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PROJECT PROPOSAL

COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH COMPETITION

JOHN D. AND CATHERINE T. MACARTHUR FOUNDATION

Research program
Global security and sustainability

Research topic
Reconceptualizing human rights, citizenship, and identity

Title of project
*Globalization, issues of identity and the implications for governance
and democratization in the post-apartheid South Africa*

Contents

Cover Sheet

1. Details of project

1.1   *Institution:*   University of South Africa
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Other participating institutions:
In South Africa: Universities of Pretoria, Stellenbosch, the Free State, Vista and the North (the latter two are historically black universities), the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), the Technicon Pretoria and Institute for a Democratic South Africa (IDASA - an NGO). These institutions will all contribute personnel and research infrastructure.
In other countries: Universities of Denver, Yale, Ohio State, Indiana at Pennsylvania, all in the USA, and McGill University in Canada. University of Groningen, The Netherlands and Lancaster University, Britain. Individual researchers from these universities will work on the project – they have all done research in South Africa.

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1.3   *Project leader:*   Elirea Bornman
D.Litt. et Phil. (Social Psychology) – Senior lecturer, Department of Communication, University of South Africa, Female; White, SA citizen. Areas: Specialist in intercultural communication, identity studies, international communication and research methodology.

1.4   *Project Advisory Board:*

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Donald M. Taylor   Ph.D. (Political Science); Professor in Political Science, McGill University, Canada, Male, Canadian citizen, Areas: Politics of identity, comparative political science.

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Members at South African institutions:

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Robert Mattes	Ph.D. (Political Science); Program Manager, Public Opinion Service, Institute for Democracy In South Africa (IDASA). Male; USA citizen. Areas: Identity studies and survey methodology.
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Simon Bekker	D.Litt. et Phil. (Sociology); Professor at the University of Stellenbosch; Male; S.A. citizen. Area: identity studies.
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Liesl Korf	D. Litt. et Phil. (Psychology); senior lecturer at Vista University; Female; S.A. citizen. Area: ethnic identity / research methodology
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1.6: Proposed title of project: Globalization, issues of identity and the implications for governance and democratization in the post-apartheid South Africa

1.7 Amount requested: $427,975.00

1.8 Proposed starting date: August 2001

1.9 Duration of project: 3 years

Project summary

The beginning of the 21st century is characterized by sweeping economic, social, cultural and political changes, often referred to as globalization. Although the economic changes are pre-eminent, they are intricately interwoven with the social, cultural and political changes. For example, economic globalization is closely linked to the emergence of the "global village", cultural convergence versus cultural fragmentation and localization, and the nation state's loss of authority. Within this complex reality, modern man struggles to find personal, group, national, regional and global identity, failing which personal and societal well-being is obstructed. If on top of this complex of changes a country has experienced years of racial, ethnic and class divisions as South Africa has, decision-makers and policy-makers need research-based information over the broad and complicated spectrum of identity struggle. To date, though, most South African scholars have been ignoring the need for multidisciplinary investigation in this field and open and frank public discourse on identity issues. Moreover, the research conducted on issues of identity has apparently had little impact on policy-making.

The research proposal that follows is aimed at addressing this problem on the basis of the following questions: *What are the global, supra-national, national and local factors that influence the identity formation of South Africans and what are the implications for psychological and social well-being as well as for governance, the consolidation of democracy, national security and development?* The answers will be sought by means of seven sub-projects:

* **A theoretical and planning workshop** with a broad spectrum of interested parties and individuals, preceded by a course entitled "Cultural identity formation";

* **Analyses of available data,** amongst others those databases derived from the regular and countrywide Omnibus surveys conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council;

* A **countrywide questionnaire survey** among a representative sample of *at least* 2 200 South Africans of 18 years and older to generate a multifaceted picture of identity construction in South Africa and highlight the implications of such identity formation;

* An **investigation of three localities,** namely Cape Town, Durban and Gauteng, to establish the features of identity formation in these unique settings under the new political dispensation and world order;

* A **qualitative investigation among South African youth** in Gauteng, the Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and the Northern Province on a broad spectrum of identity issues, and later on the effect of the Internet on identity construction; and

* An investigation into the **role of print and broadcast media as well as community meetings** in identity formation.

* An analyses of the **policy implications of struggles for identity** in general as well as the implications of the findings of this study for policy making in South Africa.

Various means will be employed to disseminate the findings. Apart from media releases, presentations at conferences and publications in academic journals, information sessions will be held for policy makers. Finally, an international conference will be organized that will culminate in the publication of a book.

1. BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION

1.1 Introduction

The opening of a new century has always served as a symbolic turning point in human history (Tehranian, 1999). The 21st century is no exception. A significant feature of the present juncture is the sweeping economic, social, cultural and political changes, often referred to as globalization, that is, the gradual integration of political, economic and social space across national borders (Le Pere & Lambrechts, 1999). However, analysts warn that globalization is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. On the one hand there is the tendency towards homogeneity, synchronization, integration, unity and universalism. On the other hand, there is the propensity for localization, heterogeneity, differentiation, diversity and particularism. These processes are intricately interwoven and represent - in reality - two faces of the same coin. Thus the term "globalizations" is used to indicate that globalization is not a uniform process, but involves various terrains, manifests differently in various contexts and has different effects on people in different contexts (Kloskowska, 1998; Van Nieuwkerk, 1997; Tehranian & Tehranian, 1997).

Globalization is often exclusively associated with the economic sphere, that is, with processes of production, distribution and consumption as well as with ever-increasing global trade and financial services, primarily undertaken by transnational corporations headquartered in global cities such as New York, London, Tokyo and Singapore. These institutions transcend national frontiers and show disregard for the functions of frontiers and the autonomy of states (Le Pere & Lambrechts, 1999).

However, economic globalization is intricately interwoven with changes within the social, cultural and political spheres. The social sphere is characterized by the emergence of a global society - the so-called "global village" (McLuhan, 1964) - which is characterized by place-less, distance-less and border-less interactions that unfold in the world as a single space.

On the cultural terrain globalization has led, on the one hand, to homogenization, that is, cultural convergence. Objects, symbols, ideas, rules, worlds and habits have acquired an inter-subjective global meaning through global markets, the spread of "global English" and technological developments such as the electronic mass media and cyberspace. The growth of consumer capitalism has furthermore brought about a convergence in cultural habits and the spread of hegemonic ideas, lifestyles, popular symbols and other mass cultural products that are marketed by means of superior technology, thus creating a demand for them across the globe. Terms such as "cultural imperialism", "Americanization" and/or "Coca-Colanization" are used to refer to the spread of a hegemonic American-Western consumer culture, which is believed to gradually supplant and even obliterate local cultures. Homogenization has furthermore produced and required world-scale convergence of legal and ethical principles, the universalization of the discourse on human rights and institutional symmetry in the form of democratic so-called "nation states" (Tehranian, 1999).

Paradoxically, the cultural sphere is also characterized by increasing fragmentation and localization that become evident, amongst others, in the renewal of local solidarities - and especially ethnic solidarities - on a smaller scale (Waters, 1995). The local cultural scene is furthermore influenced by the global flow of humans associated with international trade, international tourism and political unrest. Hence the populations of even the most homogeneous states and regions are becoming more and more heterogeneous, while more people than ever before have contact with a culture or cultures different from their own and experience the problems associated with intercultural relations first hand (Featherstone, 1990). Increasing migration - also a consequence of globalization - also causes

many cultures to be no longer constrained within the borders of a single state. The term "multicultural" instead of "intercultural" is consequently often used when referring to the new cultural sphere.

Globalization furthermore has far-reaching implications for the position of the nation state, that is, the medium-sized, territorial, centralized, sovereign type of polity that has become the dominant, if not sole, form of political organization in the post-1789 era. On the one hand, each nation state is affected by the transnational mobility of capital, corporations and technology, which mobility has caused the borders between nation states to become porous, if not irrelevant. Nation states furthermore become more and more susceptible to international market forces and are not able to regulate or protect their own economies. This situation is aggravated by the fact that individual states, in order to compete effectively within the global economy, have to sacrifice at least part of their autonomy to larger political units (e.g. the European Union (EU) and Southern African Development Community (SADC)) or international organizations (e.g. the World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund). In this dialectical struggle between the parochial and the universal, the classical notion of the nation state is under siege. Such is the erosion of its political authority, legitimacy and sovereignty that some observers see its days to be numbered (Lacarrieu & Raggio, 1997; Le Pere & Lambrechts, 1999; Llobera, 1997; Wertsch, 1997).

Within this fast globalizing world with all its contradictions and uncertainties, struggles for identity have emerged as a striking characteristic of the social, cultural and political scene.

1.2 The problematic nature of identity in the age of globalization

The discourse of identity has spread rapidly within the academic world and has become the primary medium for understanding and explaining the relationship between the personal (subjective) and the social, the individual and the group, the cultural and the political, as well as the group and the state (Rouse, 1995).

On the individual level, "identity" as a definition of personhood refers to sameness or continuity of the self across time and space, as well as to uniqueness, that is, to be differentiated from other people or the whole of mankind (Baumeister, 1986; Erikson, 1968; Rouse, 1995). The psychologist Erikson, through whose work the term "identity" first gained salience, emphasizes the social environment - that is, interaction with significant others such as parents, the family group and membership groups - in individual identity development. The role of social groups was emphasized by Tajfel (1981), who holds that membership of social groups is internalized as part of the self-concept and as such forms an integral part of individual identity.

However, the term "identity" as currently used does not refer only to forms of personhood - either individual or social - but also to collectivities or groups themselves (Rouse, 1995). In this sense the term is used to refer to the sameness of people belonging to the same collectivity or group and the differences between groups or collectivities. This understanding of identity has not only been widely used in social and political theory, but is increasingly associated with the social struggles of feminists, homosexuals and lesbians, people of colour and various dominated or repressed groups.

Thus the discourse of identity has spread from the academic sphere to the centre of social and political events. The pursuits labelled "identity politics" are consequently collective, not merely individual, and public, not only private. They are struggles, not merely

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groupings. The outcomes are partially determined by power, but power relationships are also changed by these struggles. The struggles involve not only the pursuit of expression and recognition, but also of legitimacy and power. They furthermore call for a response from other people, groups and organizations (including states) (Calhoun, 1994).

One of the most striking features of the identity discourse is the relative recency of its emergence and proliferation. Bauman (2000) depicts the veritable explosion of interest in identity since the last part of the 20th century as a reflection of human experience in the age of globalization. Frankly, Bauman states, something has gone wrong with the formation of identity in the modern age. Circumstances in the modern world have not only changed the processes of identity formation, but have added new dimensions to both personal and collective identity. Indeed, the acquisition of identity has become a struggle, a quest. This struggle is waged on various levels:

The global level: Citizenship of the "global village" implies that both individuals and societies conceptualize themselves as part of a world system of societies or as part of a global community of nations. Globalization is consequently more than mere cosmopolitanism, as it implies a capacity for global self-reflection and thus for identification with world citizenship and/or total mankind (Frederick, 1993; Waters 1995). Globalization has furthermore opened various other alternatives for identity formation. Technology, and particularly the Internet, has created virtual communities that transcend time and spatial constraints and enables both individuals and groups to interact and mobilize on the basis of common interests. A global civil society has furthermore emerged that facilitates worldwide co-operation with regard to issues such as human rights, women's rights, racial equality and environmental conservation. Global mobilization is based on the belief that these issues concern all inhabitants of the world and should thus be addressed on a global level. Some groups, e.g. the "Green" and feminist movements, have mobilized so effectively on a worldwide basis that one can speak of global collectivities.

The supra-national level: As nation states are forced to become members of larger political and economic units (e.g. the European Union), they also have to ensure the commitment of their citizens to these units. Furthermore, many of these power blocks actively strive towards the forging of supra-national identities. The many recent publications on the emergence (or not!) of a European identity are sufficient evidence that people at the helm of power blocks believe that they can only become effective competitors within the global scene if they have also captured at least part of the hearts and minds of their "citizens" by providing an alternative source of collective identity.

The national level: Due to the fact that the nation state became the dominant form of political organization, citizenship of a particular state used to be an important - if not the most important - source of collective identity for many people. The term "nation" is derived from the Greek word "natio", which is associated with ethnicity and a common culture. However, only 10% of the member states of the United Nations can be described as homogeneous on the basis of ethnicity. In most other states there is a lack of convergence between the political (the state) and the cultural (the nation) - a problem that is aggravated by the human flow of migrants and political refugees characteristic of globalization. In order to comply with the characteristics of a true nation state, many heterogeneous states engage in a process of nation-building in which various means (e.g. political institutions, national symbols, the educational system as well as the media) are employed to forge an overarching national identity. Unfortunately nation-building is often

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associated with attempts to eradicate cultural diversity and with the negation of the interests of ethnic minorities. However, due to the forces of globalization, the nation state is no longer the only or principal viable political context within which citizenship and collective identity are "housed". The weakening of the authority and legitimacy of the state furthermore undermines the emotive and normative commitment to membership of a nation state. The state's monopoly over the emotive commitments of its citizens - at least on a collective level - is challenged by global pressures on the one hand and the revitalization of ethnic and other sub-national identities on the other hand (see the next section).

The sub-national level: The erosion of the legitimacy and authority of the nation state has furthermore resulted in a weakening of the association between the state and ethnicity. Ethnic and cultural minorities that have been subjugated or absorbed by the state have thus been "freed", resulting in the revitalization of ethnic and cultural loyalties and the mobilization of ethnic groups both within and across the borders of nation states. Whereas global identities and the spread of a Western consumer culture have a homogenizing effect, ethnic movements as a form of localization focus on the differences between cultures rather than on similarities. However, these movements are "global" in the way that they use modern communication technology to communicate with fellow ethnics who have migrated all over the world. Featherstone (1995) ascribes the revitalization of ethnicity to the increasing internationalization characteristic of globalization. The growing intensity of contact and communication between nation states and other agencies as well as the clashing of cultures resulting from an increase in human flow have led to greater awareness of diversity and have intensified attempts to draw boundaries between the self and others. Intensified globalization consequently provokes reactions that seek to rediscover particularity, localism and difference. Kloskowska (1998) furthermore believes that, despite the forces of globalization, ethnic cultures still provide the framework for major, and particular early, human experiences. Although global and supra-national identities may play an important role, they do not provide a secure basis for the development of identity. As global citizenship also clashes with the sovereignty of nation states, the only remaining identity is that of the blood brother, ethnic cohort, communal kinswoman or tribal clansman (Le Pere & Lambrechts, 1999). However, it is not only cultural and religious identities that have become sites of localization and fragmentation. Regional and religious identities have also become ways in which groups and communities resist the hegemony of global processes (Tehranian, 1999).

