participation of the nobility in medieval carnival as well as peasants, and questions whether Bakhtin's carnival was genuinely anti-Church and State hierarchy or merely a temporary suspension that in fact reinforced their authority (p.73). Modern carnival only appears militantly anti-authoritarian when the times see fit, such as the Notting Hill Carnival during British race riots in the 1970s and 80s, or when an Antiguan calypsonian's shame-inducing hit forced the resignation of a corrupt arms-dealing government in 1990 (Patton 1995, p.77). Generally themes are more likely to be hedonistic than political, but the very presence of the people's carnival is political and subversive in itself, however hedonistic it appears. Martin (1999) quotes a piece in the *Cape Herald* of 31 December 1966 by Herman Arendse, who reported that a Coon leader had said:

The White community will never be able to put up a carnival as bright as the Cape Coon Carnival... because the basis of the Coons is giving vent to feelings which for 51 weeks of the year have been repressed. The Whites have not been repressed, so that there can be no wild burst of feeling. (p.154)

Carnival does not happen in a vacuum; it reflects its social context.

2.2.5 Carnival as transformative power

Tompsett (2005) describes carnival principally as " a process of transformation" (p.43) and declares:

Any who witness it may leave in some way changed. (p.52).

'Transformation' is a very tired word in the contemporary SA context, but is worth recalling its original meaning: 'to transform' is not to turn white to black, but to change shape, to move into a different guise. In the carnival context, it means the freedom to become other than what you are normally perceived to be, or to remake your society, however briefly. The *Cape Times* of 26 January, 1940, arguing against the coloured elite's contempt of the coons as collaboration with the oppressor, declared:

They are victorious rebels against drabness, and they are rightly proud of their achievement. They introduce colour, movement, music and laughter which is so healthy in an unprivileged community. (Martin 1991, p.117)

Turner (1986) says he felt the "transformative power" (p.49) of Carnival when he was in Rio for the four days of festivities in 1979. Years before, he had described

how people are “released from structure into *communitas* only to return to structure revitalised by their experience of *communitas*” (1969, p.129) explaining that:

Communitas breaks in through the interstices of structure, in liminality; at the edges of structure, in marginality; and from beneath structure, in inferiority. It is almost everywhere held to be sacred or ‘holy’ possibly because it transgresses or dissolves the norms that govern structured and institutionalised relationships and is accompanied by experiences of unprecedented potency. (ibid.p.128 my emphasis)

Nurse (1999), speaking about diaspora carnivals in a globalisation context, underlines the point that:

Carnival as a cultural activity is not just about merriment, colourful pageantry, revelry and street theatre. Carnival is born of the struggles of marginalized peoples to shape a cultural identity through resistance, liberation and catharsis. (p.662)

DaMatta (1991) emphasises the significant association between carnival, as a special domain, and the alternative forms of action it can open up to people: “either to return satisfied to everyday life or to change it” (p.32 my emphasis). Turner (1986) describes the unifying effects of social dramas such as carnival and Brazilian Umbanda spiritual services and describes them as “a hall of magic mirrors” (p.24) whose message is conveyed through flashes of interpretive and reflective thought. But he adds:

cultural performances are not simple reflectors or expressions of culture or even of changing culture but may themselves be active agencies of change, representing the eye by which culture sees itself and the drawing board on which creative actors sketch out what they believe to be more apt or interesting ‘designs for living’. (ibid. my emphasis)

Stuart Hall (1992) similarly characterises popular cultural forms such as carnival as those “where we are represented, not only to the audience there who do not get the message, but to ourselves for the first time” (p.32). This is why Riggio (2004) negates Turner’s influential interpretation of the performance of social drama such as carnival as ‘liminal’:

despite its subversive elements, to describe carnival as liminal (“time out of time”) is to see it as a photographic negative defined by the dark shadow of what it displaces rather than by the positive image of what it affirms. (p.15 my underlining)

Proactive self-definition is a significant strain of post-colonial carnival, as demonstrated by the activist, consciousness-raising efforts of the *bloco*¹⁰ Oludum in Salvador, Brazil, who seek to educate the local population about, and inspire pride in, their African roots (Armstrong 2005, 2001). Schechner (2004) supports Riggio, citing Falassi's belief that carnival has ability to both "renounce and... announce culture" (p.4).

2.2.6 Carnival as opportunity to redefine identity

DaMatta said "it was not Brazil that invented Carnaval; on the contrary, it was Carnaval that invented Brazil" (Sheriff 1999, p.3). Martin (1999) concurs that the drive for self-identity has been at the heart of carnival in the Cape for over 200 years:

Cape Town's New Year festivals therefore carry the proclamation of an identity. The history of South Africa – slavery, racism, apartheid – has put a label on this identity: 'coloured'. It...has accommodated acquiescence, escapism, active and passive resistance. Those very contradictions have been the engine of the evolution and transformation of the New Year festivals, since the nineteenth century at least. (p.48)

DaMatta's (1991) fascinating and insightful examination of Brazilian identity through national traditions such as Carnaval explains at a theoretical level the elation and sense of something huge and irresistibly powerful that I felt while I was there. He describes carnival as a perpetual institution that has enabled Brazilians to sense and feel (more than abstractly conceive) their continuity as a distinct social and political entity over time, and as:

a moment when (we are) creating and building not just a mere festival, but our very heart. (p.15, my emphasis)

Tompsett (2005) describes the Notting Hill Carnival as "culturally affirming, not only within the black community, but also within a wider Britain" (p.58). Connor and Farrar (2004) agree that carnival in Leeds and London:

has been one of the anvils upon which new black British identifications have been forged... an important instrument in this transformation. (p.256)

They believe that if Trinidad Carnival should be considered in relation to colonial subjugation, UK carnival should be read in the context of opposition to the blatant white British racism of the 1950s and 1960s:

It should be understood as a very specific response – one which asserted the positive contribution that black people would make to the cultural life of Britain. (ibid.)

¹⁰ Salvador's equivalent of a samba school, a *bloco* is a carnival team based around a big percussion band.

Likewise Kasinitz (2004) characterises New York's Labor Day Carnival in Brooklyn as "an event in which the participants' social identities are both crystallised and transformed" (p.271). He asserts that:

The importance of carnival lies in the fact that, while it is unquestioningly "ethnic", its tradition of satire, inversion, creativity, and innovation leaves the content of West Indian identity unfixed. It thus creates a space in which a reformulation of identity and a realignment of social relations are possible. (p.276 my emphasis)

After considering how warring local residents of the West Indian and Hasidic Jewish communities were brought together in the Labor Day celebrations after the Crown Heights riots in 1991 (ibid. p.278), Kasinitz concludes:

So long as carnival remains in flux, it will continue to provide the social and temporal space in which notions of group identity can be played with and contested, if never completely resolved. (ibid. p.282)

Connor and Farrar (2004) describe this "cultural negotiation" as key to carnival dynamics in Leeds, UK:

Inherent within the aesthetic of carnival is the seamless fusion of arts practice and community engagement. In particular, carnival is now seen and often used as an effective creative tool for bringing disparate communities together in common celebration.... ultimately offering a creative opportunity for social and political change. (p.266 my emphasis)

At this point, it is important to underline Bakhtin's (1984) concept of the carnival body not as an isolated biological individual, but as "the collective ancestral body of all the people" (p.19):

The individual feels that he is an indissoluble part of the collectivity, a member of the people's mass body... At the same time the people become aware of their sensual, material bodily unity and community. (p.255)

To illustrate, Bakhtin quotes Goethe's reaction to the amphitheatre in Verona:

Crowded together, its members are astonished at themselves... Now this many-headed, many-minded, fickle, blundering monster suddenly sees itself united as one noble assembly, welded into one mass, as single body animated by a single spirit. (ibid.)

The identity carnival asserts is not primarily for the self, but for the unified community within wider society, or the nation in a global context. The masses' power in the carnival context is relevant not just in terms of size, but in terms of process:

The carnivalesque crowd in the marketplace or in the streets is not merely a crowd. It is the people as a whole, but organised *in their own way*, the way of the people. It is outside of and contrary to all existing forms of coercive socio-economic and political organisation, which is suspended for the time of the festivity. (ibid., his italics)

For Martin (1991), the Cape Carnival symbolises “the resilience of an independent, uncaptured and non-confrontational feeling of communal belonging, which still assumes the heritage of a founding creolity” (p.180). Schechner (2004) agrees that, in essence, “carnival... is a hybrid” (p.6):

Trinidad Carnival is more intercultural than multi-cultural. Multi-cultural is where every culture performs in its assigned place... Intercultural... is where cultural practices are obliged to share the same time-space... There are tensions and ongoing (if sometimes non-conscious) negotiations, like sharing space and air in a crowded elevator. By deeming Trinidad and Tobago Carnival intercultural I mean it does not elide or alleviate differences but boldly displays and highlights them... What makes Trinidad Carnival such a stupendously energetic and “global” event – culturally and personally comprehensive – is its ability not only to tolerate but actually to raise to high consciousness and put into play... the performances of these differences.” (p.11 my emphasis)

In a multicultural context, carnival could be seen to be the ultimate intercultural performance opportunity, showcasing diversity in all its glory. As Madison (2005) declares:

The promise of a performance of possibility is that it not only creates alliances... it also enacts a force beyond ideology; it enacts and imagines the vast possibilities of collective hopes and dreams coming to fruition, of actually being lived. (p.544)

2.3 Intercultural communication theory

Having reviewed pertinent themes in carnival theory, this section examines themes in intercultural communication theory which may be useful in the eMzantsi context.

2.3.1 Third-culture building

Fred Casmir's (1997) third-culture building model is a beacon for this project. While describing the best approach towards creating a third way between the traditions of self and other, his emphasis is firmly on process, not product. For Casmir, the outcome is less important than the communication strategies that produce it, as the imperative is to produce “mutually empowering...ethical systems” (p.90):

even the foundations...for building and organising *together*, ...should not be merely considered as something brought by participants to the process, but as something developed together by all who have a stake in the future of the process...every phase of the development of the process (should be) directed by those who hope to benefit from it. (p.92, his italics)

Casmir stresses the vital importance of dialogue and mutually involved process by placing emphasis throughout his text on helpful prefixes such as *inter*-action and *com*-munication, and focussing on *together*:

Together implies, rather than merely considering the relationship between self OR (or even AND) other, that we can build something that eventually is 'ours'. (p. 115, his italics, my underlining)

In 2004, when the eMzantsi project was first mooted, the communities of the valley area could be viewed as what Casmir (1997) described as "co-cultures" (p.98), existing next to each other and professing a certain amount of tolerance or acceptance for each other but "without necessarily ever seeing a need for *community* or *com*-munication" (p.98, his italics). In this situation, Casmir declares the need to:

change our emphasis from cultures... (and) other endstates and focus on... building, and the dialogic, conversational *com*-municative approaches we use to do so. (p.97, his italics)

For Casmir, this involves seeing the 'other' as a "welcome partner in a meaningful discovery and building process" which develops understanding through "negotiating meanings, rather than by merely discovering it in an objectivist fashion" (p.97).

Casmir describes the result as interdependence:

Only...after becoming *dependent* on one another for the development of the process, can the final phase of resulting *interdependence* include a minimum of stress, fear or domination. In effect, the beneficial outcome of the process depends on relationship- and trust-*building* both prior to and during organising an ongoing relationship. (p.111 his italics)

Casmir (1997) acknowledges that this emic way of addressing cultural diversity issues is an extended process, which by necessity evolves, and he emphasises time as a "major component" (p.112). Prinsloo and De la Rey's (1997) account of their two-way process in their post-1994 research within South African coloured communities supports this, as does Threadgold (2000) in her study of Vietnamese Australian women, when she concludes that "time is significantly under-theorised around these issues" (p.212).

2.3.2 Joint improvisation

Mary Bateson's (1993) groundbreaking text *Joint Performance Across Cultures: Improvisation in a Persian Garden* offers us a licence to feel comfortable about not knowing 'the rules' in an intercultural space; to feel in fact that the only rule is that there are no rules. Her experience of juggling multiple roles as 'foreigner' and 'anthropologist' and 'mother' in a Persian garden during a ceremonial rite involving slaughter, when she didn't know the rules of the ritual and "was forced to ...improvise, and ...to improvise responsibly." (p.115) enabled her to realise that the power of:

the metaphor of an improvisational art form, putting together different elements, dealing with the unknown in a way which sustains performance and connects it with other systems of meaning, can make us celebrate the uncertainties with which we are beginning to live. (p.120, my emphasis)

The appreciation of the power of intercultural improvisation as a 'high art' form in itself (p.119) allows Bateson to feel confident about our prospects for communication

We may work together to sustain joint performances, joint institutions, joint conversations in the larger sense, including the entire process of political discourse, in spite of not sharing a single, uniform code. And do everything we can to make those shared performances contexts for learning. (p.119)

Bateson's thesis on joint improvisatory performance seems to support Groenewald's (1996) belief that "In contrast to what some believe, a sound knowledge of the other party's culture is not necessarily a condition for effective intercultural communication...positive attitudes, an openness to all the risks and problems of communication and the ability to listen on an empathetic level are the keys" (p.13).¹¹ In a rapidly changing country such as South Africa, in a culturally charged environment such as the very unequally resourced communities of the southern peninsula, Bateson (1993) suggests we must look less to books and rather seek to study "the canon of human experience, that teaches as much by its diversity as by its specific details" (p.120):

One reason I like to talk about the canon of human experience is that when you expose yourself to the culture of another human community, you are exposing yourself to a masterpiece, to a work of art, to the invention of a form of humanness that has been made over a long period of time. This then allows the thinking of ways to connect, to share, in spite of disparate codes. (ibid.)

¹¹ Turner (1986) also promotes "transformative performance" (p70) and lays stress on process (p.76).

2.3.3 Transculturation

Renato Rosaldo (1989), in a chapter entitled "Border Crossings", makes the case for an iconoclastic anthropology working against the old order of "if it's moving, it isn't cultural" (p.209). He professes a waning interest in homogenous communities, realising that the borderlands within and between them are the significant "sites of creative cultural production that require investigation" (p.208). He speaks about cultural visibility and invisibility and describes how cultural visibility and full citizenship are inversely related (p.198). Rosaldo asserts that "the more power one has, the less culture one enjoys, and the more culture one has, the less power one wields" (p.202).

Rosaldo describes the marginalised's talent for "improvisation and recombination within an array of disparate cultural elements" (p.215), an ability he defines as "transculturation" (ibid.). This is the same skill as shown by Bateson's (1993) mothers who are more adept at coping with contemporary challenges of change due to being accustomed to playing multiple roles simultaneously (p.465). Rosaldo (1986) believes that those who "have so long practiced the art of cultural blending... stand in position to become leaders in developing new forms of polyglot cultural creativity – the rear guard will become the vanguard" (p.216). This is good news for the marginalised communities in the valley, who have spent their lives toiling under the burden of what Dubois famously dubbed 'double consciousness'.

2.3.4 Place-identity

Durrheim and Dixon (2005) contend that the vast majority of contact research has ignored the spatial dimensions of intergroup relations. Their belief is that to treat context as an inert backdrop fails to acknowledge "how people invest everyday environments with richly symbolic, aesthetic, moral, and, above all, identity-relevant meanings" (p.181). They re-examine the contact hypothesis with regard to contextual specificity and conclude that "desegregation is a process that alters not only the relationship between self and other, but also the relationship between self and place. As such, it may be experienced as a form of dislocation: an event that undermines shared constructions of place and the forms of located subjectivity they sustain" (p.13-14).

Crucially, Durrheim and Dixon (2005) warn that the interrelation between place-identity and social change means that “Individuals and groups will be motivated either to alter ‘discrepant’ environments so that they become compatible with their place-identities or, if that is not possible, to avoid such environments altogether” (p.184). They suggest that “the transformation of material environments may disrupt established place identities and may be strenuously resisted for this reason” (ibid., my emphasis).

However, Durrheim and Dixon also see a positive potential in challenging place-identity:

Far from being a universal reaction, dislocation must be viewed as a highly political – and thus contestable – framework for understanding the consequences of change.

They believe that, just as the breaking down of racial boundaries may inspire resistance to desegregation, desegregation may also inspire the creation of more inclusive spaces (p.201).

In summary, the intercultural communication concept of third-culture building paves the way for an understanding of the progress towards the eMzantsi Carnival; the concepts of joint improvisation and transculturation may contribute to an assessment of the dynamic of the parade; and the concept of place-identity may assist analysis of resistance to Carnival as well as highlight the potential power of the reclaiming of the road.

Having surveyed these carnival theory themes and intercultural communication theory ideas, the next chapter seeks to synthesise them in the context of the eMzantsi Carnival project.

That first stretch along the Kommetjie Road up to the four-way stop was a revelation. How the crowds cheered us out of Masiphumelele! How the ramshackle minstrels came alive! How the small children ran alongside the bull, barely able to contain themselves, picking up cool drink cans so they could join in with the rhythms of the primary schools' Omniculture group. There were a few gaps, our timing wasn't quite right, and the procession ebbed and flowed. But for the spectators, it was a totally unexpected treat.

As we passed the Living Hope Hospice, their team of nurses holding the banner "We are here for you" was made a space for, and they fell in seamlessly. And then ahead was the stationary column of the police drill team waiting motionless in the heat by the side of the road. What a change for these communities, to see the police ready and waiting to join them, and saluting!

By examining the eMzantsi experience in more detail, this chapter attempts to ascertain how intercultural interaction might be facilitated during the Carnival process, with particular reference to the attributes of carnival explored by Bakhtin and other theorists. This thesis of this study is that both the journey towards the eMzantsi Carnival and the day of the celebration itself offer special opportunities to overcome barriers to Intercultural communication.

3.1 Third-culture building before the eMzantsi Carnival

The attempt to create a common culture through carnival was pursued with the fullest possible participation of each of the communities of Ocean View, Masiphumelele and Sun Valley¹. Throughout the process, the eMzantsi coordinating team sought to prioritise third-culture building tenets of mutually empowering dialogue, *inter-action* and *com-munication*, through a focus on working *together* (Casmir 1997).

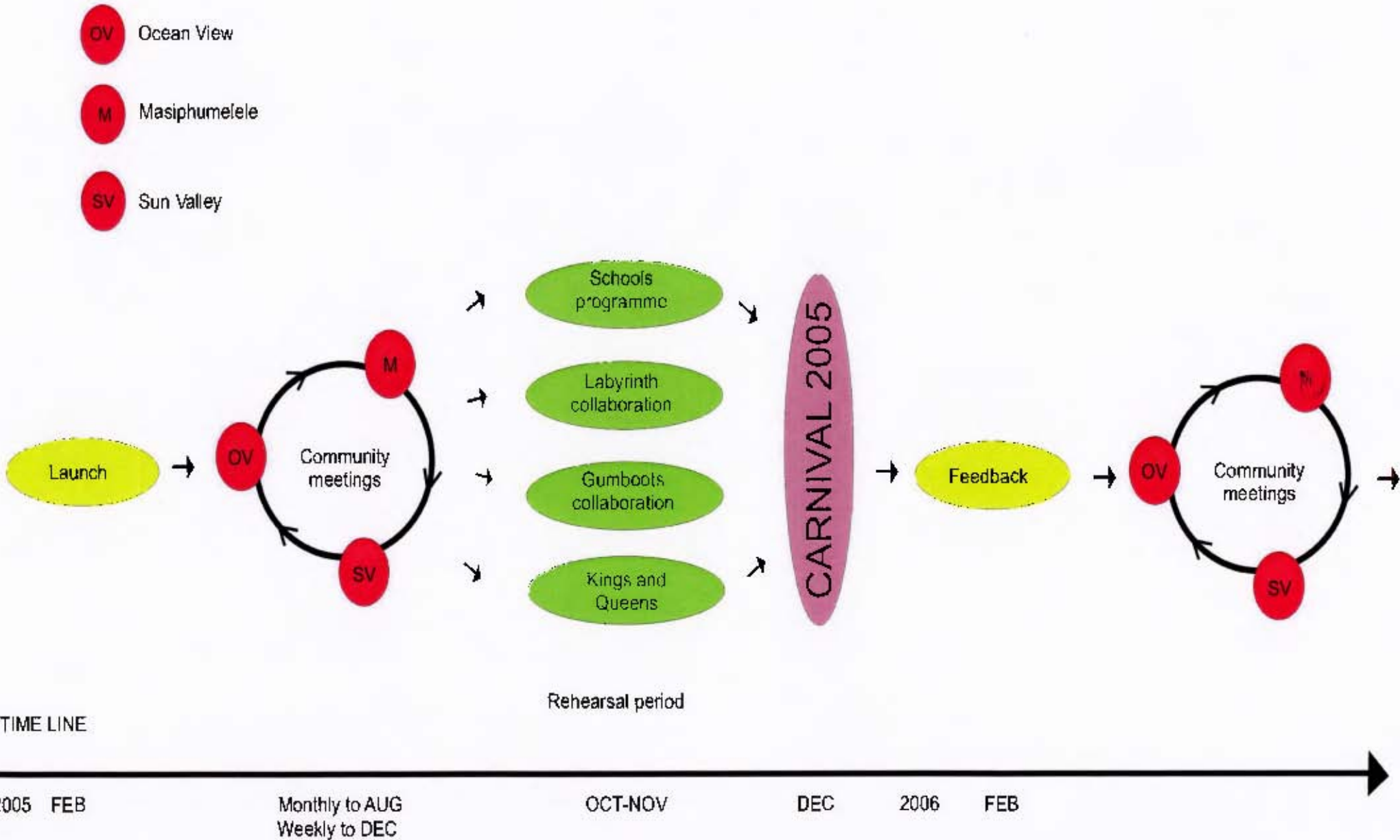
Local eMzantsi coordinators recruited from each area encouraged their community leaders to get involved, and open invitations to meetings were posted in the local press. Monthly meetings (from February to July 2005) and weekly meetings (from August to December 2005) were held on rotation in each community, in civic centres or churches. Forum members came from across the social spectrum: police, teachers, church leaders, youth leaders, HIV awareness campaigners, hospice managers, representatives of the disabled, band leaders, artists, frustrated performers, elders and children.

