

**LOCAL IDENTITIES DEVELOPING IN THE TWO WESTERN CAPE
TOWNS: STELLENBOSCH AND WELLINGTON**

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the construction, at local level, of collective identities in two Western Cape towns: Stellenbosch and Wellington. Identities are understood to refer to residents' construction of meaning for themselves.

The approach was qualitative and used interview and focus group techniques with probes that allowed participants to speak freely about their lives in these towns.

Under apartheid, residents were divided by race in these towns. The study aims to identify changes in local identity after apartheid.

New identities revolving around issues of security and language appear to be emerging. Simultaneously, old racial identities persist.

ABSTRAK

Hierdie navorsing ondersoek die konstruksie, op plaaslike vlak, van kollektiewe identiteite in twee Wes-Kaapse dorpe, **Stellenbosch** en **Wellington**. Onder *identiteite* verstaan ons verwysing na die inwoners se konstruksie van betekenis vir hulleself.

Daar is vanuit 'n kwalitatiewe benadering gewerk en die onderhoud en fokusgroep-tegniek met dieptepeilings is gebruik, wat dit vir deelnemers moontlik gemaak het om geredelik oor hulle lewe in hierdie dorpe te praat.

Tydens apartheid is inwoners van hierdie dorpe op grond van ras verdeel. Hierdie navorsing is daarop gemik om veranderinge in plaaslike identiteit ná apartheid te identifiseer.

Nuwe identiteite wat om kwessies van sekuriteit en taal wentel, skyn na vore te kom. Tegelyk bly ou rasse-identiteite voortbestaan.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to:

My parents,
My loving son Themba
And my sweet niece Ntombise

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CHAPTER 1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to explore the construction of new emerging identities, which are developing at local level in the Western Cape Province. It is the intention of this study to investigate how such a process relates to the nation-building project of the central government.

Recent literature on the construction of identity has revealed that rank-and-file draw most meaning from their local situation and from the way in which local government responds to their demands (Bekker, Leilde, Cornelissen and Horstmeier, 2000).

Accordingly, rank-and-file do not always agree with attempts by the national government to construct identities 'from above' instead of 'from below'. In so far as they are able, they choose between new national identities and older given identities. In fact multiple identities are common among all residential groupings and often, in particular circumstances, one identity emerges as primary.

In 1994 South Africans witnessed the start of a process of transformation with the election of a democratic government. In this changing political, economic and social environment, decision-makers in the public sector are faced with ever-increasing demands for basic collective services and with a diverse population with different needs, and expectations and interests.

This scenario is made more complex by greater demands for scarce resources and the central government is putting forward strategies to implement policies that will help to maintain the constant supply of revenue through wealth and personal taxation in order to finance these much-needed services.

Constitutional reforms have raised the expectations of the community to such an extent that public institutions have to re-examine old existing policies with their various administrations in order to accommodate strategies to implement affirmative action and change management policies. This has to be done at local government level, which is subjected to requests and demands from the community as well as from human resources within the organization.

The rationale for conducting this study was to see how the local government in the new political dispensation responded to the demands of people at local level, and the attitude of the people towards the recent changes at the local government level.

1.1 This study will basically focus on the following aim:

To ascertain how local identities are changing in the two Western Cape towns: Stellenbosch and Wellington, given the South Africa's past, through a 'top down' and 'bottom up' techniques.

1.2 Hypothesis

The research hypothesis is that at local level:

- Competition among social groups for economic opportunities and equal social treatment will influence the construction of new identities; and
- The movement of people to places of their choice will also create new patterns in class identity;
- Among the local leaders, there will be a high degree of difference with respect to socio-economic issues due to new identities that demand institutional change and this will also be accompanied by a fear from the dominant group of losing control over the already established resources.

1.3 Summary

The thesis consists of five chapters; a brief description of these chapters is given below:

Chapter 1 presents a comprehensive introduction to the study, and states the three aims and the hypothesis.

Chapter 2 is a review of literature based on theories of identity construction and recent empirical findings. The theories presented include contributions from the perspective of Sociology, Social Anthropology and Social Psychology. Recent empirical evidence on the construction of identity based on African and Western contexts have been utilised.

Chapter 3 outlines the method adopted for this study. A full description of a research paradigm, participants and the research instrument is given. The study has included a short history of the three former group areas in both towns. It is important to provide a structural profile of the new local government officials of Stellenbosch and Wellington.

Chapter 4 offers a careful analysis of the data and interpretation of results and **Chapter 5** draws together conclusions and makes recommendations; the limitations of the study will also be indicated.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The structure of this chapter is designed to develop a theoretical framework in which the three aims of this study as listed in the introduction can be reached. The chapter draws on recent literature on identity construction from an African perspective.

The chapter also utilises recent literature on identity construction from Western writers. It is imperative to mention here the contribution made by Prof. Jan Bloemaert who was personally involved in this project, during my visit to his Department in November 2001 to February 2002 at the University Gent in Belgium. The study has cited some of his published work.

First, the concepts of identity and its construction will be introduced. Next, three aspects of the concept of identity will be discussed: are multiple identities, a primary identity, and identity 'from above' and 'from below'. How can identities 'from above' influence the way people create meaning in their local areas?

The idea of cultural diversity will be discussed with reference to South Africa's past in terms of apartheid and the subsequent democratic society. Lastly, concepts that are relevant to this study will be clearly defined at the end of this chapter.

2. 2 Identity and its construction

"Identity" is a concept that social theorists have devised to conceptualise scattered ideas implicitly held by people as well as event discusses about these ideas. It helps us to unscramble what people mean when they say they are Zulus

or Xhosas or Afrikaners.

Additionally, it has a personal psychological meaning that surfaces when that identity is under threat; it is associated with sociological mechanisms that permit the group to imagine itself as a trans-local community. According to identity theory, the self is composed of a series of identities, each of which corresponds to social roles played by the individual. Identities form a salience hierarchy, with highly salient identities being those to which the individual is most committed.

The commitment, for instance, of a group and its salience are functions of the degree to which members of one social network are associated with the identity and the congruence of role expectations associated with the identity. Identities such as sex and ethnicity are referred to as master statuses, because they are important trans-situational determinants of the responses of others to the individual.

The past decade has seen a great overflowing of interest in the nature of collective identities of various kinds. Kertzer and Arel (2000) have reported that in the United States both popular and academic interest in identities that divide the population not only generated a great deal of debate, but have also had substantial social consequences and public policy implications.

This growing interest has been fuelled in part by a legacy of racism and the still frightening problems of racial polarisation and social inequalities and nurtured as well by recent and ongoing waves of immigration.

Kertzer et al. (2000) argued that racism and social inequality are framed in terms of 'multiculturalism'. Accordingly, in this version "multiculturalism", the American population is presumably divided into a fixed number of different 'cultures', each deserving of equal respect and some, perhaps, deserving of special aid.

Paulgaard (1999) has shown that from the Balkans to central Africa ethnic conflict and violence have been associated with the exaggerated ethnocentrism and there is evidence that peoples' collective identities do not necessarily match national borders.

Accordingly, states that are ethnically heterogeneous (as the great majority states in the contemporary world are) are under pressure to take measures to prevent the escalation of ethnic tensions and the development of internal lines of social division.

According to Paulgaard (1999), identities are created by making distinctions and by marking differences. He argued that the development of identity is all about inclusion in, and exclusion from, distinct categories. An individual imagines his/her own identity by distinguishing between me/us/them. Encountering differences and otherness is important for perceptions of the self as distinctive in personal, social and cultural terms.

When collective identities are presented as uniform, intra-group differences will be played down, because making distinctions from something perceived as even more different is played down. Piliso-Seroke (2001) argues that identities are complex and multiple and that they grow out of a history of changing responses to economic, political, and cultural forces, almost always in opposition to other identities.

2. 3 Traditional identities versus global identities

Recent studies on local identities in a "globalised world" have shown that great structural changes and cultural changes in our time have produced great changes in young people's lives. Anthony Cohen has argued that "locality is an account of how people experience and express their difference from others, how their sense of difference becomes incorporated into, and informs the nature of

social organization and process in daily life" (cited in Paulgaard, 1999:1).

Accordingly, global modernisation is often regarded as the opposite of traditional ways of life, and that modern ways of life, forms of identity and life histories entail a break with older, established forms. From such a perspective people, especially young people, will have virtually unlimited freedom to construct themselves, independently of local conditions.

Paulgaard (1999) has argued that today young people experience different possibilities and problems in their transition to adulthood than their parents did when they were at the same age. Accordingly, the situation for many young people today is more open; they have to choose among a great range of opportunities, which have unstable outcomes.

Bauman has argued that this stage can produce increasing uncertainty, ambiguity and ambivalence (cited in Paulgaard, 1999:3). This may well prove to be true, since today young people are faced with pressure from their families as well as from the outside world.

First, young people have to obey and live under their family rules, which are sometime not pertinent to the current global challenges. It has become increasingly evident that among the Japanese old social values are currently clashing with the new generation's interests.

De Vos (1995) has demonstrated the way Japanese immigrants to the United State imparted to their children a respect for authority, even the authority of an alien society; they were to become loyal citizen. Even if there is a dispute that involves them, instead of going into public arguments they strongly believed in resolving the dispute internally without public interference.

Accordingly, things are said to be very different to what they were before. Young people now reject the way their parents succumb to social pressure and failed to protect their rights. As a result, Japanese youth are reported to be more rebellious and impatient.

Second, there is pressure from the outside world that made young Japanese view the whole world in a broader perspective than their parents did. It has been claimed that, among other things, the technological revolution in our society has made young people more independent.

In other words, they are no longer dependent on their parents in seeking knowledge. But this point can be qualified on the grounds that these changes are often confined to urban youths, excluding their rural counterparts.

Bauman argued that, "In such a situation it happens that the solution to the individual identity crisis is sought in the postulated security of collective identities, (quoted in Paulgaard, 1999:10). Meyer and Geschiere have both argued that constructing collective identities based on locality might therefore be seen as people's attempt to 'fix the flow' and mark boundaries in the ongoing flux of globalisation process (cited in Paulgaard, 1999:11).

Much of the research into north Norwegian culture and character has been premised on the notion that northern Norwegian identity and character are defined as different from those of the centre (i.e. identity as an aspect of the centre-periphery debate). It is the contrast between north and south that is made relevant here. North Norwegian culture has been interpreted, valued and praised by contrasting it with the modern urban life and cultural formations in the south.

According to the statement made by Paulgaard (1999), young people from these areas have used a distinction between 'being modern' and living in northern Norway. The media have created myths that northern Norwegians are naïve and

natural, living among fjords and fish, and the young people's view that they have to move away from there to be modern have a shared ideological undertone. Accordingly, life in northern Norway is lived in accordance with established traditions, as it always been. This is different to life lived in modern urban centres.

In this regard Paulgaard has argued that in understanding the periphery and studying how processes of modernisation affect the lives of the youth in peripheral regions, we must adopt a perspective on modernity that captures processes of identity formation within particular local contexts.

The declaration that young people must leave northern Norway in order to adopt modern ways of life may seem to be based on myths rather than current realities. Myths are both simplifications and distortions of reality, but myths may also be good to identify with or reject.

Levi-Strauss has argued that if myths are repeated often enough, they may function as realities in a cultural sense. He argues that they can create a shared community of meaning which creates the basis for thought and action (cited in Paulgaard, 1999:14).

In other words, statements about national, regional and local identities can be understood as myths, a construction of a community on a territorial basis. But when territorial, national, regional or local identity is made relevant by people's attempts to experience and mark their difference from people from other places, such form of identity may be considered as social realities.

Myths may therefore be important in modern identity formation, but it is also important that they do not serve to reduce and exclude the experience, expressions and desires of new generations.

The young people's reactions against the myth about people in the northern part of Norway, in their desire to be modern, might be seen as a reaction and a response to "old" myths and images. At the same time this "response" can serve as an example of the way that the meaning and understanding of regional and local character define us, whether we choose this or not.

Even if we speak about modern identity as something one searches for and constructs, the constructions are not based on disembodied desires. Questions about locality, identity and belonging are subject to discussion and revision. This does not mean that cultural changes produce homogenisation, so that locality and local culture lose their meaning. Increasing global integration seems to give questions about local identity and character a new intensive meaning.

The following discussion will examine how institutions such as the state play an important role in constructing identities.

2.4 Census and identity construction

Kertzer et al. (2000) have argued that the census does much more than simply reflect social reality; rather it plays a key role in the construction of that reality. In short, the use of identity categories in the census as in other mechanisms of state administration creates a particular vision of social reality. All people are assigned to a single category, and hence are conceptualised as sharing with a certain number of others a common collective identity

According to Urla, this in turn encourage people to view the world as composed of distinct groups of people, and may focus attention on whatever criteria are utilised to distinguish among these categories (cited in Kertzer et al., 2000:12). Rather than viewing social links as complex and social groupings as situational constructs, the view prompted by the census is one in which populations are divided into neat categories.

In Europe national statistics gathering was developed in the nineteenth century as a major means of modernising the state. International congresses were held where the latest statistical and census developments were distributed to government representatives from across the continent.

Urla (in Kertzer et al., 2000) has claimed that the knowledge of the population produced by the census gave those in power an insight into social conditions, allowing them to know their populations and devise appropriate plans for dealing with them.

The latter statement can be contested as ambiguous and needs strong factual underpinning, since information obtained from a census needs to be looked at from different angles. In other words, it needs to be re examined, since social conditions may be generalised. This may have the effect of undermining the real situation and the welfare of the people.

Schopflin (2000) argues that 'state-driven identity' is not necessarily 'civic', because civic implies democratic accountability; these identities are better termed 'etatic' since they are common to all states.

In some cases, the categorisation of the population according to ethnic, racial or religious features was regarded as a form of discrimination. Zaslavsky and Luryi and Petersen provided cases in point, for examples in the Soviet Union, where citizens had their "nationality" (in the ethnic sense) indicated on their internal passports, and apartheid South Africa, with racial categorisation inscribed on identification papers (cited in Kertzer et al., 2000:43).

Kertzer et al. (2000) argue that categorisation of identities on individual documents in accordance with culturally constructed criteria; can serve nefarious as well as well meaningful purposes. In the United States a racial category in birth certificates was long used to discriminate against African Americans and

Native Americans. In this sense, the authors propose that comparative research on the politics and bureaucratic implementation of identity categorisation practices in state documents is needed.

The following section will discuss multiple identities that are constructed along various lines. These identities will include racial, ethnic or cultural identities and others. The relevance of these identities to this study is fundamental, since they are seen to be more resistant to change than identities based on other criteria (Mattes in Bekker and Prinsloo, 1999:156).

2.5 Multiple identities

2.5.1 Ethnic identity

The literature has revealed an enormous amount of confusion surrounding the common understanding of ethnicity as shared ancestry. There is confusion, for instance, about the nature of the relationship between ethnicity and race.

Fredrick Barth, when discussing the theoretical framework of ethnicity, insists that anthropologists should concentrate on cultural features that are salient to actors themselves:

It is important to recognize that, although ethnic categories take cultural differences into account, we can assume no simple one-to-one relationship between ethnic units and cultural similarities and differences. The features taken into account are not the sum of 'objective' differences, but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant. Not only do ecological variations mark and exaggerate differences; some cultural features are used by actors as signals and emblems of differences, others are ignored, and in some relationships radical differences are played down and denied (cited in Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985:207).

De Vos and Romanucci-Ross (1995) have argued that ethnicity is related to concepts of social and political power. They argue that one tends to assess oneself, as well as one's group, as being placed by society in a super-ordinate status, an individual can view as legitimate the authority wielded in assuming dominance over members of other groups.