The individual level: In traditional societies individuals' identities have been based largely on their position within the social hierarchy that, in turn, has been determined primarily by birth. However, after the dissolution of traditional hierarchies and the widespread acceptance of the principle of the equality of all people, individuals have to acquire identity through their own efforts (Bauman, 2000). Identity formation has thus become a task; a task that is often accompanied by high levels of anxiety. Identification with social groups is, furthermore, complicated by the increasing prevalence of the idea that individual identity is a product of self-construction, open to free choice and not simply given by birth or divine will. Hence it has become much harder for people to establish who they are, that is, to decide who the group is (Calhoun, 1994). Although globalization has increased the options for identification on a personal and collective level, it has also contributed towards the fragmentation of identity. The forces associated with identity formation are no longer restricted to local space, but have their origin on different levels, ranging from the local to the global. Individuals' identity has consequently become a complex mixture of both local and global elements. Whereas the term "identity"

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implies continuity, that is, a solid basis on which people anchor themselves, the rapid changes of the modern age have also eroded most of the bases on which people used to anchor their identity (Bauman, 2000).

1.3 The consequences and policy implications of struggles for identity

The consequences of the problems related to identity formation are emerging on various fronts. Probably the most conspicuous are the worldwide proliferation of claims for group and cultural rights, separatist movements and fratricidal conflict due to the revival of ethnic solidarities. Events in Ethiopia, Rwanda, Burundi, Kosovo, Turkey, the states of the former Soviet Union and Sri Lanka demonstrate the potency of communities of blood and ethnicity to instigate group mobilization and destructive conflict. Moreover, in recent years the world has seen the formation of several new states in the former Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and other parts of the world.

Analysts believe that it is extremely difficult to sustain stable democracies in heterogeneous states (Mattes, 1999). First, a lack of consensus about national identity can bring about a crisis of national legitimacy, that is, a sense among certain sections of society that the defined national community is "inappropriate", that they are forced to be members of it and that it is an inappropriate object of their loyalty. Plural societies may also inhibit popular consensus on the larger constitutional system due to the conflicting value systems of the different groups. Perceptions regarding the legitimacy of the government might also be affected. In a heterogeneous society, those who perceive themselves as members of the group that holds power will identify much easier with the government, whereas groups on the periphery of power often feel marginalized. Although democracy calls for a civil society, plural societies often engender "uncivil" or negative intergroup and interpersonal relations as society is categorized into "ingroups" and "outgroups". Plural societies are furthermore said to encounter difficulty in effecting a widely held sense of citizenship, that is, loyalty to the state and willingness to comply with the rules of citizenship. The fact that the historical records of heterogeneous states indeed point to the difficulty to sustain democratic practices brings Mattes to the conclusion that the study of democratization in the modern age calls for attention being given to identity issues.

Less attention has been given to the consequences of identity struggles on the societal and individual level than on the political level. However, there are indications that the consequences might be at least as serious as the political consequences. For example, the experience in Africa indicates that development projects often fails because the cultural identities of communities are not sufficiently taken into account (Castells, 1998). Furthermore, a recent migration study at the HSRC indicates that migrants often belong to disempowered groups in their country of origin (Unpublished data, HSRC). On the individual level, research evidence points to the fact that identity formation, and identification with social groups in particular, might be linked to factors related to psychological and social well-being such as self-image (Phinney, Chavira & Tate, 1993), juvenile delinquency and decision-making with regard to issues such as AIDS, the owning and use of weapons, and nature conservation (Foster, 1997). Disruption of identity formation on these levels may thus be associated with violence on various societal levels, and crime, instability and insecurity on the individual as well as the societal and political levels.

Safran (1991) reasons that diversity does not necessarily need to imply the weakening of democracy, intergroup tension and violent conflict in heterogeneous societies. Effective policies to accommodate diverse interests could defuse potential communal strife and conflict. Issues of identity should furthermore be taken into account when formulating economic and development, cultural, educational, social, media and telecommunications policies.

2. GLOBALIZATION, ISSUES OF IDENTITY AND SOUTH AFRICA

Most analysts are unanimously of the opinion that South Africa can be regarded as a deeply divided and heterogeneous society (De la Rey, 1991; Horowitz, 1991; Van den Berghe, 1990). There is furthermore little disagreement about the fact that apartheid has left South Africa even more divided than inherent differences warranted, as apartheid accentuated racial, ethnic and class differences and set group against group; not only Black against White, but also Black against Black, Coloured against Indian, and so forth (Coetzee & Wood, 1993).

That is as far as the unanimity goes, at least in the last few decades of the apartheid system. During the 1970s and 1980s South African scholars profoundly differed on the nature of social differences and the reasons for the conflict during the apartheid era - possibly because the apartheid system isolated and confined the ideas of its supporters and opponents alike. The American sociologist Horowitz (1991:29) commented as follows on the scholarly debate in South Africa during this era: "... there is a belief (in South Africa) that talking about ethnicity creates or reinforces ethnic divisions even when the talk is directed at how to prevent such divisions from overwhelming a future democratic state."

Horowitz (1991) distinguishes two levels of conflict during this era. First, there was the real conflict between the apartheid government and its opponents. Second, there was the meta-conflict, that is, the conflict about the conflict. Horowitz furthermore points out that, although other heterogeneous societies also differ in their construction of the nature of intergroup conflict and how it should be addressed, these differences are nowhere as deep-seated and far-reaching as in South Africa in the years preceding the advent of a new political dispensation.

The meta-conflict has had serious consequences. Scholars avoided research related to the cultural, ethnic and racial identities of South Africans (Bekker, 1999). On a political level, the meta-conflict resulted in certain issues having been more complex in South Africa than in other heterogeneous societies (Horowitz, 1991). First, an open discourse on issues related to group differentiation - and especially ethnicity - has not been allowed. Furthermore, the number and variety of solutions and strategies to deal with heterogeneity were restricted which, in turn, became a stumbling block for political opponents attempting to find creative solutions so as to accommodate various interests. Moreover, the lack of research and intellectual discourse prevented a full and multifaceted understanding of the issues at hand.

With the advent of a new political dispensation in 1994 - the most important political development of the 1990s - South Africa was once again accepted into the world society and thus became part of a fast globalizing world marked by paradoxical tendencies and impulses. On the one hand, the country now stands before the challenge to deal with the demands of increasing globalization and to compete within the global capitalistic system (Le Pere, 1997). The new government is consequently forced to form new modes of

allegiance to and identification with the abstracted international community and to negotiate its national identity in the light of its international relations. In order to be able to compete effectively in the global economy and with other international power blocks, Southern African and African countries are also forced to form power blocks such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC). In doing so, the government is also surrendering at least part of its authority and legitimacy - as well as the commitment of its citizens - to these power blocks. The coming to power of a Black government and the formation of the SADC have furthermore reaffirmed political, social and psychological ties with Africa and many South Africans are increasingly perceiving themselves as an integral part of the African continent and thus see Africanism and/or Pan-Africanism as an important component of their identity. Hence the notion of an African Renaissance that envisions the social, political and economic reformation of Africa on the basis of African values and culture.

On the other hand, the new political dispensation has brought the negotiation and reconciliation of heterogeneity and citizenship - i.e. loyalty to the state versus loyalty to subgroups - to a head, resulting in the invention of the "new South Africa" (Le Pere & Lambrechts, 1999). New images are being advanced that emphasize the market, democracy, individual rights and liberties, technocratic rationality in public policy and universal values. Furthermore, government has become preoccupied with nation-building and emphasizes a common South Africanness as embodied in new national symbols and the notion of the "rainbow nation".

However, Horowitz (1991) warns that a democratic dispensation is no guarantee that loyalty to ethnic, racial and/or religious groups will diminish. Events after the Civil Rights Movement in the USA serve as evidence that ethnic, racial and other groups can remain self-aware entities and can mobilize with even more legitimacy and autonomy within the new non-hierarchical political system. In becoming part of the international world, South Africa is furthermore exposed to the worldwide centripetal tendencies associated with ethnic revival and communal strife. Moreover, on a grassroots level these groups probably continue to fulfil important emotional and social needs of their members. In the new non-hierarchical society, people may even experience a greater need to identify with contrasting entities, to emphasize social borders and to confirm their ethnic and/or racial identity. Identity formation is furthermore complicated by the establishment of new forms of provincial and local government that, on the one hand, create new opportunities for sub-national identification and, on the other hand, could transcend ethnic, cultural, racial and religious differences.

Political and social transformation - in South Africa and globally - also brought about change in the South African scholarly community and elicited renewed interest, albeit grudgingly among some, in issues of identity (Bekker, 1999). Since the early 1990s, several academic conferences focussing specifically on identity issues in South Africa re-established the legitimacy of the subject in academic circles. Several research studies within and across disciplines have also been undertaken (see Bekker, 1999). Various reasons can be advanced for the change of heart. More contact with the international academic community has brought the realization that identity-related struggles are a worldwide phenomenon and that studies of identity have become a recognized field of study within a wide range of disciplines. Furthermore, developments within South Africa have emphasized the fact that the advent of a new political dispensation has not miraculously brought an end to all the country's problems, that issues of identity have become even more complicated within the new global environment, and that there is an urgent need for research-based information to enable scholars to make informed inputs to decision-making and policy-making.

The results of research since the early 1990s indeed indicate the need for research in this field. A number of studies undertaken by researchers from a variety of disciplines point to the fact that - despite the government's emphasis on unity - ethnic, cultural, language and religious groups have remained important components of the identity structures of most South Africans (Bornman, 1995, 2000; Mattes, 1994, 1997; Prinsloo & De la Rey, 1999). It appears that language in particular remains one of the most important denominators of sub-national identities in South Africa. It has furthermore become clear that the relationships between identification with sub-groups and the national identity and between these and democratic consolidation in South Africa are far more complex than ever anticipated. Studies undertaken by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) found that the majority of South Africans identified strongly with South Africa and were proud to be called South Africans (Bornman, 2000). However, minority groups such as Indians and Afrikaans- and English-speaking Whites showed a lack of identification with the notion of the "rainbow nation" and other national symbols. Furthermore, whereas most Blacks apparently do not experience any conflict between identification with South Africa, the "rainbow nation" and their ethnic and language groups, the relationship between these identities is much more complex for minorities such as Indians, Afrikaans- and English-speaking Whites as well as for one or two of the smaller Black language groups (Mattes, 1997; HSRC, unpublished data).

Research has furthermore highlighted the far-reaching effects that identity struggles could have on governance and the consolidation of democracy in South Africa. Alienation from the political system and dissatisfaction with the way democracy works in South Africa were, for example, detected among especially Indians and Afrikaans-speaking Whites. Furthermore, political alienation correlated significantly with various attitudinal and behavioural variables such as intention to emigrate and disinclination to participate in elections (HSRC, unpublished data).

Although scholarly engagement with issues of identity has made some contribution towards a better understanding of the issues at hand during the last few years, certain voids can be identified:

* Most South African scholars have been working in isolation, focussing on their individual interests within the disciplines in which they were trained. Despite interacting in respect of their work with one another at conferences, no concerted effort has been made to date to conduct a multidisciplinary investigation into the very complex and multifaceted problems associated with identity struggles in this country.

* Due perhaps to the fact that South African academics have also been isolated during the apartheid era, co-operation between local and international scholars on these issues has been scarce. South African scholars, and consequently also decision and policy makers, have consequently not gained sufficiently from the international experience with regard to the issues at hand.

* Despite the academic discourse on issues of identity since the 1990s, an open and frank public discourse on the issues at hand is still absent in South Africa.

* Furthermore, the research conducted on issues of identity in South Africa has apparently had little impact on policy making. Dialogue and co-operation between scholars, people in leadership positions and policy-makers are direly needed.

3. RESEARCH PROBLEM

All facets and sub-projects of the proposed project will be directed by the following research question:

What are the global, supra-national, national and local factors influencing the identity formation of South Africans and what are the implications for psychological and social well-being as well as for governance, the consolidation of democracy, national security and development?

4. RESEARCH PROGRAMME

A number of sub-projects have been identified to address the research problem. They are the following:

4.1 Theoretical and planning workshop

The project will start with a workshop to which all the members of the various research teams, the international advisors and collaborators, leaders and members of important groups and communities in South Africa, policy-makers as well as students and young researchers from the participating institutions will be invited. Prior to the workshop, Prof. R.T. Segers of the University of Groningen in the Netherlands will present a course entitled "Cultural identity formation", to which all the workshop participants and other interested individuals will be invited. The theoretical and planning workshop is aimed at the following: To explore relevant theory within various disciplines with regard to the processes of globalization, localization and identity formation as well as the implications of these processes; to provide an opportunity for the international collaborators to meet the project teams and to give theoretical and methodological inputs at the start of the projects; to provide the opportunity for policy makers and community and group leaders to give inputs in the planning of the various sub-projects; to give the various research teams the opportunity to get acquainted with one another's projects in order to ensure that the various sub-projects complement one another; to provide the opportunity for young researchers and post-graduate students who are new to the project to decide where and how they want to participate; to achieve consensus with regard to the contingency plan of the project; and to give the various sub-project teams the opportunity to do the detailed planning of their projects.

4.2 Data mining - analyses of available data

A number of questions related to the above-mentioned research questions were included in several of the bi-annual countrywide Omnibus surveys conducted by the HSRC. In this phase the available data will be analysed in order to provide a baseline against which some of the survey findings of this project (see the next step in the research programme) can be compared. As data from before and after 1994 are available, it will also be possible to establish tendencies and changes in identification patterns as well as attitudes and perceptions with regard to nation-building, democratization and governance.

4.3 Countrywide questionnaire survey

A countrywide questionnaire survey will be undertaken among a sample of *at least* 2 200 South Africans of 18 years and older.

Multistage cluster sampling will be employed to draw a random sample that will cover both urban and rural areas in all nine provinces of South Africa and will include all the major racial, ethnic, language and religious groups. Due to the fact that large portions of the South African population are illiterate and do not own telephones, questionnaires will be completed during personal interviews conducted by interviewers trained by the research team. As far as possible the interviews will be conducted in the vernacular languages of the respondents.