This close and regular contact allowed the project management team to be sensitive and responsive to the needs of the communities represented. For example, the date of the Carnival (and the schoolchildren's rehearsal period prior to it) was postponed for a month to accommodate the demands of the Muslim fast and the celebration of Eid-ul Fitr, which affected a large percentage of Ocean View families.

Figure 3 (overleaf) demonstrates the progression of the three communities towards Carnival. The illustration shows how regular meetings on rotation over a substantial amount of time allowed for a growing number of people to become involved in the process, and how this expansion led to the mobilisation of the wider community for Carnival. (The process was repeated in 2006, with slight modifications following the feedback session on experiences in 2005.)

¹ See Appendix 1 for more detail on the eMzantsi Carnival.

Fig.3: eMzantsi Carnival process: indicates how the communities mobilised for carnival.



As well as mobilising their communities to represent the best of their culture in the Carnival, the forums facilitated some groundbreaking collaborations. People with resources to offer were encouraged to attend meetings in their neighbouring communities in order to link up with other enthusiastic participants². The youths of the Marhoshi Gumboot troupe of Masiphumelele teamed up with the girls of the Fish Hoek Academy of Dance, and Ocean View's Arts Vibrations II hip hop crew worked with the Ilitha Lomso drama group of Masiphumelele to create the 'Labyrinth of the Community', facilitated by a Kommetjie resident.

Five primary schools (Kleinberg and Marine in Ocean View, the Imhoff Waldorf school, the Noordhoek Private School and two groups from Ukhanyo Primary in Masiphumelele) rehearsed carnival percussion skills in each other's schools over a two month period, before joining together to perform as one giant Omniculture group at the Carnival under the guidance of facilitators RedZebra³. Finally the free local community paper, the *People's Post*, ran a competition for the eMzantsi Carnival King and Queen where nominations for "role models, not supermodels" were asked for from the local communities to highlight young achievers in the valley. The quantitative research component of the project was also a collaborative venture (see Chapter 4). All the collaborative processes were charted in a 10-week lead up to Carnival in the *People's Post*, and promoted in other print and radio reports.

The community meetings aimed to prioritise respect for each other: to listen to everyone, to appreciate all contributions and to take all major decisions by consensus. The collaborations that evolved from them made a space for alliances to form, a common purpose to develop and trust to grow. The eMzantsi team hoped the effect would be like driving a big colourful carnival float of calm mutual understanding along the Kommetjie Road between the communities as a solid foundation to inspire other spontaneous eMzantsi revellers to jump onto and join in.

² This boundary crossing was greatly appreciated – an Ocean View resident who spoke at a Masiphumelele meeting expressing a need for cultural solidarity between the communities received a standing ovation.

³ See Appendix 1 for more detail about the schools workshops. Omniculture is a percussion programme pioneered by RedZebra for the World Aids Foundation's "Dance4Life" initiative, that unites cultures through rhythm. See www.redzebra.za.com.

3.2 Intercultural interaction during the eMzantsi Carnival

The inaugural eMzantsi Carnival was held on 3 December 2005, the first Saturday of the school summer holiday. Around 1000 people joined the parade, from bikers and babies, gospel singers and gumboot dancers, to belly dancers and breakdancers. The Carnival took just an hour to walk from Masiphumelele and culminated in a three hour stage show on the common outside the Longbeach and Sun Valley mall complex, currently the only place in the valley where all three of the communities interact. It was the first time the neighbouring communities of Ocean View, Masiphumelele and Sun Valley participated together in a cultural event organised by a team of representatives from each area.

On the day of carnival we were all foreigners in a new land. It was a strangely familiar place, but everything was different: the rules had fallen away. Carnival theory suggests that in that euphoric and extra-ordinary situation, people may be free to stare, contemplate and digest; able to relax, smile and come together in their own time. Carnival completely removes people from the realms of everyday, and transports them into the realms of 'everything's possible'. Its greatest gift may be that it takes the pressure off individuals to communicate directly, thus dispensing with the high anxiety that compounds all the other stumbling blocks to intercultural communication (Barna 1994). By freeing people from high anxiety, and replacing it with high hopes, carnival may perhaps make meeting the 'Other' an exciting event to be anticipated rather than an anxious moment to fear or avoid.

Holquist (1981) relates that "Carnival is one of Bakhtin's great obsessions, because in his understanding of it, carnival, like the novel, is a means of displaying otherness; carnival makes familiar relations strange" (p.xii). In the eMzantsi context, the Carnival may have the capacity to allow participants to look with new eyes at their neighbours and their surroundings. But it might also have the capacity to 'make strangers familiar'. Carnival may offer people an opportunity to just 'hang out' with a multicultural crowd while providing them with a reassuring role, and a sense of safety in numbers, that allows them to feel more at ease, and open to intercultural experiences. Carnival's capacity to shake things up and turn things upside down has the potential to rattle the foundations of racial and cultural stereotyping in this valley.

3.3 Intercultural Interaction facilitated by carnival attributes

This section examines how intercultural interaction in the eMzantsi context might be facilitated by the attributes of carnival explored in Chapter Two.

3.3.1 Time out of time, escapism and play

Bakhtin and his successors theorised that carnival's 'time out of time' factor frees people from their normal everyday routine. It might correspondingly allow valley residents the freedom to break out of their daily behavioural obligations and expectations and 'see things differently' – from the people participating (their neighbours, their bosses, their peers and themselves) to the places en route. Released from the daily grind, playing dress-up with childlike delight, and with the stimulation of euphoria to look at things afresh, it may be easier to see people and spaces as having the potential of a different role, a different association, or a different identity.

The spontaneity of carnival celebration may teach us how to "celebrate uncertainties" (Bateson 1983, p.120) a little, to relax into such joint improvisation, to feel comfortable in a multicultural melee, and even to enjoy it.

3.3.2 Space

Carnival theory suggests that the carnival context recasts the space around people, which in turn might allow them to envisage the possibility of recasting themselves, and others. The reclamation of city streets by pedestrians described by DaMatta (1991) is a vital constituent of carnival, and this 'hijacking' of space was a triumph in our local context where the main road is closed twice a year for privileged cyclists and runners⁴ but has not been appropriated by dancing children of mostly marginalised communities before.

Contrary to Turner's (1986) belief that "carnival is the denizen of a place which is no place, and a time which is no time" (p.123), in the eMzantsi context, the time is now, and the place is very specific – and contested. Durrheim and Dixon's (2005) experience of "new forms of racial encounter...in places formerly characterised by

⁴ During the Pick'n'Pay Argus Cycle Tour and the Two Oceans Marathon which circle the peninsula.

racial isolation" (p.179) lead them to warn that the dissolution of boundaries in areas such as the Kommetjie Road used for the eMzantsi Carnival "may form the basis for resistance to desegregation" or alternatively allow "the possibility of creating more inclusive, unifying and liberating places" (p.201).

As a literary theorist, Bakhtin insisted on locating all utterances (spoken or written) between participants in a dialogue, and thus in considerations of power and authority (Dentith 1995, p.i). This is a useful way of considering the eMzantsi Carnival – as a dialogue between communities, between sites of power. The balance of power may be upset by carnival, and may not settle back to exactly where it was before. The road may never look the same again.

3.3.3 Inversion and subversion

Bakhtin (1984) notes that in sharp contrast to the rank made apparent in official medieval feasts, "all were considered equal during carnival" (p.10), and free and familiar contact was experienced between people usually divided by the barriers of birth. This is where Bakhtin may maintain his relevance in the South African context. For here in the southern peninsula of the Western Cape, neither urban or rural, but somewhere in between, the heavy yoke of social and racial hierarchies weigh as heavily as any medieval feudal constraints upon local people. Carnival has the capacity to challenge the profound feelings of lesser worth in non-white South Africans, which, after centuries of colonial and then apartheid rule and indoctrination, are deeply ingrained (Biko 1978, p.100).

In the eMzantsi context, the well-documented ability of carnival to allow people to invert themselves and their society, and to imagine another version of themselves or their society, may bring individuals closer to an understanding of the other, by walking a while in their shoes (or at the very least, next to them on the road). The primary inversion encouraged by eMzantsi Carnival is not of social mores but of the self: it allows a re-imagining - or rather the re-imagining - of the possibilities of being for all the participants. However, in the reclaiming of the road for a pedestrian multicultural crowd, it may also offer an opportunity to invert the social order, to challenge the status quo and even to subvert social expectations.

3.3.4 Transformation and unified identity

Carnival theory suggests that carnival allows people to transform themselves and see others as potentially transformable.

If, as DaMatta (1991) avers, New Orleans is an aristocratic carnival in an egalitarian society and Rio is an egalitarian Carnival in hierarchical and authoritarian society, then eMzantsi might surely be a transforming carnival in a transforming society? Our 2005 theme "African Kings and Queens" aimed to encourage a luxurious and unaccustomed sense of aristocratic regality in our children as they came together as part of an increasingly egalitarian community. The eMzantsi emphasis was thus both on individual glory (each child's costume effort) and group identity (representing your valley community).

Carnival affords people a unique opportunity, not only to free themselves from their everyday roles and to briefly inhabit a more glorious persona, but also allows them, as Bakhtin (1984) asserted, a glimpse of a potentially different collective role (p.255). In the eMzantsi context, this may give participants the chance to experience, however briefly, a sense of South African society as harmonious, egalitarian, inclusive and united. While the experience can but be temporary, the effects could be long lasting: once conceptualised, such a utopian state could seem a step closer and achievable.

If Carnaval invented Brazil (Sheriff 1999, p.3), eMzantsi has the capacity to invent a new identity for the combined communities of the southern peninsula. As Bakhtin (1984) first pointed out, carnival allows people to see themselves, physically, as one huge powerful group. Thus unity, and a group identity, may be tangibly manifested in a way they have never been able to experience before. Carnival may give the people of the southern peninsula an opportunity to explore a unified valley identity – and the chance to try out this intercultural unity without risk or commitment.

This chapter has attempted to demonstrate that the process of mobilising for the eMzantsi Carnival made a space where third-culture building could happen under the right circumstances, and that aspects of carnival expounded by Bakhtin and others might have the capacity to ease intercultural interaction in the eMzantsi context. The next chapter will look at the methodology of the research undertaken on the eMzantsi Carnival.

Halfway there. When we reached the four-way junction, the big Simonstown penguins were waiting and joined up with the baby penguins of Kleinberg Primary. As we turned the corner, for the first time the scope of the procession became apparent to all the participants – we are huge! We stretch all the way from the horizon to here! We are fabulous! We are stopping traffic! The elation was tangible. People were hooting their appreciation from their cars, and some pulled over and got out to get a proper look.

The only drawback was that the bull was now facing 90 degrees into the southeaster (which was picking up by the minute) and leaning over rather dangerously. However, this gave some white and brown people an unexpected opportunity to join in by helping the black youths who were pulling it along.

In this chapter, the research methodology is explained, from the reasons for choosing a participatory paradigm for the larger eMzantsi project, to choosing the in-depth interview for the qualitative component of this study. Ethical considerations, of research in general and these methods in particular, are also explored at some length.

4.1 Socially inclusive and responsible research

The eMzantsi research team is seeking to achieve what Imam (1997, p.15), Mbilinyi (1994, p.63), Oakley (1998, p.724) and Morawski (2001, p.69) all describe as a more “democratic” process of research. This project is informed by Prinsloo and De la Rey’s (1997) statement that “The research process itself (is) important in enlightening both the researchers and the researched” (pg.10). The intercultural communication requirements of the methodology are inspired by Tanno and Jandt’s (1994) article *Redefining the ‘Other’ in Multicultural Research* which promotes the ‘other’s’ participation in all aspects of the research process and defines research itself as dialogue (p.478). It is of primary importance to me that as many people as possible from my community will find the eMzantsi research findings useful to them. While few forum members will be interested enough to read the whole thesis, the opportunity will be offered to them and, accordingly, I have tried to keep my language as accessible as possible (Fals Borda 2001, Kemmis & McTaggart 2005). A more digestible overview of the final integrated research report will be presented at a community forum later this year.

My main concern has been to root my studies firmly in the real life of the community; for this reason I decided to chart our progress towards creating the first eMzantsi Carnival as a metaphorical journey along the actual geographic route we took on the day itself, in order to bring that process to life for my readers.

4.2 Participatory Action Research context

This qualitative research is part of a larger two year Participatory Action Research project funded by the South African Department of Arts and Culture examining the impact of the eMzantsi Carnival on attitudes towards cultural diversity in the Cape southern peninsula. Our emphasis is on process, with both action and research happening simultaneously, and in consultation with the researched communities.

In action research, the emphasis is on creating data that is as useful for the researched as the researcher (Oakley 1981, p.49, Reinharz 1992, p.186). Miles and Huberman (1994) define collaborative action research as research whose “aim is to transform the social environment through the process of critical enquiry – to act on the world, rather than being acted on” (p.9). Greenwood and Levin (2005) characterise participative democracy as “both a method and a goal” (p.53) and

describe action research as “cogenerative inquiry” (p.54). Herr and Anderson’s (2005) definition of Participatory Action Research (PAR) encompasses the following relevant aspects: the point of departure for participatory research is a vision of social events contextualised by macro-level social forces; research and action become a single process; and the community and the researcher together produce critical knowledge aimed at social transformation (p.16).

Reinharz (1992) distinguishes between Action Research and Participatory Research stating that in the latter “the people studied *make decisions* about the study format and data analysis” (p.180). In Participatory Research “the distinction between the researcher and those on whom the research is done disappears” and “the researcher abandons control and adopts an approach of openness, reciprocity, mutual disclosure and shared risk” (ibid. p.181). Kemmis and McTaggart (2005) stress that self-reflective cycles – both individual and collaborative – are imperative in a PAR project (p.563).

The larger eMzantsi project is a Participatory Action Research project. As the wider eMzantsi Carnival initiative is based on communal decision-making, community participation and third-culture building principles, PAR was the most appropriate methodology in this local context. Throughout the two year process, local people have made decisions about how research should be carried out on their communities, as well as how the Carnival project itself should proceed.

Herr and Anderson (2005) delineate six levels of participation by communities in the PAR process, from Co-option and Compliance, through Consultation and Co-operation, up to Co-learning and Collective action. It is most appropriate to apply levels four and five to this project. In our first year, the eMzantsi team was operating at level four, Co-operation, where the relationship of research and action to local people is defined as “with” and “Local people work together with outsiders to determine priorities; responsibility remains with outsiders for directing the process” (p.40). In the second year of the project, we are striving to facilitate level five, Co-learning, where the relationship is defined as “with or by”, and “Local people and outsiders share their knowledge to create new understanding and work together to form action plans” (ibid.). However, the entire project, including both the action and the research aspects, is a constantly evolving process, and can’t easily be contained within a single category.

Kemmis and McTaggart (2005) emphasise how PAR “opens communicative space” between participants (p.578) and, although this thesis could not in isolation be described as PAR, in keeping with the larger project, a PAR sensitivity of *vivencia*¹ (Fals Borda, 2001 p. 31) has been maintained as far as possible in this qualitative component through constant self-reflexivity and dialogue with those involved. Kemmis and McTaggart (2005) assert that “The most morally, practically, and politically compelling view of PAR is one that sees (it) as a practice through which people can create networks of communication, that is, sites for the practice of communicative action” (p.580). They believe PAR fosters a kind of “playfulness” about action (ibid.), and that this “exploratory action...parallels and builds on the notion of communicative action” (p.581). Such a constructive “playfulness” is encouraged in both the eMzantsi Carnival and the eMzantsi research contexts.

4.2.1 eMzantsi Participatory Action overview

Apart from the mobilisation of the valley communities to represent themselves in the Carnival parade, various other initiatives were carried out through 2005 as part of the attempt to bring communities together. Some, such as the five school Omniculture programme, were planned in advance by the eMzantsi management team. Others, such as the gumboots collaboration between Masiphumelele and Fish Hoek, and the ‘Labyrinth of the Community’ collaboration between Ocean View, Masiphumelele and Kommetjie, emerged from suggestions made by volunteers at our community forums. See Figure 3 for detail of the eMzantsi Carnival process and Appendix 1 for a more detailed account of the eMzantsi Carnival project.

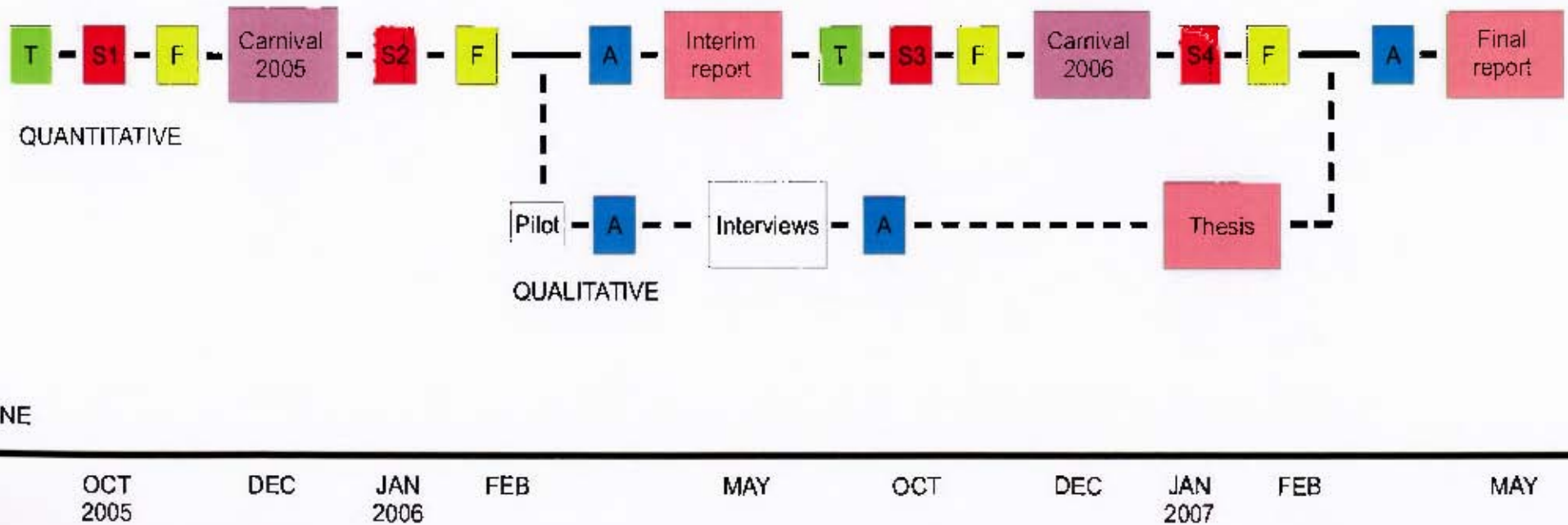
4.2.2 eMzantsi Participatory Research overview

The larger research project has been, as far as possible, a joint process with the communities under study. At every step, the research managers have sought to engage in dialogue with the communities, and to listen to each other’s opinions. Our striving to include as many voices as possible in the research is reflected in the choice of multiple research methods. Figure 4 (overleaf) illustrates the two year eMzantsi research process (2005-07), showing how the qualitative component complements the larger quantitative research project.

¹ *Vivencia* means life experience and expresses “an empathetic attitude towards Others” and the “need for symmetry in the social relation” (Fals Borda, 2001, p.31)

Fig. 4: eMzantsi research process: indicates where the qualitative component fits into the wider quantitative project.