Accordingly, such individuals may experience some social insecurity related to an inculcated need to maintain control over others. A sense of emphasis on group ascendancy can be used to hide individual impotence. When the dominant group feels its authority threatened, then the subordinate but feared group maybe is pressured to make symbolic signals of its continuing subordination.

The more insecure the person or group, the more the need to manifest symbolically one's dominance, and the more the need to receive symbolic gestures of submission from members of subordinate groups. The emphasis on German superiority in Nazism, for example, followed past defeats, including the social and economic impotence of the lower-middle-class Germans during the economic chaos of the Weimar Republic.

Schema, a prominent historian, has discussed a similar situation of fabricated identity. "He explained how, in the sixteen century, certain dedicated Calvinist scholars helped create for the inhabitants of the provinces of the newly independent northern Dutch Republic a single mythological origin involving a folk hero and his followers coming west from Batavia to build dikes against the North sea from Batavia, a small isle lying between the Rhine and Waal rivers" (De Vos et al., 1995:108-9).

Accordingly, this Batavian identity helped mark off the Dutch and justified for them a special religious political-economical destiny that distinguish them from the linguistically related southern, yet captives provinces of the Netherlands (principally Flanders and Brabant), which remained under the control of Spanish

occupation forces.

In this regard ethnic identities can sometimes serve as an emblematic aspect of any culture or a perceived separate origin and continuity in order to differentiate between groups. In the study it has been hypothesised that differences among local leaders will be associated with the respective cultural heritage of these areas.

In that sense ethnic identification among groups in Stellenbosch and Wellington will continue. This kind of identification has been long regarded as discriminatory, since it excludes other groups.

Pieterse (1996) argues that the assumption of continuity and sameness in ethnic identity discourse implies that ethnic sentiments and identifications are somehow primordial. He argues that this view overlooks and underplays the way that ethnicity changes, so that what is happening is not the reassertion of an old identity, but the creation of a new one.

Brass (in Pieterse, 1996:30) distinguishes three sites of conflict: within ethnic groups, between groups, and in relation to the state. He pointed out that most treatments of ethnicity focus on the second form of conflict and neglects the others, particularly conflict within groups.

Recent studies have revealed that all the three site of conflict have existed in the Western Cape. First, Afrikaner people have claimed to have strong bonds with the coloured people, but other forms of differences such as class, place and ideology are taken for granted.

Secondly, the fact that other groups felt excluded from the mainstream cultural heritage also contributed to conflict between groups, and the fact that some groups perceived the state as representing the interests of the group to which it

was affiliated was regarded by Robert Mattes as a crisis of legitimacy (Bekker et al., 1999:157).

Ethnic identity itself involves considerable variation. One variation is the shifting nature of identities under the same label (Pieterse, 1996:30). Brass argues that the Sinhalese identity in Sri Lanka used to be a matter of language first and religion second; but after independence and in the wake of agitation by Buddhist religious leaders, a new identity was developed in which religion was central and language secondary: "where previously to be Sinhalese implied being Buddhist, now to be Buddhist implies being Sinhalese" (Pieterse, 1996:30).

It has been argued that in central and Eastern Europe, there are difficulties with both the institutional and the symbolic level of participation where ethnic minorities are concerned. A very typical scenario is demonstrated from the work of Jan Blommaert and Jef Verschueren concerning the Belgian concept of "integration" (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1996:112).

Ethnic majorities are said to live in an atmosphere of suspicion that their neighbour is constantly looking for opportunities to weaken it and to use the minority as a Trojan horse (Schopflin, 2000:292).

In this regard, it is necessary to reconsider Norval's (1996) contention that ethnic identification needs to be contested politically. He argues that its presence must be marked not by a closure, which would deny its existence and reality, but by constituting it as the other of post-apartheid society.

Schopflin (2000) argues that an ultimate political provision for regulating inter-ethnic relations is an essential aspect of modern democratic politics. He argues that since ethnicity continues for years, it is preferable to identify its mainsprings in order to prevent it from generating undemocratic outcomes.

In essence, the purpose of regulating ethnic relations is to give minorities the necessary access to forms of political power to allow a degree of security with respect to their cultural reproduction and to take their place as equal citizens of the state in which they live.

Ethnically mixed areas are said to pose particular problems, which are at least sub-acute, but they can easily become acute, especially if the area is the scene of relatively recent immigration or has been the scene of some other major socio-economic transformation.

A recent study on identity construction in South Africa has shown that indigenous people in the Western Cape province do not regard black immigrants as part of the province since they came from the former homelands of Ciskei and Transkei, currently known as the Eastern Cape province (see Bekker et al., 2000).

Bornman (1999) argues that residential areas are important areas where an ethnic group in a heterogeneous society can preserve and enact its culture and identity. The intrusion of others may consequently be perceived as a threat and could make people more conscious of their ethnic identity.

In this regard, ethnic relations among groups still maintain a significant role in the construction of identities. Some empirical evidence has shown that ethnic identification often favours group identity, thus undermining the legitimacy of the central government. Lastly, it is also evident that the construction of identity along ethnic lines not only strengthens group identity but poses a threat to democracy.

Patrick McAllister (1997) has demonstrated in his work what he calls the 'reinvention of ethnic politics' in South Africa. According to Watt (1997), his use of this term refers to two groups in South African society, the Zulus, who before the historic elections of 1994 demanded the setting up of a sovereign Zulu kingdom, and the Afrikaner, who, perhaps as a reaction to the Zulu demand, claimed

autonomy for themselves in an Afrikaner 'volkstaat'.

Accordingly, the above events in South Africa exemplified that ethnicity can be constructed through interaction, and this is particularly the case when ethnic groups are in competition for political power. For this very reason, however, the stability of the new South Africa may still be endangered by a renewed construction of these ethnicities.

In other words, the question of ethnicity in democratic plural societies needs to be properly investigated to avoid negative spill-over effects. The following section will examine racial identities as an important dimension in the construction of identities, since the question of "race, racism and identity" has been depicted in the history of South African society.

2.5.2 Racial identity

In Spickard "race" has been conceptualised as entailing a particular variety of "ethnicity" where one group uses power negatively against another, and where there is an emphasis on the body. First, the latter has been referred to a topological classification and, second, to genetic or family descent (cited in Le Page et al., 1985:98).

South Africa and the United States of America are the two countries in which racial identity and conflict became peculiarly entwined with class formation and class antagonisms. It was evident that in the nineteenth century in both countries, slaves were always black and their masters white.

Segregation arose in both places as new classes came into being and old ones (slaves, slaveholders, for example) declined; furthermore, labour movements in both states were to be stamped by a racism that often saw unions seeking to keep black workers out of particular jobs.

Additionally, ethnic and racial identities came to have a salience so great that all too often they prevented general class solidarities from arising amongst black and white workers. Moments of intense class consciousness which saw great conflict between labour and capital (Chicago 1919, Johannesburg 1922) also witnessed murderous battles within the working class.

In this section the discussion on "race" will focus not so much on the genetic perspective, though it is often regarded as an important dimension of racial identity. It is generally accepted that the human population can be divided into groups, which differ from each other in obvious characteristics such as skin colour.

James C. King, a prominent U.S geneticist of racial matters, contends:

Both what constitutes a race and how one recognizes a racial difference is cultural determined. Whether two individuals regard themselves as of the same or different races depends not on the degree of similarity of their genetic material but on whether history, tradition, and personal training and experiences have brought them to regard themselves as belonging to the same group or different group... (in Spickard et al., 2000:3).

Recently, a genetic study has claimed that the Chinese in fact originated in Africa. This led many Chinese embark on a project which has been pouring money into archaeological efforts to find a Chinese equivalent of the earliest African hominids. This project has been accused of causing a lot of suffering, with criticism against geneticists or scientist rather keeping Chinese identity channeled into the cultural and political spheres where it belongs.

In this regard, it is not necessarily important to examine race from a genetic perspective in this study. This may sometimes cause confusion as in the case among the Chinese people. Rather, I will examine the role that has been played by the census in the racial categorisation of the population.

2.5.3 Racial categorisation

The census and the construction of race have long been regarded as a product of colonial and modern states. The project of dividing populations into separable categories of collective identity inevitably intersected with the division of the population into racial categories. The two efforts are said to share a common logic, a kind of categorical imperative, in which people must be assigned to a category, and to one category alone.

Kertzer et al. (2000) argue that even more significant was the belief, fundamental to a racist conception of the world, that racial categories were ranked according to aptitude. They argue that imperial races, unlike colonial ones, were fit to rule, while certain colonial races were better equipped to assist the colonial project than others were. Such a conception of group categories was declared to be initially foreign to the natives in most areas.

According to Fraser-Moleketi (2001), in Rwanda and Burundi the Belgian colonial state ruled through the minority Tutsi, in keeping with the widespread colonial practice of indirect rule. Fraser-Moleketi argues that the Belgians legitimised the Tutsi as superior Africans, due to their alleged "Hamitic" origin, while the Hutus were relegated to the lower end of the racial scale. In this regard, the Hutu-Tutsi conflict demonstrates that racism can become manifested indirectly as an ethnic problem rather than a mere problem related to skin colour.

But Jan Blommaert seems not to agree with the above argument from Fraser-Moleketi. He argues that while the Tutsi were controlled by colonial state power, the Hutus were controlled by Catholic missionaries, while (indirect) state power was in the hands of the Tutsi, intellectual power came in the hands of the Hutu, thus adding a class dimension to the conflict.

At a world conference held at Durban in South Africa in (2001), racial discrimination was shown to be a very traumatic human degradation. In this instance, it is very important for democratic governments in plural societies to embark on projects whereby issues of race are dealt with, since they can pose a threat to democracy.

Recently in the United States the use of the concept of "race" to distinguish population groups in previous census were challenged and led to drastical changes in the way the 2000 census was conducted. Accordingly, 2000 census has included new rules that will drastically change many things, such as the national head count, the growing gap between rich and poor, and perhaps their definition of race.

Mouchard (1999) argues that instead of picking a single race, as previous censuses have required, Americans were allowed to check off all the race boxes that apply to them. There were mixed feelings about this strategy. Demographers, the number-crunching scientists who study population change, are said to be quietly confident about the new innovations. Mouchard (1999) argues that the new strategy will give the country its first glimpse of its true racial composition.

In this regard, multiracial people will have an opportunity to reveal themselves. Multiracial issues are hardly new in America. Sexual practices during the three centuries of slavery in North America ensured that many African-Americans and whites, whose families lived in that country for more than a few generation, cannot trace their genealogy without finding some mixing.

In South Africa race is still an issue, racial intolerance among group members being one of the obstacles that the country is facing. Present research findings have revealed that even among coloured and white groups, racial cleavages still

persist. These findings contradict what was claimed from Bornman's findings, that pleasant inter-group experiences were significantly associated with more a positive attitude towards out-groups among coloureds and whites (cited in Bekker et al, 1999).

Western Cape Province has been identified as a worse province in the persistence of racial discrimination between groups. Bekker et al. (2000) argued that "race formed an integral part of rank-and-files residents' discussions of themselves and those around them, whilst leaders launder all references to race from their discussion."

With regard to what was claimed in Bekker et al. (2000), that racial identity is meaningful to most residents was also revealed in the present study. In this regard, leaders ought to take note of racism when they choose to cleanse their public discourse of such allusions

The following section will discuss language and identity and their relevancy to the study. It has been evident that questions of language and identity are extremely complex. In plural societies issues related to language and identity can pose a serious challenge to the state, since each group will insist on the autonomy of its language.

In South Africa, particularly, the majority of African languages have been neglected and demoted and formerly dominant languages will be regarded as declining by their speakers, since their dominating values will no longer be accepted without question. The government therefore needs to address issues pertaining language and diversity.

2.5.4 Language and identity

My attempt to examine language and the construction of identity heeded Edwards (1985)'s call that more attention should be paid to the interaction between language and the social context. Edwards (1985) claims that language has been neglected in sociology and that linguistics, for its part has ignored the social context within which language occurs.

It is clear, however, that the link between language and identity is a reasonable one to study and many have considered the possession of a given language as well nigh essential for the maintenance of group identity.

Heller (1994:289) says of the situation in Canada: "Yet all of us who live on the linguistic frontier feel the impact keenly. These are countless untold stories about jobs and promotion lost or won because the candidate did or did not speak English or French, about problematic romances across ethnic lines, about people lost in the wrong part of town. We need to know more about how, in Canada, language and ethnicity make a difference to people's lives and to their life chances..."

Heller (1994) spent her time examining Franco-Ontario life by looking particularly at the area of Franco-Ontarian education. Seemingly, Heller's initiatives entailed a political goal, i.e. the building of a pluralistic society in which it is possible to achieve equity without having to obliterate social and cultural differences

Heller (1994) comes to the conclusion that language as a form of cultural, or, more generally, symbolic, capital is exchangeable in the marketplace of social interaction. One's ability to use language appropriately often means using it to improve conventions established in the interests of dominant groups.

Furthermore, It is said to affect one's chances of gaining access to situations where valuable resources are produced and distributed, and, once there, to participate in the processes of production and distribution, and indeed to benefit from them.

The Chinese often claim that in spite of the lack of the mutual intelligibility of a number of spoken Chinese dialects, they remain united by their written language. In Le Page et al., (1985), the complexity of the relationship between language and ethnicity is illustrated in the history of Sikhism.

In this regard, language seems to play a very complex role in relation to ethnic or national or racial identity. It has been noted that among the Chinese, it is written language that exerts the most powerful pressure on ethnic stereotypes, although the spoken language or 'dialects' also matter.

The theory of core values also implies that some ethnic groups are particularly language-centred, and the survival of such language-centred cultures depends largely on the preservation of their home language (Chiro and Smolicz, 1997:214).

Edward (1985) argues that the extent to which language remains as a valued symbolic feature of group life may yet contribute to the maintenance of an ethnic boundary. Roger Just claims that "language is a paradigm case, its history often demonstrable, and its possession seen as the guarantor of ethnic legitimacy (Edward, 1985:89)."

Gerhard Schutte has pointed out that during the time of apartheid South Africa, room was left for the assimilation of members of groups such as the Portuguese and English as long as they identified themselves culturally with the Afrikaners through the adoption of their language and customs (cited in Tonkin et al., 1989:217).

Heller (1994) demonstrates how language became an important contested domain in the lives of people in Canada. Accordingly, at government level people were concerned about the way in which their interests will be met in terms of languages. In this case French and English were at the centre of the debates as to which one has to be used as a national language.

In this regard, Heller gives us a summary of obligations set out in French Language Services Act:

The references to showing "respect for (different ethnic groups, languages and cultures by providing preferential treatment for none" and to: goodwill and harmony" can be seen as ways of addressing the specific requests of Francophone parents for educational and cultural services. "Goodwill and harmony" and "the respect of culture" depends on equal treatment for all. The best way to achieve this, it is argued, is to use one language, English. English is thereby presented as a neutral language, favouring no one group (80-81 use references consistently).

In this regard, the resolution acknowledges that in Canada, the English language has been accepted by all, regardless of ethnic background, as the common language by which all do their business in this city.

Today questions about language and identity are not only based on socio-cultural aspects per se, and socio-economic issues become salient. Many states are characterised by their globalised society and the fact that the globalising economy is increasingly based on services and information. In this regard, language becomes an important issue for economic opportunities.

The present study has shown that language difference among local people has produced tensions over access to the production and distribution of economic resources. Heller's work demonstrates that similar situations also arose in

Europe and North America.

Accordingly, there was a tension between understanding language as primarily linked to the construction and operation of nation-states, and understanding language as primarily linked to the control over and access to the production and distribution of economic resources.