In developing the questionnaire, the researchers will attempt to develop questions and scales - or to adapt scales used by international researchers - so that the contents are relevant to the South African reality. As far as possible, scales will be pre-tested on samples of students to ensure that reliable and valid measuring instruments are used in the final questionnaire. The questionnaire will be finalized by a panel consisting of the two project leaders and a multidisciplinary core research team, whose members have extensive experience of quantitative research within the fields covered by the project. However, members of all the other research teams will be invited to submit to the panel questions relevant to their field of study. Students and young researchers interested in quantitative research in the designated fields will also be invited to participate in the questionnaire survey under the supervision of the more experienced members of the panel.

In analysing the data and interpreting the results, the various researchers will focus on specific issues related to their fields of interest. However, their various focuses will be integrated in order to generate a multifaceted picture of identity construction in South Africa and its implications. Where possible, the results will be compared with previous results in order to pinpoint tendencies and changes over time. The results of the survey will furthermore provide baseline data with which the findings of the other sub-projects can be compared and relativized.

The following issues will be covered in the questionnaire: Relevant demographic and socio-economic variables; media and Internet usage patterns; identification with various global identities such as global feminism, virtual communities centred on personal interests, etc.; identification with and attitudes and opinions concerning the African Renaissance, Pan-Africanism, etc.; identification with South Africa as a country and the South African nation (the so-called "rainbow nation"); identification with and attitudes towards South African national symbols; the role of the media and other technologies such as the Internet in the formation of the identities of South Africans; identification with sub-groups such as racial, ethnic, language and religious groups; the roles that various identities play in the lives of individuals and collectivities, and the value attached to these identities; attitudes towards fellow South Africans belonging to other racial, ethnic or religious groups, e.g. overt and subtle racism; attitudes towards democracy as a form of government and perceptions of the state and democratization in South Africa; identification with versus alienation from the South African state; loyalty towards the South African government and the state as reflected in various attitudinal and behavioural correlates, e.g. involvement in civil society, political participation, intentions to emigrate, etc.; attitudes towards the (potential) formation of Southern African and/or African power blocks; attitudes towards and perceptions of the policies of the South African government concerning cultural, religious and minority issues as well as economic and developmental issues; as well as attitudes towards and perceptions of the international world and international organizations such as the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, etc.

4.4 The emergence of new identities: An investigation of three cities

In the past, the identities of South Africans were generally described by race and ethnicity. Since 1994, research has focussed mainly on the question whether a new national identity and the dream of a "rainbow nation" are bridging the deep racial and other divides of the past. The implication appears to be that South Africans have two options only: To belong together to a new nation, or to be divided by the cleavages of the past. However, this implication hinders the investigation of the possibility that South Africans might have multiple identities and/or might develop new identities which may be based neither on historically inherited labels nor on national sentiment, and which could widen or bridge the divisions of the past.

Whereas South African cities were deeply divided by the Group Areas Act during the apartheid era, new systems of provincial government as well as the formation of unitary city and town councils have opened the way for the emergence of new regional and local identities that could transcend the divisions of the past. However, processes of localization and hybridization, as well as differences in access to economic, political and information resources, may create new differences and forms of inclusion and exclusion that, in turn, may give rise to contending identities.

This sub-project will focus on "old" as well as emerging identities in a number of South African cities and the towns and rural areas in their hinterlands as well as the social, economic and political processes playing a role in the construction of identities. Because people typically construct multiple identities, the study will also investigate under what circumstances particular identities become primary identities. The following cities will be covered:

* *Cape Town*, the capital of the Western Cape, became a major centre of resistance against apartheid as the large proportion of Coloureds there - people of mixed racial origin - were hard hit and embittered by the apartheid laws. However, new forms of racism, particularism and communal strife - especially between Coloureds and Blacks - have emerged in the new dispensation. A possible reason could be competition for work opportunities and other resources. Moreover, economic activities in this city have recently been disrupted by a series of bomb attacks by extremist groups. However, the beautiful city of Cape Town and its surroundings are a major tourist attraction, and pride in their province, city and/or towns might well become a strong binding factor for Capetonians.

* *Durban* is the capital of KwaZulu-Natal, a province torn apart by extremely violent fratricidal conflict between supporters of the ANC and IFP (all Zulu-speaking people) during apartheid. Although various peace-keeping efforts have been relatively successful, violence still flares up from time to time in the townships and rural areas. However, KwaZulu-Natal is not only the homeland of Zulu-speaking Blacks, but also the home of a large White and the largest Indian community in South Africa. The question is whether the new system of governance is succeeding in healing the wounds of the past and whether the inhabitants of this city and province have found some common ground to build a new future.

* *Pretoria*, the administrative capital of South Africa, and *Johannesburg* are the major cities of Gauteng. Apart from being the economic hub of South Africa, Gauteng also has the most diverse population. This province is indeed the "market place" of South Africa where various racial, cultural, language and religious groups meet. The racial composition of residential areas has changed dramatically since the demise of apartheid as members of the rising Black middle and upper class have moved into formerly White residential areas. However, due to rising crime rates, new forms of "apartheid" have emerged: most houses are cordoned off with high

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walls and iron gates in order to keep intruders out. Nevertheless, economic realities - rather than racial or ethnic differences – may have forged new allegiances and identities.

After relevant background about a particular city, town or area has been gathered, two separate groups of residents will be approached within each area:

* Individual structured interviews will be conducted with *leaders* drawn from political parties, provincial and local government, business and civil society as well as prominent groups in a particular city, town or rural area. The interviews will be conducted in the preferred language of each respondent where after transcriptions will be translated into English. The leaders will be asked to identify and describe identities that are dominant or emerging among rank-and-file residents in their city, town or rural area and to expand on strategies and policies aimed at advancing particular identities. In doing so, qualitative data on processes of identity construction "from above" will be obtained.

* Qualitative focus group discussions will be conducted with *rank-and-file residents* of various groups from and of the cities, towns and rural areas under investigation. Discussions will be conducted in the preferred language of each group and transcriptions will subsequently be translated into English for analysis. Each focus group will be requested to discuss what living in their province, city, town, area or neighbourhood means to them. They will furthermore be asked what membership of particular groups means to them and when and under what circumstances particular identities become more important to them. In analysing these identity narratives, processes of identity construction "from below" will be highlighted.

The results will enable the research team to compare leaders' views and intentions regarding identity construction with processes taking place at grassroots level. In addition, when the research in all three cities and their surrounding areas has been completed, comparisons will be drawn between cities, towns and rural areas. (Prof. S.B. Bekker - the project leader - and a small research team have already conducted interviews with leaders and community groups in Cape Town and the surrounding areas. Members of this team will orient new researchers from the areas that will be investigated.)

4.5 Qualitative investigation among South African youth

The cliché, "The future belongs to the youth", has gained particular significance in South Africa (Van Zyl Slabbert et al., 1994). In 1976, certain sections of South African youth took centre stage in the struggle against apartheid and remained there throughout the unrest and strife of the 1980s and the political transformations of the 1990s. These activities had at least two major effects on South African society. On the positive side, they illustrated young people's ability to help engineer socio-political transformation. On the negative side, they contributed towards the stereotyping of youth, and especially Black youth, as "the other" or "the lost generation", as many Black youth dropped out of school and educational institutions due to their participation in the struggle. Moreover, the history of the country informed the categorization of youth in racial terms. White youth in uniform were either "fighting the total onslaught" or were the "enemies of liberation". Black youth, on the other hand, were either "lost", "rebellious" or "in the frontline of the struggle for justice and freedom".

Due to the watershed developments in the country and the world in the last decades, South African youth face an extraordinary challenge. On their shoulders rests the task to build a common future on the divisions of the past. Unlike their predecessors, they no longer live in racial and ethnic enclaves, but interact daily with members of other racial, ethnic and religious groups on various terrains. Furthermore, the lives of youth - more than those of other sections of society - are shaped by global megatrends and, in particular, by the technological revolutions that have created the "global village". Peace, stability and economic development in South Africa will be determined largely by the way in which various sections of South African youth solve these challenges.

The nature, processes and implications of identity construction among South African youth will be investigated as follows:

* Individual and focus group interviews will be conducted with students and young working people from various racial, ethnic and religious groupings in South Africa in Gauteng, the Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and the Northern Province. Discussions will be stimulated by making use of various prompts such as the national symbols of South Africa as well as images representing the "rainbow nation", the global consumer culture as well as ethnic, cultural, language and religious identities. The discussions will be conducted in each group's preferred language. Transcriptions will be translated into English and analysed qualitatively.

* In another phase of this sub-project attention will be given to the way in which the Internet influences identity construction among various groups of children. First, structured interviews will be conducted to draw comparisons between eight groups of Gauteng children (eight to ten children in each group) who use the Internet extensively and eight groups of children who have no access to the Internet. The groups will otherwise be similar with regard to language (Afrikaans, English, Nguni and Sotho) and gender. Particular attention will be given to the construction of global identities (especially a global "youth identity"), a South African identity as well as identification with and attitudes towards their own language and cultural groups and other sub-cultures. The interviews will be conducted in the language which each group prefer, translated into English and analysed qualitatively by means of content analysis. The interview data will be placed in perspective by comparing them to the survey data on Internet usage and identity construction as obtained from the countrywide questionnaire survey described in Section 6.3.

4.6. Cultural identities as sites of struggle: The role of print and broadcast media as well as community meetings

Discursive and non-discursive forms of communication are the means through which individuals and groups define themselves and their relationship to others, cultural differences become politically engaged, and diversity becomes ideologically problematic. Van Dijk (1993) holds that discourse processes are the sites of cognitive transformation and racism as well as the sites of reproduction of discursive forms and institutional influence within and across groups. Communicative forms furthermore constitute with whom, how and why people align themselves. Nationalism, sub-group identification and ideology are endemic and habitual and are reflected in discourse about what is strongly valued, moral, normal, respectable and sinful.

This sub-project will focus on the communicative means through which media institutions reinforce images of multiple cultural groups, nationalism, social norms and relationships. In addition, the ways in which community members co-construct their multiple identities as they deliberate, collaborate and experience conflict, will be described. *Print and broadcast media, group meetings,* as well as *everyday talk* are sites in which identities intersect, are contested and reinforced, and in which institutions and ideologies are reified.

The researchers will seek to categorize the ways in which national, cultural and other identities emerge and the nature of different group characteristics in mediated productions and community collaborations. They will furthermore identify the intersections and conflicts between different identities such as race, gender, ethnicity and class, amongst others, in what diverse individuals say and do and create together. They will attempt to pinpoint in the media as well as at community meetings who is speaking, who is not, who is controlling the agenda, what topics are addressed, what procedures are guiding the meeting or news event, what is produced, what/who is valued, what is the nature of the conflict, and what are the results. Ultimately they will seek to discover how group identities are enacted and portrayed, how communities with multiple group alliances and historical/structural constraints, orient themselves toward each other and the world; and how mediated forums reify particular values, ideologies and norms.

At least four communities (two urban and two rural) will be identified. After gaining access to the community and the approval of the community group, the researchers will observe, videotape and transcribe the interaction in a minimum of two public meetings for each community group. Also, community projects such as artistic exhibits, crafts, community centres and agriculture will be videotaped and/or photographed and individual community members interviewed about their impressions of collaboration and/or conflict.

Three major newspapers and three to five regional newspapers will be identified. A one-month period will be designated in which sample articles dealing with democratic deliberation, globalization, and group conflicts of interest, principle or communicative practices, will be compiled in a data set. Televised news programmes incorporating events in various regions, and talk-radio programmes will be recorded. If possible, interviews with individual group members about their interpretation of newspaper articles or media programmes will be obtained.

Analysis will proceed with the required translation and back-translation of community meetings or media discourse. All meetings, interviews and talk shows will be transcribed. Coding and interpretation of data will proceed with US and SA team members independently coding data and identifying themes of identity struggle, power and dialogue. Subsequently they will share their preliminary interpretations by e-mail. After reaching some degree of agreement, members of the research teams will meet in South Africa and finalize interpretations. After that, the team will collaborate to create educational materials, make recommendations to community development leaders as well as to public broadcasting and print media editors and producers.

4.7 Analyses of policy implications

In this subproject, a team of researchers will explore the implications of globalization and identity issues for development and economic policy as well as for governance on central, provincial and local level, human rights issues, policy concerning group-related and minority rights, multiculturalism, democratization and migrations issues. Although much of the research will be theoretical, additional empirical research, if necessary, will be conducted to explore the potential policy implications of the issues at hand. When the results of the other projects become available, this research team will assist other research teams in delineating the policy implications of their results.

5. DISSEMINATION OF RESEARCH RESULTS

The results of the various subprojects will be disseminated in the following ways:

* In order to stimulate public debate, the project leaders of the subprojects will be requested to make *media releases* of important and interesting findings as soon as these become available.

* Each research team of a subproject will be obliged to write at least two articles for acknowledged academic journals, one article for a more popular journal and present at least two papers at academic conferences.

* Two years after the start of the project, an *international conference* will be organized in South Africa on the theme of the project. Funding will be sought to bring all the international collaborators as well as other experts to the conference. Furthermore, societal leaders and decisions makers on various levels will be invited. Apart from the inputs of international experts, the various research teams will present their research results. Particular attention will be given to the policy implications of the results and a report on policy guidelines will be compiled afterwards.

* The work on the various subprojects will finally culminate in a book "Globalization, issues of identity and governance in South Africa". The team of each subproject will be obliged to submit a chapter. The international collaborators and other experts will furthermore be requested to make contributions. Depending on the number of contributions received, the publication of more than one volume will be considered.

* To ensure furthermore that the findings reach policy makers, the advisory panel will organize *information sessions* for policy makers on various levels.

* The work on the project will finally culminate in a *book* "Globalization, issues of identity and governance in South Africa". Each subproject team will be obliged to contribute one chapter to the book, while the international collaborators will also be requested to make contributions. Again, particular attention will be given to policy implications.