- T Training
- S1 Survey
- F Feedback
- A Analysis



4.2.2.1 Quantitative research component of the eMzantsi research process

The quantitative research component of the project is a collaborative venture: twenty five fieldworkers and research assistants were recruited from the communities to carry out four surveys; feedback on each draft of the questionnaire design was obtained from community representatives; and fieldworker focus groups reflected on the progress of the surveys being conducted at the Longbeach and Sun Valley malls. The final survey took place at the end of January 2007, and analysis of the combined data is still ongoing. This thesis principally focuses on qualitative data obtained in 2006, with some referencing of the interim report on the quantitative results.

4.2.2.2 Qualitative research component of the eMzantsi research process

This thesis concerns the analysis of in-depth interviews conducted with a cross section of people involved from the conception to the delivery of the first eMzantsi Carnival. The objective was to assess how those involved in the creation of the Carnival were affected by the process.

4.3 Method: In-depth interviewing

In-depth interviewing was the method of choice, given the limitations of quantitative methods to express subtleties in a range of individual attitudes when addressing questions of intercultural contact (Durrheim and Dixon 2005, p.113). As intercultural interaction needs to be evaluated by involved individuals, abstractions from quantitative data alone are inadequate, and Durrheim and Dixon (2005) recommend a focus on the use of language to illuminate statistics.

4.3.1 Limitations

This thesis addresses attitudes towards intercultural interaction between participants in the eMzantsi Carnival initiative, particularly around third-culture building. As a result, it is narrowly focussed on a small sample of individuals who were heavily involved in the whole process from beginning to end, and as such, targets those with a better than average understanding of the purpose of the project. It does not attempt to assess the impact of the Carnival on the wider community of the southern peninsula – that is the remit of the quantitative component of the eMzantsi PAR

project. This thesis is a relatively small but significant contribution to the larger project within which it is embedded: its aim is to bring life and depth to the survey statistics.

4.3.2 Conceptual framework

I followed Wengraff (2001) in creating a conceptual framework to direct my study (see Appendix 2). The central research question was originally broken down to four theory questions addressing the interviewees' perceptions of culture, carnival, third-culture building and change due to Carnival. Interview questions were drafted in order to best solicit that information and a pilot interview was carried out to refine the focus of the conceptual framework and the wording of the interview schedule.

4.3.3 The pilot study

A pilot interview was carried out with the assistant eMzantsi Masiphumelele coordinator, a Xhosa woman, as an assignment for a Masters level In-Depth Interviewing course at the University of Cape Town. The depth and richness of the data gathered in this exercise confirmed the suitability of using interviews as the methodological tool to explore the complex nature of cultural identity and intercultural interaction in the Carnival context.

However, feedback I received querying the pilot interviewee's definition of 'culture' led to a re-examination of my conceptual framework, as I realised there was a conflation of 'culture' and 'community' in my interview questions that was not allowing the respondent's definitions to emerge. I stood back and reflected at length in order to refocus motivations and meanings. I went back to my central research question and clarified two important things: firstly, in the context of the eMzantsi Carnival, the "intercultural interaction" it was originally initiated to encourage was in fact inter-community interaction, and secondly, the respondent's concept of inter-cultural was far more likely to be intra-community. Therefore I needed to alter my theory questions, my interview questions and my provisional codes to illuminate contrasting contexts for community and culture.

I re-conceptualised and refined the theory questions and rephrased the interview questions accordingly. See Appendix 2 for the final conceptual framework (including five theory questions – 'community' having been separated out from 'culture'), and Appendix 3 for the final set of interview questions (there were eight drafts in all).

4.3.4 Choosing respondents

When deciding whom to interview, I focused on people who had experienced an extended process of intercultural interaction over the course of preparing for the inaugural Carnival, either in the community forums and/or during rehearsals for various collaborations. I gave preference to people I knew held strong opinions and had been articulate during the process. All had been self-motivated to get involved in the eMzantsi project². All had known me for at least a year, and readily acquiesced to my telephonic requests for their assistance a few weeks prior to the interviews.

4.3.5 Profile of participants

Full and equal representation was attempted as far as possible, with each community and each class, male and female, gay and straight, Muslim and Christian, young and mature people represented in the sample³. English is their first language unless otherwise stated. The names of the six community members have been changed:

Alton is a coloured Catholic man in his mid-thirties with a college diploma living in Ocean View. He works in a retail store and runs a community youth development programme five nights a week. He is also the Ocean View carnival coordinator.

Carol is a white female in her fifties with a tertiary education who sees herself as a 'non-denominational religious person' and lives in Kommetjie. A social worker by profession, in her retirement she works as a freelance facilitator.

Igsaan is a coloured Muslim man in his mid-thirties from Ocean View who works for the National Parks. He has been involved in volunteer youth work for many years and runs a minstrel troupe. His mother tongue is Afrikaans.

Khaya is a black Christian youth in his final year at school in Masiphumelele. He is a keen gumboot dancer and has been training a troupe of young boys for more than two years. His mother tongue is Xhosa.

Mbulelo is a black man in his early forties professing no religious affiliation living in Masiphumelele. He is a high school teacher and tourism entrepreneur. He is also the Masiphumelele carnival coordinator. His mother tongue is Xhosa.

Susan is a white female in her mid-thirties professing no religious affiliation living in Fish Hoek. She runs a dancing school, coaching pupils from across the valley.

² Carol, Khaya and Igsaan volunteered their services, Mbulelo, Alton and Susan were asked to get involved to represent their communities, and willingly agreed.

³ It is, however, far from ideal to have no black or coloured females, or white males in this group.

4.3.6 The Interview Questions

The interviews were structured around the interview schedule (Appendix 3), which was designed to elucidate each respondent's perceptions and experiences of intercultural interaction in the third-culture building context of Carnival. Wengraf's (2001, p.63) algorithm (see Appendix 2) was employed to ensure that the interview questions were aligned with the research question. Following the pilot interview, the questions were re-designed to avoid confusing concepts of culture and community, and to assume as little as possible about the nature of the interviewee's cultural identity.

Although the interview schedule addressed the major meta-narratives of culture, community, carnival, third-culture building and change, I also paid close attention to respondents' voices and practised flexibility in regard to following emerging themes such as 'belonging' and 'roots'.

4.3.7 The Interviews

I conducted an approximately hour-long interview with each respondent during May-June 2006. Each interview took place at a venue most convenient to the respondent (at their home, or at an isolated table in a local café or restaurant if that was quieter than amidst children in their home). Prior to the interview, each participant signed a consent form assuring them of anonymity and limited confidentiality (see Appendix 4). All interviews were recorded in MP3 format, and I made extensive notes after each to capture as much detail about the context and experience as possible.

4.3.8 Transcription

Due to time constraints, the interviews were professionally transcribed verbatim with minimal paralinguistics (pauses, emphases and laughter included). While checking through them, I made extensive memos detailing my first responses to the texts (as recommended by Wengraf 2001).

4.4 Coding

Following Miles and Huberman (1994) and Coffey and Atkinson (1996), great attention was paid to ensure the rigour and validity of the coding as the initial stage of analysis. I proceeded with first-level coding by making a start list from the conceptual framework, as recommended by Miles and Huberman (1994, p.58), and pilot interview questions, which produced a short list of around 15 categories. I then made a list from the pilot interviewee's own words, as advocated by Miles and Huberman (1994, p.58) which produced a longer list of about 25 in vivo or 'bottom up' codes. I consequently followed Wengraf's (2001, p.224) algorithm from my four original theory questions, to produce four meta-level coding categories. I subsequently merged the three lists to produce a first draft of seemingly comprehensive coding definitions. I then enlisted the help of a colleague to crosscheck my reasoning (as recommended by Miles and Huberman 1994, p.64). Following the refining of the conceptual framework due to the feedback obtained (as detailed in 4.3.3), I expanded my theory questions and thus my meta-level coding categories to five prior to the main series of interviews.

This revising of my conceptual framework, from research question through theory questions to interview questions and codes, happened continuously over a month – the 'slow tightening' of the whole sequence was made, following Wengraf's (2001) simile, like bolts on a car wheel, "gradually, iteratively, not too much 'finality' for any one element too early" (p.95).

Armed with this list, I proceeded to code the first of the six transcripts using the qualitative data analysis software package QSR Nvivo. The use of Nvivo software to assist the coding process enables the researcher to move swiftly between large amounts of data, allowing greater perspective to reassess the aptness of codes, and enabling a far greater flexibility in revising them in response to emerging themes. The final code list, as set out in Appendix 5, remained fairly stable throughout coding of the remaining five interviews. Though there remained floating codes that refused to settle, I was happier with an inconclusive set and ongoing reflection, than the first too easily finalised set. I was comforted by Coffey and Atkinson's (1996) belief that "...those (codes) that don't fit are as important as those that do" (p.45).

4.5 Analysis

This study's analytical process is supported by Charmaz's (2005) contemporary application of grounded theory in a social justice setting. While advocating maintaining a systematic approach, her constructivist outlook emphasises the subject of study rather than the methods of studying it, and underlines a reflexive stance. Reclaiming the Chicago school's contextual tradition, she promotes an inductive and comparative analysis of meaning and action on both a subjective and social level, and a focus on language.

Analysis began on the first reading of transcripts, and an initial sifting of ideas on data was ongoing during the coding process, identifying similarities and differences, patterns and themes. Data reduction proceeded to marshal data in five clusters: attitudes towards culture, community, carnival, third-culture building, and change attributed to carnival. An extra cluster of data was marked uncategorisable but significant.

Having grouped responses to cover consistencies discerned in data, I proceeded to develop concepts by searching for key factors and relationships between data. I then sought to test my tentative theories for validity across the data, and extrapolate a wider interpretation. Miles and Huberman (1994) define the analytic tasks of action research as including intellectual 'emancipation' through "unpacking taken-for-granted views and detecting invisible but oppressive structures" (p.9). Kvale (1996) alerts the researcher to pay close attention to contextuality by focussing on "ruptures in communication, the breaks of meaning" (p.168). I attempted to heed both warnings in my analysis.

While I acknowledge the influence of discourse on identity construction, I am, like Seibold (2002), "uneasy about the decentring of the subject and the relative lack of individual agency allowed within certain postmodern/poststructural approaches" (p.9), and accordingly stress the importance of a reflexive process acknowledging the interpretive and constructivist role of both the researcher and the researched, an approach which acknowledges multiple fluid subjectivities. Like Seibold (2002), I have striven to develop a "methodological pragmatism" whereby "as analysis proceeded, theory guided, and was guided by, data analysis" (p.13). Thus I began analysis from a grounded theory standpoint and in latter stages sought to apply carnival theory and intercultural communication theory to the data. The theoretical

framework expanded appropriately e.g. incorporating Durrheim and Dixon's (2005) concept of place-identity as well as Casmir's (1997) ideas of third-culture building.

The inclusion of data display as recommended by Miles and Huberman (1994, p.11) was to more clearly explain the context of both the eMzantsi Carnival action and research components, and how this thesis fits within the wider context of the latter.

4.6 Ethical considerations

4.6.1 Positionality

Heeding Spivak (1988), and wanting to avoid the trap of assuming the transparency of the intellectual, I would like to foreground subjectivities and examine my positionality as researcher in my local context. These dynamics should be admitted into the mainstream of my methodological considerations as they affect my outlook and the attitudes of others to my research.

Herr and Anderson (2005) describe a continuum in action research between 'insider' and 'outsider' that varies according to context and emphasis (p.40). As a foreigner (born and schooled in Britain) I am considered an outsider, but as a valley resident since 1995, I am an insider, or "outsider-within" (ibid. p.44). As a white, anglo, middle-class educated woman, I am an outsider, for the majority of my interviewees are non-white, with English as their second language and without tertiary qualifications; as a fellow valuer-of-the-arts, however, I am a valued insider. As a mother, I am an insider: most of the interviewees have children, but all are concerned for the welfare of youth in our community; as a mother of a(n adopted) black child I am allowed further in; as a mother of a black child making efforts to learn Xhosa and learn about Xhosa culture, I am more accepted than had I not bothered. I follow Mbilinyi's (1994) definition of identity as "the product of struggle...an achieved, not an ascribed trait" (p.35), which makes me, like Mbilinyi, a 'third world feminist': born in the first but choosing to settle in (and identify with) the third. But I recognise the limitations of such a choice. In terms of shared languages, and history - particularly lacking a first hand experience of apartheid and forced removals - I am forever an outsider.

But as self-employed primary breadwinner, and part time student, I am an insider with all my interviewees, multi-tasking, juggling roles as best they can under financial strain. However, I know that the only way that people in my local communities will ever truly trust me as 'one of their own' is through my actions over time. I do not identify closely with the majority of the white community of the valley where I live, and if anything, as a foreign outsider, have been made to feel more welcome by the non-white communities, particularly in Masiphumelele.

Finally, as project manager, I cannot pretend to be objective about the eMzantsi Carnival. I am a passionate lobbyist for the power of carnival to bring people together and have bounded about in orange feathers in school assemblies, business and tourism networks and community police forums across the peninsula to get my point across. But to ensure future funding for the wider project, it is in my interest to maintain a rigorous research outlook, and seek to present as watertight an academic case as possible.

4.6.2 Reflexivity and representation

The reflexive practices of rigorous qualitative research, and PAR in particular, have kept me alert to Coffey and Atkinson's (1996) point that:

We construct cultures through our own acts of representation. It is incumbent on us... to do (it) carefully, responsibly, and explicitly. (p.137)

Prinsloo and De la Rey (1997) add "How we conceptualise identity has important implications for the kind of research we conduct... (and) the role researchers play in actually constructing the subjects of their research in this or that way" (p.7).

Throughout this process, I have tried to remain as sensitive as possible to my responsibilities in constructing the identities of both the individuals and communities represented in this study.

In his examination of "Asymmetries of Power", Cochrane (1999) ponders the challenge of authentic interpretation in social science and whether getting beyond the public transcript and encoded 'infrapolitics'³ is ever possible:

As long as a hidden transcript exists, or disguise and surveillance mark the communicative interaction of dominant and subordinate groups – as long as relations of power are sufficiently uneven, unbalanced or asymmetric as to militate against a

³ Referring to Scott's (1991) explication of the low profile forms of resistance he designates "infrapolitics" (pg.19) in the "realm of masks" (pg.28).

full and open public declaration of the aspirations, hopes and perspectives of the subordinate or dominated – so long is one's understanding of the oppressed or marginalized group or person limited, incomplete, and perhaps wrong. (p.91-92)

Cochrane feels that even in PAR, Scott's (1991) reservations must remain. In the unequal context of valley power relations, I cannot be sure that my respondents did not on occasion tell me what they thought I wanted to hear, or what they thought I should rather hear; I can only be sure there will, inevitably, be a gap somewhere.

I follow Kvale (1996) in holding interview inquiry to be a moral enterprise, sharing social science's central aim of contributing knowledge to improve the human condition and enhance human dignity. Consequently, it was imperative to maintain dialogue, both with respondents around the effects of the research, and with myself to foster constant reflexivity around the process. All interviewees were given the opportunity to read this study before its submission; their comments were noted, and alterations made where requested⁵.

As I am the sole author of this study, the ultimate power of representation⁶ within it inevitably lies with me. However accessible my style of writing, I have to concede that no more than a handful of people will read my thesis. But the final presentation of the research findings of the whole project to the researched communities towards the middle of 2007, to which an open invitation will be posted in the local press, will be written and presented by the eMzantsi research team, comprising local community members as well as academics.

4.6.3 Evaluation

Discussing the benefits of PAR, Morawski (2001) speaks about the challenge of revising how knowledge claims are assessed by "evaluating findings in terms of their effects in the larger culture... and extending accountability to the larger community" (p.69). The ultimate evaluation of this PAR has to be by the communities it portrays, and whether the people involved judge that the eMzantsi project, through its combined action and research, has made a positive difference to their lives. Kemmis and McTaggart (2005) add that projects should have fed "collective capacities for

⁵ NB: Alton, Mbulelo and Carol read and approved the thesis; Igsaan, Khaya and Susan were too busy and waived the offer.

⁶ Representation in the *Darstellung* rather than the *Vertretung* sense (Spivak 1988, p.70).

Although I am keenly aware of Cochrane's (1999) reservations about representation, one could argue that, at level five PAR (defined as Co-learning by Herr and Anderson, 2005, p.40), where evaluation is made in conjunction with the 'other', the researched, there may theoretically be a way to reach a point at which researchers and researched could agree that the research is a valid representation of our joint reality. At the open meeting, and through the local press, the researched communities will be invited to contribute feedback on the research results and this will be integrated into the final report to the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC).

4.6.4 Ownership

The research will be jointly owned by DAC (who have funded the project), iNCUDISA (who have managed the research project), the communities themselves and myself under the auspices of a not-for-profit Section 21 company the Harlequin Foundation, set up to administer the eMzantsi project.

4.6.5 Dissemination

DAC is committed to disseminate the findings of the two-year project as a template for culturally diverse community interaction to other areas around South Africa. Should future government or corporate sponsorship be forthcoming, the dream of the eMzantsi team is to design a more accessible hypermedia format presentation that could be displayed semi-permanently in the heart of the community, where people could interact with interview sound-bites and pie-charts of the survey research findings as well as photographs and eMzantsi Carnival digital footage. In the absence of the materialisation of such funds, we can only hope to distribute the findings of this research through the effort of sustained dialogue with all communities in the valley through our growing network of supporters.

The following three chapters proceed to examine the findings of the in-depth interview research.

When the Carnival turned left down towards the malls, the view from the top was awesome: the whole valley cradled by mountains and us parading right down the middle. With the end in sight, a real sense of crowd and community came upon us.

As we reached the flat on Ou Kaapse Weg, the widest part of the route, there was a sudden increase in attention from the sides, as Saturday shoppers gathered to welcome us. With the bikers' horns blaring and the parade nearly blocking the road outside McDonald's, the feeling of reclaiming the street was intoxicating. Even the traffic police were smiling!

In the following chapters, I have tried to let my interviewees speak in their own words and allow the juxtapositioning of their comments to make a point with as little intervention from me as possible - though of course I acknowledge that just by framing them, I have intervened. While seeking to apply theory to the eMzantsi Carnival context, I also consider daily life in the valley, for as DaMatta (1991) emphasises, the impact of events such as carnival are always relative:

rituals must always be studied with the everyday world as their counterpoint... both are part of the same structure, like the two sides of the same coin (p.104)

This chapter examines respondents' concepts of culture and community, both with regard to themselves and others, in order to establish the conditions in which the Carnival was created. Numbers after quotations refer to paragraphs within the transcripts, following the initial of the respective interviewee.

5.1 Cultural Identity

My questions first aimed to establish the interviewees' concept of their own, and others' culture, in order to define a benchmark against which any change in cultural attitudes could be assessed.

5.1.1 Own culture: “ a white man has no culture... the slaves have culture”.

Black and coloured respondents have a relatively positive sense of their own culture, whereas whites are confused about, or frustrated by, the concept.

Igsaan seems to share Rosaldo's (1989) belief that power and culture are inversely related:

On the cultural basis it was always said that certain people don't have culture.

Because it was put into our heads that a white man has no culture; a black man has culture; the coloured man has culture; the slaves have culture. (I100)

This outlook was borne out in the testimonies of the other interviewees. Mbulelo, who, when asked to define himself culturally, describes himself as South African first, and black second, sees his cultural traditions as a “get-together point” which allow his people to “enjoy and celebrate to be together, just reminding ourselves of who we are, our identity” (M100). Although he appears a little anxious that “My culture is deteriorating...being overcome by the western civilisation “ (M100), generally Mbulelo is upbeat about the strength and centrality of culture in his life and community, and feels it has an important role to play in harmonious communal living:

some people get successful or rich and then they forget about such things. But those are things that I feel we still have to keep. Because it teaches us ... how to respect each other and to live peacefully. (M100)

For Mbulelo, wealth and privilege seem often to be in binary opposition to culture, whether one is white or black.

Rather than describing themselves in terms of ethnicity, Susan and Igsaan define themselves in terms of their role in their communities i.e. by their relationship with the children in their cultural care. Susan sees her primary identity as that of dance teacher, Igsaan as minstrel troupe leader. For Igsaan this is a culturally rich role, whereas Susan, when asked to define her culture, replied:

I think I'm a bit of a confused culture myself because I'm working with so many different cultures. Ja, that's a difficult one because I don't even think I have a culture. Is that normal to say that? (S168)

Like many privileged people, Susan feels herself bereft of culture (or "~~post-cultural~~" Rosaldo 1989, p.202), and appears wistful in the face of others' more tangible heritage, such as her Xhosa domestic helper:

when my girl tells me about her culture... I love that that's so strong. You know, they know their roots. They have such a strong culture. I'm thinking our culture... I don't have a tight-knit family, so it's very difficult to tell what my culture is. (S170)

This woman, to whom she feels materially and socially superior ("my girl"), seems to make her feel culturally inferior. Mbulelo can proudly assert that:

Masiphumelele is a community composed of people who are very rich with cultural values (M21)

and Alton is very proud of the "wealth of culture" (A10) in his community, but Susan feels culturally impoverished or, at best, uncertain. She can only describe her community, as being "in a moment of confused culture", "in the process of a mixed culture" as well as "in the process of gaining a new culture" (S184). Bennett (1993) describes such "disorientation and confusion" (p.50) experienced by those moving through a transition from a belief in cultural absolutes to some awareness of ethnorelativity. Susan admitted she had never considered cultural issues before the interview, and thought she would continue to ponder their significance long afterwards.