Tourism is also becoming increasingly important in economically marginalised areas as a source of employment, and culture and communication are increasingly becoming the basis of economic activity elsewhere (as in the computer and telecommunication industries

In those sectors, of course, language is central: services and information are dependent on language. Language practices of all kind are therefore regarded as an important commodity at the heart of the new economy (Heller, 2000:13)

In South Africa, the issue of language and identity is still hotly debated as many historically disadvantaged citizens are forging new ways of creating identification in a pluralistic society. As pointed out by Herbert (2000), among the challenges posed to South Africa during its transformation, there are questions of language rights, language status, and language usage.

Herbert suggests that linguists need to move from descriptive models of language analysis to speaker-based models, which reflect the everyday dynamics of language usage and language attitudes in multilingual and multicultural settings. Additionally, South African linguistics, on account of its adoption of traditional models of language, is broadly prescriptive and conservative, especially, with respect to the indigenous languages.

Though bilingualism was endorsed during apartheid South Africa, English was associated with commerce and Afrikaans with administration, and the majority of

African languages were marginalised. Reflecting on the speaker-based model suggested by Herbert, presumably this kind of model calls for a reconsideration of language boundaries and the ways in which the so-called mixed language have been analysed in academic and educational settings.

Herbert's model is most interesting as it relates to Giles's model of accommodation, and Tajfel's theory of group relations (see Edwards, 1985). The latter writer proposes that a unified model for understanding language and ethnic group relations should be designed.

Tollefson argued strongly that the lack of language rights for minorities is part of social inequality and is based on the unwillingness of those in power to relinquish their linguistic privileges (in Edward, 1985).

The following section will examine the role of leaders in an attempt to influence identity formation "from below". The literature has shown how leaders were capable of influencing people in their search for a new sense of identification.

2.6 Identities "from above"

Wagner (1999) has demonstrated the role of the state in regulating transnational and multinational identities in Central Asia. She argues that the newest approaches toward redefinition of collective identities from the top have thus attempted to integrate both national and transnational paradigms more or less harmoniously.

Accordingly, Central Asian leaders are acutely aware of the fragile state of multi-ethnic relations, which combined with the economic crisis, could evolve into a serious upheaval. The deeply set transnational character of the region also more vulnerability at the frontiers.

Most of the hitherto local ethnic conflicts have been provoked by unresolved border issues coupled with disputes over access to natural resources such as water and land. One striking illustration of this occurred in February 1999, when President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan was targeted by a terrorist attack with links to the Afghan Islamists, the Taliban (see Wagner, 1999).

With regard to the above statement, Wagner argued that a pluralistic definition of collective identities is a key to understanding post-Soviet Central Asia. She also argued that despite the importance of nation building, one should not neglect the social dynamics upon which such efforts depend.

With reference to the South African experience, Kruger (2000) argued that in order to compete on an equal footing in the workplace, employees from disadvantage groups should be empowered by way of outcome-based training programmes to obtain the necessary skills for successful execution of their roles.

Kruger also argued that effective service rendering to the community can only occur if local authorities adjust to socio-economic and socio-political realities. The skills development of their human resources forms the basis of this structuring.

With regard to the above statement, the imbalances amongst local officials in Stellenbosch municipality led to public workers 'strike. According to a report made by a member of South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU), "top management positions were only advertised internally while junior positions are advertised the normal way, both internally and externally. They do not want people of colour in senior positions because in their view, the standard of work would decline... (Cloete, 2002: 1)".

Furthermore, Kruger argued that in the absence of such capacity building, it could be expected that such employees and their achievements will be doubted, and the required work ethos and sense of responsibility would also fail to

materialise.

Merlyn Mehl (in Mouton, 1999) argues that change in the educational system is highly desirable as it will influence decision-making and good inter-relations between teachers, learner and parents. In this respect, “system change” means four things:

- There must be both top-down and bottom-up change, with all components of the system being supportive of the change;
- Everyone at all levels must be accountable;
- Capacity building must form an integral part of the process in order for the system to produce better prepared and energised staff; and
- The schools have to be given back to the communities.

Furthermore, at local level, people’s skills and knowledge should be enhanced to empower and enlighten them. Stranges (2001)’ work revealed that students, whom they interviewed about affirmative action and other new government policy, were not well informed about the above policies.

With regard to the above statement, Stranges (2001) argued that affirmative action was misperceived as discriminatory policy against certain groups. In response to this fallacy, Stranges and her research assistants also took the initiative to educate students with more information about the history and purpose of affirmative action.

Banton (1985:307) outlines four principles in the case of England and Wales with regard to police services:

- The first was that new police training should relate to the general duties of citizenship and not to be seen as something special of separate.

- The second principle concerned the minorities and listed the features of their lives that needed to be understood.
- The third acknowledged the relevance of majority attitudes, including evidence on white prejudice and discrimination.
- The fourth principle recognized that the police themselves were caught up in the attitudes of the white majority and needed more insight into the roles they were called up to play.

The above scenarios call for an urgent commitment from management to focus their communication skills and handling of cultural diversity in such a way that the potentially damaging effect of stereotypes can be obviated and the self-confidence of the previously excluded groups improved.

The section below will examine how states in plural societies from other parts of the world responded to cultural diversity. The section will also look at cultural diversity during the apartheid era and in post-apartheid South Africa.

2.7 Cultural diversity

2.7.1 Culture

Culture, tradition and performance are spaces within which a society recognises itself, seeks meaning and finds self- and collective expression. Spickard et al. (2000) argued that there is no set or absolute meaning to culture or the past; meaning is generated in the present, as human agents select and fashion the images of culture and history for the purpose of defining an identity.

Accordingly, these narratives are "equipment for living". They function in times of social strain and "unquestionable where profound historical changes have taken place", "when elements of culture and politics are brought together in a jumble," and "where there is a struggle over control of economic resources.

Particular cultures afford particular patterns related to aesthetic traditions used symbolically as a basis for establishing self- and social identity. Taste in food, dance traditions, style of clothing and definitions of physical beauty are ways in which cultures identify themselves by way of aesthetic patterns.

Romanucci-Ross et al. (1995) argue that in times of ethnic resurgence, greater emphasis is put on aesthetic features related to communication and social communion, arguing that the "soul" concept of African-American is a case in point. The African-American patterns of communication form a basis for mutual acceptance and identity and include a vocabulary of gestures and formal language characteristics.

In South Africa our experiences were historically perverted by the political uses to which culture was harnessed in the services of colonial and apartheid ideologies, which were also patriarchal. In the post-apartheid context culture has been at the heart of new ideologies such as the "Rainbow Nation" and the "African Renaissance", as a counterpoint to heal and build unity against separateness and racial inequality.

Krog (2001) argues that the cultural genocide sponsored by apartheid stemmed less from the barrel of a gun than the power of institutions to classify, exclude and dominate the racial identity of citizens.

She argued that central to the system, was the 1950 Population Registration Act, a piece of legislation which afforded the architects of apartheid with the "capacity" to determine who was and was not eligible to enter the crucible of

politics, choose the location of their home, and participate in the benefits of economic growth.

Accordingly, the Act was passed intentionally in order to preserve and protect the heritage and future of whites, particularly, the Afrikaners. The Act operated directly at the expense of the Xhosa, Zulu, Coloureds, and many others. Piliso-Seroke regards the Act as a dictatorial mode of social interaction and behaviour that to an extent amounted to a degree of eradication of African cultures and consequently could be deemed genocidal.

Since April 1994 South Africans are for the first time able to socialise freely without the restrictive and racist measures promoted by apartheid. It is therefore imperative to examine the role of nation-building towards cultural diversity in the democratic South Africa.

The government of South Africa has embarked on many projects that directly dealt with the rebirth of African cultures. Unlike before, the current government is not only aiming at maintaining African cultures but respect for all cultures is emphasised. At the National Conference on racism in Durban 2001, President Mbeki commented on the state of identity and nation-building in these terms:

The healing process taking place in our country has not occurred by accident. South Africans have united around the notion of caring, people-centred society and are hard at work, building a better life for all... But, there is a scourge that continues to stalk our country: racism. Some in our country are still determined to close their eyes to this reality, and racism will continue unless all of us engage it consciously and systematically" (quoted in Fraser-Moleketi, 2001: 1).

It is evident that difference may in fact lead to indifference. Richard Sennett argues in his article "The Challenge of Urban Diversity" that what looks like diversity to the tourist is in fact a number of isolated areas with sharp dividing lines of non-interaction.

Accordingly, to make diversity a positive value and difference something that really encourages and aids sociability in the city, he suggests that the city should be more opened up to verbal conflict. Experiencing diversity must be taken much more seriously, for instance in places where people meet about issues of conflict, such as schooling.

South Africa therefore now faces the tension, which is familiar in other democracies, of minority cultures seeking to define themselves against the national mainstream. The Afrikaner Volksfront has not abandoned the dream of a white homeland, and amongst coloured people of the Western Cape has arisen the December 1st Movement, which attempts to ground a 'Coloured identity' on the memory of slavery (the date recalls the abolition of slavery at the Cape in 1838).

Fedorowicz (1997) has identified some areas of concern such as government policy, social-political projects and institutions in regard to cultural diversity. He argues that further avenues of investigation might document culturally inflected social activities and institutions, such as volunteer groups, associations, businesses, media, religious or other festive community events, or special anniversaries or shared symbols with which people identify and which provide lived evidence of difference.

Cultural diversity is said to be valuable, both in the quasi-aesthetic sense that it creates a more interesting world, and because other cultures contain alternative models of social organisation that may be useful in adapting to new circumstances (Kymlicka, 1995:121). This latter point is often made with respect to indigenous peoples, whose traditional lifestyles provide a model of a sustainable relationship with the environment.

The value of diversity within a culture is that it creates more options for each individual and expands her range of choices. Kymlicka argued that protecting national minorities does not expand the range of choices open to members of the majority in the same way. He argues that choosing to leave one's culture is qualitatively different from choosing to move around within one's culture.

Fedorowicz (1997) argues that cultural diversity and inter-cultural sharing, on the other hand, offer potential social and economic benefits (measured, for instance, by the school achievement of children who speak a parental language other than the mainstream language, provided this difference is not derided). He argues that the increasingly multinational world market will require multilingual individuals capable of working in diverse cultural settings.

It is evident that inter-cultural sharing is a difficult and painful prospect for most people and very few people in the mainstream choose to assimilate into a minority culture. Indeed, measures to protect national minorities may actually reduce diversity within the majority culture, compared to a situation where minorities, unable to maintain their own societal culture, are forced to integrate and add their distinctive contribution to the diversity of the mainstream culture (Kymlicka, 1995: 122).

Fedorowicz (1997) argues that cultural diversity which is not anchored in constitutionally recognised rights (both cultural and political) and legitimated through political consensus can be contained by political domination as the Soviet and East Central European experience under communism has shown.

Fedorowicz suggests that in democratic contexts, cultural diversity should be 'covered' by a unitary, cultural tradition, which is ideologically reproduced by a dominant state and social institutions.

Stratton and Ang argue that multiculturalism, as government policy, has provided a new status for the state as the site where the overarching ideological principles that legitimise and vindicate the diversity of cultural practices in Australian territorial space are formulated (cited in Bennett, 1998: 114).

The state provides an ideological context for the production of the nation, but, here, unlike the USA, the nation is not conceived as a cultural expression of the universal ideological principles represented by the state. Rather, the state acts as an institutional container of principles that are instrumental to the encouragement and management of cultural diversity.

Arguably, in an Australian context, the question of race imposes itself most urgently in relation to two groups: 'Aborigine' and 'Asian'. It is evident that Aboriginal people are generally left out of debates on multiculturalism, not least because Aborigines themselves rightly do not want to be treated as a 'another ethnic minority'.

According to Bennett (1998), the former statement 'in the sense' the framing of the Aboriginal problematic in terms of the discourse of race, as in the debate about black-white racial discrimination, therefore, serves as an important reminder of the colonial, Eurocentric, racist exclusivism which is intrinsic and bound up with the history of Australia as a settler society.

With regard to the argument above, the politics of Aboriginality then signal one of the political limits of multiculturalism: its silence about the issue of race which was so formative in the historical constitution of Australia. It has been argued that it is impossible to include Aborigines in the image of consensual unity-in-diversity without erasing the memory of colonial dispossession, genocide and cultural loss and the continuing impact of that memory on Aboriginal lives.

2.7.2 States and diversity

Smolicz (1997) argues that for pluralistic states to survive, their unity must be based on more than mechanistic procedures involving 'administrative measures', 'ingenious structures' or 'new legal terms and regulations'

In South Africa, parliamentary committees are discussing the possibility of a cultural council, which will make recommendations to the legislators concerning the protection of right in areas such as language policy and education. Luchtenberg (1997) suggests that curricular aspects of multicultural education must be considered in the light of several questions: teaching methods, subjects, materials, selection, evaluation, etc.

Heugh (1997) demonstrates the South African experience with regard to language policies after the elections of 1994. He argues that, instead of involving the people in a process of bottom-up policy making, South Africa is said to arrive at policies by a top-down process which rarely accommodates the perspectives and needs of the people below.

Heugh sees three possible scenarios in South Africa under the paradigms of assimilation, human rights and multilingualism. He argues that the main effect of a language policy of assimilation is the introduction of subtractive and transitional bilingual programmes in education, which will inevitably lead to a loss of status and power for the speakers' s L1 (first language).

A human right stance, however, is just as unlikely as an assimilationist policy to result in the maintenance and status enhancement of the indigenous languages due to the successful projection of English and Afrikaans as majority languages. Bottom-up policies, according to Heugh, would involve the real implementation of multiculturalism and multilingualism, but they are being ignored.

2.8 Definition of terms

2.8.1 Identity

Identity is a process whereby individuals make sense of themselves in the social world in which they live. In other words, it is a sense of belonging, where one is headed in the life (Bekker et al., 2000). Castells (1997) argues that identity refers to 'people's source of meaning and experience' and the process of construction of meaning on the basis of culture.

Woodward (2000) is of the same opinion as Castells that symbols and representations are important cultural features in marking the ways in which we share identities with some people and distinguish ourselves as different from others.

2.8.2 Primary identity

This identity often dominates over others during identity formation and, is said to appear often because of its importance in the lives of people. For instance, if participants in all focus groups often disclosed crime as a threat to their local areas, this verifies the fact that their sense of belonging is endangered.

In this case, the construction of identities that revolves around the issue of security demonstrates concern about sub-regional safety. Sub-regional identity may be assumed as a primary identity.

2.8.3 Multiple identities

People tend to assign meaning to themselves in multiple ways and in multiple contexts. In South Africa, however, citizens are said to have multiple identities in multiple contexts and common identities in multiple contexts.

A person might be a Zulu, or an Afrikaner, or a Jew in a context of a common political party; perhaps the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party or the African National Congress. All of the major parties, for instance, are now multiracial (or 'non-racial'), and see this as a powerful source of political strength. Being a Muslim, or a Coloured, may span many religious, political and cultural contexts and thus link them together into a social universe.

These identities then can be said to be multiple and cross-cutting in that each overlaps a range of contexts, or a common context or institution may contain many identities within it.

2.8.4 Identities 'from above'

Key persons from various institutions, such as political, business, cultural entrepreneurs and organised labour construct these identities. Identities that are constructed 'from above' are reported to be influential to local identities 'from below'. Bekker (2000) reports that influential political actors in the seat of provincial government are strongly in favour of the deepening and broadening of a provincial identity among Western Cape residents.

2.8.5 Identities 'from below'

Woodward argues that social changes taking place at global and personal levels can produce uncertainties in relation to who "we" are and our place in the world. Additionally, he argues that change is characterised by uncertainties and insecurities as well as by diversity and opportunities for the formation of new identity.