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Project budget

Hiring of workshop venue	$ 1,000.00
Transport for workshop participants	$ 3,000.00
Subsistence for workshop participants	$ 3,230.00
Catering during workshop	$ 1,476.00
Sample drawing - questionnaire survey	$ 4,615.00
Conducting of questionnaire survey	$160,000.00
Data capturing - questionnaire survey	$ 1,080.00
Visits of overseas collaborators	$ 15,300.00
Organizing of conference	$ 9,230.00
Individual interviews (100 interviews)	$ 770.00
Focus group interviews (40 interviews)	$ 9,230.00
Transcription fees (1,000 pages)	$ 30,769.00
Language services (1,000 pages)	$ 8,000.00
Transport for researchers during fieldwork	$ 11,600.00
Subsistence for researchers during fieldwork	$ 7,000.00
Salaries for senior researchers (500 days)	$ 77,000.00
Salaries for research assistants (400 days)	$ 12,307.00
Printing	$ 3,846.00
Photostats	$ 1,000.00
Telephone & telefax	$ 500.00
Overseas visits for SA researchers (one per subproject)	$ 10,800.00
Tapes, videotapes, films, etc.	$ 400.00
TOTAL	$372,153.00
15 % Institutional levy	$ 55,822.95
GRAND TOTAL	**$427,975.95**

IMPORTANT: The project team is more than willing to discuss and negotiate with the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation with regard to to budget as a whole or any item on the budget.

Potential additional funding sources

Up to the present, no funding has been obtained for the project. However, the following sources of additional funding will be explored:

* The above budget only makes provision for one visit to South Africa for each of the international collaborators. Funding for additional visits will be sought from the Foundation for Research Development (FRD) in South Africa.

* The Foundation for Research Development (FRD) will also be requested to provide additional funding for the organizing of an international conference on the project theme in South Africa. Additional funding will be needed to bring the international collaborators and other international speakers to the conference.

* The leaders of subprojects will be encouraged to seek additional funding for their projects from the new programme on globalization of the Foundation for Research Development (FRD) and other national and international funding agencies.

* The international collaborators as well as the members of the core research team sincerely feel that a wider investigation as proposed in this study is needed to investigate the relationship between globalization, issues of identity and development and the implications of globalization and identity issues for migration within the Southern African context. They will consequently seek funding for wide-ranging projects to address these issues from national and international funding agencies. If they are successful, these projects will be closely linked to the current project.

Biographical Statement

PROJECT LEADER

Elirea Bornman holds a D.Litt. et Phil. in Social Psychology from the University of South Africa (UNISA). She also holds a Diploma in Datametry and a Higher Teachers' Diploma. She is currently a senior lecturer in the Department of Communication at UNISA where she acts as course leader for M.A. and doctoral students and is involved in teaching research methodology, intercultural communication and international communication. She is furthermore involved in the teaching programme of a structured M.A. course in International Communication and acts as co-promotor for two doctoral students and one M.A. student. Before taking up a post at UNISA, she worked for 16 years as a chief researcher at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) where she conducted and acted as co-ordinator and project leader of various research studies. Some of the topics that she have addressed in her research are personal and group identities among various ethnic and cultural groups in South Africa; the influence of the political transition process on identities; the implications of changes in patterns of identification and the importance attached to various identities; attitudes and perceptions of various communities with regard to community policing; socio-political attitudes of various groups and the dynamics of aggression, violence and extreme brutality in South Africa with specific reference to group-related factors.

The international and national members of the project advisory board are all experts in their particular fields and were invited to participate in the proposed study on the basis of the fact that they have already conducted extensive research and have published widely within the fields covered by this study. (Biographical statements are provided in the cover sheet.) The international collaborators were selected firstly on the basis of their expertise, but also on the basis of their involvement with South Africa in the past and their understanding of the South African situation. The members of the advisory board represent a wide range of disciplines within the social sciences such as social and clinical psychology, communication studies, sociology, political science, cultural studies, anthropology and development studies. Furthermore, a considerable number of universities in South Africa, the United States of America, Canada and the Netherlands will be involved. Two of the South African universities are formerly disadvantaged institutions. The Institute for a Democratic South Africa (IDASA) - an NGO - will also play a major role in the project. At least one Technicon will be involved.

Two of the international collaborators are African Americans. One of the South African members of the advisory board is a Coloured female. Furthermore, several non-White researchers will participate in the various subprojects under the supervision of senior researchers. At least one African-American student will also participate. A concerted effort will furthermore be launched to involve post-graduate students and junior researchers in the activities of the project. Students doing a structured M.A. degree in international communication as well as students from all the participating institutions will be involved in all the stages of the projects from planning to the final writing of articles, conference papers and book chapters.

CURRICULUM VITAE OF RESEARCHERS

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- BA Honours (Psychology - cum laude)
  University of Stellenbosch - 1981.

- MA (Psychology - cum laude)
  University of South Africa - 1988.

- D.Litt. et Phil. (Psychology)
  University of South Africa - 1995.

- Diploma in Datametry (Mathematics and Statistics)
  University of South Africa - 1992.

- Transvaal Higher Teachers Diploma (with distinction)

Potchefstroom Teachers' College - 1974.

- Registered as Research Psychologist at the South African Medical Council.

TITLES OF THESIS AND DISSERTATION

- MA thesis: *Tussengroepverhoudinge met spesifieke verwysing na die werksituasie* (Intergroup relations with specific reference to the work situation).

- Doctoral dissertation: *Etnisiteit in 'n oorgangsperiode: 'n Sosiaal-sielkundige studie* (Ethnicity in a transitional period: A social-psychological study).

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- Teacher - several secondary schools - 1975 - 1982.

- Senior researcher - Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) - from 1982.

- Chief researcher - Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) - from 1988.

- Senior lecturer - Department of Communication, University of South Africa - from 1 February 2000.

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- Collier, M.J, & Bornman, E. (1999). Core symbols in South African intercultural friendships. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 23*(1), 133 - 166.

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- Bornman, E. (1993). Ethnic attitudes and factors associated with social comparison and relative deprivation. *South African Journal of Sociology, 24*(2), 35-40.

ABBREVIATED LIST OF ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN OTHER JOURNALS

- Bornman, E. (1998). Groepregte en 'n nuwe demokratiese bestel in Suid-Afrika (Group rights and new political dispensation in South Africa). *In Focus Forum, 5*(5), pp. 15-23.

- Bornman, E. (1996). 'Ons' versus 'hulle': die rol van groepe in geweld en aggressie ("Us" versus "them" : the role of groups in aggression). *In Focus Forum*, 4(5), 30-35.

- Bornman, E. (1994). Joseph's coat: Ethnic identification in South Africa. *Information Update*, 4(4), 29-37.

CO-AUTHORSHIP OF PUBLISHED BOOKS IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS

- Bornman, E. (1999). The individual and the group in the social, political and economic context: Implications for South Africa. In Bekker, S., & Prinsloo, R. (Eds.), *Identity? Theory, politics and history*. Pretoria: HSRC.

- Bornman, E., Van Eeden, R., & Wentzel, M. (Eds.). (1998). *Violence in South Africa: A variety of perspectives*. Pretoria: HSRC.

I am the author/co-author of the following chapters in the abovementioned book:

Chapter 1   *Towards a critically informed policy for dealing with violence in South Africa* - René van Eeden, Elirea Bornman and Marie Wentzel

Chapter 4   *Group membership as determinant of violence and conflict* - Elirea Bornman

Chapter 16   *Violence and its prevention: Disentangling the tangle* - Elirea Bornman, Anthony Minnaar and Louw Roos

- Bornman, E. (1994). Some factors influencing ethnic attitudes in South African work situations. In L. Nieuwmeijer & R. du Toit (Eds.), *Multicultural conflict management in changing societies* (pp. 192-199). Pretoria: HSRC.

- Bornman, E. (1999). The individual and the group in the social, political and economic context: Implications for South Africa. In S. Bekker & R. Prinsloo (Eds.), Identity? Theory, politics and history. Pretoria: HSRC.

- Bornman, E, Van Eeden, R. & Wentzel, M. (Eds). (1998). Violence in South Africa: A variety of perspectives. Pretoria: HSRC.

ABBREVIATED LIST OF UNPUBLISHED RESEARCH REPORTS

- Training Evaluation Group (1996). *Final evaluation report: Pilot basic level training programme SAP(S), 1995*. Pretoria: HSRC.

- Bornman, E. (1995). *Towards an evaluation of the pilot programme on basic training for police recruits* (Part 1 - A survey of recruit opinions on the basic training programme conducted at the Hammanskraal and Pretoria colleges). Pretoria: HSRC.

- Bornman, E. (1995). *Towards an evaluation of the pilot programme on basic training for police recruits* (Part 2 - A survey of recruit opinions on protection and public order training at Maleoskop). Pretoria: HSRC.

- Malan, C, Bornman, E, et al. (1993). *The sociopolitical and -cultural role of national symbols in the RSA: A pilot survey* (HSRC Investigation into National Symbols). HSRC: Pretoria.

- Barendse, E, et al. (1991). *The dimensions of marginality or lostness.* Is co-author of this chapter that describes the results of a questionnaire survey among black youth in the PWV-area).

- Bornman, E, Nel, C, Roux, Y & Ngoasheng, K. (1991). *Expectations and aspirations of the black urban youth: A qualitative perspective.* Report that forms part of the extensive report on the black youth under the authorship of Dr C. de Kock).

ABBREVIATED LIST OF PAPERS PRESENTED AT SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCES

- Bornman, E. (2000, July). Patterns of social identification in the post-apartheid South Africa. Paper presented at the XVth International Conference of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, Pultusk, Poland.

- Bornman, E. (1997, September). *The PROGRESS researcher development programme of the HSRC.* Paper presented as a member of a panel discussing research training in South Africa at the Third Annual Conference of the Psychological Society of South Africa, Durban, South Africa.

- Bornman, E. (1997, July). *Determinants of ethnic identification and their implications for South Africa.* Paper presented at the conference on "Identity? Theory, politics and history" presented by IFAS, the FGD and the HSRC in Pretoria, South Africa.

- Bornman, E & Appelgryn, AEM. (1996, September). *Ethnolinguistic vitality on the eve of a new political dispensation: A cross-cultural study.* Paper presented at the conference of the South African Psychological Association in Johannesburg, South Africa.

- Bornman, E & Appelgryn, AEM. (1996, September). *A cross-cultural perspective on the factors influencing ethnic identification on the eve of a new political dispensation.* Paper presented at the conference of the South African Psychological Association in Johannesburg, South Africa.

- Bornman, E & Appelgryn, AEM. (1996, August). *Ethnolinguistic vitality under a new political dispensation in South Africa.* Poster presented at the 104th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Assocation in Toronto, Canada.

- Bornman, E & Appelgryn, AEM. (1996, August). *Self-image and ethnic identification in South Africa: A cross-cultural study.* Paper presented at the XIIIth Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, Montreal, Canada.

- Bornman, E & Appelgryn, AEM. (1996, August). *Ethnolinguistic vitality under a new political dispensation in South Africa.* Paper presented at the XIIIth Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, Montreal, Canada.

- Bornman, E & Appelgryn, AEM. (1996, August). *Factors influencing ethnic identification on the eve of a new political dispensation in South Africa.* Paper presented at the XXVI International Congress of Psychology in Montreal, Canada.

- Bornman, E. (1995, July). *Patterns of group identification in South Africa and their implications for reconciliation.* Paper presented at a colloqium on reconciliation and reconstruction in ethnically divided societies organized by the Research Committee on Politics and Ethnicity of the International Political Science Association.

- Collier, M.J & Bornman, E, (1994, July). *Interethnic friendship in South Africa: Norms for Managing Difference.* Paper presented at the conference of the International Communication Association, Sydney, Australia.

- Bornman, E & Collier, MJ. (1993, July). *Intercultural communication in South Africa: A qualitative perspective of experiences, barriers and rules.* Paper presented at the Conference of the World Communication Association, Pretoria, South Africa.

- Bornman, E. (1992, August). *Some factors influencing ethnic attitudes in South African work situations.* International Congress on Conflict Management, Johannesburg, South Africa.

- Bornman, E. (1990, June). *Social identity and intergroup relations.* Paper presented at the 40th Annual Conference of the International Communication Association, Dublin, Ireland.

- Bornman, E & Mynhardt, JC. (1990). *Intergroup relations in South Africa with specific reference to the work situation.* Paper presented at the 22nd International Congress of Applied Psychology in Kyoto, Japan.

OTHER PRESENTATIONS

- Bornman, E. (1994). Intercultural relationships. Paper presented for a forum of the South African Police Service.

- Bornman, E. (1994). Intercultural communication in the work situation. Paper presented at a junior management training course of the Department of Land Affairs.

MEMBERSHIPS OF PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

- American Psychological Association (affiliate member)
- Psychological Association of South Africa
- Division: Research and Methodology of the Psychological Association of South Africa
- Ethnic Conflict Network organized by Prof John Darby, University of Ulster, Northern Ireland

SPECIAL AWARDS

- TRANSNET bursary for doctoral studies at the University of South Africa.
- Bronze medal for MA-thesis.

MARY JANE COLLIER

Mary Jane Collier (mcollier@du.edu) is Professor and Chair of the Department of Human Communication Studies, School of Communication, at the University of Denver.

Her research focuses on the social construction of and structural constraints affecting the enactment of interrelated cultural identities (national, ethnic, gender, and class) and the negotiation of intercultural relationships. She teaches graduate and undergraduate courses dealing with culture and communication, intercultural communication, theorizing communication, and dialogue, culture and conflict. Her work appears such international journals as the International Journal of Intercultural Relations and national journals such as Communication Monographs, Communication Quarterly, and the Howard Journal of Communications. African American Communication, co-authored with Sidney Ribeau and Michael Hecht, won the 1993 National Communication Association's Division of International and Intercultural Communication book of the year award. She is Editor of the International and Intercultural Communication Annual, Volumes 23-25. She has been a Visiting Fellow at the University of Cape Town and the University of London. Her current research involves investigating dialogue, conflict, and alliance development among and between members of diverse groups in South Africa, the Middle East, -and Great Britain, and a continuing interest in the intersections of race, ethnicity, gender and class among U.S. Americans.

ACADEMIC BACKGROUND

1982   Ph.D. Communication Theory and Research.
       University of Southern California (Los Angeles)

1979   MA Speech Communication
       University of Southern California (Los Angeles)

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

University of Denver (1995 to present)
Chair. Professor (1998 to present)
Associate Professor (with tenure) (1995-1998) Department of Human Communication Studies, School of Communication.

Oregon State University (1989-1995)

SCHOLARSHIP
Books Published

Hecht, M.L., Collier, M.J. & Ribeau, S.A. (1993). African American Communication. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publishers. Language and Language Behaviors Series, Howard Giles, (University of California, Santa Barbara) Series Editor. Awarded "Outstanding Scholarly Book in Intercultural Communication in 1993" by Speech Communication Association.