Carol on the other hand, is wrestling daily with these issues. Having fairly easily answered the cultural definition question with: "I guess I'm a white, middle-aged South African woman" (C8), she went on to display increasing frustration with concepts of cultural identity:

I grew up in central Africa. My father's work was in the rural areas, he could speak six black languages. I grew up being exposed far more to rural African cultural traditions ... I lived in little villages. That's also been part of the sense of dissonance in living in (this) area... and thinking "Where IS Africa? This is not Africa... Where the hell IS home?" (C22-23)

Later she repeats "What the hell is my culture? Where do I live? What is home?" (C117) and these questions are obviously often on her mind:

I realise that having grown up the way I did and having majored in anthropology, that I knew more about what was meant by culture in every other culture but the culture that went with the colour of my skin. (C117)

Khaya's self-assured self-description of "a young man who is confident and likes his culture. I like to make friends cross-culturally... with everybody" (K8) demonstrates that his upbringing in urban townships in Johannesburg and Cape Town has allowed him to get used to living with many different ethnic groups, and be comfortable in a pluralistic cultural environment. Alton firmly resists categorisation altogether:

I think that's a bit difficult to define because the coloured people in general have more than one angle or aspect of their culture. (A7-8)

As a man who does not identify with a stereotypical male position, and operates on the margins of the mainstream generally (both as a non-heterosexual and as a hip hop practitioner), Alton is more comfortable out of the box:

I think culture needs to have no definition. It is a melting pot what you as an individual person have to offer in this opportunity to express yourself. (A76)

Alton's concept of each individual person being a 'melting pot', a metaphor usually associated with the cultural make-up of a group, a city or a nation, shows his personal capacity for transculturation (Rosaldo 1989, p.215) and living positively with a hybrid sensibility.

Stories the interviewees told of their pasts give a piercing insight about how their cultural worldviews have been shaped. In contrast to his personal flexibility, Alton described "the way we were brought up":

that white people are better than you and that you are better than black people. That was the way that people were trained. They sort of structured them in categories. Over the years that has changed, but people still feel the same way even though they have opened their minds much more. That category still does exist. That divide definitely still is there. (A22)

Susan's memory of being a young girl, and the tangent she flies off on, explain her present feelings of insecurity:

We're from England, but we came out here during apartheid. I mean, I used to catch the train to Wynberg for dancing and it was whites only. The stations had white toilets and black toilets. That's how it was.

Sam: How old were you then?

Susan: About seven or eight. Those were the days when I could catch a train on my own. You can't do that now. You can't get a train on your own now. One of my pupils got attacked by two black guys on the train in Kenilworth. You see, they spoil it for the majority. (Pause.) So what were we on about? (S46-8)

Susan dutifully reminds herself that "the majority" of black people are not violent criminals, but her apartheid-instilled fears remain.

Mbulelo told an old school story:

I remember as a young boy... I grew up in Worcester. My parents were rugby players. They were people who liked sport... After school I used to grab my bike and rush back to the fence of that white school where the young boys of my age were playing rugby. Because it's been in my bloodstream that my family were rugby players. So I watched them playing from the fence. And even the teachers from that school will come closer to the fence and tell us, you're not even allowed to come and watch the white boys playing rugby. (R29)

This is the historical background of the cultural situation in the valley.

5.1.2 Others' culture: "oh my gosh, we are going to be mixing the whites with the blacks and it's going to be, like, interesting".

We define ourselves by defining the Other (Steyn, 2001, p.14), and the findings on 'others' culture' support the results of the Interim Report¹ on the first two surveys of cultural attitudes in the valley, which concluded that generally, for black people, the other is from another ethnic group, for coloured people the other is of another religion, and white people don't appear on either of those communities' immediate cultural radar. White interviewees had more difficulty articulating an Other.

For Khaya, 'other culture' is firmly equivalent to 'other language', 'other ethnicity'. But beyond tribal traditions within his immediate environment, he is unsure:

In Masiphumelele, the majority of people who live there are Xhosa people, so the culture is the same. We also have Sotho, Zulu and other languages, so they do different cultures, but it's similar cultures. But they don't do it just like us. Like with things like circumcision, we Xhosas we do circumcision at the age of 18 or 20, and the Zulus don't do circumcision and the Sothos do it at the age of 12 or 13. That is the only difference. Otherwise, everything is the same with the culture. But we also have coloureds and I don't really know much about their culture. (K19)

¹ Some conclusions from Kelly's (2006) *eMzantsi Research Interim Report to DAC*:

- Respondents used racial indicators to identify themselves and Others culturally.
- There were differences in the way White, Black and Coloured respondents identified their own culture and the Other culture.
- The identification of the Other seemed to occur in relation to self identification. Within the race groups, when the dominant self identification was ethnically defined e.g. Xhosa, the most dominant Other was also ethnically defined e.g. Zulu.
- The most dominant Other culture for White respondents was "Xhosa", for Black it was "Zulu" and for Coloured, "Muslim" and "Xhosa".

Both residents of Ocean View defined the 'other culture' as 'other religion'; the community is comprised of approximately 50% each Christian and Muslim people. Igsaan, a practising Muslim, defines the 'other' very specifically as religions other than the "Malay" i.e. Rastafarians and multifarious church denominations "the Anglican Church, the Methodist Church, the ... Apostolic and the old Apostolic" (I51) and then "makeshift" people without religion. Alton, a Catholic, spoke first of "the Muslim culture" with great enthusiasm and respect, while acknowledging the many differences between them:

They've got a very rich culture. And there are so many differences between our culture and theirs in terms of, not only the way that they worship, but also the lifestyle is immersed in their religion. There are many aspects of their culture that is fantastic. It's the way that they pray together and fast together. The entire Muslim community goes through that same process. There's so much respect, and they create a feeling of profoundness when they go through that fasting period – and it's just wonderful to learn about them. You know, the food they eat is different, and just the way they live is completely different to the way we live. (A18)

Alton feels there is a lot to say about other cultures in the valley, and is aware of contemporary cultural opportunities he missed out on:

I know that a lot of the kids, now that they go to school in Kommetjie, I'm sure they've got friends and the good fortune... of being able to mix with other cultures or people of another skin colour. So that opportunity is great because it sort of opened up that divide... it's regretful that people like myself didn't really have that opportunity when I was growing up because I think it would have enriched me much more. (A16)

For Alton, beyond the boundaries of his community, another culture is also "another skin colour", with a "divide" between. Mbulelo likewise regretfully described the "propaganda in the apartheid regime, where black people were perceived as being barbaric... human animals. So that kept people far apart from each other" (M27). He is aware of the long-term effects on white people of such indoctrination:

They learnt that from their schools, that we don't have to interact with a black person because ...black people are fighting, or rascals, or killing each other...(they) grew up with that... It's in the back of their minds. It's not a thing that can just be wiped off. (M34-35)

Susan seems to concur with Alton that mixed schooling has made intercultural interaction easier for contemporary youth:

I think in the last five years it has really improved since we have integrated the schools. For example, working at the primary school, the lead for *Mary Poppins* was a black girl and I mean, *Mary Poppins* isn't black. But it was well accepted. We are now

doing *The Sound of Music* and Maria is black. We did *Grease* and Danny was coloured. They don't see colour any more. The accent does come along with it now and again, but I think that's just their culture and the way they are brought up. (S38)

Susan believes herself to be liberal compared to her parents' generation, as she 'doesn't see colour'; she notices "the accent" but "that's just their culture".

For me, I don't even see it, but I think a lot of people do. And when you go to a primary school and they open their mouths and they're beautiful, and you just think wow!

Sam: Beautiful?

Susan: They are speaking beautifully and they are so well mannered. (S50-52)

When Susan says children speak "beautifully", she means 'like us white people'. She is operating from the central tenet of a white "normative invisibility" (Steyn, 2001, p.xxvii), which maintains faith in a universalising European culture (employing the narrative of the "Altruistic Colonial" described by Steyn, 2001, p.64). Like the majority of whites in the valley, her concept of reaching equality is achieving assimilation, not integration. The lead actors may have changed, but the play is still *Mary Poppins* after all.

Susan's description of the first meeting between her Fish Hoek dancing girls and the Marhoshi gumboot boys from Masiphumelele, belies her 'colourblindness':

There were reservations, because my girls are young, budding 12-year-olds. I'll be honest, I did think in the beginning, what type of people are going to be mixing with my girls? I was worried that no one of them should be left alone... I must say, my initial thoughts were, oh my gosh, we are going to be mixing the whites with the blacks and it's going to be, like, interesting. But the minute they walked in the door... I mean, whatshisname took charge.

Sam: Khaya

Susan: Khaya took charge. He didn't take any nonsense. I mean, he was very patient with my girls, and told his boys off a few times for giggling. And actually, they showed a great respect...(S64-66)

Her fear of the black male youths being a sexual threat to her white female charges, and her surprise that they could show respect, both demonstrate a subconscious stereotypical prejudice. This is unsurprising considering her conservative upbringing – and her experience as a young child:

I remember as a little girl, always walking down the road and there would be a truck of builders on the back of a bakkie and they're going: (MAKES LIP-SMACKING KISSING NOISES). You know, I think that was my initial thought. Like they were going to be checking my girls out and my girls were going to feel uneasy. (S66)

5.2 Community Identity

In order to ascertain if inter-community interaction was effected by the Carnival, I sought to first establish what each interviewee's concept of their and others' community was. The primary finding is that those whose communities have been historically and geographically marginalised have a very clear sense of both their own and others' communities, whereas the privileged are much less confident to speak about either, having a far more nebulous concept of both.

5.2.1 Own community: "everybody knows everybody" versus "we don't actually know our neighbours".

When asked to comment upon what is good or bad about their communities, nearly all respondents hastened to defend their communities against their reputations. By contrast, Carol was very critical of her community, despite its favourable reputation as an idyllic residential area.

From the outside, communities may appear homogenous and united, but from the inside, the fragmentation is very apparent:

The Ocean View community is predominantly a coloured community... There is a range of different types of people and their backgrounds are different...because of the forced removals... they were uprooted from different places, so all of that has sort of come together in Ocean View. It's a huge melting pot of different types of people.

Even if their skin colour is the same, their cultures are all very different. (A10)

Alton's definition of culture usually involves "skin colour" i.e. is racial, but within his mono-skin-toned community also he is keenly aware of many different cultures. He is almost defiantly positive about the people of his community, praising their "potential" noting that "even though their spirits were broken by these forced removals, they've got great strength" (A11). He adds "the nice thing about our people is that ...everybody knows everybody... They do really care about one another" (A12). He is proud that Ocean View is "like a little village" (A12) and different from other coloured communities that non-coloured people would consider basically the same:

If I visit my cousins in Grassy Park they don't know their neighbours. Whereas, in Ocean View, you know your neighbours. (A12)

Igsaan agrees, but with a qualifier:

The good thing about Ocean View is that everybody knows each other, and (that's) also the bad side of it.. (I18)

He sums up his community, recounting images most prevalent in the local media:

a lot of the people in Ocean View... are dirt poor or poor dirt! ...our place has got a history of people drinking. And most of the kids we do have, unfortunately, their parents do drink. (I20)

Khaya wants to be positive about his community, but is not blind to the problems of living there:

To live in Masiphumelele is good but not that good because most of the things you don't get in Masiphumelele. We all live in shacks. It's good to live there but it's a bit difficult sometimes, because if you live in a shack and there's a fire next-door, then you fear that your house is going to burn down also. But at other times it's good to live there. (K11)

Mbulelo is also aware of its limitations, citing a paucity of recreational facilities (M85), but he also shows pride:

I'm very honoured to be there. I've been there for eight years now... It's one of the most peaceful communities in the Western Cape where people respect each other... Mostly people are Xhosa-speaking people, but there are people now coming from various communities like Sothos, Zulus and Tswanas... But people are more than willing to welcome other people and then they're from the neighbourhood. People are interacting and are very warm and welcoming. So that is what I like most about being there. (M11)

Mbulelo, who is keenly aware of his community's tourism potential, is eager to point out how safe Masiphumelele is "compared to other townships" citing a zero percent crime record for visiting international tourists (M23), and firmly reiterates his belief that Masiphumelele is "one of the most peaceful places in the Western Cape or in the valley." (M27)

Carol has far more mixed feelings about her community, Kommetjie:

It's a beautiful place. It's close to the sea. You feel connected with nature... But otherwise, what is not so good about it, which I guess is pretty typical of white middle class suburbs, we don't actually know our neighbours. We go to the ratepayers association, so we know of people, but I don't have the sense of community that I would like to have. (C4)

In great contrast to the Ocean View respondents, Carol feels the absence of neighbourly interaction acutely. Moreover, she bewails the "level of racist comments" at the ratepayers' association meetings – and the fact that, while not everybody agrees, "there wasn't outrage" (C6). There are also "a lot of prejudices in the community. About people of other races coming in and living here, being given land

to live here...frightened about what that might imply" (C8). Carol is greatly saddened by these attitudes and feels it is an indictment of her community. Sarah, on the other hand, is very happy in Fish Hoek, although she is aware of its reputation as a conservative suburb:

We have a little bit of a stigma attached to our community. First of all, we are the 'newly weds and the nearly deads' - that's the comments you hear...(But) I park my car at Checkers to do shopping and the kids will walk by and see my car, and the next thing I'm in the aisle with four people at my trolley: how are you! So Fish Hoek, it's not a small town but it has a small town feel. I think everybody knows everybody in Fish Hoek. (S17)

According to Susan, everybody knows everybody in Fish Hoek, in the same way that Alton and Igsaan believe everybody knows everybody in Ocean View. But the next section shows that hardly anyone in Ocean View knows anyone in Fish Hoek, and vice versa.

5.2.2 Other communities: "they can say what they like, but what's happening here affects them too".

When asked to describe other communities in the valley, the respondents revealed a great deal about their personal focus.

Alton's immediate others are Redhill and Masiphumelele, informal settlements whose status in the valley as poor communities is similar to that of Ocean View. Alton's primary identification with those communities demonstrates his focus on helping the socially disadvantaged. For Alton, Ocean View is "interlinked" (A14) with Masiphumelele "not because of the skin colour, but because we have people from our community who live in those communities or come from there" (A14) and "we've had a lot of our poor people who find it quite comfortable to settle in a black settlement village because there wasn't really a difference" (A14). He feels differently about neighbouring white settlements:

We're not really very closely connected to Fish Hoek at all other than the fact that some of the students with wealthy parents... can afford to send their children to Fish Hoek schools... we've got very few people actually living in the Fish Hoek community. So the link is not very strong there" (A14)²

² Alton has requested that it should be made clear that for a family to be 'wealthy' in the Ocean View context means to have two parents, both working.

Some of our parents work in the Kommetjie community as domestics... But... there are no real close ties. We don't have friends in Kommetjie. (A16)

For Alton, the links are with the communities of similar economic status; there are no strong links with the privileged communities beyond employment obligations. When asked "What do you think the other communities think about people from Ocean View?", Alton laughingly replied:

They all think we are gangsters, which is not true! (A23-24)

This belief extends to:

even other coloured people... if you go from Ocean View to Grassy Park... they won't mess with you because they believe you are a gangster. And when you are on the train together and you say that you are from Ocean View, they give you that strange look! So people think that we in Ocean View are wild and uncivilised... People still believe that Ocean View has gates that are closed at night! (A24)

Alton feels that even within the wider coloured community, Ocean View people are considered criminal and inferior.

As an outsider, Igsaan's impression of Kommetjie supports Carol's view from within:

Kommetjie has always been there, and Kommetjie has always had the conservative lifestyle. You know, you can't move in here. You can't do this and you can't do that. Even until today, you can't just go there... the Kommetjie residents are quite different from the Ocean View community... they are more up-market than we are. (I48)

He is not content with such a state of affairs:

I think they need to get more involved in Ocean View's activities too. I mean, they can say what they like, but what's happening here affects them too... I think Kommetjie needs to get themselves more involved in Ocean View's upliftment. (I49)

Carol's immediate response to naming the other community is:

Okay, they're pretty separate. There's Ocean View, Masiphumelele, Sun Valley and Fish Hoek... Ja, but that sense of being in these parallel communities. They walk along and their lives hardly intertwine - or even become aware of what's happening in each other's communities... it is a huge loss to me. And it is a feeling of being 56 and we're 12 years into a democracy and sitting in a white suburb and thinking, am I going to be 66 and still living in a separate community, not knowing my neighbours? (C12)

She has a sense of all the communities of the valley being 'other', all living "in these parallel communities", and feels it as "a huge loss". Carol backs up Alton with an assertion that it's mainly domestic workers and gardeners who cross over into Kommetjie, though she also mentions the Catholic Church as "Many Kommetjie people go to church in Ocean View if the timing of the Mass that is held there is more

convenient than coming to the one in Kommetjie and vice versa" (C36). These arrangements echo Casmir's (1997) concept of "co-cultures" (p.98) as well as Durrheim and Dixon (2005) who employ the term "parallel lives" to describe a context of racial violence in North West Britain in 2001, where the lack of contact between cultures has allowed prejudice to fester:

when people live (such) 'parallel lives'... then personal and collective racism tends to flourish. (p.210)

Generally, experiences of the 'other' community are negative or negligible across the board. Khaya explains:

I don't really know much about Ocean View. I just know it's a coloured community and they also have blacks there... In Sun Valley and Fish Hoek...I don't usually go there. If I go to Fish Hoek I only go there by the shops. I don't go around the community and see what is happening and what is good or bad. (K17)

He says the reason for this lack of experience of other communities is that "I don't have relatives or friends who live there" (K31) and the conclusion might be drawn that, if he had a friend there, he would have a pretext to go and visit. But how would he make such a friend?

Mbulelo is unwilling to speak negatively about intercommunity interaction, blaming "the politics" which "have a very strong negative impact on keeping us far apart from each other" (M25). He prefers to focus on improvements in this arena over the past few years:

like the madam and boss, when they bring their domestic workers, they drop them now at their doorstep. That is a great transformation so to speak in the valley, the openness of the people, if that could be encouraged more and more. (M25)

Though I would hardly describe this change - to drop the domestic at her door rather than at the entrance to the informal settlement - as a 'great' transformation, or even a great stride in 12 years of democracy, it is a tribute to Mbulelo's optimism, particularly in contrast to Carol's despair on his behalf. She demonstrates her use of the narrative described by Steyn (2001) as "I Just Don't Know What To Do, Being White" (p.116), when she recalls visiting Masiphumelele for two separate functions:

And on both occasions, being in the Pink House and being down at the Catholic Church, I sat there and thought, just where does hope come from for people living here? What is the best they can hope for and where is the hope going to come from? Where is improvement going to come from? So I'm quite despairing - surely they must be desperate? I just don't know where they start from or where anybody starts from...(C92)

Susan does not despair for the other communities in the valley – she doesn't even see them:

Sam: What can you tell me about the other communities in the valley?

Susan: Communities as in...

Sam: Which other communities do you see in the valley as being here? In this valley, which other communities are there? Pretend I don't live here. Tell me about it.

Susan: It's not coming out... I'm trying to think now... communities... (Pause)

Sam: Let me try again. Which other cultures are in the valley?

Susan: Are you saying as in... it's not coming out... I can't think now... if I had to tell somebody about Fish Hoek?

Sam: Talk about the southern peninsula. For someone who doesn't live here, describe it. You live in Fish Hoek. What other groups are there in the valley?

Susan: Like teachers? Maybe I'm trying to think too hard there...

Sam: Think more simply. I mean, tell me about the sort of people who live in this valley.

Susan: Okay. Well...

Sam: I mean, you live in Fish Hoek. What other areas are there?