It is also noticeable "how important local issues and local government are to residents and how identity narratives on these issues reveal strategies to build shared public identities, again in ways simply not possible in the old South Africa"

(quoted in Bekker, 2000: 16)

2.8.6 Race, racism and identity

Race is a concept that was developed by theorists to assist them in describing the physical characteristics of people in the world over a century ago, but this practice has now been discredited because of its nefarious purposes directed against ethnic groups.

Le Page et al. (1985) reviewed racism in terms of exploitation and resistance grounded in differences of class, gender, and ethnicity which gives rise to a multiplicity of ideological constructions of the racialised other. It is evident from the literature that, during transformation in many democratic societies, the question of racial identity became salient.

2.8.7 Culture

Bhikhu Parekh (1997) views culture as referring to a way of life, that is, to a way of understanding, structuring, conducting and talking about human life, and encompassing all that is necessary for that purpose. He urges that different cultures define and relate these aspects differently. Every culture or way of life might be thought of as having the following components:

First, it includes a body of beliefs including ideas, images, myths, maxims and proverbs pithily expressing its collective wisdom, in terms of which members understand themselves and the world and assign meaning and significance to their lives, social relations, actions and utterances.

Second, it includes values, ideas of excellence, norms of behaviour and a specific conception of the good life, which regulates social relations, food, dress, modes of greeting, and such important events in life such as birth, marriages and

death.

Fourth, cultures tend to poses rituals, traditions of music and arts, written and unwritten literature, stories and so on, through which they express collective emotions, experiences and self-understanding.

Fifth, members of a cultural group have some conception of how it began and developed, how it differs from other cultures, what it stands for, who its heroes and villains or friends or foes are, and more or less coherent narrative of its origins, struggles, achievements, failures and aspirations.

Finally, he argues that culture involves a special mode of behaviour and a specific understanding of life; it can encourage specific traits of temperament, capacities, psychological and moral dispositions, motivational structures, a specific range of emotions and modes of expressing them, and so forth (date:165-166)

2.9 Summary

In conclusion, a scrutiny of recent literature on identity reveals a consensus about a number of things:

The fact that identities are multiple and featured in multiple contexts;

The fact that identities are constructions; and notwithstanding this, identities may be powerful forces in politics and social life.

Finally, some challenges experienced by governments in other multicultural societies such as USA, Australia, and Canada are also relevant to the South African context. Elsewhere in the literature approaches have been dealt with that are useful to the study in relation to education, and government administration particularly, the issue of language, and that pose a threat to two municipalities being studies and jeopardise tolerance between cultural groups. Similar

experiences were reported in Australia, in which minority cultures were included in the mainstream cultures.

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3 a description of the method used in the study is given. This study reports on the results of qualitative research that aimed at establishing whether a local identity is emerging in two Western Cape towns. In this chapter the research design and methodology are discussed intensively below. The validity of a research design and the research method is also discussed below.

Furthermore this is a comparative case study of two Western Cape Towns, Stellenbosch and Wellington. Stellenbosch and Wellington were chosen because under apartheid residents were divided by race in these towns. The study aims to identify changes in local identity after apartheid. Therefore, historical and demographic information of the two towns are given below.

3.2 Research design

This chapter outlines the importance of research design before an investigator embarks on a scientific enquiry. It is evident that regardless of the type of research design selected by the investigator or the objectives he or she hopes to achieve, a universal characteristic of any research plan is flexibility.

A common function of research designs is to assist the investigator in providing answers to various kinds of social questions. According to Black and Champion (1976), research designs are guidelines for investigative activity and not necessarily hard-and-fast rules that remain unbroken.

This research study is qualitative in nature, and a case study design was chosen for this investigation. Babbie and mouton (2001:270) describe this design as an

intensive investigation of a single unit. They argue that this unit can vary: from individual people, families, communities, social groups, organisations, and institutions, events and countries.

3.2.1 In this design, four principles are identified as heading:

- The role of conceptualisation in case study research;
- The importance of conceptual detail and in-depth description;
- Using multiple sources of data;
- Analytical strategies in the case study research.

3.2.2 The role of conceptualisation in case study research

Babbie and Mouton (2001) argue that the conceptual issues are important in case study research. The conceptual framework entails stating: the purpose of the study; presenting the principles guiding the study, either as hypothesis or research questions; sharing the reasoning that led to the hypothesis or questions; and carefully defining concepts.

In this thesis the aim has been identified which will guide the research. The hypothesis has been built upon the researcher's experience in combination with a study of the recent literature on identity construction in the Western Cape.

3.2.3 The importance of conceptual details

Meyer described the unit of analysis according to the surrounding "ecology" or "environment." Its notions of multiple, interacting conceptualised systems, helps to conceptualise the contexts in which the unit of analysis is embedded (Babbie et al., 2001:282).

In the present study, the units of analysis were mainly individuals and groups of

people. The areas in which these groups were identified were formerly known as black, white, and coloured areas of the apartheid system. These individuals were chosen because they represent these groups at local government institutions (municipalities in Stellenbosch and Wellington). More information about the groups will be presented in the next section on the method of study.

3.2.4 Using multiple sources of data

In this thesis, multiple sources of evidence such as interview sessions and focus group discussions have been used during data collection. Furthermore, a survey could have added a useful data in this study but due to the lack of funds, the researcher was unable to utilise it. Denzil claimed that by using multiple sources of evidence, sometimes called triangulation, one can represent aspects of thick description (cited in Babbie et al., 2001).

3.2.5 Analytical strategies

The analysis of case studies involves at least the following: (1) How to organise your findings; (2) The question of whether generalisation is appropriate to case study data; (3) the issue of theory development (Babbie et al., 2001:283). The present research has attempted to relate findings to previous theories and recent literature on the construction of identity.

3.3 Validity of the research design

Morgan argues that the central aim of research design is to establish a relationship between the independent and dependent variables with a high degree of certainty. The potential of a design to achieve this aim is referred to as the validity of the design.

The use of multiple sources of data or triangulation in case study design has

given this researcher confidence in claiming validity for it. According to Babbie et al., 2001, when enhancing validity and reliability in the qualitative paradigm we would be more concerned with triangulation, writing extensive field notes, member checks, peer review, reasoned consensus, audit trial, etc. They argue that this process enables the respondents to speak freely without distorting what they say while we interview them.

3.3.1 Internal validity

Internal validity has been ensured by selecting participants from different class levels, in other words, participants from low-, middle- and high-income classes. As far as level of maturity is concerned, the research has selected participants from the ages of 18-40.

3.3.2 External validity

External validity was also ensured by using a randomised sample. This technique gives credibility to this study since it ensures the representativeness of the population used in this study.

3. 4 The focus of research

According to Bless and Higson-Smith (1995), the focus of research may be understood in terms of three different categories:

- Conditions;
- Orientation; and
- Actions.

The focus of this research was to examine peoples' beliefs and attitudes towards their local situation and local government institutions. Bless et al. (1995) have identified Orientation as an essential category when a researcher is concerned

with the attitudes and beliefs of subjects, especially in religious and political contexts.

3.5 Methodology

The method of study is discussed in conjunction with the steps that guided the implementation of the research, from sampling through the analysis and presentation of the data.

3.5.1 The sampling

When a research plan specifies the inclusion of people, the investigator may decide to study the entire population of elements (people or things), or to study only a portion of elements taken from the larger population of them.

According to Black et al., (1976), a portion of elements taken from the larger population is called a sample. Accordingly, the process of drawing those elements from the larger population or universe is called sampling.

This research focuses on the three former groups (blacks, whites, and coloureds); it is clear that Stellenbosch and Wellington represent these groups. A stratified sample was chosen for focus group discussions. According to Babbie et al., (2001), this type of sampling has less possibility of error by because of two factors in the sample design:

Firstly, a large sample produces a smaller sampling error than a small sample;

Secondly, a homogeneous population produces samples with smaller sampling errors than does a heterogeneous population.

In this research a number of variables were selected such as age, occupational status, gender, geographical area and so forth to ensure proper

representativeness. Babbie et al. (2001) argue that stratified sampling ensures the representation of the stratification variables related to them; furthermore, it is likely to be more representative on several variables than a simple random sample is.

3.5.2 Data collection

The study has utilised qualitative data from focus group discussions and interviews. These kinds of data have been regarded as primary data in this research. Before the above process took place, contacts were made regarding focus group discussions with key persons from all the areas concerned to organise participants, make bookings for venues.

For the interview process, officials from Stellenbosch and Wellington municipalities were contacted for the purpose of arranging convenient hours for interviews. These officials consist of leaders from different political organisations such as Democratic Party, United Democratic Party, New National Party, African National Congress and including town secretaries and mayors from the two towns.

The following sections will give detailed information on the use of focus groups and interviews, and discusses their advantages and disadvantages. The type of interview being utilised in this study will be dealt with and then the ethical issues pertaining data collection.

3.6 Focus group

In this research three former group areas were identified from two towns, the white, black and coloured. In Stellenbosch, Kayamandi, Kylemore and Die Boord, were the focus areas. In Wellington, Oliver Tambo and Wellington coloured areas were the focus in this study.

In terms of class identity in Stellenbosch: Kayamandi and Kylemore (target groups) consisted of middle and low income people. In Die Boord, the group consists of upper-income people. In Wellington: Oliver Tambo comprises of low-income people, and Wellington coloured area consists of middle-income people. In order to assure valid and reliable selection of participants, a number of variables (such as age, language, geographical location, occupational status, education, etc.) have been utilised.

During the organisation stage key persons from these areas were identified. These key persons play an invaluable role in this research, since information about the areas and the organisation of participants and the venues were arranged with their help.

Two research co-coordinators assisted in organising people who participated in the study as well as the venues where the meetings were held. The co-coordinators were selected with special reference to the respective languages of the three groups. Focus group discussions were held and people were asked to express themselves in their mother tongue. Five focus group discussions were organised.

Two groups were selected from former Black Group Areas (Kayamandi and Oliver Tambo), two from former coloured Group Area (Kylemore and Wellington) and one in Stellenbosch White Area (Die Boord). It is imperative to highlight that in the focus groups below gender disparities are very high since women dominated in the groups. Most men were at work during focus group discussions. All focus groups are displayed in tables below:

TABLES: Classification of the 5 focus group (FGs) selected

Focus group one

The FG was held both in Afrikaans and English, in a coffee shop in Stellenbosch and four women present, all in there late 40s-50s.

STELLENBOSCH

Focus Group on Thursday, the 31st of August, 2000, in an upper-class White community living in Stellenbosch.

5 PM

①	Housewife
②	Owner of a shop
③	Housewife
④	Housewife

Focus group two

The FG was held in Xhosa (translated immediately by Sandile (S)) but mostly English, in a private home. Four people were present, three women and one man.

STELLENBOSCH

Focus Group on Saturday, the 5th of August, 2000, in a middle-class (Formal Housing) Black community living in Kayamandi.

6PM

①	30s – Man – Pastor (Sandile)
②	20s – Woman – Craft project
③	60s – Woman – Pensioner
④	20s – Woman – Craft project manager

Focus group three

The FG was held in a private home in Kylemore, in Afrikaans and translated partially by M to A (research coordinators) while it was taking place. Six people present, one man and five women, mostly in the 40s, one in her twenties.

KYLEMORE

Focus Group on Monday, the 31st of July, 2000, in a middle-class Coloured community, in a small town part of Stellenbosch municipality

6 PM

①	Administrative Assistant (male) – 44
②	Nurse – 41
③	Housewife – 49
④	Administrative Assistant – 24
⑤	Housewife – 44
⑥	Teacher – 40

Focus group four

The FG was held in a shebeen, in Xhosa translated immediately by N (research coordinator). Six people present, two men and four women.

WELLINGTON: Oliver Tambo

Focus Group on Monday, the 6th of November, 2000, in Oliver Tambo, a black squatter Camp community in Wellington.

11 AM

①	Woman – 48 – Unemployed
②	Woman – 30 – Unemployed (works in the Shebeen)
③	Man – 36 – Unemployed
④	Man – 23 – Unemployed
⑤	Woman – 23 – Unemployed
⑥	Woman – 51 – unemployed

Focus group five

The FG was held in a Community Centre for the Elderly, in Afrikaans, translated partially in English while it was taking place. Nine people were present, five

women and four men from their thirties to their seventies, all teachers or ex-teachers.

WELLINGTON

Focus Group on Thursday, the 7th of September, 2000, in a middle-class (teachers) Coloured community living in Wellington.

5 PM

①	Pensioner – 72 – Woman
②	Teacher – 35 – Man
③	Teacher – 45 – Man
④	Teacher – 31 – Woman
⑤	Teacher – 35 – Woman
⑥	Retired Teacher – 47 – Woman
⑦	Teacher – 44 – Man
⑧	Housewife/ex-Teacher – 43 – Woman
⑨	Teacher – 37 – Man

Morgan (1998) argues that focus groups are, above all, an aspect of a qualitative research method in which guided group discussions to generate rich understanding of participants' experience and beliefs have been utilised. Three fundamental strengths that are shared by all qualitative methods have been identified to understand focus groups:

Exploration and discovery: qualitative methods are especially useful for exploration and discovery. Focus groups are frequently used to learn about either topics or groups of people that are poorly understood. Context and depth: they help in understanding the background behind people's thoughts and experiences

Morgan states that frequently one participant will finish a careful summary of her or his thoughts, and another will respond with something like, "Yes, I hear what you are saying, but what really matters to me is..."

Accordingly, through exchanges such as this, the give-and-take of the group discussion provides a context for why a participant feels one way rather than another. Additionally, hearing how the participants react to each other gives an

in-depth view of the range of their experiences and opinions.

Interpretation: this gives an understanding of why things are the way they are and how they got to be that way. Morgan (1998) argues that in focus groups, the participants want to understand each other: How can two people who seem to be so similar have such different experiences? How can people who are outwardly very different in fact share the same beliefs?

These are the kinds of encounters that make participants interested in finding out about each other, and the discussions gave a researcher the kind of interpretative insights that s/he is seeking.

Co-coordinators also served as facilitators and interpreters during the discussions. Morgan (1998) has claimed that the comparative advantage of focus group interviews as an interview technique lies in the ability to observe interaction on a topic. Accordingly, group discussions provide direct evidence about similarities and differences in the participants's opinions and experiences (Babbie et al., 2001:292).

According to Babbie et al. (2001), probes are useful way to get answers in more depth without biasing later answers. In this thesis three research probes were introduced and participants were asked to discuss them:

- How they feel about living in their areas;
- How they feel about living in the Western Cape; and
- How they feel about living in the new South Africa.

The discussions were non-directive; co-coordinators only facilitated the process and participated in the discussions only when participants asked for clarity on certain issues and when they discussed something that was not relevant to the

three probes.

Before, the group discussions started, participants were asked if they would allow the researcher to use the tape-recorder during the discussion. The researcher assured them that the information gathered would be kept confidential. After each focus group session, transcripts from tape-recordings and field notes were carefully translated into English. Again, co-coordinators participated during this process, while the researcher was carefully capturing the data.

3. 7 Historic and demographic information of Stellenbosch town:

3.7.1 Heritage

According to Smuts (1979), Stellenbosch was established through efforts made by Simon Van der Stel and his patriots about three centuries ago. The then Stellenbosch village was identified as an agricultural area of Cape Town and its inhabitants should give their attention to agriculture.

Since Stellenbosch was a level valley with thousand of morgen of beautiful pasturage, plans to develop the valley with the centre followed soon after its establishment. According to Smuts (1979), in May of the following year 1680, eight families moved in, in 1682, a group of 15 or 16 farmers came.