Collier, M.J. (Editor). (2000) <u>International and Intercultural Communication Annual XXIII:</u> <u>Constituting cultural difference in discourse.</u> Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Editorship

Editor. <u>International and Intercultural Communication Annual.</u> Vols. 23 - 25. Sponsored by National Communication Association. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Refereed Journal Articles Published

Collier, M.J. & Hicks, D. (in press). Discursive plurality: Negotiating cultural identities in public democratic dialogue. In P. Salazar (Ed.) <u>Truth and politics in South Africa: Rhetorical</u> <u>Approaches.</u> Johannesburg, South Africa: Protea Publishers.

Collier, M.J. & Bornman, E. (1999). Intercultural friendships in South Africa: Norms for managing difference. <u>International Journal of Intercultural Relations.</u> <u>23,</u> 133-156.

Collier, M.J. (1998). Research on cultural identity: Reconciling post-colonial and interpretive approaches. In D. Tanno (Ed.), <u>Cultural Identity and Intercultural Communication, International</u> <u>and Intercultural Communication Annual. XXI.</u> (pp. 122-147). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Collier, M.J. (1996). Communication competence problematics in ethnic friendships. <u>Communication Monographs,</u> 63, 314-336.

Book Chapters Published

Collier, M.J. (2000). Current research themes of politics, perspectives, and problematics. In M.J. Collier (Ed). <u>International and Intercultural Communication Annual XXIII: Constituting cultural</u> <u>difference in discourse.</u> (pp. 1-25). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Collier, M. J. (2000). Reconstructing Cultural Diversity in Global Relationships: Negotiating the Borderlands. In G. M. Chen & W. Starosta (Eds.) <u>Diversity, identity and global society.</u> (pp. 243-273). P. Lang Publishers.

Collier, M.J. (1999). Understanding cultural identities in intercultural communication: A ten-step inventory. In L. Samovar & R. Porter (Eds.) <u>Intercultural communication: A reader.</u> (9th Ed., pp. 16-33). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Collier, M.J. (1998). Intercultural friendships as interpersonal alliances. In J. Martin, L. Flores, & T. Nakayama (Eds.) <u>Readings in cultural contexts.</u> (pp. 370-379). Mountain View, CA: Mayfield.

Collier, M.J. (1995). Dialogue and diversity: Communication across groups. In D. Harris (Ed.) <u>Multiculturalism from the margins: Non-dominant voices on difference and diversity.</u> Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey.

RIEN T. SEGERS

<u>Professional address</u>:

Faculty of Arts
PO Box 716
9700 AS Groningen
The Netherlands

<u>Position</u>:

Professor of Cultural Studies
Director of Studies MA Programme Euroculture
Director Center for Japanese Studies
University of Groningen, The Netherlands

<u>Education</u>:

- Gymnasium (1967)
- MA in Comparative Literature, University of Utrecht (1973), *cum laude*
- Postgraduate Study of Psychology and Comparative Literature, Indiana University and Stanford University, USA (1974-1975)
- Postgraduate study of Psychology and Comparative Literature, Yale University, USA (1975-1976)
- Postdoctoral research, University of Konstanz, Germany (1978-1979)
- PhD in Comparative Literature, University of Utrecht (1978)

<u>Administrative experience</u> (selection):

- Research Director of the international research project 'Cultural Identity in Europe' under the auspices of the International Comparative Literature Association (since 1994)
- Co-organizer of the International Congress `European Cultural Identity',Halle, Germany, November 1995.
- President International Committee on the Comparative Study of Cultural and Literary Identity
- Treasurer General, Executive Council of the International Comparative Literature Association (1982-1988)
- Chair 'Contemporary European Literature', University of Groningen (1991-1993)
- Chair Department of Comparative Literature, University of Groningen (1990-1993)
- Member of the Advisory Board of several International Research Institutes (since 1987)
- Member of the Editorial Board of several scholarly journals (since 1988)
- Organizer of several international conferences and symposia (since 1988)
- Member of the Organizing Committee of the XVth World Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association, Leiden 1997

1.   Books

Author and co-author of 13 books in Dutch, German and English concerning topics as mentioned under `Research interests'.

Two most recent books:

Rien T. Segers, *Japan: the Unknown Culture* (Amsterdam: Balans, 1996), 250 pp.

Rien T. Segers and Reinhold Viehoff (Eds.), *Culture, Identity, Europe. Problems of a Construction* (Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp, 1999)

2.   Articles

Author of 81 articles in eight languages on topics listed under `Research interests'.

ROBERT MATTES

Present Position
Program Manager, Public Opinion Service, Institute for Democracy In South Africa (Idasa), 1995-

Education
Ph.D. University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1992; M.A. University of Delaware, 1986, A.B. Youngstown State University, 1984

Research Interests
Democratic Political Culture, Democratic Consolidation, Electoral Behavior, Public Opinion, Social Identity, Constitutional Design, Legislatures, Public Opinion Polling and Democratic Politics

Books
- Robert Mattes, *The Election Book: Judgement and Choice in the 1994 South African Election* (Cape Town: Idasa, 1995)

Articles in Professional Journals
- Robert Mattes & Jessica Piombo, "Opposition Parties and the Voters In South Africa's 1999 Election," *Democratization* (forthcoming)

- Michael Bratton & Robert Mattes, "Support for Democracy In Africa: Intrinsic Or Instrumental?" *British Journal of Political Science* (forthcoming).

- Robert Mattes & Wayne Richmond, "Skilled Foreign Nationals In South Africa," *Africa Insight* (forthcoming).

- Robert Mattes & Wayne Richmond, "The South African Brain Drain" *Africa Insight* (forthcoming).

- Robert Mattes, Lovemore Zinyama, Fion De Vletter, John Gay & David McDonald. "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner? Migration From Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe to South Africa." *International Migration Review* (forthcoming).

- Robert Mattes, Helen Taylor & Cherrel Africa, "Judgement and Choice in the 1999 South African Election." *Politikon: The South African Journal of Political Studies* 26/2 (November 1999) 235-247.

- Robert Mattes, Helen Taylor & Cherrel Africa. "Hegemony, Dominance or Weak Opposition? The Partisan Situation On the Eve of South Africa's Second Election Campaign," *Transformation* 38 (1999): 1-19.

- Robert Mattes & Hermann Thiel, "Consolidation and Public Opinion In South Africa." *Journal of Democracy* 9/1 (January 1998): 95-110.

- Robert Mattes & Jennifer Christie, "Personal Versus Collective Quality of Life and South

Africans' Evaluations of Democratic Government." *Social Indicators Research* 41/1-3 (1997): 205-228.

- Robert Mattes, Amanda Gouws & Hennie Kotze, "The Emerging Party System In the New South Africa." *Party Politics* 1/3 (1995): 379-393.

Book Chapters

- Robert Mattes, Jonathan Crush & Wayne Richmond, "Skilled Foreign Nationals In South Africa." In David McDonald & Jonathan Crush (eds.), *Are We Losing Our Minds? Exploring the Scale and Character of Skilled Migration In Southern Africa* (Africa Institute of South Africa / Southern African Migration Project: Pretoria / Kingston, Ont., forthcoming).

- Robert Mattes & Wayne Richmond, "The South African Brain Drain." In David McDonald & Jonathan Crush (eds.), *Are We Losing Our Minds? Exploring the Scale and Character of Skilled Migration In Southern Africa* (Africa Institute of South Africa / Southern African Migration Project: Pretoria / Kingston, Ont., forthcoming).

- Robert Mattes, Donald Taylor, David McDonald, Abigail Poore & Wayne Richmond, "South African Attitudes To Immigrants and Immigration." In David A. McDonald (ed), *On Borders: Perspectives On International Migration In Southern Africa* (St Martin's Press / Southern African Migration Program: New York / Kingston, Ont., 2000).

- Robert Mattes, Helen Taylor & Cherrel Africa, "Public Opinion and Voter Preferences 1994-1999." In Andrew Reynolds (ed.), *Election '99 South Africa: From Mandela to Mbeki* (David Philip: Cape Town, 1999).

- Robert Mattes & Hermann Thiel. "Consolidation and Public Opinion In South Africa." In Larry Diamond & Marc Plattner (eds.), *Democratization In Africa.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

- Robert Mattes, "Hypotheses On Identity and Democracy." In Rachel Prinsloo & Simon Bekker (eds.), *Identity? Theory, Politics and History* (Pretoria: HSRC, 1999).

- Robert Mattes, "Do Diverse Social Identities Inhibit Democracy? Initial Evidence From South Africa." In Mai Palmberg (ed.), *National Identity and Democracy In Africa* (Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute/Cape Town: Mayibuye Centre at University of the Western Cape/Pretoria: HSRC, 1999).

- Robert Mattes & Amanda Gouws, "Race, Ethnicity and Voting Behavior." In Timothy Sisk & Andrew Reynolds (eds.), *Elections and Confict Resolution In Africa* (Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1998).

- Robert Mattes, Hermann Thiel & Helen Taylor, "Citizens' Commitment to Democracy," In Wilmot James & Moira Levy (eds.), *Pulse—Passages in Democracy-Building: Assessing South Africa's Transition* (Idasa: Cape Town, 1998).

- Robert Mattes & Jennifer Christie, "Personal Vs. Collective Quality of Life and South Africans' Evaluations of Democratic Government." In Valerie Moller (ed.), *Quality of Life In South Africa.* (Dordectht, Netherlands: Kluwer Publishers, 1997).

- Robert Mattes, "The American Experience of Federalism: Lessons For South Africa?" In Hennic Kotze (ed.), *The Political Economy of Federalism in South Africa: Policy Opportunities and Constraints of the Interim Constitution* (Stellenbosch: Centre for International and Comparative Politics, 1995),pp. 39-53.

33

- Robert Mattes, Hermann Giliomee & Wilmot James, "The Election In the Western Cape." In R.W. Johnson & Lawrence Schlemmer (eds.), *Launching Democracy: South Africa's First Open Election, 1994* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

Honors & Awards

- (with Michael Bratton & E. Gyimah-Boadi) Swedish International Development Agency Research Grant, 2000-2002, Co-Principal Investigator

- United States Agency for International Development / South Africa, Non-Competitive Grant, 2000, Principal Investigator

- United States Agency for International Development / Regional Centre for Southern Africa, Strengthening Regional Economies Through NGOs Grant, 2000, Principal Investigator

- United States Agency of International Development / Regional Centre for Southern Africa, Southern African Regional Democracy Fund Grant, 1999 (97-014), Principal Investigator

- United States Institute of Peace Project Grant, 1997 (USIP-104-96S), Principal Investigator

Professional and Academic Activities (Last Five Years)

Survey Projects: Principal Investigator

- *"Siyaya! Readership Evaluation Survey (2000)"* Sector-stratified random sample of readership list, April 2000, Idasa

- *"Idasa South African Democracy Barometer (1998)"* Nationally Representative Sample (South Africa), October –November 1998, Idasa

- "Training of Democracy Trainer Workshops Evaluation Study (1998)"

- Targeted Sample of Workshop Participants, December 1997, Idasa

- *"Idasa Diversity and Citizenship Study"* Nationally Representative Sample (South Africa), June-July 1997, Idasa / Southern African Migration Project

- "Idasa Cape Town Crime, Law and Legitimacy Study,"
- Two Wave Representative Panel Sample of Selected Suburbs (Cape Town), August - September 1996 and April 1997, Idasa

- *"Idasa South African Local Government Election Study"* Nationally Representative Sample (South Africa), October-November 1995, Idasa

KEVIN DURRHEIM

Kevin Durrheim is an Associate Professor of psychology at the University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg). He obtained his PhD (in the field of political psychology) from UCT in 1995. He has worked as an academic for 10 years (at the University of Cape Town and University of Natal), has published 35 journal articles and book chapters, edited *Research in Practice* (with Martin Terre Blanche), and received the University of Natal VCs research award (R76 000) and the St. John's Fellowship (Cambridge). He has obtained funding for and conducted quantitative and qualitative research on racial attitudes and discourse, authoritarianism, and HIV/AIDS counselling.

Educational Details

Degree	Institution	Major Subjects	Grade
B.Sc.	UNISA	Psychology, Statistics	Distinction
B.Soc.Sci (Hons)	UCT	Psychology	Distinction
PhD	UCT	Psychology	Ungraded degree

Research Grants and Awards

- University of Natal, Total awarded (1996 - 2000): R59 800

- Centre for Science Development (CSD), Total awarded (1997 - 1999): R 61 500

- Tender RT 704 SP Intervention linked research and pilot projects in the areas of HIV/AIDS care, counselling and support. SA Department of health. Value: R400 000. With Prof. L. Richter, Mr. V. Solomon, & Prof. D. Griesel

- 1999. University of Natal, Vice Chancellor's Research Award. Value R75 000.

- 2000. St John's Fellowship, Cambridge. Three month appointment as "The Colenso Scholar".

Relevant Publications

Durrheim, K. (1997). *Racism and identity*. Juta: Cape Town.

Terre Blanche, M. & Durrheim K. (Eds.). (1999). *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences*. Cape Town: UCT Press.

CHARLES MALAN

Charles Malan (MA, D.Litt.) is a research consultant and managing partner of StarCom (Star Communications, a communications and research consultancy). He is extraordinary professor at the Department of Information Science and honorary professor at the Department of Afrikaans, University of Pretoria. Until February 2000 he was chief research specialist at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

Career

Studied at the University of Pretoria (BA, 1966, HED, 1967), Utrecht (1976) and the Orange Free State (BA (hons.), 1969, MA, 1972, D.Litt., 1977). Taught at Grey College, Bloemfontein (1968-1971), was lecturer and senior lecturer in the department of Afrikaans at the University of the OFS (1972-1981), was appointed professor in 1981, however accepted the post as head of the Centre for South African Literature Research at the HSRC. In 1989 established the Cultural Studies Programme and in 1993 (until 1995) also took over the management of the national Co-operative Research Programme: South African Youth. Afterwards managed national research programmes on intercultural and identity studies, national symbols and development communication.

He is a member of the editorial board of three literary journals and was founder-editor of the *Journal of Literary Studies*. Was a member of the executive committees of three academic societies and chairperson of the Afrikaanse Skrywersgilde (Afrikaans Writers Guild). Teaches postgraduate courses in development communication, cultural studies and comparative literature at the University of Pretoria.

In 1985 received the HSRC's P.M. Robbertse medal for excellent research in the human sciences within the field of literary research. In 1995, as team leader, received the HSRC Council Award for Multidisciplinary Research, for the national youth investigation.