Susan: Sun Valley, which is where I grew up. It's labelled Scum Valley now. Yes, with my kids! I think they're just being ugly. (S20-31)

Her blind spot during the initial stage of the interview might be seen as demonstrating the extent of the white community's ability to focus solely inward to the exclusion of others, however community-minded they consider themselves. Later, Susan reflects she has "three coloured girls in my studio" (S38) and "four or five girls from Masiphumelele that are doing drama" (S42). She feels the communities get on well:

I mean, it's actually wonderful how it's working out because we are quite close together, three different types of... what are we called... races, that actually work well together. I mean, we do work well together in this valley. (S44)

But she acknowledges this hasn't always been the case:

The stigma I'm saying is the people that refuse to change, the ones that are stuck in their old ways from apartheid days... it was rife here in the valley. Because there was Fish Hoek and there was Ocean View, and that was it. I mean, Masiphumelele sprung up quickly. When my aunt lived in Sunnydale, that road, we saw one or two coming down. They had their little community there at the top, and you come down from Ou Kaapse Weg now and you look there... it's massive. It's as big as Fish Hoek. It's a community of its own. (S52)

But despite the fact she acknowledges Masiphumelele is now "a community of its own" she could not identify it as such at the beginning of the interview. It didn't

register on her cultural radar. She can see individuals on the periphery, but doesn't seem to easily admit other groups to the centre of her perception.

All communities in the valley are seeing little of each other, either through lack of access, of opportunity or of interest. Susan's description of her interaction with her girls' parents about the eMzantsi parade seems indicative of the reluctance of the majority of the white community to interact with other community groups, and their inability to clearly explain their reluctance, even to themselves. Susan first ascribes the parents' refusal to even discuss marching in the parade to concerns about "security" (S102), but when probed admitted:

It might have been... I don't know... a colour issue. I don't know. You know, we were marching on their territory, which... it is... I mean, even though Kommetjie... Ocean View... it was I think predominantly coloured/black. I think that might have been a fear. (S104)

She then mentions the "riots" that happened when Ocean View demonstrated about housing "with the tyres in the road" (S107), and reiterates "It was definitely a security issue" (S109). In the language of the white people of the valley, a concern about 'security' is often a euphemism for concern about black involvement. Steyn (2001) points out that "Whiteness in South Africa has always, at least in some part, been constellated around discourses of resistance against a constant threat" (p.25). Susan's mention of "territory" also alerts us to considerations of Durrheim and Dixon's (2005) concept of "dislocation" (p.13) brought about by desegregation in the context of place-identity. Susan spoke slightly sheepishly but was also defensive, feeling she had a right to be apprehensive:

So I definitely think it was a security thing. And also, a first time event. People are... I'm just thinking, marching from a coloured community past a black community... you know, I think they maybe thought they were the only whites involved. (S112)

Often, in the eMzantsi context, it seems that when white people mention "security" they are underlining their own insecurity, both in terms of territory and identity.

In the circumstances, it is not surprising that Khaya reports:

I was telling the school children that there was going to be a Carnival, and they would say, ag man! They were thinking I was joking or something. Others would ask, who are you doing the Carnival with? I would say, people from Ocean View, Fish Hoek and Sun Valley. And they were like, no man, there's no such thing. Then when they really saw that this thing was actually happening, they were like shocked because they didn't believe me. (K79)

Khaya's peers found it hard to believe there might be a carnival happening in the area, but they found it even harder to believe this was an inter-community effort. In the context of the comments of his fellow interviewees set out in this chapter, such shock is not surprising.

Having established the cultural status quo, the next chapter goes on to examine the effects on these valley communities of the inaugural eMzantsi Carnival.

Finally the parade turned into the Sun Valley mall car park, and spontaneously marched into a noisy dancing circle filling the whole field. All faces were beaming with joy – especially the participants amazed at the wondrous colourful spread of themselves. The Omniculture school kids were moving and singing as one:

“WE ARE UNIFIED, GUARANTEED TO PROVIDE, RHYTHMS THAT WILL INSPIRE, YOU TO EXPRESS YOURSELF: EM-ZANT-SI CAR-NI-VAL!!!”

I got a bit choked again.

When asked to by the MC, the big crowd of around a thousand people moved as one from the stage to gather around the Labyrinth of the Community to watch the performance, and, afterwards, in a very relaxed manner walked back to the stage. In all my years of show and festival management I've never seen that happen successfully anywhere else.

This chapter looks at the respondents' reactions to the eMzantsi Carnival, explores its effects on cultural attitudes, and examines changes in the valley communities due to the Carnival process.

6.1 The power of intercultural carnival: “a magic wand that you can use to invite people inside”

The interviewees' perceptions of the eMzantsi Carnival were all, to a greater or lesser extent, positive. This is not surprising as they had all been self-motivated to get involved in the project. They varied only in their opinion of how dramatic a change the Carnival could have on intercultural relations within the valley. Carnival is generally regarded as a dynamic force by all the interviewees, and they attribute the power of the eMzantsi Carnival to a variety of reasons, many of which reflect aspects of carnival prevalent in the literature.

6.1.1 eMzantsi transforming space

Mbulelo was aware that the Carnival had created its own special “space” to “go out”, being “an opportunity for us to interact” (M83) in contrast to the prevailing lack of such space for the youth of his community:

In Masiphumelele people only go out on Sundays to go to the church. Go out on Saturdays to do the shopping at Long Beach Mall. There is no sports ground now, so the rest of the youth get drowned in the shebeens. So what I mean by space, it's a space for them to go out and do some positive things. To listen to the music and see the groups performing. (M85)

For Mbulelo the cultural space created by carnival is “positive”, a “platform to teach them that you don't have to think that a white person is somebody who is rich and staying there... a way of interacting the poor and the rich... a platform whereby you can enjoy to be together” (M37). Carnival transformed a space usually dominated by the white community, whom on this occasion, relegated themselves to the margins. Susan relates that the anxious parents who wouldn't parade (in others' territory) came to the mall (their own territory) to find that:

when the march arrived, (it) was just so festive and the field was packed. My parents were like, wow, because they were all standing on the outskirts watching, and they actually realised, wow, this is good. (S90)

As Riggio (2004) witnessed in carnival in Trinidad, space was appropriated and boundaries transgressed; as DaMatta (1991) saw in Brazil, space was transformed; as Tompsett (2005) felt in London, the street was claimed.

The phonecall before the Carnival from the incensed Kommetjie resident (p.1) demonstrates the extent to which many privileged people feel threatened by the

creation of such a space for interaction: his comment “They must stay in their own areas” is part of his “This Shouldn’t Happen to a White” narrative (Steyn, 2001, p.68). Durrheim and Dixon’s (2005) research shows that white people often experience desegregation as a form of “dislocation”, “an event that violates shared constructions of place and the forms of located subjectivity they sustain. This may help to explain why the process so often seems to occasion anxiety, discomfort and resistance to change” (p.180). Critically, they point out that, often, to feel ‘at home’ requires the absence of others and a dis-identification with their places. In such a context, the presence of others becomes a “boundary-transgressive event” (ibid. p.186), which confounds the capacity of a place to act as a “comfort zone... (or) identity-affirming environment” (Ballard cited by Durrheim and Dixon ibid.).

In light of her community’s usual capacity to airbrush the Other from the map, Susan’s willingness to cross the road into Masiphumelele to meet the gumboot dancers for Carnival reveals the extent of her courage in confronting her fears and challenging her own sense of place-identity. The eMzantsi Carnival space is not only a contested place but also a site of contested identity, and it stretched Susan’s horizons, both literally and conceptually:

I think it’s now awakening people up to actually see that we can integrate. And it’s still foremost in my mind that we need to... encourage the two to meet up somewhere along the line. You know, why does Mardi Gras start in Seventh Avenue? Why doesn’t it start in Ocean View? (S133-34)

This is an excellent question for the people of Fish Hoek to consider.

6.1.2 eMzantsi transforming play

Mbulelo found himself released by carnival from his usual role of mature and sober school teacher, relating how he ran round Masiphumelele the day before, pulling Lebo’s bull¹ to advertise the parade, and repeating how he felt “excited as a child” as “I can’t explain my feelings” (M53). Carol also felt carnival enabled an escapism from her daily norm, allowing her to feel similarly unrestricted:

Well, like me wearing a silly hat. It’s sort of permission to feel relaxed and silly and child-like. So there was a sort of openness, that you could act in your child persona

¹ DaMatta points out that the symbol of New Orleans’ Mardi Gras is *Rex*, the king, and the symbol of Rio Carnaval is *malandro*, the rogue (1991, p.131). The icon of the first eMzantsi carnival was a bull, very consciously chosen as a Xhosa totem from amongst a host of animals by master craftsman Lebo Lefuma to portray the pride, strength and prosperity of the Masiphumelele community.

and that you can connect to other people on that. The barriers are down and we're not going to be all serious and rational and adult-like... You could just call out and say, oh, your son looks hilarious... it sort of opened up conversations with other people because you were dressed in silly outfits, which you couldn't do if it wasn't a carnival. You couldn't do that if it was just a craft day. (C78)

When asked "What is special about carnival that makes us feel like that?" Alton answered:

The fun. The fact that we can take something of ourselves and express it in a quite big, bold, colourful way, and enjoy doing that... The one thing that I think is good about carnival, it gives people the opportunity to express themselves and feel good about themselves. (A49-50)

Carnival allowed valley people to play at exploring their "heart values" (Turner 1986, p.124). Igsaan experienced the euphoria induced by the music and atmosphere of carnival, described by Martin (1999, p.180) as *tariak*:

It actually stimulates the mind more you know. Ah, I've got it! There you go! It... starts with a simple beat. And with the Carnival, once you're in it, nobody can tell you that feeling... your heart... you wanted to be part of it. (I60)

Trying to describe the emotions stimulated by Carnival, Mbulelo says "It triggered my senses" (M102) – like Igsaan he felt the excitement, the spur to feeling, the appeal to pride.

6.1.3 eMzantsi inversion/subversion

Carnival inverted teacher Mbulelo's role, and allowed him to play like a child again, gave Masiphumelele schoolchildren the opportunity to portray a teacher onstage in a kwaito comedy and glorified Ocean View's humble fishing community. Susan seemed awestruck by the ease of freedom demonstrated by some of the participants, as she recalls watching a (coloured) bellydancer:

I just remember the whole front row's mouths were like this...! If I'm going to remember a moment, I do remember that quite strongly – because she didn't give a toss... She looked ahead of her – and not down. She said, this is me and enjoy! (S122)

The belly dancer might be seen as a metaphor for the whole event in the eyes of the white community who see the intercultural Carnival of the valley saying "This is me, enjoy - I don't give a toss about your judgement". Susan envies that (brown girl's) freedom, giving support to the view of the Coon leader interviewed by the *Cape Times* in 1966 who declared:

the coloured people, unlike the Whites, have the ability to drop their inhibitions and be what they want to be. The Whites could not do this even if they wanted to. They are too tied up with convention, and are compelled to wear the mask of respectability... (Martin 1999, p.154)

The belly dancer is defiantly proud, sexy, attractive, talented, and - to valley whites - surprising. She looks ahead – not down. She holds her head high, she looks to the future, she is not cowed or apologetic, but unashamed and powerful. Susan's opinion as to what makes carnival special was revealing:

I think maybe pretending something we're not. You know, that's why I think it's nice that we have themes because then we can actually hide behind what... you know. (S126)

eMzantsi allowed Susan to try out another mask – intercultural comfort; she pretended not to be afraid of a majority black crowd, and surprised herself by carrying it off.

6.1.4 eMzantsi transforming identity

When asked how participating in the parade made him feel, Igsaan responded:

It felt to me like I was at the Minstrel Carnival. You know, that atmosphere when you showcase to people on the stand... ja, you're not here for the cup. We are not here to win. We are here to represent, and we do it to the best of our abilities. (I70)

As a third generation minstrel, Igsaan feels carnival is the best way to communicate the soul of a people. But he is clear that on this occasion, he is not merely representing Ocean View, or the coloured community, but the valley as a whole.

when people realise what we have in our valley... it's not what they see or what they hear; they must come and experience it, and the Carnival is one of the best ways of showing them. (I58)

Alton also sees carnival as an opportunity to enable others to view his community from an insider's perspective:

It's a great way to bring people together... Also, I think it's important for other people to know what Ocean View is about. The eMzantsi carnival is a definite tool that we can use to let the outside in. It's sort of like a magic wand that you can use to invite people inside. (A 26)

He speaks of carnival as a transformational power, a way for Ocean View residents to overcome their inferiority complexes, "to get people together and to be able to say to them, but you can!" (A32) as well as an opportunity for the whole valley:

all of us got together. And I think more of that is needed. People need to get together more to enjoy themselves. (A38)

Mbulelo concurs that carnival provides an opportunity to work on a common valley identity, in contrast with daily life in Masiphumelele where “even if they are grown-up people, they don’t see themselves rubbing shoulders very closely with people of other cultures” (M67). For him, carnival breaks down the barriers between “parallel lives” (Durrheim and Dixon 2005, p210), reaching beyond “just to be walking together in the shopping mall and buying groceries...just passing by”:

I think it’s because people can share the same platform. People from various walks of life can see each other together... see each other closely and dance together... that on its own made people go back home with good memories. It’s a great move. (M67)

Bakhtin’s (1984) notion of the power of the collective carnival body was appreciated by Alton as he looked back from the traffic lights:

there was a point when we reached the four-way stop where I turned around, and for the first time in all that madness, had the opportunity to just see the whole thing...I think all the time that I was putting (it) together, I tried very hard not to compare us to the Rio carnival, but... when I turned around at that point, I actually felt it was quite close to the real thing...all the colours, all the cultures and the vibrancy... It was just all of that together, and to know that, yes, we can do it. (A46-48)

Both Alton and his community feel empowered by their sense of achievement. Igsaan’s belief that President Mandela would enjoy the eMzantsi Carnival underlines his appreciation of the intercultural identity it encourages, and reflects Bakhtin’s (1984) belief in the visionary utopian capacity of carnival:

It’s a long overdue thing that we needed for our valley people to come together... Listen, look here, we’re not just talking about Rio! We are talking about the whole peninsula... I’m telling you we will have Madiba dancing here in no time in our area. No seriously, he likes things like that. It brings our people together, no matter what language you speak. It’s just the happiness of being together and standing as one nation. (I68)

6.2 Culture at the Carnival: “I was being allowed to be on the inside”.

From the interviews, it seems that the black and coloured people felt proud of their culture as showcased in the Carnival, whereas the white people’s reactions are marked by ambivalence.

When asked how the Carnival made each respondent feel about their culture, Khaya replied:

I think it made me feel good about my culture because what I was doing, the gumboot dancing... came out of our culture from the old days when people... who were from the Eastern Cape, which is where I come from, go to Jo'burg to work there. They actually started doing gumboot dancing in the mines, so I think by doing the gumboot dance I was representing my culture, what people were doing where I came from.

(K93)

As well as the Carnival making him "feel confident about my culture." (K93), it "made me respect other cultures and I got to know them better." (K97) Mbulelo felt an overwhelming cultural pride:

It made me feel... I wish I had my own family and I could get a lot of stock... it made me feel strong you know. It made me feel good. (M102)

As he articulated this expression of Xhosa prosperity, Mbulelo's chest swelled. As for other cultures:

it made me curious. It made me curious to know how other cultures... you know, what are the components that makes one be proud of his identity. I know the Ocean View community is a fishing community, so they came and load people in their boats. So I know how they are proud of their culture. So that made me feel that at least we've done something. (M103-4)

Although hesitant beforehand, Igsaan was thrilled by how his cultural traditions were welcomed by other communities during the Carnival:

...can you parade in Kommetjie? Masiphumelele is a different thing again. You can walk there, but how are they going to receive you? You must remember, they are people of kwaito and pantsula and all of those. How are they going to receive our type of music, which with the eMzantsi carnival, we actually broke all barriers. We made them realise to say, guys come on, now or never, and look at the response we had! It was excellent because we all understood one thing, and that was music. And to be together and showcase what South Africa has to offer. (I58)

Alton feels the eMzantsi Carnival provided a vital opportunity for his community to get back in touch with their roots, remind themselves of their heritage and celebrate it:

it's important that we sometimes get back to ourselves, and the festival was just great for people to get back to themselves, back to their culture and who they are (A40)

Igsaan rather underlines the transcultural inter-community border crossing capacity of carnival (Rosaldo 1989, p.215):

the Carnival is actually bringing the collective of all the cultures together and showcase what their culture is all about. (I100)

Mbulelo seems bemused by Sun Valley's lack of participation, and is puzzled that the white community does not seem proud enough of their culture to come and display it:

I might be wrong, but maybe the Sun Valley community wasn't too much there...

Maybe people are not quite confident about their culture, or culture to them is not a

priority or something to be shown off... So if the Sun Valley community can come up with their ox-wagons or with anything that they can be proud of. They've got their culture but I don't know why they are not proud of themselves. So that nice blend can make us altogether trying to understand our roots. You know, one has to brag about who one is and where one comes from. (M104-5)

He doesn't suspect that the Sun Valley community may not have a coherent sense of their own culture to display or attribute more malign reasons for their withholding.

Whereas for Khaya, Mbulelo and Igsaan pride and joy came from demonstrating their own culture, for Susan's girls it came from participating in another's:

They loved it, absolutely loved it... They've never gumbooted besides my show, so they were doing something out of their culture. They were doing something of somebody else's culture, you know. They wouldn't be asking to do it again if they didn't love it so much. (S91-94)

Carol reflects an interesting ambivalence:

In a sense, my culture was hardly there. So in some ways it was like on the outside looking in. I was being allowed to be on the inside of something else that was happening rather than me being part of my culture being there. (C120)

Carol feels excluded by virtue of association with her culture, her whiteness, but also feels "allowed to be on the inside" of "something else that was happening", a new culture. Her white culture was "hardly there", hardly present, and she was glad to be on the other side, with the new cultural grouping, rather than being "part of", or identified with, her culture. Carnival has allowed Carol to move away from the dead-end narrative of "I Just Don't Know What to Do, Being White" to engaging with an alternative: "Hybridisation" (Steyn, 2001, p.127).

6.3 Change due to Carnival: "We've made something. We made a difference."

Respondents reported a range of changes in the intercultural context of their communities precipitated by the Carnival, from tangible changes in status and attitudes, to marked increases in confidence and awareness.

Alton speaks of the total Carnival experience as:

one opportunity to chisel down those barriers within the community. The kids are more connected to one another now. The different organisations and groups that got together to do the Carnival the first time round, are more connected with one another now. And so that link has sort of come together between the people. (A52)

Alton gives specific examples of change due to Carnival in Ocean View, citing links forged between youth during the process: between the primary schools, between English and Afrikaans speakers, and particularly between the disabled and able-bodied (A54). He describes the change in:

the way they viewed the kids from the LSEN school for physically challenged children... it gave everybody else the opportunity to see just how normal they really are and how they fit in with everything that we do... Before this, they wouldn't ordinarily have gone to the LSEN School and made arrangements with them to do things together. And they have been doing things together now other than the eMzantsi Carnival. So... that barrier is definitely broken. People are good friends now and that's great. (A54)

Alton (A64), and Mbulelo (M71) both report a change in their communities' attitude towards involvement in Carnival itself, with a marked increase in enthusiasm about the next one. Khaya says the parade "made lots of people change their mind... They want to be in the Carnival and not just going there to watch. They want to participate." (K69) and Susan reports that her girls:

definitely want to do it again. So that definitely had a positive influence. Because the first initial moment when I asked them... there was hesitation and now there is no hesitation... It was great fun. (S130)

But Khaya is also aware of a change in the wider community:

I think that something has changed in the valley. Because maybe some other people thought that people from Maslphumelele, Fish Hoek, Ocean View and Sun Valley would not be together doing one thing. Then after the Carnival I think they saw that there is actually something that can be done by people from different communities. I think it has changed from thinking that there's nothing that they can do with the people from Ocean View or something. But now they are thinking that when you combine together and make a Carnival, it can actually be a good thing. (K73)

Mbulelo's surprise and delight at the police's role on the day was substantial: for him, the Carnival marked a sea change in the attitudes of the police to his community and a corresponding change in attitude of his community to the police:

The first exciting moment was when we pulled the bull... I didn't know that (Lebo) had also made some costumes for the young boys to represent the boys who are in the rural areas and pulling the bulls in the fields... when it was getting to the main road it was the real thing whereby it got everyone to a standstill. Even the police, when we came there, they gave some wonderful respect to this bull. They were just pushing people away! "Make way for this bull!" It was really exciting. That moment, ... when

the bull was arriving at Chasmay Road to join the bigger crowd...I thought, yes... we've made something. We made a difference. (M59)

The difference is that Mbulelo feels empowered, the boys given respect by the police feel empowered and the community of Masiphumelele feels empowered by the respect paid to its symbol of its own prosperity: the bull. Mbulelo also feels the participation of the police drill team in the parade was "a learning process for the kids... As we speak, surely some of them wish that they can be police as well" (M63).