By the year 1685 most of the well-known Stellenbosch farms along the banks of the Eerste River had been granted: Mostersdrief, Coetsenburg, Welgevallen, Kromme Rivier, Nietvoorbij, Idasvallei, and several others. Accordingly, this was the first Stellenbosch settlement: a circle of farms around an island.

Given the above history about the establishment of Stellenbosch, it can be argued that other areas have been established due to the expansion of agricultural activities in Stellenbosch. It is clear that during that time most farmers

were wholly dependent on labour to increase their production.

Therefore, the establishment of coloured and black townships responded to the increase of labour demands and the influx of immigrant labours from the eastern part of the Cape.

Though there is no written history available on Kayamandi Township, the department of history at the University of Stellenbosch also acknowledged this. The department has disclosed that they are in a process to embark on a project to write about the history of all the Stellenbosch townships. Therefore, the historic information about the establishment of Kayamandi was obtained from peoples' past memories of the area.

According to one municipal informant, Kayamandi was established about 100 year ago. The Coro-brick company was the first to build houses for people in the area. These people were working for this company. These people were immigrant workers from the former Ciskei and Transkei homelands.

As the wine industry expanded in Stellenbosch, large influx of people into the town in search of economic opportunities was on increase despite the Group Area Act of 1914. Kayamandi became a very overcrowded area around the early nineties and upwards with the building of informal settlements until to date.

3.7.2 Stellenbosch: distribution size and density

According to the 1996 Population Census, the population of Stellenbosch Municipality exceeds 100 000. This population is concentrated in Stellenbosch (56 621), which is the largest urban center with more than 50% of the population. The other urban places in order of size are Kylemore, Pniel, Jamestown, Klappmuts and Raithby.

The rural inhabitants are distributed fairly evenly through the rest of the municipal area, with densities of between 50 and 100 people per square kilometer. The highest rural densities are found in the Berg River valley, the area around Kylemore in the Banghoek valley.

Migrants to the area are strongly concentrated in Stellenbosch. Migrants are defined as people who had moved to the area from elsewhere during the five-year period 1991 to 1996. The migrant ratio shows surprisingly low values for Kayamandi in Stellenbosch, which seems to indicate that these figures should be treated with caution.

3.7.3 Gender and racial composition

The population of the Stellenbosch Municipality is composed of 58256 coloured, 26940 white, 16232 black, 304 Asian and 2060 people of unspecified race (Census 96). The coloured population is in the majority making up 56% of the population, followed by whites who constitute 26% and blacks (16%).

Accordingly, Gender ratios are fairly even with 51.1% female and 48.9% male. The only exception is in the case of the black population which has more male than female 91 female per 100 males. Most of the small urban settlements consist mainly of coloured people including Kylemore and the surrounding areas, whereas the black population is concentrated in Stellenbosch (Kayamandi). The white population is found mainly in Stellenbosch and Franschhoek.

3.7.4 Dwelling type

About 54% of all residents live in single dwelling units (houses) on single plots.

According to the census 96, single dwellings are most prevalent in the rural parts of the municipality. Flats are the second most prevalent type of dwelling unit, housing 12% of the population in the area. This dwelling type is mostly found in Stellenbosch and not elsewhere in the municipal area.

Informal dwellings (free standing shacks or backyard shacks) are another important dwelling type housing 16% of the residents in the municipal jurisdiction. This type of dwelling is found in Kayamandi and places such as Groendal, and Klapmuts.

3.7.5 Population growth

According to the 1996 Population Census, projecting population figures is fraught with difficulties due to the uncertainty surrounding the past and present accuracy of census data. Accordingly, a comparison of 1980 and 1996 data reveals major discontinuities in the trends between 1991 and 1996.

According to figures obtained from the above census Franchhoek recorded the highest percentage annual growth rate of (7, 6%), followed by the other smaller settlements such as Kylemore and Jamestown with rates of 3, 6% and 3, 5% respectively.

Stellenbosch grew at 2% per annum. Using these growth rates it is projected that Franchhoek will nearly double its 1996 population by 2025. The population of Stellenbosch will reach about 77500, adding another 46000 residents to its 1996 size of 53600.

3.7.6 Employment status

According to the 1996 Population Census only 7% of the potentially economically

active population in the municipal area is unemployed. Although at first glance it appears as though Franchhoek has a very low unemployment level, this is not the case as the unemployment level is 7, 5% when Groendal is included in the calculation.

This figure is similar to the levels recorded at other settlements such as Kylemore, Stellenbosch and Klapmuts. Unemployment is lowest in the farming area, suggesting that housing and employment on the farms are more directly linked than in urban areas.

In Kylemore about 859 people are employed and 127 are unemployed and looking for work and 44 not working or not looking for work. In Kayamandi about 3627 people are employed and 1508 are unemployed and looking for work and 231 are not working or not looking for work. In Stellenbosch about 7132 people are employed and 239 are unemployed, looking for work and 76 are not working, not looking for work.

3.8 Historic and demographic information of Wellington town

3.8.1 Heritage

According to Wellington tourism information, the first inhabitants of the Berg River Valley go back as far as the Stone Age. This period stretches over thousands of years to the San and Khoi groups of the 18th and 19th century (www.visitwellington.com)

Accordingly, the town was established in 1840, and its original name (Limiet Valley and then Wagenmakersvallei towards the end of 17th century when the French Huguenots settled there changed to Wellington. The name has been

changed in honour of the Duke of Wellington, renowned soldier and conqueror of Napoleon at the Battle of Waterloo.

The information about other areas such as coloured and black groups was not available during the time of this study. But coloured participants and their leaders have no doubt that coloured community was the inhabitants of Wellington. The latter statement needs to be treated with caution since information on the origin of coloured people was taken on people's general knowledge. Same applies to the people of Oliver Tambo informal settlement that they are immigrants from Embekweni in Paarl.

3.8.2 Population Group

According to 1996 Population Census, Wellington consists of 2223 black, 21954 coloured, 6904 white, 87 Asian/ Indian people, and 363 unspecified. In Newton there are 93 black, 3486 coloured, 7 white, 87 Indian / Asian people and 208 unspecified (cited in Space-time Research Web page).

3.8.3 Gender composition

Census96 shows that in Wellington there was 14,951 males and 16, 576 females. Newton consists of 1,871 males and 1,966 females (Space-Time Research).

Demographic information about Wellington town is not clear in other variables, for instance, the information supplied by Time-Space Research has not identified all the variables in terms of racial groups.

With regard to the above information, only Wellington and Newton is frequently identified and not other areas, which seems that this information should be treated with caution. Furthermore, the absence of a Wellington Municipal website contributed to the insufficient data on the Wellington areas.

3.9 Interviews

In this research, municipal institutions of Stellenbosch and Wellington were chosen in which research informants were obtained. Among these informants were mayors, town secretaries and councillors. Four interviews were conducted with the Stellenbosch Municipality. Officials who took part in the interview sessions were: Stellenbosch mayor, town secretary, and one councillor from the United Democratic Movement (UDM), one councillor from New National Party (NNP).

In Stellenbosch, the Council has 19 members; six New National Party (NNP), six Independent (including the Mayor), one United Democratic Movement (UDM), five African National Congress (ANC) and one Democratic Party (DP).

Four interviews were also conducted in Wellington Municipality. Officials who took part in the interview sessions were: Wellington mayor, town secretary, one NNP councillor and one ANC councillor. In the Wellington Municipality the Council has twelve councillors, four ANC, three NP, and five Independent – including the Mayor (three WIV, one FEDWELL and one ONAFH).

As I have mentioned above that the timing was not good and the politics surrounding the research topic created some difficulties in reaching some councillors. For instance, from the Stellenbosch municipality, councillors from the African National Congress and from the Democratic Party were not available.

A qualitative interview is an interaction between an interviewer and a respondent in which the interviewer has a general plan of inquiry but not a specific set of questions that must be asked in particular words and in a particular order (Babbie et al. 2001:289).

Black et al. (1976) argue that talking with people and gaining insights into their conduct from inquiries about their feelings, attitudes and beliefs may provide just

the right stimulation for the development of a hypothesis for subsequent testing.

According to Black et al. (1976) there are three factors that affect the use of interviews: The quality of the interviewer: to be effective as instruments of exploration; interviews must be conducted by researchers who have highly inquisitive minds and; who are capable of reorienting themselves quickly to newly emerging facets of a problem.

In the research the same co-coordinators were used to interview the informants. The rationale behind this was also to accommodate the informants in terms of the language of their choice. It was also intended to make the interview session viable and less suspicious. Finally, the co-coordinators were well-trained people, who possessed all the required skills for the interview process.

The qualities of the interviewee: it is expected that the qualities possessed by interviewees would bear directly on the flow of communication. It is essential that individuals who were selected as interviewees must be able to put their thoughts into understandable verbal form (Black et al. 1976:361).

In the research some informants showed a willingness to be interviewed, while others refused. According to Black et al. (1976), a willingness to be interviewed is also dependent to some extent on the respondent's knowledge of and familiarity with the topic being researched.

Evidence from the literature has shown that problems that touch those segments of persons' lives that they tend to regard as private and problems that create special difficulties in verbal communication for the respondent will have a bearing on the scientific quality of the information obtained. When interviews are used under such conditions, care must be taken to account for these factors and minimise their influence.

In the research, the question on identity at these areas was very sensitive among certain groups and informants. As a researcher, I have tried to minimise some of the factors, though this was very difficult, especially to terminate the discussions or interview session while informants and participants were deeply involved in expressing their opinions.

3.9.1 Semi-structured interviews

In this research a semi-structured interview questions were arranged. A letter from the Department of Sociology was sent to all participants. This letter clearly explained the purpose of this research and that the Department is fully aware of this research; the letter stating the research topic and some directional questioning was discussed during the interviews.

3.10 Research ethics during data collection

In this research several research ethical issues were taken into consideration such as:

- The right to participate: all participants participated voluntarily in the study;
- The right to anonymity and confidentiality: all participants were fully assured of the confidentiality of the discussions.
- The use of a recorder during focus group discussions was negotiated ahead of the discussions and consensus was reached on the use of device;

The participants were informed that the research was being conducted according to the University guidelines. The letter from the Department of Sociology, stating the names of the researcher, the supervisor and the head of the department was also supplied.

3.11 Summary

This research has utilised a qualitative form of data gathering, with a special emphasis on the usefulness of a qualitative research. The chapter reports on the type of sample in which issues pertaining to the unit of analysis and the target groups were fully discussed.

This chapter also discussed the types of research instruments such as focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews. The following chapter will discuss the analysis of data and presentation of results.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the similarities and differences between local leaders' and

residents' views of local identities. This will be done by, first, analysing the interviews with the local leaders and, secondly, by analysing the focus group narratives. Themes that influence local identity include crime, service delivery, unemployment and language (and perhaps others).

Once these two tasks have been completed, the similarities and differences between leaders' and residents' accounts, and the residents' focus group narratives will be discussed. Since the focus of this thesis is local, focus group narratives on provincial and national issues will be dealt with first, but only on a general level.

4.2 Similarities between local leader's views of local identities

4.2.1 Stellenbosch

The mayor has claimed that there is a local identity in Stellenbosch. The mayor reports that "it is a big mixture of things." According to the mayor, there are changes in Stellenbosch municipality. "On the positive side, we (the municipality) are working together" (Interviews, 2000). In regard to employment, posts have been created and affirmative action has been applied.

The mayor has also highlighted that people in Stellenbosch are sensitive to culture and they respect it. The town Secretary agrees that "there are cultural features common to Stellenbosch, rugby, soccer; it is a sporty town". The town secretary has further mentioned that the University of Stellenbosch is playing a huge role in the development of cultural activities in the town. Accordingly, there are theatres and church groups that, among other things, contribute towards people staying and remaining in the town.

All informants agreed that housing is the biggest problem in Stellenbosch. "The problem is obviously the worse in previously disadvantaged areas, informal areas

where people live in shacks and backyards” (Interviews, 2000). The process of integration is at the lowest pace in Stellenbosch. Informants (Interviews) have argued that different political interests are associated with this delay, especially, in the delivery of housing and other services.

The biggest source of the economy in Stellenbosch is the University and some wine industries. The geographical area has also played a role in attracting more tourists in the town. The informants argued that the municipality could not afford to give jobs to people. According to the mayor, Stellenbosch is not a big town, so there are few chances of getting employment in the shops.

The issue of unemployment affects the integration process. “So for instance, it is difficult to give a flat to these people, as the flat must be maintained, the rent and the taxes must be paid” (Interviews, 2000). Reports have been made on the culture of non-payment for the services, which it is claimed has negatively affected the local government. Two informants (Interviews) agreed that the first priority for the municipality is the provision of housing and also focusing on rendering other services as well at affordable prices to all the people.

With regard to racial relations, according to the mayor, “It is very inclusive, all the areas are together, and everybody is included ... Take for, instance, the RDP programme” it is an open operation” (Mayor). Similarly, one informant also claimed that Stellenbosch has a fairly good relationship between the three groups.

4.2.2 Wellington

One informant claimed that there is a local identity in Wellington: “We are known as ‘Wellingtoners’ and we are proud to be Wellingtoners”. The latter statement was strongly supported by the mayor of Wellington. He argues that the history of

Wellington, among other things, has made this identity meaningful.

Structural changes that are taking place in the local government seem to threaten this growing sense of belonging to the town. There is a strong feeling among the people that, in amalgamating with Paarl, Saron and Hermon, Wellington will not function effectively. The mayor reports that "people feel that what they have collectively built up will disappear".

There are common cultural features, but only between coloureds and whites. It was highlighted that the coloured community is influenced by the Afrikaner community in terms of language and sports (rugby). The informants agreed that there is still a gap between groups in terms of integration. There were overwhelming complaints that whites do not attend community meetings. This lack of interaction has also affected other spheres, including education.

Informants have brought to light that housing and amalgamation are biggest problems in Wellington. Accordingly, the first priority is to service the community in terms of housing and other services. The study results also reveal that the informants are very dedicated to good initiatives that will lead to job creation and combat illiteracy, drug and alcohol abuse, and pollution. One informant has argued that people's abilities must be developed in order to enhance their skills.

Leaders also agreed that economically Wellington is doing very well. The main source of the economy comes from the municipality and the tourist industry. The landscape with its natural beauty has managed to attract more tourists in the area.

4.3 Differences between local leader's view on local identity

4.3.1 Stellenbosch

"But the common values are overcrowded by political values, it leads to divisions

on different political issues, as well as economical and cultural issues". According to the mayor, for the municipality to intervene in addressing those differences is very difficult, as their main duty is to deliver services to the people. The mayor has reported that the people have high expectations over a period of time. "The negative face is because people expect it to happen overnight; they are impatient, unlike in the old government" (Interviews, 2000).

According to one informant, there is no sense of belonging in Stellenbosch which contradicts what the mayor claimed to be a positive identity in Stellenbosch. According to one informant, the people from the Kayamandi area are excluded from this identity. "Business people in Stellenbosch don't try to help blacks to uplift themselves in the black townships" (Interviews).

He also argued that culturally Stellenbosch is sensitive not to all cultural groups. For instance, if someone is married according to customary marriage ceremonies, such a marriage is not approved. This also led to residents experiencing difficulties in getting access to housing subsidies, especially those that married under customary law. One informant reports that "there are cultural differences but not that much, whites and coloureds have lot in common, and the black people have a culture of their own".

It has been highlighted that the language problem in educational institutions made the learning process difficult for groups other than Afrikaans speakers, particularly at the University of Stellenbosch. Evidence from this study shows that the University of Stellenbosch, which is the biggest institution in town, contributes nothing towards the development of blacks. "The University doesn't accept our people, the lectures are in Afrikaans, with its language policy, it doesn't accommodate other racial groups" (Interviews, 2000).