Publications and papers

He has published in the fields of development communication, cultural studies, intercultural awareness, youth issues and South African and Afrikaans literature. Author and co-author of 9 books and monographs, (co-)editor of 11 books, including *Race and Literature* and *Youth in the New South Africa*, 31 comprehensive research reports and more than a hundred articles. Has read papers at 18 international and 72 local conferences.

Appendix A

Preliminary delineation of project teams

Preliminary project teams for the various subprojects are the following:

1. THEORETICAL AND PLANNING WORKSHOP

Project leader:
Elirea Bornman (see cover sheet for details)

Team:

Arlene Grossberg — Human Sciences Research Council; BA Hons. (Musicology); SA citizen; White; Female; Area: Cultural studies; communication technology.

2. DATA MINING - ANALYSES OF AVAILABLE DATA

Project leaders:

Marlene Roefs — Human Sciences Research Council; MA (Social Psychology); Citizen of the Netherlands; White; Female: Area: Social movements; identity studies.

Team:
Elirea Bornman (see cover sheet for details)
Charles Malan (see cover sheet for details)
Data analysts of the Human Sciences Research Council

3. COUNTRYWIDE QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

Project leaders:
Elirea Bornman (see cover sheet for details)
Robert Mattes (see cover sheet for details)

Team:
Rien Segers (see cover sheet for details)
Donald Taylor (see cover sheet for details)
Kevin Durrheim (see cover sheet for details)
Liesl Korf (see cover sheet for details)
Rachel Prinsloo (see cover sheet for details)
Ian Liebenberg (see cover sheet for details)
Charles Malan (see cover sheet for details)
M.A. students of the Department of Communication, University of South Africa
M.A. students of the Department of Psychology, University of Pretoria

4. THE EMERGENCE OF NEW IDENTITIES: AN INVESTIGATION OF THREE CITIES

Project leader:
Simon Bekker (see cover sheet for details)

Team:

Charles Puttergill	**M.A. (Sociology); University of South Africa; SA citizen; Male; White; Area: Identity studies.**
S Cornelissen	Details unknown
S Horstmeier	Details unknown
A Leilde	Details unknown
Masadie van Wyk	Details unknown
Nosi Xabendlini	Details unknown
Gary Eva	Details unknown

Students of the University of Stellenbosch

5. QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION AMONG SOUTH AFRICAN YOUTH

Project leaders:
Pieter Conradie (see cover sheet for details)
Pieter Duvenhage (see cover sheet for details)

Team:
Charles Malan (see cover sheet for details)

Kuhli Tlabela	B.A. Hons (Communication/Social Work); Human Sciences Research Council; SA citizen; Black: Female; Area: Communication technology.
Zakes Langa	Busy with B.A. Hons (Communication); Human Sciences Research Council; SA citizen; Male: Black; Male; Area: Communication technology.
Jaré Struwig	M.A. (Sociology); Human Sciences Research Council; SA citizen; Female: White; Area: Communication technology.

Students of the University of the North (to be identified)

6. **CULTURAL IDENTITIES AS SITES OF STRUGGLE: THE ROLE OF PRINT AND AND BROADCAST MEDIA AS WELL AS COMMUNITY MEETINGS**

Project leaders:
Mary Jane Collier (see cover sheet for details)
Pieter Fourie   D.Litt. et Phil. (Communication); University of South Africa; SA citizen; Male; White; Area: Media studies.

Team:
Melissa Steyn   M.A. (Intercultural communication); University of Cape Town; SA citizen; Female; White; Area: Intercultural communication.
Students from the University of Denver, Colorado (one student is an African American).
Students from the University of Cape Town.
Students doing an M.A. in International Communication in the Department of Communication, University of South Africa.

7. **ANALYSES OF POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

Convenor:
Elirea Bornman (see cover sheet for details)

Team:
Members of the advisory panel
The following overseas academics will be requested to become part of the team:
Donald Horowitz   Author of the books "Ethnic groups in conflict" published the University of California Press in Berkeley in 1985 and "A democratic South Africa? Constitutional engineering in a divided society" published by the University of California Press in Berkeley in 1991.
Will Kymlicka   Author of the book "Multicultural citizenship: A liberal theory of minority rights" published in Oxford by Clarendon Press in 1995.

Shortened Project Position Paper

COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH COMPETITION
JOHN D. AND CATHERINE T. MACARTHUR FOUNDATION

Research topic:
Reconceptualizing human rights, citizenship, and identity

Proposed project:
Globalization, issues of identity and the implications for governance and democratization in the post-apartheid South Africa

Shortened position paper compiled as background to the project proposal.
The entire paper is available on the project's Web site at:
http://www.hsrc.ac.za/gdg/index.html

SECTION A
Main Research Area, Definitions and Survey of Scholarship

Elirea Bornman

ELIREA, JY SAL ASB. SELF MOET BESLUIT WAT VAN JOU HIER MOET IN OF UIT.

State of the art

At the beginning of a new millennium there is much heated reflection on the past age and the new era. One of the most significant features of the present juncture is the paradoxical processes of *globalization* on the one hand and the comparable processes of *fragmentation* and *division* at both the global and domestic social levels on the other hand (Kloskowska, 1998; Van Niewkerk, 1997).

Globalization can be defined as a world-wide trend or process that is made possible by fundamental revolutions in technology, transportation and communication, and led by the big transnational corporations and banks of the most developed countries of the North, the East and the newly industrialized countries of Southeast Asia. Globalization is driven by ever-increasing global trade and financial services, primarily undertaken by transnational corporations headquartered in global cities such as New York, London, Tokyo and Singapore. In addition to transnational corporations, non-governmental institutions as well as individuals contribute towards the consolidation of transnational relations. These institutions transcend national frontiers and basically disregard their functions and autonomy.

Although globalization is often perceived as a phenomenon related to processes of production, distribution and consumption, these economic processes are linked to the social and the cultural spheres (Featherstone, 1995; Lacarrieu & Raggio, 1997; Le Pere & Lambrechts, in press; Morley & Robins, 1996).

Closely interwoven with the world-wide expansion of capitalist production relations is the emergence of a global society predicated on a global economy. The global society is recognized by place-less, distance-less and border-less interactions that unfold in the world as a single space. In this sense the globe is the finite, knowable, bounded space in which social encounters and practices are informed by the global economy.

On the cultural level, globalization has led to homogenization, that is cultural convergence. Objects, symbols, ideas, rules, worlds and habits have acquired an inter-subjective global meaning through global markets, the spread of "global English" and technological developments such as the electronic mass media and cyberspace. The growth of consumer capitalism has furthermore brought about a convergence in cultural habits and the spread of hegemonic ideas, lifestyles, popular symbols and other mass cultural products which are marketed by means of superior technology, thus creating a demand for them across the globe. This spread of supra-territoriality both depends on and promotes the adoption, across continents, of similar methods of transport, communication, information-processing and organizational management. Homogenization has furthermore produced and required world-scale convergence of legal and ethical principles, the "universalization" of the discourse on human rights and "institutional symmetry" in the form of democratic so-called "nation states".

Paradoxically, as mentioned earlier, the age of globalization is also characterized by increasing *fragmentation*, localization and the renewal of solidarities - and especially ethnic

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solidarities - on a smaller scale. Strassoldo, as quoted by Le Pere and Lambrechts (in press), describes the "new" localism as a search for enclaves of familiarity and intimacy at a time when globalizing technologies expose the self to an infinity of locations, persons, things and ideas. Indeed, ethnicity has not disappeared, as many modernization theorists predicted, but has become more salient (Llobera, 1997). Around the world people may watch American soapies, use English as a lingua franca, wear jeans, drink Coke and listen to Madonnna, but still have a strong sense of ethnic or ethnonational identity.

Featherstone (1995) ascribes the tendency towards fragmentation to the increasing internationalization that characterizes the age of globalization. The growing intensity of contact and communication between nation states and other agencies as well as the clashing of cultures that result from globalization have led to greater awareness of diversity and heightened attempts to draw boundaries between the self and others. The phase of intensified globalization consequently provokes reactions that seek to rediscover particularity, localism and difference. Kloskowska (1998) believes that, despite the forces of globalization, ethnic cultures still provide the framework for major, and particularly early, human experiences. Furthermore, global citizenship is not a sufficient basis for the development of a secure identity. As global citizenship also clashes with the sovereignty of nation states - as will be discussed in the next section - the only remaining identity is that of the blood brother, ethnic cohort, communal kinswoman or tribal clansman (Le Pere & Lambrechts, in press).

Globalization, fragmentation and the nation state

Economic processes have always been closely intertwined with the notion of the nation state - a medium-sized, territorial, centralized, sovereign type of polity - that has become the dominant, if not sole form of political organization in the post 1789 era (Llobera, 1997; Hoogvelt, 1997). The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were characterized by the emergence of strong national states and the competition between these states formed the backdrop of all economic activities. The economy was intended to serve the power and glory of the nation state. In the circumstances of the time, it meant the encouragement of trade and manufacture, the pursuit of protectionist policies and the stimulation of export trade. This involved outward expansion gradually encompassing ever-larger areas of the globe in a network of material exchanges - a process that has led to ever-increasing globalization that has speeded up significantly in recent times.

The concept of the nation state implies cultural homogeneity, that is one nation, one state, one culture, one national identity. However, the uninational state is not a common occurrence, but a rarity. Indeed, less than 10% of the states in the modern world are ethnically homogeneous (Llobera, 1997).1 In the majority of the states of the modern world their is a lack of convergence between the political (state) and the cultural (nation). In order to become a true nation state within an age of nationalism, many heterogeneous states engage in a process of nation building in which various means (e.g. political institutions, national symbols, the educational system and the media) are employed to forge an overarching national identity.

The nation state consequently represents a convergent process. At the material level it represents development within a territorially delineated perimeter of differentiated interests and contending social groups. At the symbolic level it represents the creation of symbols and values which generate a sense of common identity that arch outwards to preserve unity in

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1   The word "nation" is also used in a political sense as equivalent to citizenship to indicate the democratic incorporation of the population of a country to political tasks. However, in the twentieth century the term "state" should be suffice to indicate this reality.

spite of the diverse interests of the civil society framed by the state. These commonly shared symbols generate a sense of unity and collaboration, of a collective identity. Nationhood has consequently become a central pillar of global as well as the territorial construction of collective identity.

However, globalization has had a vast impact on nation states (Lacarrieu & Raggio, 1997; Le Pere & Lambrechts, in press; Wertsch, 1997). On the one hand each nation's economic structure is being modified by international movements of capital and other changes in the world economy with the emergence of multinational economic forces. The borders between nation states has thus become porous, if not irrelevant. The impact is also evident on a social, symbolic and cultural level. Citizenship of the "global village" transcends the territorial frontiers that had formerly delineated the nation state. Societies now conceptualize themselves as part of a world system of societies or as part of a global community of nations. Globalization is consequently more than mere cosmopolitanism as it implies a capacity for global self-reflection. The nation state is no longer the only or principal viable political context within which citizenship and identity formation is "housed".

Globalization furthermore undermines the emotive and normative commitment to membership of a nation state. Identities have thus become diffuse and disembodied as the state is caught between global pressures which challenge its monopoly over the emotive commitments of its citizens. Hence the revitalization of ethnic and cultural identities that has resulted in many nation states being confronted with claims for cultural and group rights as well as equal access to resources. Fratricidal conflict in various parts of the globe such as Rwanda, Burundi, Kosowo, Somalia, Turkey and Sri Lanka furthermore demonstrate the potency of communities of blood and ethnicity to instigate group mobilization, tension and violent and destructive conflict.

In this dialectical struggle between the parochial and the universal, the classical notion of the nation state is consequently under siege. It is experiencing an erosion of its political authority, sovereignty and cultural hegemony to such an extent that some observers see its days to be numbered and/or predicts the death of the nation (Lacarrieu & Raggio, 1997; Wertsch, 1997).

Implications for South Africa

The new South Africa emerged in this uncertain world that is marked by paradoxical tendencies and impulses. The new state stands before the challenge to deal with the demands of increasing globalization and global capitalist markets trampling its borders in search of consumers and profit, while it also has to consider the world-wide centripetal tendencies associated with ethnic revival and communal strife.

This dilemma is even more profound when the nature of the South African society and its history is taken into account. Most local as well as international analysts perceive the South African society as heterogeneous, complex and deeply segmented not only on the basis of culture, race, historical background, language and religion, but also on the grounds of economic and/or class status (Horowitz, 1991; Van den Berghe, 1990). However, apartheid has left South Africa even more divided than inherent differences. It has accentuated racial, ethnic, cultural and class differences and set groups against other groups: not only black against white, but also black against black, Coloured against Indian, and so forth (Coetzee & Wood, 1993).

The advent of a new democratic dispensation - the most important political development of the 1990s - has brought the negotiation and reconciliation of heterogeneity and citizenship - i.e. loyalty to the state versus loyalty to subgroups - to a head (Le Pere & Lambrechts, in press; Duvenhage, 1997). The political transformation has led to the invention of the "new South Africa", while the new government has embarked on a nation building initiative in

order to build a new South African nation and universal South African identity from the divisions of the past. New images are being advanced that emphasize the market, democratic institutions, individual rights and liberties, technocratic rationality in public policy, universal values and a common South Africanness embodied in new national symbols and the notion of the "rainbow nation".

However, as already mentioned, the globalizing impulse of fragmentation also beat strongly within the heart of the new South Africa (Le Pere & Lambrechts, in press). The sociologist Horowitz (1991) furthermore warns that loyalty to ethnic, racial or other groups does not necessarily becomes irrelevant once ethnic and racial equality has been achieved within a democratic system. The run of events after the Civil Rights Movement in the USA is but one example that racial and/or ethnic groups remain self-aware entities that can mobilize with even more legitimacy and autonomy within the new non-hierarchical political system. Moreover, these groups continue to fulfil in important emotional and social needs of their members. In the new political scene characterized by equality between ethnic and racial groups, people may also experience a greater need to identify themselves by contrast, to emphasize social borders and to confirm their ethnic and/or racial identity.

The negotiation of identity in South Africa is further complicated by new systems of provincial and regional government which create new scopes for identification and intergroup comparisons. Another important complication is the fact that many South Africans regard South Africa as an integral part of the African continent and hence see Africanism and/or Pan-Africanism as an important component of their identity. Moreover, many of them identify strongly with the notion of an African Renaissance that envisions the social, political and economic reformation of Africa on the basis of African values and culture (Mbeki, 1997).