Igsaan has a heartwarming story of direct tangible change as a result of the Carnival benefiting young members of his community:

We even had two street kids who we turned around...And it's all to do with the Carnival and what we're doing... You know, these kids were always hanging around with us, and when we took part in the Carnival I took out old uniforms and let them wear it. And I'm telling you, the whole road was just like... what do you call it... the 4th of July... you know, that type of atmosphere. Rio Carnival. And you wouldn't understand or think that this is a street kid. And as we progressed, having our training sessions on Sundays, the kids stood at the door. And we asked them, why are you standing at the door, because you are now part of our contingent. And they said, no, they don't know how they're going to be received by the other kids because they tend to ask money from people in Fish Hoek. They ask for food. I said, no, here are no such things. The only things we want for you to do here is to enjoy yourself and belong. And you know, as it progressed, they started being themselves again. They started going to school. They started being at practices. And now today, they are back at their homes. (I20-22)

6.3.1 Belonging

'Belonging' was a critical component for several of my interviewees, giving an insight into fundamental cultural needs in the valley. Within his community, Igsaan keenly feels the difference such a feeling can make to a child, and cites the concept repeatedly in his narrative about the street children who were brought into the fold. He says "these kids...they need to belong somewhere" (I20) and explains:

They got that sense of belonging... you know, you get that love, and where you're going to get it, you are going to go there. (I26)

He reiterates that such an involvement produces "a totally different kid. He smiles. He's happy. He knows he is wanted." (I44) Igsaan's cultural family encompasses a wide sense of kinship.

We've come to the realisation that the kids we have (in the troupe), they are more family to us than our own families. (152)

Durrheim and Dixon (2005) argue that material environments are not inert backgrounds to social life but landscapes of meaning with rich social and psychological connections, and that concepts such as belonging "sensitise us to processes that have profound relevance to understanding who we are, how we behave and what kind of relationships we form" (p.184). In the wider context of the south peninsula, Igsaan is clear and forthright about to whom the eMzantsi Carnival belongs:

If you look at our Minstrel Carnivals...it's just a certain culture group that makes the people belong. Now, with the (eMzantsi) Carnival, it's not just for one culture group, it's for the whole contingent or for the whole valley. (160)

For Carol, the Carnival satisfied her longing to belong, to feel part of a group, and a community, that she has previously felt the lack of so acutely.

I was really pleased to have even a small part of it. To be feeling on the inside rather than being on the outside looking in. I loved being part of that... Because it was a further step along this journey of not feeling isolated out on this limb here at Kommetjie where you drive through and pass the entrance to Ocean View and pass Masiphumelele. I've been part of different things in Masiphumelele before. I've been to two or three workshops in Ocean View before, but still... there was a difference about being in an initiative that linked the communities... (C51-54)

At these other events, she felt she had merely stood on the doorstep looking in; eMzantsi allowed her to step inside, to participate, and to contribute to forming a new community.

Igsaan demonstrated the power of the unifying rhythm of the Carnival, tapping the table as he spoke:

Now that is what people don't realise if you are not part of a carnival...it's the heart of it ...to showcase and to be there... to belong! This is who we are. You know: happy. music. Not hate. Not breaking down. (160)

Having examined the effect of the eMzantsi Carnival on attitudes towards culture, as well as the Carnival's effect on the communities themselves, the next chapter addresses third-culture building in the eMzantsi context.

The complete chaos of the stage show compared to the scheduled line-up didn't matter as it all came together with the team pulling together backstage to rally the acts, improvising all the while. From minstrels and Isicathamiya¹ singers to ballet dancers, breakdancers and bellydancers, the performance ran without a hitch for over three hours.

It was astonishing how the majority black crowd cheered the white Carnival King and Queen nominees with as much genuine warmth as the black winners and how everyone spontaneously joined in with victorious Queen Zoleka's rendition of "This little light of mine, I'm gonna let it shine..." – it can work. It was the third time I cried today.

This chapter examines the third-culture building process and joint improvisation in the eMzantsi Carnival context, looks at examples of success and failure and the reasons for both outcomes, and explores the different priorities of inter-community and intra-community third-culture building.

¹ Ladysmith Black Mambazo style

7.1 Carnival and third-culture building: “it’s not about the Carnival, it’s about creating opportunities for different communities to meet”.

In investigating respondents’ attitudes towards community participation during the Carnival process, and reflecting on Casmir’s (1997) third-culture building focus, the findings demonstrate that for the eMzantsi collaborators, the process was more important than the product; the Carnival itself, though spectacular, was merely the icing on the cake. The real achievement was the building of trust and networks across and within communities that facilitated the creation of the Carnival – and the tangible beginnings of a united appreciation of a mutually beneficial multicultural valley identity.

7.1.1 Gumboot dancing as third-culture building

Khaya’s reflections on the rehearsal period of his Marhoshi gumboot troupe with the Fish Hoek Academy of Dance demonstrate Casmir’s (1997) third-culture building process in an almost textbook fashion, and his account of the progress of rehearsals provides an extended metaphor for the process of developing intercultural communication. He describes how when his troupe first met the Fish Hoek dancers “It was very challenging because when we joined with the girls we didn’t know their style. They are doing gumboot dancing but doing a different style from us” (K39). He admits that he was somewhat hesitant to get involved in the beginning, as he felt the girls would be of an inferior standard and take too long to train up:

But I found out, no man, they can actually do it and I can even teach them more. It will only take a few days or a few weeks for them to be perfect just like us. (K49)

Khaya was delighted, not only by their surprising capacity for gumboot dancing, but also by his own surprising capacity for cross-cultural teaching – he directed the rehearsals, with Fish Hoek teacher Susan deferring to his superior knowledge. He relates the similar reactions of the other boys in the Marhoshi troupe, whom, after showing initial reluctance, also enjoyed the experience of feeling empowered as ‘expert’ teachers:

they said to me, no man, those girls are too slow. We don’t want to practice with them. We can just go alone. In the carnival they can just do their thing and we can do our thing. We cannot mix with them. And I said, no, come on, let’s try this. And the second time we went there they actually enjoyed themselves. What we do when we practice, I’m the one who is teaching them, and when we were there ...they did get a

chance to show others, okay, you can do like this. They actually loved it and they want us to go there everyday now. (K57)

There was an abundance of dialogue, *inter-action* and *com-munication*, as recommended by Casmir (1997), and the collaboration was a mutually empowering exchange, Khaya remembers, “because we also learn from them and they also learn from us” (K39) – the girls taught the boys a ballet twirl which they all did together to end the act. The rehearsal period of several weeks allowed trust and confidence to build between the dancers, as well as understanding:

So I don't think about them the way I used to think. I used to think, ah, they are girls and they're not going to be just like us. So I found out that even though they are girls and they are so young, but they are able to do just as much as we can do with gumboot dancing, if they only practice. (K49)

Khaya's conclusion is deceptively simple, and his diplomacy makes him an excellent ambassador for an eMzantsi third culture:

I learnt that if you do your own thing it can be really good, but it can be even better if you maybe involve other people to make a big group. Because if you have flowers in your garden and you only have roses, your garden is only going to look red, but if you mix your flowers in the garden then you're going to have a beautiful garden with white and red colours. So if we're going to be doing gumboot dancing in the carnival and it's only people from Masiphumelele doing gumboot dancing, then it will be boring and not nice. But if we involve people from Ocean View and all the different communities, it actually becomes big and very interesting. So I learnt if you all work together you can do the best. (K75)

The impact would not have been anywhere near as great with merely a side-by-side gumboot display. The combined gumboot troupe's performance on the day of the Carnival may not have been their slickest, but their camaraderie was apparent to all. Mbulelo relates how an old lady had tears rolling down her face while she watched them:

It was a white lady. I don't think she was just crying because she saw her granddaughter dancing, but she might have been touched by that kind of a blend: the youth of Fish Hoek and Masiphumelele interacting. Normally, their parents wouldn't approve that. (M87)

Igsaan thinks the collaboration defied stereotypes:

And with the gumboot dances we had... and they were all white girls... come on, how can they tell us white men can't jump! ... It's a lot of bull because it's up to you as an individual. (I62)

Carol also highlights “...the white young girls and the teenaged black guys doing the gumboot dancing together” (C74):

I...noticed that the response from the audience was sort of hyped up about those two. There was something they saw about the mixed race... sort of different people from different races doing something together. Because they seemed together in an almost little frenetic clap at the end...the audience watching, were there about half a dozen whites?... It was very few, so it was mostly a black audience that was giving that positive response. And I was wishing that there were more whites. Really wishing that there were other people to see this. (C74)

By all accounts, this Carnival collaboration was a successful challenge to the valley's cultural status quo.

7.1.2 eMzantsi inter-community third-culture building

From the outset, from the very first press coverage of the launch meeting, it was clearly articulated that the eMzantsi Carnival was a vehicle for community links-building across the valley. Carol remembers that when she read "that article I got that message that it's not about the Carnival; it's about creating opportunities for different communities to meet" (C44) and adds:

this was overtly about linking communities, and that was what I had been searching for (C54)

Carol first came to a meeting at the Ocean View Civic Centre a couple of months later:

it obviously already developed its own process before I came. You know you'd worked... because it seemed to just flow in that way each time. I liked the way... people had found their voices and were using their voices. There was already a sufficient amount of shared vision as to what it was about. (C50)

Casmir's (1997) third-culture building focus on "process, not product", and ensuring that "every phase of the development of the process should be directed by those who hope to benefit from it" (pg. 92), is in evidence here, as well as an emphasis on dialogue and *com*-munication, and negotiating meanings. Carol appreciates both the effects of this community forum and the dynamic energy of the process:

there was a lot of sharing of enthusiasm: 'oh, and we've got this group involved' and 'those people are amazing'. There was kind of competitive secrets about what group was going to do what. So that was wonderful to feel part of, ja. I enjoyed that. (C50)

She welcomed the opportunity the process offered to build her own networks, relating her experience of being in a church workshop in Masiphumelele and meeting "people...who knew of me through eMzantsi" and valuing this "cross-weaving" (C92). Carol's appreciation of process over product deepened as she worked with two different cultural groups over several weeks to create the 'Labyrinth of the

Community'. She says the performance "evolved" as they got to know each other and "really stretched my idea of what a Labyrinth could be used for" (C48). On the day of the carnival, some of the Labyrinth group were overwhelmed by the size of the audience and were too intimidated to perform:

So how much they showed of themselves on that day compared to the practices was not even fifty percent. But still, that wasn't the whole point, and even at that time it didn't matter. It's more about the four workshops before and what happened in that process. (C56)

Carol appreciates the difference between a token inclusiveness, where people of different cultures sit next to each other, or walk alongside each other, and the eMzantsi way, where people of different cultures worked together, and took decisions together; not *co*-cultures but *com*-munity through *com*-munication (Casmir, 1997, p.98).

When asked about the community meetings process, Igsaan comments:

That was great stuff actually because you didn't just involve the people who were doing things (formally). You actually went to the collective. You started with the crèches. You started with the primary schools. You afterwards started with us and our activities. You actually went to Arts Vibrations. You actually also had Masiphumelele. You sent a lot of information out there. You even went and had it in some magazine I believe. And the message was received. The message was out there that we are starting a Carnival. (I61-62)

Although Igsaan is very aware that the drive to initiate the Carnival came from outside, he feels he and his community have a proactive role: 'we' are starting a carnival – not 'you'. This shows a minimum level four (Co-operation) participation on Herr and Andersen's (2005, p.40) scale from the very beginning of the process.

Igsaan adds:

You people also had the fishing community involved, which was great. It actually brought togetherness... You know, to see the kids on the boats and that, it made it look like a fishing carnival...it was raw. It was unique. It was one of a kind... what it showcased is that... you took actually the lowest people in the community and you made them feel that they were wanted; they are appreciated. You know, because a fisherman here it's never been recognised for what they're doing...And I mean, to make use of their boats on that day... and they themselves were on the boats... it was their day of glory too. And until today they still talk about it. (I86)

Alton compares the value attached to all community contributions by eMzantsi with what he sees as the less welcoming attitude of the Fish Hoek Mardi Gras:

Ocean View and Masiphumelele really don't want to participate in the Mardi Gras... because the Mardi Gras was predominantly about white people... it's not that they don't want to, it's because they've never been allowed to really be a part of it. And they were never allowed to be a part of it because of the way they were viewed. They were viewed as people who would not be able to affectively contribute to that. Whereas, the eMzantsi Carnival is taking a different approach. We are saying bring what you've got and turn it into something fantastic. (A70)

Alton feels that the deliberate inclusivity and third-culture building emphasis of the eMzantsi process is preferable to the top-down approach practiced by the Fish Hoek Mardi Gras:

They need to change the way they look at other people... They need to realise that everybody does have something to contribute. (A69)

7.1.3 Barriers to inter-community third-culture building

When asked to speculate as to why people from white areas such as Fish Hoek didn't get more involved in the eMzantsi initiative, either in the community forums or by coming to watch the Carnival celebrations, Alton replied without hesitation:

I think it's because they think it's low class. There's still that attitude of the bourgeoisie don't mingle with the peasants. It's just that. (A72)

Igsaan also refers to the reluctance of the "bourgeoisie":

It's a long overdue thing that we needed for our valley people to come together. It's a pity that Kommetjie wasn't there. It's a pity that some of the Fish Hoek valley people or Sunnydale weren't involved because it was on their doorstep... And that's why the next carnival we're going to have, we're probably going to have it at the same spot. It's going to bring all the bourgeoisie together. (I68)

When Carol was asked what stops her recalcitrant white community from joining in the Carnival, she first offered quite a bourgeois explanation!

I suppose it's the English stiff upper-lip! Feeling as if you're appearing too familiar and you don't know them. (C82)

But she also describes several times in various ways her sense of feeling overwhelmed by the hopelessness of trying to right the skewed social situation she has such a keen sense of, "knowing that there was a real need for something and yet thinking, where on earth does one start?" (C54). More illuminating is an insight she shares while recalling how her visits to Masiphumelele in the past have made her feel:

Pretty desperate... It's like I want to ask them, but it's such a bold and despairing question: What hope is there of all these people having houses or proper education?

I mean, in ten to twenty years all those kids will be... Maybe it's that scariness of thinking there aren't any answers. That's why it's so scary for other whites to become involved. It's like you are now going to be asked to please do something about it and you don't know what to do so you think, well, I just can't even go there. (C94)

No one expected enthusiasm for intercultural interaction from the conservative white majority "bourgeoisie" of the valley, but understanding this reluctance to step forward from even the minority within the white community who are prepared to acknowledge a need for greater integration is a key challenge. Bennett (1993) describes the "paralysis" of partially developed ethnorelativism as people fall into a "multiplistic quagmire" of evaluation, which can result in such a "debilitating ambiguity" (p.65). Carol ponders:

What would ignite people like that...? I guess I've got to get to know my community better to even know that answer. I've got to find some kind of leverage as to what do people in this community get interested in that overlaps with what other people in other communities are interested in. So try and find a common ground... you have to find what is close to the heart, what is shared between communities. (C109)

Carol concludes that intra-community knowledge, how to inspire her own community to stand up and get involved, is needed to stimulate inter-community entente.

Susan seems surprised to feel proud of her culture in the Carnival context, and surprised her girls weren't more self-congratulatory.

Quite interestingly enough, it was quite nice to see... my girls were white obviously... and they were dancing amongst black, and I actually felt very proud because they weren't going: oh, look at us. We're dancing with another colour. They were accepting. I even said that to my husband: I'm so proud of these girls because they never made any issue, nothing. It was just like, that's it. We have two arms and two legs and we're getting together. (S185-186)

Her comments might lead to a conclusion that whites are expecting intercultural interaction to be quite a hurdle, and that they risk being made to feel inadequate or overwhelmed (numerically or otherwise) in an intercultural situation. Susan betrays her own misgivings at the outset:

when you phoned me... I heard your idea and I thought, mmm, this could be interesting. And I bounced it off my girls, and that's the best thing. Because if there is any negative feelings in your head, bounce it off the girls, and they were over the moon. (S62)

Igsaan spells out the need for the white community to make the effort and at least come and watch if not participate :

they must actually show our people that they care. You know, just by caring and coming along to see that things are going... (I49)

Unfortunately, whether the white community is too fearful to come to the Carnival, or resentful of being pushed towards intercultural interaction; too busy, or too busy ignoring it hoping it will go away; whether their sense of place-identity has been violated (Durrheim and Dixon 2005, p.180) or whether they feel merely indifferent; to the non-white communities it simply appears that they just don't care enough to come.

7.1.4 eMzantsi intra-community third-culture building

When asked what he thought of the process, like Alton, Masiphumelele eMzantsi coordinator Mbulelo shows appreciation of being given the opportunity to feel like a protagonist:

Great. It made me feel in charge, responsible. Try and bend my thoughts to the community at large. Not only Masiphumelele but with my neighbours as well. (M77)

It is significant that when considering the third-culture building process, his emphasis is on intra-community building before inter-community building. Mbulelo described the Carnival as “a platform for me to pull the community from Masiphumelele and link it with our neighbouring communities” (M37) and when probed about his use of the word “pull” to bring people together, he elucidated:

Ja, it was not a walk in the park. It was a tough one, but one is willing to do something when you know that people will be listening to you... and that they will be following their hearts. Nobody was actually pushed... it was not imposed on the people. It's just to trigger their senses. It's a partly psychological way of pressing their feelings - that this is what we should be doing. This is what we were born to be. To rejuvenate and make them understand their identity. It's part of people understanding and making a platform for them to share. One has to really... to show them... I love what I'm doing. (M43)

This demonstrates how the eMzantsi Carnival celebration, by simultaneously “triggering their senses” in that euphoric atmosphere and “making them understand their identity” on a “shared platform”, rewards people for coming through the taxing process of community links-building – by “showing them” third-culture at work (or rather at play). Mbulelo certainly feels the effort is worth the reward.

Like Casmir (1997), Mbulelo is aware of the fundamental need for trust-building to kick-start the process, stating that "Firstly, they have to trust the person who is inviting them" (M51) and he recalls the constant dialogue within his community:

They were really curious and asked a lot of questions... The Carnival itself sort of created a field for discussion or debate. It gave people something positive to talk about. (M81)

Mbulelo describes his strategy for mobilising his community, which amongst other things includes adopting certain rural ways of bringing people together and adapting them to the urban situation, and developing time consciousness (M75).

Ocean View's eMzantsi coordinator Alton likewise became highly sensitive to the needs of the trust-building process:

they get together and they get stuck into it, so it's better just to leave them alone and let them get on with things. Because if you look over their shoulder all the time and sort of tell them, let's do this and let's do that, they get frustrated and they end up just throwing in the towel... So I think the way that we handled things was great. (A36)

Alton charts the growth of a mutually empowering change in confidence within his community:

there was a point when some people actually felt, we don't need other people to do this. We can do this on our own. We don't need other people to inspire us. We don't need other people to motivate us, we can do it for ourselves. And that was great. That was a great learning curve for me also. (A58)

The third-culture network has also allowed Alton to lean on others for support:

I think I learnt that I don't have to worry as much as I do about everything coming together. I think I learnt to trust other people a lot more than I do and give them much more credit than I do sometimes. (A60)

He is aware that such trust bears fruit:

When you give them the responsibility, they do understand what you want and they connect with you. Before, maybe there wasn't that type of connection, but I know for a fact that now there is that type of connection. (A62)

Alton is under no illusions, and is keenly aware that the process of trust-building takes time, patience, and diplomacy:

To start the whole process off was quite difficult, because even though we live in the same community, there's still a lot of divides between the people inside the community itself, and my role was to bring all the people together and give them the inspiration to believe in themselves and sort of do this Carnival. (A32)

The Ocean View interviewees' testimonies repeatedly demonstrate that the primary challenge to intercultural communication across the valley is intra-community communication. Igsaan echoes Alton's sentiment:

I'm telling you, there are a lot of good things that came out of this Carnival. People really met each other across the divide. Especially with our choir bands, we had a problem with them in the past where they said they wanted to do nothing about minstrels... (120)²

For Igsaan, the divide people bridged through Carnival was first and foremost within the community, and only later came the realisation of a wider intercultural application:

the sense that I got out of it is that I can work with other people the same as I can work with Ocean View's people. And I found out that... other leaders... have the same concept that we have, we just need to sit together and make it more a blast of a thing than what we had from the beginning. (194)

Successful intercultural communication across the valley seems to require both inter- and intra-community links-building beforehand.

you showed the valley that we all can work together, and you showed our community that we can work together, and with other communities like Masiphumelele and Red Hill. (144)

Third-culture building featuring dialogue, *inter*-action and *com*-munication, and focussing on *together*, seemed easier when people had the fun goal of Carnival to work towards. Echoing Kemmis and McTaggart's (2005) thoughts about the "playfulness" of exploratory and communicative action in PAR (p.581), Carol concludes:

I think those meetings at Ocean View and Masiphumelele... how do I put that in words... it was great to be sitting as just fellow South Africans at a meeting and people having something in common to plan, and they were planning fun things too. I think of this metaphor: you've got to be within arm's reach of somebody to stroke them. Of course, it's scary, because once you're within arm's reach to be stroked you can also be within arm's reach to be punched. But you don't have one without the other. You've got to be close enough. And in a relationship building of getting to know people while they're organising something fun, you are also getting closer where another step further down the road is to get to know them on a deeper level about less fun things. And to be able to develop a sort of hearing context where you can hear on another level what their concerns are. (C 89-90)

² There was also a schism between rival minstrel troupes in Ocean View that the 2005 eMzantsi Carnival helped bring together, so that a brand new unified band performed at eMzantsi 2006.