With respect to racial relations, one informant claimed that the relationship among groups is still tense. There is a lack of trust, which makes things difficult

for all the groups in Stellenbosch. This indicates that affirmative action is not working effectively. "Even in the municipality there is no affirmative action, the majority of the officials are white and coloureds. The councillors practice nepotism and favouritism" (Interviews, 2000).

It was highlighted, however, that Stellenbosch is safer compared to other places. The view was challenged by some informants, claiming that crime is high in areas like Kayamandi and Cloetesville. "We don't have a proper police station; no resources are put to policing here. So crime is high, like assaults...it is very common" (Interviews, 2000).

4.3.2 Wellington

As far as the Wellington identity is concerned, there are not many differences, according to the majority of informants. Only one informant (Interviews, 2000) has argued that "it is not easy to say if people identify with local issues, to the socio-economic situation of Wellington". This indicates that economic power is still on the hands of the white people.

With regard to social integration, it is very one-sided, and it is claimed that people still maintain the old social groupings. The side effect in this lack of integration is associated with poverty and unemployment. "The reason for the division is that 80% of our people cannot afford a place in Bergendal or Uitsig (white areas)" (Interviews, 2000). It is said that only coloured people who are moving to the white areas and no white people are moving to coloured areas.

There is also a different view in recognising black people as part of this identity. One informant reports that 'Black people came from outside Wellington, and they are incomers. We, the coloureds and whites are not' (Interviews, 2000).

With regard to changes since 1994, only one informant disagrees with the others.

The informant reports that "there are no significant changes. I think that local identity influences nation-building and not the contrary; it should be a bottom-up process and not the reverse" (Interviews 2000).

4.4 Focus group narratives

4.4.1 Stellenbosch

Participants demonstrated a sense of belonging to their areas (Kayamandi, FG). But this identity has excluded Kayamandi as part of Stellenbosch. One participant reports that "the worst part is that Stellenbosch as our town is not contributing to the progress of this place". It is said that the past may be the cause of this or it may be because there is no breakthrough between whites and the blacks in Kayamandi and also in Stellenbosch.

The provincial government is also contributing to the underdevelopment of blacks in the Western Cape. "But also the Western Cape just brought about the whole thing, the Western Cape is not different from Stellenbosch because the WC is still perceived as a white place..." (Kayamandi FG).

Participants have identified the issue of employment inequalities as a problem in Stellenbosch and in the whole province. Accordingly, group preferences still persist: "Jobs are reserved for whites and the second group that get jobs are Coloured people"; "Educational qualifications mean nothing as long as you are not white or coloured; my sister who studied here at the University of Cape Town had to go to Jo'burg to get a job because here she could not get a job" (Kayamandi FG).

The discussion focused on how areas were affected by the coming of new people. People's sense of belonging is currently endangered by crime. "There was no need to be scared even at night...Where the problem started is when the

people who were living in the Eastern Cape came and put in the shacks, not meaning that I am trying to discriminate them, but the moment the informal settlements began to happen, then many things started to happen wrong” (Kayamandi FG).

Similar reports have been recorded from the discussions with the coloured group. They report that “Our place is not like before, when we used to walk at anytime in the area, but now it is very risky, even our children are not safe at all”. Participants have claimed that their freedom of movement is endangered by a bunch of strangers coming into the town. Residents have argued that the problem stems from the new housing project (RDP programme), as many people are coming from outside the area to occupy those houses.

Residents were filled with distress and fear when they touched on the issue of security and safety. Even White residents reported that “People get attacked at half-past-five in the morning and at half-past-three when you are in a deep sleep. There are terrible ideas going on in my head because we have young children in the house. I think if something like that were to happen, it would be just the end of everything. At night you go to bed and have to lock up everything; it is like being in Siberia” (Stellenbosch, FG).

There are other issues such as drug abuse and selling of alcohol. The young people are more exposed to this. Participants have encouraged all the people in their area to actively participate in community matters. “All of us have a responsibility; if we go neighbour to neighbour, from street to street, and we see it as my neighbour’s child is my responsibility and my neighbour’s safety and her house are also my responsibility; we share each other’s interests, then we can make an improvement” (Coloured FG).

Because of a lack of social contacts personal interaction is not good. Participants report that “each person just stays in his own corner; we do not even greet each

other". Participants have also complained about the lack of a judicial system to take appropriate measures against criminals. It was claimed that "Kylemore was peaceful before 1994, because the death penalty was still on the system, but now crime is roaming".

The participants argued that illegal selling of alcohol has contributed to the increasing rate of crime in the area. With regard to the above point, participants argue that perhaps the selling of alcohol is a means to survive, because many people are currently, jobless. Others claim that selling of alcohol also open doors for drug smuggling. The main concern is the negative impact of drugs and alcohol in their community.

Social problems impact negatively on their family lives. Participants have argued that apparently, social values are declining. They say that they grew up under religious values and that young people should pay their respect to older people. "And the lack of discipline started to happen; children who grow up are now saying anything that they like when there is an adult person" (Kayamandi, FG).

The high number of teenage pregnancies was also brought to light. During their time, they said, it was rare to see young person involved in a sexual relationship. "But today our children are involved in sexual relationships before marriage, which is against our religious principles" (Kylemore, FG).

An important view was raised which involved the church's contribution towards community development. Participants claimed that even the church is supposed to play a special role in the welfare of the people. Lack of recreational services is also contributing to these problems.

Young people are very talented in various sports; therefore their talents need to be developed. But in a situation such as in their areas (Coloureds and Blacks), where there are limited or no sports facilities, it is very difficult to talk about sports

development.

With regard to service delivery, there are different opinions from the three groups. In the discussion with participants reports were recorded that some officials representing people are politically divided. The division has been related to jealousy among the representatives.

Participants report that "even the government will have to sign another strategy or... if the government wants to help this place because the representatives themselves, they are a stumbling block towards the progress of this place" (Kayamandi, FG).

In places like Kayamandi, which is overpopulated, there is still a shortage of services. According to FG, there is one primary, one high school and one clinic. People are standing in long queues compare to the situation in Stellenbosch. People also have no access to a local bank, whereby they can apply for a loan for small businesses.

Many tourists are said to like Stellenbosch as their special place to visit. But Kayamandi is not benefiting from this opportunity. Participants have suggested that "If there can be a centre where ladies can cook African food and when the tourists come from Europe and USA, they are also looking for an African taste... so these are some of the things that Kayamandi can offer to the tourists (Kayamandi, FG).

Some FG members felt that it is very expensive to get services from the local government. Some people cannot afford these services, 'so that part of the people does not have proper sanitation facilities" (Kylemore, FG). The services are there, but sometimes not up to high standard; for instance, complaints have been registered about the RDP houses. "Some of the houses - I brought my own house -but the people who got it from the government, just like that, it is bad, you

must go in there and you must see, it's leaking all over, and it's wet and it's bad" (Kylemore, FG).

According to the Stellenbosch, FG, there has been no improvement; even the old services are worse. Accordingly, the existing services were established by whites;"even in the rest of the province, services are declining, the heart plant facilities have been closed down".

With regard to the new South Africa, participants have shown pride about their citizenship. But there are different views concerning other issues. According to participants, discrimination was regarded as wrong during white rule, but today it still persists. "With a white government, coloured people had an advantage, and when the black people took over; it is obvious that coloured people were left outside" (Kylemore, FG).

According to reports from the participants,"South Africa needs people who are committed to doing well for the benefit of all South Africans. South Africans need to work together for the betterment of the future of young generation". They argue that there are some people whose aims are destructive for nation-building, because they not supportive to initiatives undertaken by the government.

Additionally, participants have argued that"If you want to make this country work, you must unpack your bags. You know that you are a South African, you are an African and you are going to make this country work because for blacks there is no other place you gonna run, and most of white people have two passports" (Kayamandi, FG).

Accordingly, if "we" South Africans are still divided and not willing to address our difference things are getting worse. Participants also argue that white people should reconsider their actions of leaving South Africa because they belong here in South Africa. "These people must show that they are loyal to this country, they

must work to make things work because SA is hope for Africa as well" (Kayamandi, FG).

There are many jobs available in this country for everyone and South Africa is a big place. Black people should stop blaming apartheid; they must wake up and do things for themselves. "They have to sit down and be serious and stop being petty" (Stellenbosch, FG).

4.4.2 Wellington

Participants report that they have a sense of belonging only with their area (Oliver Tambo FG). But their sense of belonging is undermined by the fact that services are not well delivered at their ward. There is a "tragedy of the commons". This tragedy is basically about the toilets, which are creating health problems and conflict in the use of the toilets. In other words, participants are complaining about the poor planning before the implementation of the toilets.

The participants report that all the people in Oliver Tambo are currently sharing two toilets and no one wants to be responsible for the cleaning; therefore, they seem to demand a new toilet system where everyone will own his toilet. Participants also compare their services with other wards; they felt that there is a huge difference. Other wards are getting better services and they blame the municipality for those problems.

Participants report that they are coming from Embekweni, an old black township in Paarl. Even there things were not good, but where they are currently staying is worse. The government is the only institution that can solve their problems. All the problems mentioned here originate from unemployment and poverty. "We have problems with the area here only. The children are starving because of unemployment, and our husbands are not working" (Oliver Tambo, FG).

The system in Wellington is still selective as far as job opportunities are concerned. Jobs are offered according to colour. "The reason is that white people still discriminate against us. If you go and look for work, they will say we don't have work for you, you must go and ask Mandela" (Oliver Tambo FG). The latter statement signals some form of old racist attitudes, which have been prohibited in terms of the human rights declaration and the Constitution of this country.

Participants made their argument clear by identifying places where this can be seen. "If you go to Wellington, in any offices, it is only white people and if you go there as a black person, you will never get a job, even in the post office, it is only white people."

According to residents, the RDP houses are not of a good standard; the houses are also too small to accommodate the whole family. Participants prefer to remain in the informal settlements because they are able to extend and stay with all their family members.

According to participants, there is no difference between living in a shack and the new houses in terms of size. "It is not different from the informal settlement. It is just one-room house". Participants compared the houses with other areas and found that there are differences. Complaints have been made that coloured people are offered four-roomed and three-roomed houses, and they are paying the same rates. They regard this as an unfair treatment against Black people.

Language in Wellington is seen as a cultural barrier. Arguments from the affected group suggest that the solution to this problem will be a language regulation, whereby everybody feels free to demand services and other matter in their own language. Participants identify the Boland as the worse area regarding discrimination against other racial groups.

Accordingly, discrimination has created a gap between coloured and black people; they report that on some of the farms there is no Black person, only coloured people. When both groups are present, wages are not the same. "If you find a job on a farm, the salary is very small, R90/100, but coloureds are paid more".

There are most pressing services that need immediate attention, like clinics and schools. Participants have complained about the lack of these services; for instance, they are using clinic and schools from Embekweni. The concern about the absence of these services has to do with the safety of children, who have to walk long distances alone to school.

It is evident that this situation also affects the progress of children at school. Accordingly, if it is raining children are staying at home. Participants have shown anger and frustration about the unfair treatment, and this situation was accompanied by violent swearing. "If I had money I would buy a gun to shoot..." (Oliver Tambo, FG).

Violence and gangsterism in this area are associated with a lack of infrastructure, like recreational facilities that will keep the young people busy. Some of them have matriculated, but because of employment situation they sit at home and it becomes easy for them to become involved in criminal offences.

The biggest problem for these people, according to the FG discussion, is the unfair treatment they received from their neighbours (white and coloureds people). Participants have stated that they are disappointed about this situation, as they were informed that things will change as they are in the new South Africa. Above, participants also felt very bad about unemployment and poverty in their area.

Participants have blamed the ward councillor for the lack of progress in their area. "The person who is responsible for our ward in the municipality must come down to see the needs of the people. We are not satisfied with his work (councillor-Ward 7)".

For participants living in the Western Cape still meant nothing and involved no sense of belonging. According to them, there are still racial lines that divide black people from white people. "It is the NP that is silly here in the Western Cape, that rules the WC and if you are black they don't recommend you' (Oliver Tambo, FG). They claim that the Eastern Cape is better compared to the Western Cape.

As far as the new South Africa is concerned, participants have shown doubts and confusion. Participants associated the unemployment and retrenchments with the take-over of the new government. In South Africa there are changes but old racial practices still persist.

Participants have shown their confidence and sense of belonging with the area. They say that feeling safe at home and work is very important for this identity. But this group perceived other people whom they do not know in an ethnocentric way. For instance, participants refer to people as strangers whom they associated with criminal activities.

To address this problem they suggest community policing as a good strategy that can assist in clamping down on criminals. The role of community participation was seen as necessary and important. Participants claimed that the area was much safer before, but things have changed. "I would not say I'm truly safe" (Coloured FG).

Participants have identified several reasons for this situation; among other things, unemployment was mentioned as a serious threat in their area and it gives birth to crime. The people who are affected in these situations are young people and

they become gangsters after they have finished matric. Some young people are dropouts because of the influence from their friends.

Some people from Wellington's home for the elderly have shown their concern and initially designed a skills development programme. This programme accommodates all school-leavers and other young people who are interested. But the programme is still attracting only small numbers and the goal is to reach all the young people. "This is our concern; we really want them to achieve something, to go and work and get a job" (Coloured FG).

Participants have confirmed that the problems have increased and are escalating in the current situation. They argued that globalisation with free market competition is putting local business under pressure and South Africa needs more infrastructure and capital to be able to compete with international partners. This economic situation is said to contribute towards job loss in this country.

Social contacts among residents were regarded as meaningful in former times, but reports indicate that this is now declining. People are said to be more concerned about them. "People are not concerned anymore about what happens to their neighbours, people move forward" (Coloured FG).

Participants have called for community participation to root out all forms of crime in their area. There is an appeal for co-operation from people and social organisations, and the idea of community policing was also raised. Participants claimed that lack of safety is the biggest problem in their area and the community is responsible for making sure that the area is less dangerous.

The participants have made the point that things have been getting worse over the past three years. Accordingly, all these problems are escalating because the justice system is very accommodating to criminals. "Say one guy goes to jail tonight, tomorrow morning he is free man, there is no punishment, the jails are

overcrowded, we read about it everyday" (Wellington Coloured FG).

Participants broadened their discussion to include the education system whereby teachers are not allowed to punish children at schools. They say that, instead of improvements being introduced into our schools, they are now turning into playgrounds for gangsters and criminals.

These problems are seen as emanating from the apartheid system, which divided the people. "I am especially talking about the fact... you are aware of the Group Areas Act, most of our people lived on the other side of the Market Street and they were just forced to move and they were all put in ... (Wellington FG)."

Participants have made it clear that their area is meaningful to them. Mountains surround the area and the farms make people feel proud of their sense of belonging to the area. "We do not always notice but when you really look, you realise that you do not want to be at other place" (Wellington FG).

With regard to service delivery, there has been no change from the past system. In other words, services are still delivered preferentially according to group. The white areas are still getting better treatment than the non-white areas. Participants have mentioned quite a number of services that are indispensable to them. For instance, refuse removal, street lights, recreational services and others.

If refuse is collected appropriately, this means fewer health risks, especially for children. Careful planning on the side of developers is important particularly, when as far as the participants are concerned. Participants felt that when it comes to development of their areas, they were not involved to participate in the process and facilities are now being vandalised. In other words, participants suggest a people-centred development.

Sport is also another area that needs to be restructured according to people's needs. Land was allocated for sport use, but this does not make sense because the land itself was not up to standard. "So why? I mean they would never have given that kind of field to the white people" (Wellington FG).