By identifying with the world-wide process of democratization, South Africa is furthermore increasingly becoming part of the new global order (Le Pere, 1997). Apart from confronting its apartheid past, the new government are thus forced to form new modes of allegiance to and identification with an abstracted international community. It also has to come to terms with a radically altered post-cold war order and has to negotiate its national identity in the light of its international relations. As South Africa intensifies its engagement with the world, national identity formation will also have to contend, in dialectic fashion, not only with the possibility of multiple identities in a complex world order, but also with the fact that its citizens may increasingly become members of and identify with the global community.

The evolution of its national identity and the consolidation of democracy in South Africa will consequently depend largely on the way in which the new government succeeds in resolving the dilemmas and paradoxes inherent to the new global world order.

South African scholarship on issues of identity and governance

The academic debate on issues of identity and governance within South African academic circles has - even more than in other parts of the world - been characterized by controversy. Due to the strong association between ethnicity and apartheid policies, the study of issues related to cultural, ethnic and racial identities has long been regarded as politically incorrect (Bekker, in press). Where scholars could not avoid these issues, they were evaded. An American scholar, Donald Horowitz (1991, p. 29), observed that: "(T)here is a belief (in South Africa) that talking about ethnicity creates or reinforces ethnic divisions ... even when the talk is directed at how to prevent such divisions from overwhelming a future democratic state."

The consequence is that very little scientific knowledge has been available to guide decision making regarding identity formation and the potential implications for governance

and democratization. However, acknowledgement of the role of groups such as ethnic and cultural communities has increased, albeit grudgingly among some groups of scholars (Bekker, in press). This can be attributed to a variety of factors. The negotiations towards a new political dispensation for South Africa served among other to highlight group identities. Of particular importance were the debates regarding national symbols, the borders of the new provinces and the language of educational institutions. A further important factor has been instances of continuing intergroup conflict such as the conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in KwaZulu-Natal and growing tension between coloureds and blacks in the Western Cape.

South African scholars consequently become increasingly active in the study of identity and the implications for governance. Not only did researchers from various disciplines engage in larger and smaller research projects, but a variety of conferences and workshops were organized. The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) was one of the first to undertake empirical research in this field. A questionnaire survey was conducted in January 1994, that is four months before the advent of the new political dispensation in South Africa, among representative samples of 500 whites and 500 blacks in urban Gauteng (Bornman, 1995) The questions focused on patterns of group identification, the importance attached to various identities and the nature of the relationship between group identification, self-image and the attitudinal and behavioural correlates of group membership. The majority of the respondents indicated strong attachments with especially ethnic and racial groups, while a national identity, i.e. primary identification with South Africa, was mainly restricted to the white respondents.

As a result of the 1994 survey a limited number of questions were also identified for inclusion in the countrywide HSRC Omnibus surveys of February 1995, June 1996 and October/November 1998. The results indicated a noteworthy shift from identification with ethnic or racial groups to identification with South Africa between 1995 and 1998 for most groups. However, the 1998 data also indicated a tendency towards increased ethnic identification and a decrease in identification with South Africa among Afrikaans-speaking whites. Alarmingly high levels of political alienation were also found among minority groups such as Indians/Asians and Afrikaans-speaking whites. Furthermore, members of minority groups - and especially non-black groups - identified much less with the national symbols such as the flag and anthem. These findings seem to indicate that,. although identification with the South African state has grown in importance among especially blacks, racial and ethnic identities continue to play an important role in the lives of a significant percentage of South Africans and has even become more important among some groups. In other words, diversity remains a reality. Moreover, an increase in political alienation among minority groups might spell even more danger for the consolidation of democracy in South Africa (Unpublished data, HSRC, 1999).

The HSRC also participated in a study of the nature of and reasons for the revitalization of coloured identity in the Western Cape. A survey was conducted during 1996 in three communities in the Cape metropolitan area (Prinsloo & De la Rey, 1997). According to Prinsloo, a competition for resources was an important reason for increased ethnic awareness and intergroup tension in this region.

Researchers outside the HSRC also conducted a number of studies. The French Institute of South Africa and the Foundation for Global Dialogue initiated a qualitative study among youth in various parts of the country (Duvenage, 1997). Other researchers concentrated on theoretical analyses of concepts such as nation building, racialism and non-racialism (Kotzé, 1997; Sharp, 1997). Psychologists at the University of Pretoria, on the other hand, concentrated on and found significant relationships between variables associated with psychological well-being and social identification (Mokgatlhe & Schoeman, 1998).

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A countrywide telephone survey among 2 401 respondents of all racial groups conducted in April 1994 by the Institute for a Democratic South Africa (IDASA) brought the researchers to the conclusion that the fact that the majority of blacks voted for the ANC in the 1994 elections, could not be regarded as a sign that ethnicity had ceased to be an important source of group identification for blacks (Mattes, 1994). For example, the majority of the ANC supporters still regarded themselves as members of a community defined by culture or language. The overall majority of the respondents also regarded language and culture as either important or very important. Professor Hennie Kotzé of the University of Stellenbosch - who acted as consultant for the study - commented that stability in the new South Africa would only be reached if all groups felt sure that their identities were not threatened. He also pointed to the danger that group differences might lead to group mobilization, especially during periods of low economic growth.

Follow-up studies were also conducted during 1995 by Kotzé of the University of Stellenbosch for the Adenauer-Stiftung (Kotzé, 1997) and Mattes of the Cape Town Democracy Centre of IDASA (Mattes, 1997). The results of their studies were in accordance with the results of the 1995 HSRC Omnibus survey. Mattes also included various questions on citizenship. He concluded that the lack of a primary South African identity may not be as problematic for democratization as is often hypothesized. The majority of the respondents in his study - despite primary identification with ethnic or racial categories (that is in 1995) - also registered widespread pride in their South African citizenship. Similar results were obtained for other measurements of citizenship, e.g. the willingness to defend South Africa in the case of an external threat. He proposed that future research address group identification in more dimensions than before. Identification with groups other than the state and identification with South Africa should be measured separately. The relative loyalties and commitments that people hold towards each category and the level of politicization and mobilization related to each category should also be assessed. Furthermore the way in which identity links with concepts such as legitimacy, stability and other perceptions of the social order should be investigated.

The conclusion can be drawn that various South African researchers conducted quantitative as well as qualitative studies on issues of identity and the implications for nation building and governance in South Africa. However, although they sought the insight of their peers at workshops and conferences, their emphases differed to a certain extent. This is especially true for the large-scale quantitative studies that were undertaken. Whereas Bornman concentrated on the psychological and social correlates of group identification, Kotzé emphasized culture and religion, and Mattes focused more specifically on dimensions of citizenship. Due to various reasons it is also not possible to integrate the findings or to compare the results directly. For example, the type of measurements and the wording of questions differed in the various studies. A further problem is that the research methodology (a questionnaire survey conducted by means of personal interviews), sampling method and sample size employed by Kotzé and Mattes in 1995 differed from the methodology (a telephone survey) and sample size they used in 1994. The results of the various studies are consequently not always directly comparable. Mattes and Kotzé also did not conduct a survey during 1996 - the year in which Bornman registered a significant shift in favour of identification with the South African state.

Other voids in the existing knowledge base can also be identified. The construction of identities on various levels and their interrelationships and interaction with psychological, social and political factors are largely unexplored. Moreover, only scant attention - mostly on a theoretical level - has been given to the implications of globalization for identity formation, governance and democratic consolidation in South Africa. It is furthermore important to keep in mind that social identification is always in flux due to changing social, economic and

political factors. The ongoing monitoring of patterns of social identification on a longitudinal basis is consequently imperative to determine the potential implications for state and society.

It is thus imperative that researchers of various disciplines and institutions should join forces in order to obtain more in-depth insight into and a multi-faceted image of the implications for South Africa and that funding for such projects should be found.

SECTION B
Reconstructing the 'Rainbow Nation' through Popular Identities, Symbols and Culture

Charles Malan[2]

Introduction

No longer the pariah of the West, in 1994 South Africa could take its place in the global community by displaying the most popular of its new symbols – its new national flag. It could now fly proudly alongside those of the world's nations at President Nelson Mandela's inauguration, another highly symbolical event. Many hopes, and questions, were raised. Could the country now become not only an African but a global role player? Could the global forces of democratisation, capitalism, welfarism, constitutionalism and human rights serve as models to build and reshape the new democracy? Would the new government's nation-building project succeed in uniting the many ethnic, linguistic, religious and other identities to such an extent that its citizens could identify with the 'Rainbow Nation' and transcend their divisive differences? Could an apartheid culture with its separate 'identities' be replaced by a democratic culture of 'unity in diversity', through a process of reconciliation symbolised by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission? Could a new perception of democratic citizenship based in an empowered civil society be established, to counteract the devastating apartheid perceptions of the majority of the population being 'second-class citizens'? Could the new constitution, based on the best available models, ensure a culture of human rights that could guard against apartheid malpractice in future? Could the spectacular information revolution be used to catapult the country into the new millennium?

Only time can give lasting answers to these questions, and in the meantime research can help monitor the processes and point to lessons learned along the difficult way. It is clear that comprehensive research is urgently needed. The major debates on the nature of nation-building have been given new life by urgent debates on racism, resulting in a national conference in August 2000, linked to minority and cultural rights that again are based in often conflicting identities.

Three areas need particular scrutiny in this kind of investigation and will be surveyed in the sections below:

- Nation-building and identity construction
- Race, gender and the position of minorities
- The role of the information revolution and the media in developing the nation

Seen as a whole these areas cover some of the most pressing problems that the democratic government had to deal with after 1994. First of all they had to embark on a comprehensive nation-building project in a country artificially divided into a number of separate "countries" by apartheid architects. The project was not made easier by the fact that many problematic issues did not disappear with the transition - the crucial problems around race and racism, and on the other hand gender issues and the legitimate rights of minorities that could or did feel threatened by the way nation-building was implemented. In addressing nation-building and the major problematic issues the government had to deal with the most visible public impact of globalisation: the information revolution and specifically the role of the media and information and communication technologies (ICTs) in the project of "developing the nation".

Subprojects of the investigation will monitor the successes and failures of the nation-building project, the creation of a political community and the construction of both collective and new sub-national identities. The national problem regarding "the nation" is the following: Can the nation-building project be sustained and a cohesive political community be established according to global models, while the problems related to the accommodation of sub-national identities and minority rights are multiplying? What policy strategies are needed to accomplish unity in diversity and accommodate the many, often conflicting, identities?

Popular rule and popular culture

The social and political change to a democracy in South Africa around 1994 was regarded as a serious affair, with bombs, political power clashes and the operations of 'third forces' setting the tone. Few observers mentioned that popular culture played a significant and in some cases a decisive role in the transition to popular rule and the transcendence of ethnic and nationalist identities. During the unprecedented transformation of both political and cultural power relations in South Africa, 'the popular' became an increasingly powerful communication channel for the transfer of values, relationship models and ideological messages.

During its initial election campaign the African National Congress (ANC) positioned itself on a populist basis, and thereby expertly harnessed the many powers of 'the popular'[3] to propagate their political agenda. They ensured the strongest possible populist support by sharing power in a Government of National Unity with the country's major parties, including their sworn enemies from the apartheid era, the Nationalist Party. After six years of democratic rule it is enlightening to see what has remained 'popular' of initial nation-building and development programmes.

South Africa has been praised as the country that has set an example for the rest of the world through a relative peaceful way this country has transformed itself from an apartheid to a 'rainbow' society. Although no one can deny that the transition had some features of an often-quoted 'miracle', the perception that it was miraculous bears testimony to the effectiveness of popular representation. The nation-building project had shown remarkable successes, but the fact is that at the end of the millennium the country had the doubtful distinction of being one of the most crime- and violence-ridden countries in the world. Human rights were entrenched in the constitution, but in everyday life they often have little or no meaning. Robberies, car hijackings, rapes and corruption that reach media headlines in most countries, were locally often relegated to

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3 'The popular' is used in the widest sense of the term. A number of connotations attached to the root of populus applies: 'of the people'; various forms of culture (populist, folk, democratic, mass and common culture), being popular, widely acknowledged or desired, even 'pop' when related to music, fashion, etc.

small reports in the newspapers because they were hardly 'news' any more. Moreover, the political leaders were the first to lament that the gap between the haves and have-nots had increased alarmingly. The present president, Thabo Mbeki, even referred to the division of the country into two 'nations': a poor black and an affluent white nation. This 'model' country was plagued by mass poverty, the unemployment of a third of the population, a crisis in education, deficient health and crime prevention services, and perhaps most alarming, HIV/AIDS that was destroying entire communities.

"The nation" - reconstruction as deconstruction

At the end of the millennium, six years after the transition, South African society's ills were still most often blamed on the legacy of apartheid, and in most cases, rightly so. The new ANC-led government that was democratically elected in 1994 certainly faced tremendous challenges. Their blueprint for development, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), contained the most important code word: 'reconstruction'. The reconstruction approach was underpinned by the following: "Reconstruction and development requires a population that is empowered through expanded rights, meaningful information and education, an institutional network fostering *representative* and indirect democracy, and *participatory* and direct democracy" (GNU, 1994:120). In terms of democratic change it actually meant the reconstruction and transformation not only of apartheid concepts of top-down 'development', but of the structure of the entire nation-state, of all major power relations in it and indeed of 'the nation' itself (or at least of its articulations and representations). Reconstruction was based on deconstruction, as characterised by the theoretical Deconstructionist school of thought, i.e., through questioning and even undermining established relationships between meaning, representation and power.

Initially the government had overwhelming support from the media for the project of re-/deconstructing the nation and development, particularly from the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC,) the all-powerful broadcast media. However, some printed media were less congenial, with both the English and Afrikaans language press becoming sceptical about the government's ability to deliver on its RDP-related promises.

One of the most daunting challenges for the reconstruction project was to accommodate the various ethnic identities built on powerful mythologies, which often fuelled a fierce and exclusionist nationalism. There is no denying that years of apartheid conditioning based on separate identities contributed to entrench various forms of ethnic identity and imagined communities. However it would be naïve to assume that by far most of the black population were ready for 'reconstruction' according to government blueprints. Resistance, particularly among the rural black population, manifested itself in the persisting trouble that the ANC has had in accommodating traditional leaders and with maligned practices such as community 'courts'.