This appreciation that the eMzantsi Carnival facilitated the development of a “hearing context” is critical to understanding it as a third-culture building initiative, coaxing valley communities “further down the road” towards intercultural integration.

7.2 Joint improvisation at Carnival: “let me just do my thing and enjoy it; go with the flow”.

When asked what is special about carnival, Khaya tried to explain the excitement he felt:

It's like performing... you are not on stage but you are doing one thing that is being watched by the audience... You are all together with other people from different cultures who are all doing one thing. It's not like you are only doing gumboot dancing because there is a time when we are not doing gumboot dancing but actually dancing to the music that's coming from the back. We're like dancing to the drums and to the music. So it's like we're all performing on the one stage, doing the same thing. (K60-61)

Like Bateson (1993) Khaya found confidence by relaxing into this joint performance:

It made me feel good. At first I was like... shy. There were lots of us and the people from around my community are looking at me. But as the parade went through, I was very excited. Like these people at the back of us... everybody was doing his style. I thought if I'm just going to walk around and doing nothing... and then I thought, okay, let me just do my thing and enjoy it; go with the flow. It was nice then. I felt really good afterwards. (K47)

Khaya was able to let go and to “celebrate uncertainties” (Bateson 1993, p.120), and the Marhoshi Gumboots troupe dancing to the music of Igsaan's minstrels coming from the back of the parade (K60), demonstrates the capacity for joint improvisation across cultures explored by Bateson (1993), and prove her point that such a shared performance is indeed a “context for learning” (ibid. p. 119). In the same way Mbulelo noticed that:

The other exciting moment... (was) when we were getting closer to the garage... I was surprised that there were also police that we had in the parade... a group of police in full uniform. And the way they were marching fitted in with...the primary school children (Omniculture drumming group). They... didn't train together with the police! It just happened spontaneously, so it was a very nice blend. (M63)

The children learned to feel like a team with the police, and Khaya learned to “go with the flow”, both useful intercultural experiences.

Alton felt that the Carnival was a joint effort by a wide range of valley people:

I loved the fact that everybody really contributed to making the event as great as it was. (A80)

Carol agrees about the power of a shared performance:

I enjoyed having a fun place to be and share it together... The participants were us ourselves; we didn't have people coming in with a circus and we were all going to watch the circus. Not somebody coming in from outside doing things to entertain us, it was ourselves entertaining ourselves. That was great... And everybody got such a great response. Everybody was so enthusiastic about whatever anybody did. Everybody supported everybody else. I enjoyed that. (C128-129)

Igsaan underlines the power of Bateson's (1993) joint improvisation as demonstrated by a crowd of youngsters from Masiphumelele who spontaneously joined the Ocean View minstrels, and the effect of that combination on the onlookers:

Sam: What do you think they were thinking?

Igsaan: Just to tell you, they didn't even think. They just took part. We opened a gap for them to dance. They danced with us up to the cross... I'm telling you, when they started moving their bodies like that with the sound of the beat, we got the message that they are interested. And the Carnival showed that it's not just for us, it's for everybody. That was like the highlight for me when those kids started dancing. And when we progressed further onto the cross, a few of the white blokes shouted in Afrikaans: "Dis wat ons maak in die valley. Hou dit so!" You know, when someone shouted like that out of his being, you could hear this man was very sincere. And his wife was nearly in my face with her camera you know. (I77-8)

Having examined third-culture building and joint improvisation in the eMzantsi process and parade, the final chapter endeavours to draw some conclusions about intercultural interaction in the carnival context.

Editorial in the People's Post community newspaper, 6th December 2005***Here's to eMzantsi!******The eMzantsi Carnival, held on Saturday, paved a way for our often divided communities to meet on common ground and celebrate some of the many positive aspects of being South African.******It is very seldom that our different cultural groups come together in the Far South, and more's the pity, because we then miss out on sharing in some wonderful experiences.******As residents paraded down Kommetjie Road, there was a palpable sense of pride in the air as they took their culture out into the world for all to see.******Events such as eMzantsi foster a much-needed understanding to replace the often knee-jerk suspicions we have of people who are different to us. But when we meet them, we realise they are not that different after all – and that's what eMzantsi was about.******It is sincerely hoped that the organisers will hold another eMzantsi Carnival next year, and in the years to come, so that the Far South community can further build on the bridges that need to be put in place.******South Africa has unfortunately become a bit jaded and lost its sense of wonder at the rainbow. eMzantsi can restore that wonder and make us all take pride in our vibrant and colourful South African identity again.******Let's hope that eMzantsi will become an annual event in the Far South community!***

This chapter concludes the study with an overview of intercultural interaction in the eMzantsi Carnival context, a summary of the findings and some suggestions to direct future research.

8.1 Expanding the field of carnival studies

This study has explored how carnival theory and intercultural communication theory might be aligned to reach an understanding of the power of carnival in a cross-cultural context. While carnival theorists in the past have tended to focus on the impact of the event itself, this work has sought to expand the field to encompass the process of preparing for carnival, and examine how this encourages both intercultural interaction and the development of a communal identity.

While Riggio's (2004) emphasis on the affirming nature of the post-colonial carnival, as opposed to the anti-authoritarian bent of Bakhtin's medieval ritual, is salutary, her argument does not go far enough. Carnival itself has the capacity to go further: in the eMzantsi context, with our fragmented communities, carnival does not so much demonstrate the capacity to affirm an identity, as much as create one.

All over the world, carnival is an expression of post-colonial identity, and has proved a vital constituent of formulating that identity, from South America and the Caribbean to the diaspora (DaMatta 1991, Nurse 1999, Riggio 2004, Tompsett 2005). The eMzantsi Carnival has begun to represent the southern peninsula to itself in the way that, in recent years, Bahian blocos have been articulating an Afro-positive Brazilian identity (Armstrong 2005, 2001), and, increasingly, multicultural calypsos have been formulating a unified Trinidadian identity (Riggio 2004). Through eMzantsi, community groups working together to decide on a theme and a look that best represents them are also working together to articulate aspects of a cross-cultural valley identity that have not previously been envisaged.

While undoubtedly the power of large scale carnivals such as Rio and Trinidad reside in the unique euphoria they generate during the brief annual celebration, their potency would not be as great without the bonding process that occurs during the months prior to the event, as groups of people work together to achieve the realisation of their dream. This thesis points towards the conclusion that it is the combination of the process towards carnival and the day of carnival itself that makes its impact so powerful and makes carnival such a fertile site for intercultural interaction and third-culture building. It is thus the span of the journey, and not only its culmination, that generates the energy of carnival, which is perhaps why its dynamic spirit is best expressed in movement as a glorious parade.

Carnival has the potential to dramatise the process of successful intercultural interaction in a way that can inspire participants to collaborate more confidently in other more challenging contexts. Further focussed study on carnival in intercultural contexts may pave the way for the formulation of an 'intercultural carnival theory'.

8.2 Withholding of white involvement

The withholding of the majority of the white community's support for the eMzantsi process impacts greatly on the Carnival's capacity to increase intercultural interaction in the valley. While individual white people were active volunteers and vociferous supporters of the eMzantsi Carnival, community meetings in Sun Valley were poorly attended compared with those in Ocean View and Masiphumelele, and it must be acknowledged that the wider white community of the Fish Hoek valley didn't seem to want to 'come to the party'. The relative lack of interest from the white community doesn't invalidate the Carnival, but indicates that there may be minimum inclusionary requirements for eMzantsi to have a positive effect on intercultural integration across the board. Participatory Action Research could be seen as limited if one of the invited communities is reluctant to participate in the action, although Kemmis and McTaggart (2005) feel that for one group to refuse such an invitation may be merely part of the process (p.579).

Many reasons for the withholding of the white community have been suggested, but without further research it is impossible to make a conclusive pronouncement. The Carnival's Xhosa title may be off-putting to the conservative majority. The aggrieved antagonism to the eMzantsi Carnival demonstrated by the Kommetjie caller at the top of Chapter 1, seems to show that a section of the white community perceive it to be an assault on their sense of place-identity as described by Durrheim and Dixon (2005). White indifference, possibly the reaction of the majority to the Carnival, may be partly explained through Prinsloo and De la Rey's (1997) insight that:

individuals limit and calculate the costs of their activity, their psychosocial and even economic investments in a given locality in proportion to the community's capacity to provide commensurate rewards. Those with alternative reward structures and resources have little incentive to identify with their base. (p.14)

The marginalised communities of Ocean View and Masiphumelele were eager to seize this rare chance to express their heritage, but local whites have other opportunities to display their high achieving youth and cultural highlights. It might be

surmised that they have little motivation to identify with an intercultural Carnival, if they don't wish to see themselves as part of an "us".

The findings of this study suggest that the minority of the white community who are open to cross-cultural links-building find it difficult to take part because they don't have a clear concept of, let alone confidence in, their changing culture (Bennett 1993) and feel overwhelmed by the scale of the task. In sheer practical terms, the challenge of mobilising this scattered minority was not helped by the lack of dedicated eMzantsi coordinators for the Sun Valley, Fish Hoek and Kommetjie communities. This will be addressed in future, and should funding be procured in order to carry on with the Carnival, it will remain to be seen if the white community will come round.

While reflecting on the story of the two street kids who stood at the door, I considered the plight of Carol who felt herself isolated and without a community, Susan wistfully contemplating her domestic's perceived rich cultural life, and the dance school parents who stood on the fringes of the Carnival action. Could the street children be seen as a metaphor for that small ethnorelatively "paralysed" (Bennett, 1993, p.65) portion of the communities of Kommetjie and Fish Hoek/Sun Valley, who feel culturally impoverished and don't quite know how to behave when Ocean View and Masiphumelele invite them to Carnival?

And we asked them, why are you standing at the door, because you are now part of our contingent. And they said, no, they don't know how they're going to be received by the other kids... (122)

The crucial difference between the street kids at the door, and the white people of the valley, is that the latter are privileged and the majority in the peninsula. But although they might hold the economic and social power, it is apparent from this research that culturally, in the Carnival context, some feel disempowered and at a disadvantage. Added to their sense of displacement from the main road during Carnival, this disempowerment in cultural terms underlines their displacement on the national agenda. Depending on whether their personal predilection is to view the glass as half empty or half full, eMzantsi offers them either a glimpse of their increasing irrelevance or an opportunity to hybridise (Steyn, 2001, p.159, 127).

The thesis set out to examine intercultural interaction between all valley inhabitants and not focus solely on the behaviour of the white community. The overwhelming success of third-culture building between black and coloured residents of Masiphumelele and Ocean View during the eMzantsi process should not be underestimated; traditional tensions between the communities over resources could have made it far more of a challenge than it was¹.

Whether white involvement was hampered by fear, resentment, reluctance or simple indifference, it should be noted that accusations of “security” concerns are without foundation. Not a single incident of crime was reported to police on duty at the 2005 and 2006 eMzantsi Carnivals; and the only medical emergency was six plasters requested for blisters caused by excessive drumming...

8.3 Summary of findings

In the valley context, it was found that black and coloured people have a relatively positive sense of their own culture, and a clear sense of their own community, whereas whites seem more confused about the concept of culture and less confident about what constitutes community. The liberating capacities of the eMzantsi Carnival made people feel proud of their culture and had a positive impact on intercultural attitudes and integration, both within and between communities. Respondents reported a range of improvements in the intercultural context of their communities precipitated by the Carnival, and described the vital sense of transcultural ‘belonging’ it evoked.

While investigating the effects of carnival attributes on intercultural interaction in the eMzantsi context, it was found that eMzantsi Carnival time may not yet have developed to be a “second life of the people” (Bakhtin, 1984, p.9) but for many it was a second chance, an opportunity to try out intercultural interaction in a risk-free environment. Desegregated eMzantsi Carnival space facilitated a positive and proactive re-articulation of place-identity for participants (Durrheim and Dixon, 2005). In contrast with the Kommetjie caller’s outrage at feeling disenfranchised and pushed out by an encroaching black community (p.1), the eMzantsi Carnival created a new space, a place that Carol can feel she belongs for the first time, i.e. included and accepted by black people in an intercultural community.

¹ See Chapter 1.

eMzantsi Carnival inversion may not have given participants a glimpse of life on the other side, but certainly a glimpse of life *with* the other side. Through the eMzantsi initiative, many people in our valley are collaborating cross-culturally for the first time. While Carnival may not change the world, it may change perceptions of the 'other'. It may be that valley people will not easily make stereotypical assumptions about another culture again, because of their experiences with a range of individuals from other groups. The common joy they had in the Carnival experience is bonding them together, while creating in them an appreciation of their cultural differences. eMzantsi Carnival enabled transformation in that it provided a platform for the first fashioning of a hybrid identity to be displayed and placed centre stage. The Carnival process and parade allowed participants to see a working demonstration of a transcultural third-culture, not as a liminal essence but in concrete form. For once, the dominant homogenous identity, as portrayed by the Kommetjie caller, was relegated to the margins.

Finally the playful and escapist eMzantsi Carnival *tariék* (Martin 1999, p.40) - the euphoria experienced by Igsaan as the Masiphumelele dancers joined his Ocean View minstrels, by Mbulelo as he saw the police make way for the bull, by Khaya as he decided to "go with the flow" (K47), by Carol as she watched the applause for the combined gumboot troupe and by Alton as he looked back from the fourway stop and saw the scope of the multicultural parade – all this intense feeling of *communitas* (Turner 1982, p.21) contributed towards substantiating a sense of belonging, a sense of union. This union is not with the divine, but with each other; the feeling "like being in love" (Martin 1999, p.180) is not with each other but with ourselves as one unified entity. Carnival makes 'unity' more than just a word; it makes it live and breathe.

8.4 Carnival as facilitated third culture building process

The eMzantsi project has been a facilitated third-culture building process (Casmir 1997) between the communities of Ocean View, Masiphumelele and Sun Valley, which fast-tracked the intergroup networking necessary to mobilise for a carnival. The findings demonstrate that for eMzantsi collaborators, the process was more important than the product, reflecting the third-culture building focus of the project. The facilitated creation of the Carnival helped build trust and networks across and within communities as well as an appreciation of a united multicultural valley identity.

The eMzantsi Carnival process was initiated to boost intercultural integration and is a practical methodology of third-culture building that was deliberately inclusive. Every stage in the creation of the Carnival, and every decision taken regarding direction, content and even style of the proceedings was done in consultation with community representatives. But while the eMzantsi team had a clear destination in mind, the paths towards it were winding, and meandered through many byroads as we learned to work better together. This process, once understood as inevitable and indeed strengthening, does not need to be a frustrating experience. We were constantly “improvising a joint performance” (Bateson 1993, p.115). Carnival is the ultimate culmination of such a performance: a joyous once-off manifestation of spontaneous, unrehearsable *communitas* (Turner 1982, p.21); but the road leading to it is no less demanding of impressive improvisational joint performance skills.

The carnival ‘high’ experienced by participants interacting interculturally is a reward for the effort expended on patiently building up trust and links over many months beforehand. This glimpse of a brief but intoxicatingly easy integration acts as a confirmation of its existence and potential. It is the prize that may have the capacity to accelerate and intensify the next stage of third-culture building, as an aura of the special space created by carnival is brought into the next round of meetings. Our intercultural integration challenges would appear a steeper hill to overcome without the promise of that ephemeral gold at the end of the carnival rainbow.

8.5 Intercultural or Inter-community? Inter-community or Intra-community? Intra-community or Intercultural?

During the course of this research, I have been forced to closely consider my definition of ‘intercultural’. I realised early on that my assumptions, as a white outsider to the South African context, had led me to view the most pressing need for links-building to be between the estranged white, black and coloured inhabitants of the valley, a dynamic I classed as ‘intercultural’.

However, my research journey revealed both the depths of my ignorance and the danger of such two-dimensional assumptions. Firstly, I realised that my interpretation of ‘intercultural’ was closer to ‘intercommunity’ i.e. the tensions I was focused on were between the geographical locations of Ocean View, Masiphumelele and Sun Valley, and I was erroneously assuming more or less homogenous cultures and attitudes in each. Secondly I began to realise that intra-community tensions were of

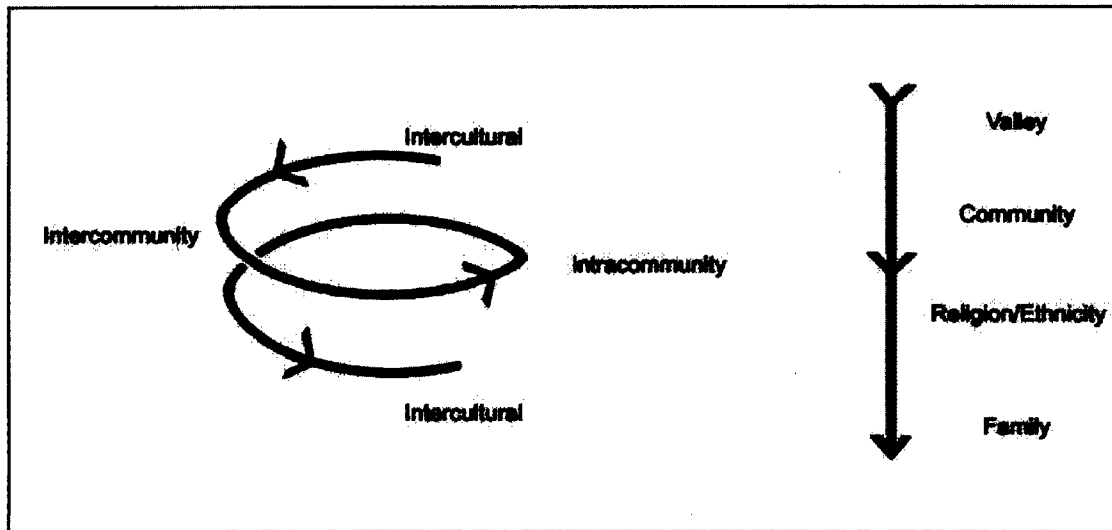
far more immediate import to each of the communities and (ironically) were usually more comfortably defined by themselves as 'intercultural'.

In the same way that an individual's capacity for self-reflexivity is a requirement for contemporary academic study, particularly in the intercultural context (Steyn, 2001, p. xxxiv), it seems that the communities involved in the eMzantsi process were engaging with themselves at an *intra*-community level in order to address the challenges of *inter*-community interaction. In the course of the process towards Carnival, intra-community mobilisation seemed to be a prerequisite for effective inter-community interaction, and intercultural communication within the community (as opposed to without) is often more important to each community in the initial phase. The Interim Report (Kelly 2006) on the early survey results also clearly demonstrates this inward intercultural focus.

The eMzantsi Carnival process was simultaneously facilitating two layers of intercultural interaction, both inter-community and intra-community, and promoting harmony on both levels. From the data analysed in this study, it would seem that Ocean View's longer experience of, and superior competence in, intra-community third-culture building (between their Muslim and Christian communities as well as other groups) may be a critical factor in understanding why their participation in the first Carnival was greater and had more impact than the other communities'.

In conclusion, to view intercultural challenges in the southern peninsula as merely a matter of white versus black versus coloured is simplistic at best. The research findings suggest there may always be multiple layers of an intercultural dynamic to consider. Whatever your definition of intercultural, beneath intercultural there will always be intra-cultural, and the deeper layers should not be neglected if your aim is to come to a fuller understanding of the complexity of cultural diversity in each unique context. Figure 5 (overleaf) illustrates a useful model to apply to considerations of intercultural interactions to ensure against superficial analysis. Whether intergroup relations between nations, communities or minstrel troupes are being examined, it is never wise to assume a homogenous cultural attitude as a range of intra-group opinions will inevitably lie beneath.

Fig. 5: Spiral model of intercultural layers.



It should also not be assumed that intercultural relationships are static, any more than culture is, as populations and viewpoints are constantly changing, and residents and their attitudes ebb and flow like the sea. It is important to consider everything on a micro-is-macro level and to draw parallels with the idiosyncrasies of family interactions: every family is different and interacts differently. Every community in this valley is different, and what works for one, will not necessarily work for another. Third-culture building in the eMzantsi context can be seen to be working on many levels simultaneously, building strength across intra-community and inter-community networks, reaching out both up and down the intercultural spiral in an iterative fashion.