The local government has established a sport governing body, but this is not representative of the people. Participants have shown lack of confidence in this organisation for many reasons. For instance, many playgrounds are handed over to private clubs, and if a person is not a member of that club there is no possibility of utilising the grounds. The concern here is that if people do not own these facilities, the government is throwing away its money, because people will break or destroy the facilities.

Participants also mentioned the very important issue of sport. The local government officials are accused of undermining other sports such as soccer, cricket and others. They only promote rugby as the main sport here in Wellington, but this is not acceptable because Wellington is comprised of different groups with different sporting interests. For instance, black people who are residents of Wellington play soccer and cricket at Embekweni in Paarl. Sometimes, they used soccer field that belong to the coloured people (Wellington FG).

All the existing problems mentioned above made the participants rethink about where they come from. "Despite our past, as parents we have managed to reproduce good fruit. For instance, we have children who are now holding top positions. Today Willie Small is the director of Oudtshoorn Hospital. A boy who was caught up in his circumstances, but who stayed on a farm". Above all, participants still retained their religious beliefs and values.

With regard to the housing system, participants have different views. Some appreciate housing developments, especially among the historically

disadvantaged people. For the first time people have a place and a home. "For us who do not live in these houses ourselves, for a lot of people it was a big accomplishment to say for the first time, "We finally have our own places", but some have criticised the government for building small houses on a small piece of land.

Participants are very critical of the low standard of the houses and poor planning. It has come to light that some of the officials are unskilled and this has had a great impact as far as development is concerned. This has appeared as very ironic to people moving from a squatter camp to a small house.

There is also another important dimension in this housing system. As many people are coming from outside, they are now have an opportunity to mix. This never happened before. Black and Coloured people were separated, but now the RDP houses are bridging the gap between the two groups, which has created a culture of acceptance.

But, this "culture of acceptance" is very difficult to see among whites, because they always avoided coloured people. At schools this situation is very complicated; there is no free association among children and teachers. Participants blame the white parents for creating such a bad atmosphere as it also limits children's choices and opportunities.

Furthermore, participants have reported that "at the moment the mixing is still artificial; most of the people still stay as in the past." Accordingly, they meet each other occasionally, maybe during sport days or some cultural events, but after the events everyone goes back to their separate homes.

Participants have stated that during community meetings white people sat at their own tables and coloured people as well. Group relations are at stake, and from the participants' point of view, apartheid still exists. Participants also blamed the Western Cape Council for neglecting their area.

Accordingly, an invitation was sent to the Council to come to their area, but they never showed up. As a result, "they don't know what's going on with the training, employment programmes, and things we are doing".

The situation at the home for the elderly is still complicated, as there are only white people. The home is not open to all the people; instead, they set certain criteria that make it difficult for other people to meet. This is a strategy to keep other population groups out of the home.

With regard to living in the Western Cape, one participant has reported that he sometimes feels guilty when he talks with people from other provinces. He states that people from other provinces are convinced that the Western Cape is better than their province.

There are wrong perceptions about the province because people are still struggling under the old apartheid system. This is still continuing because the province is ruled by the DA and "we are treated badly" (Wellington FG).

Accordingly, economic power is still in the hands of the whites and as black people we only have political power. As a result, if the two do not work as a unity, many problems will escalate. As far as participants are concerned, the Western Cape is still better compared to other provinces, though things are declining slowly. For instance, at Groote Schuur Hospital, things are not going well at all.

With regard to living in the new South Africa, participants have mixed feelings. Some show a sense of pride and loyal to their country. Some changes have been highlighted; for instance, now all elderly people are getting the same amount in pensions, which was not the case under the old government. But some have many complaints about the role played by the government. For example, taxes are levied from people, but there are still no improvements.

One participant has argued that the problem with the bad performance of the country's economic growth is that people who have lot of experience are living South Africa to other countries. Now only few people are driving this economy and the rest are doing nothing. As a result, there are lots of things that are going wrong. For instance, corruption among government officials is often reported. The situation at schools is still not good.

Some have expressed sympathy with the government and say that people are sometimes impatient. This government has a very difficult task to rectify the damage caused by apartheid. The business sector is still very reluctant in giving their full support. "And let me put it this way, compare to what they got out of this country, they are only making a small contribution. But I emphasise the fact that I am very proud of the leaders of my country" (Wellington FG).

Another important point that was raised in the discussions was that this country has good ideas, but the biggest problem is that "we are not always able to implement those things practically." This has led to a lack of progress in many provinces in this country. Beside, participants appreciated the fact that the government is making a point that all the people have access. Therefore, participants have reported that they are very proud of this government.

4.5 Similarities and differences between leaders and residents

4.5.1 Stellenbosch and Wellington

All the leaders agreed that housing is the biggest problem in the two towns, particularly among the historically disadvantaged people. The local government has put forward housing as a first priority. Residents did agree that housing is the problem, but in their discussions they pointed to many serious issues that need to be examined regarding the housing project.

First, residents were unhappy about the land where some of the houses have been built. In their arguments residents complained about the value of the land and the dangers surrounding these places. If, for instance, houses are built on wetlands, cracks will develop at a latter stage in the houses, and this is in fact happening to the houses. Residents blame planners for this, whom they accuse of lacking skills.

Second, there were concerns about the size of the houses and the plots. The mayor has stated that all the people are getting the same housing. But this statement contradicts with what some of residents claim to be unequal services. For instance, black residents compare their houses with those of coloured people.

According to the black participants, coloured people are getting big houses (that is, four-roomed houses). Statements claiming that people are happy with the RDP housing project are regarded as bad generalisations from the side of local government. From the people's viewpoint, housing has created many problems.

One of their main problems is that they have big families and the houses cannot accommodate all the members of the families. Beyond that, even if they have the means to extend the houses, it is still impossible because there is no more space. During the interviews with leaders, none of them touched on these issues.

With regard to employment opportunities, leaders and residents have expressed different views and agree that this is a very serious issue. The mayor of Stellenbosch has reported that everybody in Stellenbosch has an equal opportunity to get a job in terms of affirmative action. But residents have disagreed with this statement made by the mayor.

According to residents in Stellenbosch and Wellington, only white and coloured people have access to employment opportunities. They say the reason for this is that the administration is still functioning in Afrikaans, so if a job seeker cannot speak the language, there is little or no chance of getting jobs. Residents have reported persistent acts of racism, especially in the Boland area.

With service delivery, some leaders have claimed that services are rendered equally to all residents, but there is one leader who totally disagrees with the latter statement. First, we need to understand that within the local government system councillors come from different organisations and with different political interests. This situation has been reported from the interviews with the mayor. But the majority of the councillors were very positive about their services.

Residents have told us that services are still delivered unequally. For instance, they claimed that refuse is collected on a daily basis from the white areas, whereas in non-white areas this is not done. Residents of Oliver Tambo squatter camp have told us that their area is the most neglected part of Wellington. In terms of services, the area shares few sanitary facilities, there is no school and no medical centre and motorists are driving on gravel roads.

Some residents have shown greater concern about the already existing services that are declining. They say that facilities established by white people are now declining, commenting on the situation in Groote Schuur Hospital, particularly the heart transplant facility. Some facilities and resources are being damaged or vandalised or they are stolen.

Residents have been asking themselves: why does all this happen and what role is the government playing to make sure that all those found guilty are put to jail and such things do not happen in the future? Residents claimed that they have heard of these problems all over the country and the culprits are not charged.

Leaders have revealed that their areas are less fearful of crime. But residents disagree with the latter statement, claiming that their areas are overcrowded with criminals. In both towns people have shown almost the same feelings about crime. It is no longer safe for people to walk in the streets in the evening.

This situation has also put their children's lives at risk; some children are already victims of crime. Residents report that in areas like Kayamandi, where there is a high crime rate, police services are not good. Sometimes the police station is closed and people have to use the next nearest police station to report a crime.

In fact, residents have blamed the justice system for being friendly to criminals. They argued that the government must take strong measures against criminals to reduce crime. Local police stations, on the other hand, need to be strong, as there are many drug dealers. Residents have complained about illegal taverns in their areas, calling on the local police to deal with this matter.

Residents also blamed leaders for being self-centred, in the sense that, people are excluded in decisions about developmental plans of their areas. For instance, people in both towns have an interest in different sports, but the local government officials decided to build more rugby sport grounds than soccer fields or cricket pitches.

Most criminal incidents are associated with a lack of recreational services in black and coloured areas. Residents demanded services that are of as a good standard as those in the neighbouring white areas.

With regard to the business sector, some leaders and residents have blamed this sector for being reluctant to participate in the development of these areas. Residents in Kayamandi have claimed that the majority of people in Kayamandi are working in the business sector. Some of the people have children who stay at home or play in the streets because their parents are working.

In other words residents were suggesting that there should be a pre-school for these children and the business sector should at least to do something for Kayamandi. Residents claim that even at national level, business people are very reluctant to drive the economy of this country. They say that only the government can boost the economy of this country.

Leaders have claimed that there are good relationships among groups in both towns. But residents have expressed totally different views about group relations in Stellenbosch and Wellington. The mayor and some leaders have claimed that in Stellenbosch people are working together. One leader confirmed that there is a "culture of acceptance" between white and coloured people. But, these statements have been contradicted in our discussions with residents.

In Kylemore residents have claimed that there are not good relationships between people from their area and people from Stellenbosch. It was brought to light that white people from Stellenbosch are still called coloured people with names that degrade their human dignity. In Wellington residents also report a similar situation. Even some leaders did agree that there is still a gap between groups in Wellington, but they also emphasise that white and coloured people share cultural features such as language (Afrikaans) and sport (rugby).

Residents have reported that there are not good relations among coloured and White people in Wellington. Even if coloured people decided to move to White areas, they do not greet one another. They say that white people never move from their places to coloured areas, because they did not trust them.

In other words, what was claimed by the leaders to be good relations between groups does not exist. Instead residents revealed that there is a "culture of acceptance" between black and coloured people, particularly in the mixed areas.

It was noted during our interviews that even leaders themselves expressed different opinions regarding social relations. These comments about social relations are in some cases based on group preferential. For instance, some leaders in Stellenbosch and in Wellington have claimed that there are common cultural features (such as language, sport, historical monuments, religion and others) in these areas.

According to the leader's claims, white and coloured people share common cultural features and blacks have their own culture. But these statements contradict what the mayor of Stellenbosch claimed to be cultural acceptance.

4.6 Differences and similarities between focus group narratives

4.6.1 Stellenbosch and Wellington

During focus group discussions residents showed a keen interest in talking about multiple identities, not only based on the old fixed identity of ethnicity but in many social contexts and involving issues that are imperative in their local areas. As I have proposed in my hypothesis, class identity may become salient to residents. In the discussions I also found that within FG narratives there are three kinds of classes: the low-income, middle-income and upper-income groups.

Residents have reported that they do not belong to Stellenbosch as they are excluded in terms of development (Kayamandi and Kylemore FG). But, some residents disagree with the latter statement, claiming that everyone is free to go and live anywhere (Stellenbosch FG).

They say that they have a long-term relationship with some people from other groups. For instance, white participants support their argument by reporting that some of the people worked for them and they treated them as part of their families.

Black residents have reported that in terms of employment coloured people are the first to get the jobs. But coloured people have opposed that and claimed that this government is discriminating against coloured and White people. They say that Black people occupy all top positions in the government. They regard affirmative action as a government strategy to discriminate against them.

As I read the focus group narratives carefully, I found that black people are referring to the situation particularly in their local areas and the Western Cape Province. With regard to coloured people's claim of being discriminated against, I found that their discussion is referring to the national government. Generally, all residents have shown different views about the Western Cape Province and the new South Africa.

Some residents looked critically at the persistence of discrimination as a means to put down the new government. One resident claimed that some South Africans decided to pack their bags and leave this country after they have messed things up. He says that South Africa needs people who are wholly devoted to rectifying the damage emanating from the apartheid system.

Some residents have argued that the new government is not supposed to phase out those people who have been working for long time and who are knowledgeable in helping the current government. With regard to the latter statement, those people are doing nothing and the people who are driving the economy of this country are still new to the field.

Generally, residents have recognised the Western Cape Province as better than other provinces in terms of economic opportunities. Participants have highlighted that it is also a province well known for discriminating against other groups. One resident points out that when he visits other provinces he feels guilty about telling people where he comes from.

Residents have expressed different views with regard to the new South Africa. Some have shown a sense of pride and loyalty to their country, and some have shown a sense of understanding of the difficulties faced by the government.

There have been positive developments and some new changes; for instance, in the RDP housing project for the first time people are getting free houses; in the restructuring of old-age pension funds for the first time all the people are getting equal benefits.

In their statements, participants also urge the government to root out crime in society. Residents have argued that this government has good ideas about developing South Africa, but they still need a sound strategy to implement those plans. Residents have criticised those people who decided to leave South Africa for other countries, claiming that this country needs people who are united and dedicated. and have no intentions of leaving South Africa.

Some residents have claimed that things are worse than they were before. They say that during apartheid things were better and people had jobs. In the new South Africa they state that many people have lost their jobs and are living in poverty. They say that there is a lot of corruption in this new government. They point out that all over South Africa old-age pension funds are stolen and evidence has shown that some government official are involved in these scandals.

This group of residents also highlighted disruptions at schools around the country. The government is blamed because punishment was abolished and children are taking advantage of that. Participants say that teachers are unable to control the situation; instead they became victims of crime. Criminals and gangster are using the schools during their fights.

This group has also claimed that the justice system itself is not doing its work properly. If a person has committed a crime and is taken to jail, the next day the same person is out of jail; there are many criminal offences that are not reported because people feared about their safety. Things will improve when the death penalty is reinstated; all criminals who killed people will be totally removed from our society (Kylemore FG).

With regard to services, residents who are living in the townships have expressed the same problems. First, they complain about the collection of refuse in their areas. They say that treatment is not the same as in white areas. In the white areas the refuse is collected on a daily basis and their places are clean. In Kayamandi and Oliver Tambo residents claimed that there are no streetlights and their areas are dark during the night.

Local people have reported that their places are no longer safe because new people are coming to stay in their areas. Residents from middle- and upper-income areas have similar views on this. They blamed people who are newcomers for disrupting their areas with crime, violence, gangsterism and many other problems.

In Kayamandi residents have reported that before the coming of people from squatter camps, the place was quiet and there was less violence and the whole area was clean. In the current situation we heard that people are raped including children and we heard sound of guns. It is also very difficult to see the whole area, because it is surrounded by informal settlements.

There are many tourists who come to Stellenbosch, but they are unable to visit Kayamandi because of this. They say that the new people here in Kayamandi do not care about the place and keeping it clean. Everything is in mess and, worst of all; the children are playing in such conditions (Kayamandi FG).

In Kylemore residents have blamed the local government for the fact that people are coming to stay in the area. They say that these people are now living in the new RDP houses. Even farm owners are adding to this problem; they forced people who are living on their farms to come and stay here.

Residents here also have the same problem of crime as the people in Kayamandi. Similarly as in Kayamandi, there are no streetlights and other services need immediate attention; it is very rare for local government to take action.

Residents from Kayamandi and Wellington FG have blamed the Democratic Party, which is leading the whole province, for lack of progress in their areas. Some residents claimed that they never visit and see the situation in their areas. They say that apartheid is still continuing in the Boland area.

The latter view was supported during the discussion with residents from the Oliver Tambo informal settlement. They claim that when they search for jobs, companies and some business people told them that they do not have jobs for blacks.

In Stellenbosch the residents from Kayamandi and Kylemore have expressed the same views about the way Stellenbosch people are treating people from their areas. According to the residents, they felt excluded from the Stellenbosch identity. But the black people have expressed the view that they are the most affected or excluded the most in Stellenbosch. They say that the reason for this may be that they do not speak Afrikaans and the Coloured people still have more opportunities because they are sharing the same language.

4.7 Comparison between Stellenbosch and Wellington

It is the main objective of this study to compare the situation of these two neighbouring towns. The two towns have a distinct history and a beautiful landscape surrounded by mountains and they have in common certain historical symbols portray the images of the apartheid system.

During our discussion with the residents it became clear that they felt strongly that the two towns belong together under the Boland area. Similarly, leaders themselves expressed the same attitude about the towns.

There are quite a number of themes that I have identified from the focus group narratives. The comparison of the two towns is shaped by these themes. I will first examine the language issue in the two towns. From the leader's opinions, language (particularly Afrikaans) has an important value in the culture and history of the towns.

Residents have also shown no doubt that Afrikaans is the dominant language in Stellenbosch and Wellington. Some residents and leaders have demonstrated that they felt excluded because of use of Afrikaans at all levels.

Accordingly, non-Afrikaans speakers have been left out of consideration on all levels. For instance, the University of Stellenbosch gives its lectures in Afrikaans and those students who cannot speak the language dropout of their studies.

Despite language problems in these areas, the situation got worse when white teachers refuse to allow their students to interact with coloured students. Coloured participants reported that, in Wellington white teachers are very reluctant to come to coloured schools during school events. In other words, they do not want to mix with other racial groups.

With regard to service delivery, residents have reported that treatment is still not the same in both Stellenbosch and Wellington. As far as development is concerned, in Stellenbosch residents have argued that their local areas are underdeveloped; only Stellenbosch central gets the opportunities.

The RDP housing project has been highlighted only in Kylemore as a main development initiated by the local government. The area of Kayamandi has many people, but there is still a shortage of services such as schools, clinics and more police security. In Wellington residents from the Oliver Tambo informal settlement have reported that there are no schools, no clinic and no police station in their area.

In Wellington similar reports have been made on the RDP housing project as a new development initiative. But some residents object to the fact that only black people will first get the RDP houses. The situation with regard to housing is not the same in Stellenbosch; only coloured people mentioned the RDP housing project. In Wellington, according to residents, only Black people are getting the houses.

In both towns crime is increasing, according to statements from the residents and leaders. In Stellenbosch the high rate of crime in the areas originates from the unemployment situation and the coming of new people to the town. In Stellenbosch residents have reported serious crimes like killing, rape, domestic violence, illegal selling of alcohol and drug smuggling.

In Wellington residents have reported that young people are leaving school and becoming gangsters. But residents have also revealed that the area has lately been becoming even less secure, because they have seen new faces. In other words Wellington is still better off compared to the situation in Stellenbosch.

In summary, both towns are still facing many problems; some of these differ from town to town, but only slightly. But the two towns still share a very distinct history and values stemming from the legacy of apartheid. Forms of racism and discrimination are still reported even under the new democratic government. The treatment of residents has not yet changed from what it was in the past. White areas are still regarded as better off areas than others in both towns are.

It is therefore not easy to distinguish which town is better off than the other. The above statements from the leaders also make it very difficult to draw a conclusion. For instance, in both Stellenbosch and Wellington leaders have claimed that the towns have their own distinctive history and cultural features.

Furthermore, only those who share these cultural features are included in the identity of the two towns. It is shocking during this time of transformation to hear people who are said to represent people say things such as “we Afrikaner people are sharing common cultural features with coloured people, but black people have the culture of their own”.

To conclude, I hypothesised that, at local level, people will display multiple identities in relation their current situation (the restructuring process) in local government. Some of these identities (racial, ethnic and cultural identities) will challenge the legitimacy of this new local government since they will be based on old forms of identification. It has been noted in the literature that these identities are seen to be more resistant to change than identities based on other criteria.

Furthermore, these identities have been identified as underlying ethnic conflicts between groups (e.g. Rwanda and Burundi). Finally, new identities have been found such as global, criminal, employment, geographical identities etc.

These identities have been constructed from below and, participants reported that their local areas experienced decline in social values; violence and intolerance among groups. In future, these identities need to be carefully researched to influence policy-makers regarding the outcomes they strive for.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSIONS AND SUMMARY

5.1.1 Introduction

Nothing much has been said about provincial and national identities. There were divided voices concerning the two. One group was concerned about the economic situation of the Western Cape Province. It was felt that, though the economy is still better compared to other provinces, it is declining. This decline in services and other infrastructures is associated with corruption and the employment of under-qualified people.

The multiple identities set out in the previous section do not derive from a singular over-arching identity construction. People have displayed a number of multiple identities in multiple contexts. Individuals are not normally limited to a single locus of ethnic identity, nor does some kind of ethnic identity always count.

Ethnic origin is not inevitably the one "difference which makes a difference." There are also signs of the growth of identities based on other social groupings and defined by other kinds of boundaries. Among these, identities based on work and on locality may be among the most important non-ethnic options.

5.1.2 Language identity

In both two towns Language was a salient feature among all residents in the process of identity formation. But language identity needs to be clearly defined as to whether it is positive or negative. Evidence from this research shows that this identity entails discrimination against other groups. The Afrikaans language is regarded as a resource and the existence of minority group becomes invisible in a visible privileged majority.

In the analysis I pointed out that the value of this language has created a cultural bond between the two towns. But this kind of cultural bond does exclude minority cultures. In trying to understanding the language relations in these two towns, it is worth noting that the literature has revealed a similar dilemma according to the work of Heller among Franco-Ontarian people.

In these two towns there are two language groups that are in conflict, Afrikaner and Xhosa people. There is also the English language, which is owned by nobody but used as an official language in South Africa. Afrikaner people have shown their complete confidence in the use of Afrikaans in these areas.

In the first place, this language has value insofar as it permits its speakers to utilise the economic, political and social resources which they require. Accordingly, Afrikaans remains as a dominant language in all spheres of local government.

It has been demonstrated that leaders have a great influence in the use of language as an emblem of ethnicity or group identity. On the other hand, Afrikaans is supposed to symbolise a distinctive Boland Afrikaner society and to embody its particular values, which reflect a common past (and thereby lays the basis of a common future).

It is meant to impart a sense of belonging, which binds individuals to the group and to legitimate Afrikaners' claim to the territory of Western Cape. In other words, it is also used explicitly as a criterion of inclusion and exclusion in subtle everyday ways.

Second, the Xhosa people felt that the use of the Afrikaans language at local government administrations, educational institutions and other places of public interest still undermine their interests and their full participation in the economy

of the Province. During focus group discussions residents stated explicitly that this kind of assimilation to the dominant language is not the choice of a person, but is a process that is enforced to them.

In this instance, the views of the Black participants do not mean that the use of Afrikaans must be eliminated. The concern here is that there should be a language that will satisfy the interests of all residents, or there should be a balance in terms of group representatives at all the administrative levels.

Under these circumstances, the language is more than a medium of communication; it is a symbol of ethnic identity and it has a defining value, which is a prerequisite for 'authentic' group membership.

5.1.2 Criminal identity

Criminal identity has been reported as an important identity that affects all residents' lives. It is noted that not only those who are unemployed are suffering the consequences, but so do those from low-income to upper-income group. Reports on the crime rate have made the residents uncomfortable.

Reports from middle- and upper-class participants indicate that they feel that their sense of belonging is endangered. It is the presence of the new arrivals in the area, the drug smugglers and others that is regarded as the main indicator of this dilemma. In this regard, the suggestion has been made that there should be a community-based police force and proper infrastructure and change management at the police stations.

5.1.3 Employment

Employment identity, or identification with one's work, is not a new phenomenon, but it becomes more salient during times of little economic growth and low employment. People without a job are likely to suffer "identity problems," whether

or not they suffer from the lack of a wage. Some of these problems stem from the fact that prevailing definitions of adult responsibility and the right way to live are closely linked to a job in the formal economy.

South Africa is busy promoting a culture of acceptance, tolerance and equity among its citizens. The majority of people will have a good opportunity to compete for the previous posts reserved for certain people. The results of this research show that such opportunities are less likely to be found in Stellenbosch and Wellington. As a result, the research has shown that those who were historically disadvantaged are still economically vulnerable.

In South Africa the government has introduced affirmative action in response to the above demand. Present results have revealed that there is still controversy with regard to the implementation of affirmative action. Participants (coloureds and Whites) felt that affirmative action is a new government strategy to discriminate against them.

Elsewhere in the literature similar views about affirmative actions has found among high school pupils in the Western Cape Province. In this regard, students perceived employment equity (affirmative action) as a form of reverse racism and some coloured students expressed resentment over a black and white social division that left coloureds out of the picture.

White and coloured people felt that the implementation of affirmative action poses a threat to the majority of the provincial population. In fact, the above groups (coloureds and whites) are the only ones who have more chances of getting these opportunities, since language still creates strong boundaries at all levels. The leaders show no willingness to address these problems, since their values and beliefs are very closely identified with these two towns.

5.1.4 Class division

Class divisions seem to have taken a new trend; before the democratic government it was a case of white and black, but now class divisions also exist among black people, particularly at the middle-class level. Results have shown that middle- and upper-class residents have shared common feelings about the lack of security in their areas due to the arrival of new people. It has also noted that even among middle and upper class residents it is very unlikely that one will see mutual partnerships or social interaction.

In these areas class division has taking two different directions. First, it exists because of the new social integration. But it can be argued that the association of violence with the arrival of the new people raises two difficulties:

First, their fear is very discriminatory in the sense that they believe the new people are the only ones who commit crime and there is no valid evidence to prove that. Furthermore, people who are living in poverty or in the informal settlements carry this kind of stigma. Poverty carries a derogatory meaning, so it does not easily provide a basis for collective identities. Furthermore, the chances are good that newcomers to an area will be treated as the scapegoats against whom hostility can be directed.

A new trend regarding this discrimination by middle class against the working class and new immigrant groups is that it has become non-racial. Whereas earlier this discrimination was largely white against other racial groups, it is now found within the coloured and black groups.

Second, it exists because of the past social stratification. With the present democratic government, people are now allowed to live anywhere in South Africa as long as they possess citizenship status. The cause of the second division among these groups originated from past ideologies of divide and rule. The

Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress adopted at the 50th Conference in Mafikeng in 1997 analysed the class nature of apartheid exploitation as follows:

In class terms, apartheid ensured that blacks occupied the lowest rungs of colonial capitalism: as the unemployed and landless rural masses, as unskilled and semi-skilled workers, as professionals squashed between the rock of poverty and the glass ceiling of job reservation, and as petty business operators confined to spaza retail trade and a disorganized mini-bus sector... but never at the heart of the country's industry. Ranged against them, yet feeding on their condition, was a collection of white classes and strata: workers, the middle strata, small business and, particularly, the monopoly capitalists (Magubane, 2001: 33)

Residents have revealed that white people show no interest in community participation. There is still a lack of trust among these people. Inter-racial trust has been considered as a critical challenge facing communities attempting to build social capital; it is a fact that this is simply harder to do in places that are more diverse.

The measure of inter-racial trust looks at the extent to which different racial groups (whites, blacks, coloureds and others) trust one another and is thus one proxy for the health of inter-racial relations in a community. The free movement of people from different races has caused fear among white people. The middle- and upper-class people share similar opinions about forms of violence that are escalating to their areas.

5.1.5 Cultural identity

Cultural identity: the study results reveal that cultural identity is important among all the groups. The importance of this identity is still based on the old forms of cultural difference. This identity is based on language, geographic region, sports and abilities. Identifying with towns has often appeared as dominant among the coloured and white people. The cultural heritage and the beautiful landscape of mountains and wine lands are part of this identity.

White and coloured focus groups do agree with their local leaders that both towns have an incredible natural environment and a unique cultural tradition, and neither of them mentioned the towns as belonging to the Western Cape other than the Boland area. But other groups only identify themselves with their living areas, claiming that they are excluded from the cultural identity of the two towns.

In other words, cultural acceptance is still at stake; leaders are to be blamed for this, since they reported that each group has a culture of their own. Cultural activities that include all cultural groups were not reported in either the focus group discussions or the interviews.

Human solidarity requires the convergence of various cultures within the scope of human civilisation, interacting without clashing and enriching one another. No culture is closed by nature, or inclined towards violence. However, cultures that feel threatened may resort to self-defence when doors are slammed in their face, thus facing exclusion and renunciation with counter-rejection

5.1.6 Global identity

Global identities seem to impact negatively on local cultures. Participants have reported that changes in their lives have not been for the better. They blame global markets for the poor economic growth in the country. The effects of

modernisation have also led the state to modernise its resources at all levels. During this process people who do not understand these global changes tend to develop defensive identities and resist change.

In the literature global identities have been identified among Norwegian people in that young people want to be modern. It was assumed that the reaction of young people against old cultural value systems may in fact imply that young people want to change from the harsh and inflexible old life style to new modern life style.

A body of International research has emphasised that for any proposal to have legitimacy for all concerned, it must be related to various religious, cultural, and legal traditions. If this can be done, globalisation and universalisation will not be perceived as a Western or American imposition on the rest of humankind. Globalisation will be accepted as a way to modernise and enlarge each tradition, while allowing it to remain faithful to its roots.

Finally, participants have also constructed identities for the empowerment and betterment of their areas. Elsewhere in the discussions they mentioned some initiatives that aimed at educating people in various domains. One informant highlighted those measures to educate people about HIV / AIDS and other opportunist diseases are being undertaken.

5. 2 Limitations of the study

This study has clearly highlighted that the sample was drawn from the three former group areas (coloured, black and white people). Due to financial constraints, one group was not included in the study, the white group from Wellington. As the research has revealed that there were many complaints from other groups about the white group in the town, it was difficult to verify such complaints, as the research lacks data from the white group.

The timing of this research was very awkward since during the interviews some informants were unable to make themselves available due to other commitments. Some informants refused to participate in the research for political reasons related to the local government elections that were going to take place.

Finally, the participation of the youth in this research was not adequate; mainly parents dominated the study. During discussions young people who participated in the research were uncomfortable about expressing themselves in front of their parents.

5.3 Recommendation(s)

It is highly advantageous to examine the exploration of local identity among the youth. In the future the youth must be carefully studied as their responses to identity construction could add more weight to these discussions, since they were identified as victims in this arena of global changes were. Finally, young people need to be grouped separate from their parents.

5.4 Conclusion

In the light of the above findings, the socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political aspects of the project of identity construction at local level have been revealed. Some of these aspects are creations from past stereotypes (based on racial, ethnic and cultural bigotry). Due to the continuation of these identities, residents and their leaders still maintain mixed feelings about transformation in these areas.

It is also imperative to highlight the fact that, despite these difficulties, residents have shown a spirit of nation building. But this spirit needs to be enhanced through a top-down approach. The people at local level need dedicated leaders who will disseminate extensive information on how new government strategies

(such as affirmative action, structural changes, etc.) are working, since some of their complaints are related to these changes.

According to these findings, leaders have shown insufficient interest in dealing with things that matters at grassroots level. They are still bound by political differences, which tend to make them emphasise group preferences. The existing ethnic identities may also resist the new official identity, if it does not conform to already prevailing values. This is especially so when an ethnic identity is part of a minority within the polity. This situation has had a severe impact on attempts to build unity in diversity.

Furthermore, the attitude displayed by these leaders has also led to residents creating sub-regional identities rather than provincial and national identities. Very few of the leaders broadened their discussions to include provincial matters. These identities were often constructed in terms of the Boland areas.

Presumably this sub-regional identification may be taken as a primary identity, since it appeared frequently among both residents and the leaders. This composition of a sub-regional identity includes elements of ethnicity, belief systems, chosen governance systems, and genuine pride of place. Regardless of the growth of this identity, or whether it entails a negative or positive impetus, all of the participants have revealed sentiments of pride in and loyalty to their areas.

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