8.6 Future research

This study was focussed on the viewpoints of a few people deeply involved in the Carnival process. A comprehensive view of the impact of the eMzantsi Carnival on the wider valley population cannot be implied from a sample of this limited scope. While the final analysis of the quantitative component of the research project will enlarge the picture, an extended longitudinal study would be the preferred way to make a firmer pronouncement on the effect of the eMzantsi Carnival on intercultural attitudes across the valley. The first two surveys gave an unmitigated positive showing for Carnival's affect on attitudes towards other cultures (Kelly 2006), but whether the trend will play out in the analysis of the last two surveys remains to be seen. Further research is needed to determine if the intra-community third-culture building achieved so far will expand to strengthen wider inter-community intercultural

links-building as confidence in community identity grows. The next task will be to implement the research findings in the context of the larger project: setting up more focussed intra-community network building initiatives in order to mobilise more successfully for Carnival across the peninsula. We will be challenging the white areas of Kommetjie, Noordhoek, Sun Valley and Fish Hoek themselves to recommend how each community should be inspired to represent their very different characters, as well as extending invitations to the culturally diverse communities of Muizenberg and Redhill.

8.7 Closing remarks

Bakhtin (1984) said that carnival “belongs to the borderline between art and life” (p.7). Despite his lack of “field experience with carnivals” (Crowley 1999, p.220), Bakhtin had long experience of oppression in Stalin's Russia, and yearned for the freedom of his idealised medieval rite. His comment underlines the point that carnival has the capacity to harness the creative tension between the self-conscious, purposeful manipulation of art and the spontaneous self-expression of life and have them collaborate in the face of oppression to produce something spectacular and worthwhile.

It is doubtful that participating in the eMzantsi Carnival would have transformed the abusive Kommetjie caller (p.1) into an enthusiastic proponent of intercultural interaction. But even if only a small percentage of valley residents have had their outlook altered by the eMzantsi experience, an important change to communal place-identity has occurred. Temporarily, the Kommetjie Road was transformed into the Kommetjie *and* Ocean View *and* Masiphumelele Road. The street, once claimed, is never quite relinquished.

Whether we see the eMzantsi Carnival as a high improvisational art form, or a fabulous free jol², the main thing is that every year, we get a little further down the road towards intercultural integration. As DaMatta (1991, p.83) points out:

In this ‘Carnival trip’ it does not matter where one is going or how one gets there. The important thing is to move along without direction or destination, to take intense delight in the movement itself...

In carnival, it doesn't really matter where you're going; the important thing is how you get along...

² ‘Jol’ is a South African slang word for party, celebration or gathering, noun and verb.

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harlequin foundation

creating a common culture through carnival





eMzantsi Carnival project

On the first Saturday in December 2005, after over six months of weekly community meetings, two months of schools' workshops and weeks of rehearsals, over a thousand people from the communities of Ocean View, Masiphumelele and Sun Valley danced together through the streets of the peninsula in celebration of life 'eMzantsi' - 'in the South'.

The original aims of the eMzantsi initiative were:

1. to establish a major family-orientated festival to bring together the local communities and showcase the Department of Arts and Culture's commitment to "unity in diversity"
2. to carry out a useful research project that would simultaneously enrich the local community, expand the field of cultural diversity studies and aid integration in the southern peninsula
3. to thereby forge a template for micro-community interaction through arts and culture that others could easily follow.

The parade set out from Masiphumelele High School and proceeded along the Kommetjie Road, turning left at the fourway stop in the middle of Sun Valley where the areas of Noordhoek, Fish Hoek, Ocean View and Masiphumelele meet. The carnival moved down Ou Kaapse Weg and culminated in a multicultural stage show on the common in front of the Sun Valley Mall. The Longbeach and Sun Valley malls are currently the only place where these areas' diverse communities regularly interact.



eMzantsi Carnival 2005 participants:



Ocean View Bikers Club
 Masiphumelele Bull
 Imbongi Eric Bagala
 eMzantsi Carnival Kings and Queens
 Disabled reps from LSEN school
 Arts Vibrations II hiphop troupe
 Marhoshi Gumboots
 Atlantic Star Minstrels
 Living Hope Hospice & Community Centre
 Abonwabisi United Brothers
 Marine Primary Drummies
 NGK Brigade
 Masonwabisane dancers
 Sarafina
 OIL youth activists
 Simon's Town penguins
 Junior Navy Band

Ocean View fishing boats x 4 with
 children from Honey Bunnies, Aquila
 and Tiny Toys crèches
 Red Zebra and 5 local primary schools
 Iitha Lomso drama group
 Hip Circle Belly Dance School
 Fish Hoek Academy of Dance
 Kleinberg Primary penguins
 Masithandane dancers
 Marine Primary lions
 Marine Primary School Band
 Meryl Elliot's Dance House
 Sosebenza Youth Group
 Masiphathisane Choir
 Combined string bands
 SAPS drill team
 Timeless Energy band



Masonwabisane dancers



Noordhoek Private School



Atlantic Stars minstrels



Marhoshi Gumboot troupe

eMzantsi Carnival 2006:



Noordhoek Farm Village scarecrows



KEAG recycling drama group



Honey Bunnies crèche



Ocean View High Jungle Theatre group

Collaborations created for Carnival 2005 and 2006:

- the Carnival Kings and Queens nominated by each of our communities - "role-models not super-models"
- the gumboot ballet collaboration between the Marhoshi Gumboot Troupe of Masiphumelele and the Fish Hoek Academy of Dance.



- the collaboration between Ocean View High and Masiphumelele High facilitated by Jungle Theatre Muizenberg.
- the "Bellyrimba" collaboration between the Hip Circle Belly Dance school of Muizenberg and the Buyambo Marimba band of Masiphumelele.



- the "Labyrinth of the Community" featuring breakdancers from Arts Vibrations II and the Ilitha Lomso drama group of Masiphumelele in 2005 and Grade 6 learners from Kleinberg and Marine Primary schools in 2006.





Schools project

In 2005 we involved 5 local primary schools in a percussion workshop programme run by renowned SA/UK Omniculture specialists RedZebra. These workshops taught basic samba percussion skills to create the rhythms and beats that led the eMzantsi Carnival parade.

The learners bonded with peers at a partner school, rehearsing in each other's spaces and working across age groups (not divided into school groups), which united them across cultures throughout the process and during the final procession.



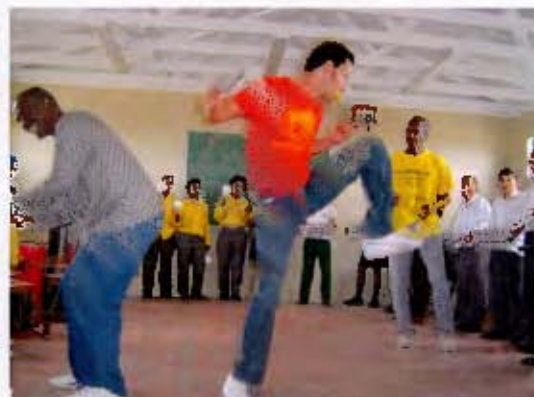
Ukhanyo Primary, Masiphumelele and Marine Primary, Ocean View



Kleinberg Primary, Ocean View and Imhoff Waldorf



Noordhoek Private Primary and Ukhanyo Primary



RedZebra's Mark Dodsworth with intern Sizwe Maqina from Masiphumelele.

The learners were also taught costume-making skills using recycled materials - this allowed the youngsters to have an equal opportunity to portray the theme at the carnival with flair. The 2005 theme was *African Kings and Queens* – which gave each child the chance to be royalty for a day and to interpret the concept of African regality in whichever way they saw fit.



In 2006, the eMzantsi team presented Carnival assemblies in 15 valley schools. Should funding permit, we would like to expand the programme to encompass learners in the following schools:

Sun Valley Primary
Bay Primary Junior, Fish Hoek
Kommeljie Primary
Simonstown Primary
Bay Primary Senior, Kalk Bay

Masiphumelele High
Ocean View High
Fish Hoek High
Simonstown High



In 2005, Mark Dodsworth of RedZebra alternated weeks workshopping for the eMzantsi Carnival with weeks in Ethiopia, Tanzania and Ghana training for RedZebra's Dance4Life programme for the World Aids Foundation, which in 2004 involved 46 000 young people dancing and drumming simultaneously in three continents on World Aids Day.

The eMzantsi team would like to consider extending our partnership programme internationally. Should funding become available, we would like to invite a school from Salvador, Brazil to join the eMzantsi Carnival Omniculture group. RedZebra has also been invited to partner with groups from Notting Hill Carnival UK on this project.



Research, monitoring and evaluation

Research manager Claire Kelly from the Intercultural and Diversity Studies unit of Southern Africa (iNCUDISA) at UCT is currently analysing results of surveys carried out at the Longbeach and Sun Valley malls in 2005-2007. The cultural diversity questionnaire was designed in consultation with community forums through feedback obtained by research interns Liezl Jansen from Ocean View, Zukie Mpofo-Ndyalvan from Masiphumelele and Haley McEwen, a US student resident in Kommetjie.



We have been impressed with the skills development of our local resident fieldworkers aged between 15 and 47 who were trained in October 2005 by UCT:

Bradley Kapot	Craig Petersen	Deniece Siwela
Devendrin Decarne	Kholeka Mayaba	Kuselwa September
Magdalene Muller	Marawaan Moses	Mfundiso Pula
Natasha Moses	Nicole Plaatjies	Nolundi Jikwana
Phumza Maknemba	Portia Magazi	Ricardo Herdien
Shelly Adams-Hart	Sikelwa Makhuphula	Sindiswa Faith Madikane
Siphokazi Nakhedi Tuswa	Taswill Constant	Thembani Ndevu

In 2006 these local 'experts' trained diversity students Jennie Hutchinson (USA), Matt Grant, Mpho Tsekwa, Sarah Jones (UK) and Zanele Khumalo from UCT to join the fieldworker team.

Sam Pearce is currently writing her thesis on the complementary qualitative research carried out in 2006 as part of her Masters in Diversity Studies at UCT.



Community liaison

Project manager Sam Pearce, Masiphumelele coordinator Rodney Ndyalvan and Ocean View coordinator Alvin Castro all learned a great deal from each other about operating in each other's areas of expertise and carrying a project of this scale through to conclusion – whilst managing to remain firm friends and allies throughout. We are very proud of this achievement!



The huge interest from our local communities was most inspiring and we look forward to building on the infrastructure we have established.

Our compilation of a local arts and culture database over this period has yielded wonderful fruit and promises to be an important resource for tourism and business in the peninsula. We unearthed artists such as Lebo Lefuma, master pewter craftsman, who created the iconic Masiphumelele Bull for eMzantsi 2005





eMzantsi Carnival 2007 and beyond

Following the documented successes of the 2005-6 event, we aim to attract a major sponsor with commitment to community upliftment who will enable us to expand the Carnival into a fully fledged celebration of local heritage beyond 2007. The 3rd eMzantsi Carnival will be held on **Saturday 1st December** and this year's theme of "eMzantsipation" will be commemorating the abolition of slavery on 1st Dec 1834 as well as the fight against the fear of crime in our communities and highlighting World Aids Day.

Meanwhile, we are satisfied we have fulfilled the first part of our mandate: to demonstrate that an event can be created which stimulates local arts and culture while encouraging interaction between different communities and fostering a shared pride in the area. From this seed we aspire to cultivate a growing network of events that will enhance intercultural life eMzantsi beyond the joy of a single day.





Postscript

Dear Sam, To you, Alvin, Rodney and your team a heartfelt congratulation and THANK YOU for this wonderful "Carnaval of the South" today !

Together with Simphiwe and the older children we enjoyed so much to see all the happy faces and the performances of the many young talents. You achieved a lot and if there will be another carnival next year I am quite sure our older ones will be an active part of it.

This year we enjoyed so much being happy spectators.

Dr. Lutz and the HOKISA team

MASIPHUMELELE

Thanks for the pictures They're stunning! Everyone had a whale of a time. We really enjoyed being part of the festivities and would be willing to participate again in the future.

Samantha Ellenberger

OCEAN VIEW

What an amazing time was had by ALL! Solole CONGRATULATES all those who were involved.

Regards

Trish

SUN VALLEY

Hi Sam and Team,

Well done ! By all accounts everyone involved had a great time and it certainly achieved the objectives of bringing this diverse community together.

Regards and best wishes to you and your team.

Jeremy Wiley

De Goede Hoop Dev. Co

NOORDHOEK

A hearty congratulations from me in my personal capacity - it is truly wonderful what you have achieved and I salute you! From the Fish Hoek Chamber of Commerce and Industry - a huge thank you is also due to you - you have lifted the profile of the Valley and shown that it is possible to work together to make a worthwhile contribution to entertain and enlighten the "People of the South". Well done, and we look forward to next year!

Vanessa Husband

FISH HOEK

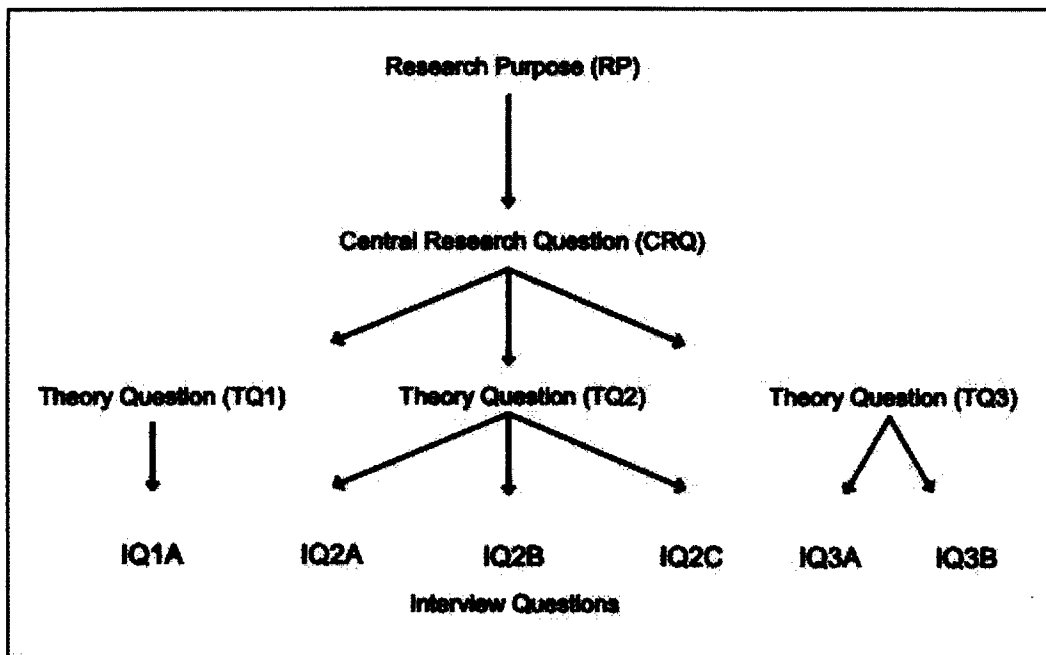
Hey there Sam!

I hope you are busy catching up on your much needed R&R! I never had the chance to tell you that I had a really great time at the carnival, and despite the intensity of the sun. I had goosebumps the whole time:)

Haley McEwen

USA

Appendix 2: The conceptual framework followed Wengraf's (2001, p.63) model:



Central Research Question (CRQ):

Is the eMzantsi Carnival a good route to third-culture building amongst the valley communities of the southern peninsula?

Theory Questions (TQs):

TQ1) What do reported experiences and perceptions tell us about each interviewee's concept of (their/others') **culture**?

TQ2) What do reported experiences and perceptions tell us about each interviewee's concept of (their/others') **community**?

TQ3) What do the reported experiences tell us about each interviewee's perceptions of the eMzantsi **Carnival**?

TQ4) What do the reported experiences of the eMzantsi Carnival tell us about the extent to which the carnival context facilitates **intercultural communication/third-culture building**?

TQ5) To what extent has there been **change** due to Carnival?

Appendix 3: Interview Questions (IQs)

Before we start, I'd just like to say that there are no right answers – I certainly don't know them. Only you are the expert on what you think. I am asking you these questions about the eMzantsi Carnival because we are trying to find out how we in the valley think about ourselves and each other. So don't be polite, please tell me what you really think.

1. How you would like yourself to be described in my report? (Prompt: Culturally?)
2. What is it like to live in your community, Masiphumelele/Ocean View/Fish Hoek? (Prompt: What is good about it? What is bad about it?)
3. What can you tell me about the other communities in the valley?
4. What can you tell me about other cultures within Masiphumelele/Ocean View/Fish Hoek?
5. What do people from Masiphumelele/Ocean View/Fish Hoek think about people from other communities in the valley? How do you feel?
6. What do you think the other communities think about people from Masiphumelele/Ocean View/Fish Hoek?
7. Do you socialise with people from other communities? Which? How/Why? Did you know them before the carnival process?
8. Why did you want to get involved in the eMzantsi Carnival?
9. Tell me about what you yourself did in the eMzantsi Carnival.
10. What did you think of the community meetings? (or rehearsals)
11. How did participating (in the parade and/or show) make you feel?
12. Does any particular moment on the route (or day) stand out for you?

13. What is it, do you think, about carnival, that makes us feel like that?
14. Can you tell me about any changes in your community/in the valley since the Carnival? In what way did the eMzantsi Carnival contribute to that?
15. What did you learn from being involved in the Carnival?
16. What kinds of things are other people in your community saying about the Carnival?
17. How can we improve on the first Carnival?
18. What needs to happen to achieve that?
19. What role would someone like you play in that?
20. eMzantsi is about showing off your culture. There is no official definition of culture. How would you define your culture?
21. How did the carnival make you feel about your culture? And other cultures?
22. Is there anything else you would like to say? Are there any other questions you think I should be asking?

Appendix 4: Consent form

CONSENT FORM

Sam Pearce is conducting interviews about the eMzantsi Carnival for a research project for her Masters in Diversity Studies at INCUDISA (the Intercultural and Diversity Studies Unit of Southern Africa) at UCT. She will use the information from these interviews in her thesis and may later publish papers and give presentations about the project. At all times the opinions you express to her will be kept confidential, and your identity anonymous. You can call her anytime on 789 1665 if you have a query or something to add. If you have any questions about the interview today, please ask them now.

Please complete all the questions on this form and circle your answers. Use the back of the sheet for any additional comments.

Have you read and understood the information above? YES / NO

Do you understand that the interviews will be recorded? YES / NO

Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from the process at any time without having to give a reason for withdrawing YES / NO

Do you understand that the researcher has no legal privilege and that, while she will make every effort to protect the anonymity and confidentiality of the respondents, this cannot be guaranteed? YES / NO

Do you understand that the researcher will hold the recordings and make a transcript (written text) of each interview? YES / NO

Do you understand the implications of your participation in this project?..... YES / NO

Have you had an opportunity to ask any questions you have? YES / NO

Have you received satisfactory answers to your questions?..... YES / NO

Have you received enough information about the study? YES / NO

Do you agree to take part in this study? YES / NO

Date:.....Place:.....

PARTICIPANT (signature)

NAME IN BLOCK LETTERS

WITNESS (signature)

NAME IN BLOCK LETTERS

Appendix 5: Coding

ATQ1 = about CULTURE

- own – including cultural practices, definitions, demonstrations CULT-OWN
- others CULT-OTH
- proud CULT-PROUD
- not proud CULT-NEG
- others proud (showing off) CULT-OTH-PROUD
- others not proud CULT-OTH-NOTPR

ATQ2 = about COMMUNITY

- own COM-OWN
- others COM-OTH
- proud COM-PROUD
- not proud COM-NOTPR

ATQ3 = about CARNIVAL

- positive nature of carnival CAR+VE
- educating through carnival CAR-EDU
- negative nature of carnival CAR –VE
- feeling excluded from carnival CAR-EXC
- carnival themes – TIME, SPACE, INV, TRANS, UNI-ID

ATQ4 = about Intercultural Communication/THIRD-CULTURE BUILDING

ICC CHANGE

- interaction/mixing/getting to know each other/working tog ICC-INT
- community building/proactive ICC-CB
- participation ICC-PAR
- process ICC-PRO
- communication ICC-COM

ICC STATUS

- unity ICC-UNI
- feeling of equality ICC-EQU
- sense of superiority ICC-SUP
- sense of inferiority ICC-INF
- absence of any ICC-LACK

ATQ5 = about CHANGE due to Carnival

- opportunity CHA-OPP
- motivation/encouragement CHA-MOT
- transformation CHA-TRA
- improvement CHA-IMP
- increase in confidence CHA-CON
- increase in awareness (discover themselves) CHA-AWA
- increase in pride CHA-PRIDE
- different attitude CHA-ATT
- negative change CHA-NEG

FREE NODES

- BELONGING
- FEAR/OVERWHELMED/DESPAIR
- ROOTS
- HIGHLIGHTS
- Q? query re: absences/surprises/incongruity