Apartheid categorisation notwithstanding, ethnic symbolism has always been a powerful force for group cohesion in South Africa. The groups that have attracted most attention with their highly visible and mobilising symbols are the Zulu's and Afrikaners. For a considerable period both shared the myth of "a common ancestor" and each saw itself as a race of proud warriors and even conquerors. The Zulu's conquered and assimilated a number of tribes to build the mighty Zulu kingdom. In their turn the Voortrekkers conquered the black tribes and appropriated vast stretches of land. Leaders have always been central to these mythologies. Continuing a lineage stretching from Chaka Zulu, the Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Zulu king Goodwill Zwelitini have always been proud to wear their traditional skin attire at ceremonial occasions. Since the days of the legendary President Paul Kruger and the other presidents of the Boer republics, for generations Afrikaners regarded their leaders with awe, up to the crumbling of

the National Party empire. Each leader inherited the cloak of Moses, destined to lead his chosen people to an apartheid Promised Land that had no resemblance to the New South Africa.

Given the largely unresolved problems involved in accommodating these perceptions of identity and the mythology on which it is based, perhaps the peaceful nature of the transition was the only miracle to speak of. Not surprisingly, this could be attributed largely to the multi-denominational religious character of South African society, and its excellent inter-faith collaboration. Taking into account that there are hundreds of syncretistic religious groupings that combine Christian and African traditions, it is estimated that up to 77 % of the population are Christians. The various denominations, particularly the largest one, the black-based Zionist Christian Church, played a decisive role in popularising concepts such as peace and forgiveness that is seldom recognised by analysts. The religious institutions thus provided the value system for the process of peace-keeping in which cultural reconstruction can (and in South Africa did) play a significant role.

One strategy relatively easy to identify and agree on during the transition period was to popularise the concept of unity in diversity, one nation in one country. Although academics disagreed about the nature of the nation-building project,[4] they were generally in consensus on the need for it. At least leaders could make good use of the upsurge in national pride leading up to the first elections (Johnson and Schlemmer, 1996).

Nation-building soon became mass mediated as a commodified project in the NSA. Media and the advertising industry seized the opportunity to latch on to the euphoria of "together we are entering a new era and building a new rainbow nation". As Seleti (1997) illustrates in the case of Mozambique's nation-building project, the media takes the nation as their audience for granted, serving as a conduit for the politicians' discourse on national identity. Significantly, in 1989, a black-readership newspaper, *The Sowetan*, took the lead in popularising the concept of nation-building. Various media supported related symbols and even created their own, as is illustrated through the television's Channel One slogan of 'Simunye — We Are One'.

As Mary Jane Collier states in her submission of a subproject for the investigation, that part of the research will focus in part on the communicative means through which media institutions reinforce images of multiple cultural groups, social norms, and relationships. In addition researchers will describe the ways in which community members co-construct their multiple identities as they deliberate, collaborate, and experience conflict. Discourse reflected in print and broadcast media, group meetings, as well as everyday talk, particularly in South Africa today, are sites in which identities intersect, are contested, and reinforced, and in which institutions and ideologies are reified.

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4 Strategies of nation-building (Rhoodie and Liebenberg, 1994, ANC, 1997) differ with regard to the extent to which recognition is given to the existence of and provision for subgroups. Partisans of Jacobinistic nation-building, for example, regard loyalty to the state as of greater importance than loyalty to subgroups. They furthermore argue that the ideal of equality does not only imply the eradication of socio-economic differences, but also of cultural differences. In contrast, partisans of syncretistic nation-building regard ethnic, racial and other groupings as the building blocks larger than nation state. They usually advocate a policy of multiculturalism that recognises the uniqueness and equal rights of all subgroups in a society. They also oppose all attempts by the state to suppress or eradicate the differences between groups. For the South African debates see Rhoodie and Liebenberg (1994). Johan Degenaar argued against the notion of a nation-building discourse because of its potential exclusive tendencies and potential perceived Jacobinian elements. Herman Giliomee suggested the two nations/bi-nation thesis: two major power-blocks were at loggerheads, namely white and black nationalism. Both reflected some exclusive tendencies. The two streams would have to be accommodated separately in the new South Africa, he argued. Neville Alexander argued for the forging of a black working-class democracy, socialist in nature and workerist in its strategies. Others argued for a manageable process to effect democratic nation-building in South Africa, arguing from the premise that the nation-building discourse would be difficult if not impossible to ignore.

It should be pointed out that the new, mediated identity that emerged after 1994 largely evolved around popular forms in urban settings, and specifically those of the metropolis. Here the forces of globalisation have a direct and powerful impact on people's way of life. Most people in the largely impoverished and underdeveloped rural areas of this country live in 'another world'. The media has little influence in their lives. In fact, a national survey of March 1999[5] showed that the media in general has a limited role in information dissemination. Respondents were asked "Where do you get most of your information on political decisions that effect your community?" In eight of the nine provinces an average of only 51 % respondents got most of their information from the media.

Research is needed to analyse the successes and failures of the nation-building project, which will be further discussed below. In particular it should be asked to what extent the 'reconstruction' endeavour has had an impact on rural South Africans.

Basically 'popular' means of and for the people. This is the main emphasis in the submission of a subproject for the investigation by Robert Mattes and Helen Macdonald. Regardless of the innovation and quality of the institutions, processes and rights embodied in its state-of-the-art constitution, the consolidation of democratic governance in a post-*apartheid* South Africa will ultimately depend on its people. Unless it can build a new community of South African citizens to bridge the divisions of the past, democratic governance will remain a hollow shell of rules and procedures. Building such a community involves two fundamental and simultaneous identity shifts: the first is away from apartheid distinctions toward a common South African identity; the second is a shift away from the status of subject toward that of citizen.

According to Mattes and Macdonald a new political community of South African citizens implies most fundamentally a mass public that gives life to constitutional protections, institutions and procedures. This means a large bulk of ordinary people who actively take part in various forms of civic action and allow others to do so. It also entails people who are willing to claim their civil and political rights and allow others to do so. It means people who are willing to meet their obligations to the democratic state regardless of whether or not they support government of the day. It implies a public willing to moderate and enlarge their demands on government so that public opinion is not simply an amalgamation of narrow and mutually exclusive "group demands." And finally, it implies ordinary people who reject any return to the past, or toward any authoritarian alternative, and who are willing to stand up and defend its young democratic institutions against any attempt to limit or end democracy.

The relationship between a new political community of citizens and a 'unified nation' will remain problematic. In his proposal for a subproject on sub-national identities Simon Bekker surveys the problems inherent in labelling. In the past, the identities of South Africans have generally been described in terms of race and ethnicity. Once the process of transition from apartheid toward a democratic state began, interest in identity studies grew significantly. The questions underlying this interest derive from the ghosts of South Africa's past and the dreams of its future. Does race continue to carry deep meaning? Have the meanings attached to the ethnic and racial labels of the 'old' South Africa persisted, labels such as 'Zulu', or 'Afrikaner' or 'Coloured'? Have South Africans developed a new national identity? The implication appears to be that South Africans are able to make one choice only - to belong together to a new nation, or to remain divided by offensive cleavages inherited from an unjust past. The two choices stand in an inverse

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5 The survey was conducted among 2 200 respondents throughout the country for the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) — see Roefs and Liebenberg (1999).

relationship to one another, according to a number of analysts. If older racial and ethnic identities persist, a national identity cannot emerge and, conversely, if and when the former identities dissolve, pride in and identification with the South African nation will flourish. This perspective obstructs the examination of new sub-national identities that may be emerging. According to Bekker it is probable that South Africans are developing for themselves multiple identities, some of which may be based neither on historically inherited labels nor on national sentiment. Only research can shed light on this possibility.

Towards a popular 'national' culture and identity?

The construction of a 'national' identity can hardly be planned in a committee room — although the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) policy architects might have thought they could. Different strategies are deployed to construct a sense of national belonging and identity. In more established nations, there is often the construction of a foundation myth, which focuses on origins, traditions and timelessness. In relatively new nations, such as South Africa, the primary strategy is the narrative of nation as is told and retold in national histories, literatures, the media and popular culture. These provide the set of stories, images, landscapes, historical events, national symbols and rituals that represent 'the nation'. Together these symbolic forms stand for the shared experiences, sorrows and triumphs, which give meaning to a nation. As members of a nation, citizens see themselves in their mind's eye sharing this narrative.

One of the first nation-building strategies by government, the media and civil society alike was the reference to a 'national', 'South African' and 'unifying' culture and its concomitant identity profile. However no cultural cement can help erect this kind of structure overnight in a country ravaged by apartheid. Popular phenomena were the only substance of any 'national' culture. People of all colours recognised commonalties in fashion, entertainment and basic values, and a range of producers and manufacturers were only too keen to supply the many pop products that were eagerly consumed.

The confusing diversity of forms has one common characteristic: their popularity, even if this is at a demarcated, subcultural level. The fluctuating and multifaceted nature of popular culture is ideally suited to reflect an elusive 'national' identity, which is always "a shifting, unsettled complex of historical struggles and experiences that are cross-fertilised, produced, and translated through a variety of cultures" (Giroux, 1995:53). The 'new' identity, captured in the name New South Africa, was consciously or unconsciously constructed, popularised and mediated by means of the following kinds of popular symbolic forms:

- The new national symbols: the flag, the combination form of the anthem and the national coat of arms.
- Mobilisation concepts and mottoes: rainbow nation, 'nation-building' as a rallying motto, 'reconstruction and development', African Renaissance, *ubuntu* (the African philosophy of 'I become a person through other persons'), *Masakhane* (community/nation-building), affirmative action, demonstrations with *toyi-toyiing* (rhythmic dancing during mass demonstrations).
- The new South African Constitution that entrenched human rights, ensuring that 'apartheid could never happen again'.
- The populist empowerment of civil society: 'the community' (imagined or otherwise) was the operating unit.

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- 'Pop' phenomena such as soap operas, ethnic art forms, pop music and advertisements linked to rugby, soccer, beer, etc. used for 'mass' identification.
- Re-articulated apartheid monuments and icons, even the concept *Amabokoboko* (the popular black name for the almost exclusively white Springbok rugby team that won the World Cup in 1996)
- Heroes and role models such as Nelson Mandela (Madiba) and freedom fighters.
- Youth culture: a common, global culture as opposed to subcultures and counterculture
- Collective identification forms negative to some sections of society: symbols used by criminals and gangs (AK 47s, post-1994 'freedom fighters' and Rambos, etc.).

The millions of South Africans who shared democratic citizenship after April 1994 not only started sharing commonalties, but they began recognising and celebrating the 'colourful' diversity of South African society. 'Managing diversity' became a favourite topic for training programmes, more popular than 'intercultural communication' and the often-detested 'affirmative action' that started changing the entire corporate scene.

Research is needed to analyse the complex relationships between symbols that resulted from globalisation, such as the South African Constitution, those representing the country and its people, and those held dear by specific cultural groups.

Rainbowism

During the political transition the stage was set for 'rainbowism'. In the NSA the rainbow with its harmonious blend of colours soon became a particularly apt identity symbol (although some cynics were quick to point out that there is no black in a rainbow). In a country that reveres heroes, it was important that such world-famous leaders as the new president, Mandela, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu propagated rainbowism.

Tutu revitalised the Old Testament symbol of peace and unity and initiated the new civil religion of the 'rainbow nation'. He used the rainbow symbol for the first time when the media covered the march of church leaders to Parliament in Cape Town in 1988. However the rainbow symbol only gained widespread popularity after the National Thanksgiving Service held on 8 May 1994. Five years later the rainbow as a symbol had become ubiquitous and competes with the flag as a national symbol.

Through repeated use the rainbow symbolism became loaded with a range of connotations that typified the NSA. Van Staden (1997:46) characterises the new ethos as follows: "Rainbowism, which may be regarded as an unofficial identity policy, recognises the differences between people, but rather insists on a common human nature and subscribes to concepts such as human dignity and human rights. Group rights are tolerated as long as they don't infringe upon individual human rights, and individual human rights are articulated within the context of a nation-state and a common history of apartheid, albeit on both sides of that history." Based on these moral high grounds, rainbowism at first was easy to sell, but it soon produced more questions than answers. That does not mean that it did not remain popular through the years. In the same way that enthusiasm for the new national symbols differed among population groups, rainbowism had different appeal for various groups. Perceptions changed fairly rapidly according to the beliefs of cultural and ethnic groups about their own interests that were being served, or not, by the national interests. It is significant that from 1994 to 1996 substantial

proportions of South Africans shifted their interpretation of the rainbow from the political to the religious sphere – an indication of its symbolic power.[6]

Rainbowism illustrated how popular culture and symbols could unproblematically address the need for common symbolic ground that was so vital to nation-building during the transition (Malan, 1994). For both the media and government the project of de-demonising and de-marginalising those previously considered 'others' received priority. To be empowered became a political imperative, and stereotypical portrayals had to be transformed. Ironically, the media did not start off by looking for representation models in Africa. Increasingly, the new projected identity of blacks in the media was based on associations with Western lifestyles and fashions, and inevitably also late capitalism. Bill Cosby and Benson became the new role models. According to Featherstone (1995:8) Western products are "consumed culturally as an image and an icon of a particular way of life". Similar to the way in which audiences identify with characters and situations in soap operas, even the poor can identify with and 'share' the Western-capitalist way of life. This shift in popular symbolism towards a shared common culture created the kind of common ground that is essential to rainbowism.

'Going public' and various forms of disclosure were therefore also a key function of the local popular culture during the transition period. With the media broadcasting live events, the stark reality of actual life dramas seemed to emulate the 'public voyeurism' techniques of the soap opera, when the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) staged the most dramatic disclosing exercise ever seen in this country by revealing the atrocities of apartheid. Some critics claimed that the previous regime became the scapegoat with relative less emphasis on the atrocities committed by other role players. In the process the TRC effectively identified the previous power block as the denigrated other by employing the very same disclosing tactics of apartheid which thrived on threats of 'communist plots'. However nobody could deny that the process of public accountability and transparency had taken a dramatic turn with the work of the Commission and that the public for the first time had some kind of 'symbolic control' over the representation of 'the truth' by the media, government and others.

One should not lose sight of the fact that the tremendous social and political changes during the transition were largely confined to urban areas. This was essentially the engine for most forms of social change in the country. The rate of urbanisation in South Africa has rapidly inclined since 1950s. In 1997, 57 % (21 million) of South Africans live in towns and cities. This is still an average level of urbanisation of a developing country. It is estimated that by the year 2010, 73 % of the population will be urban — 43,7 million people.

National and other symbols

The overt struggle between political groups that could act 'publicly' after February 1990, was only one aspect of the new conflicts that were arising. The struggle for control over symbolic forms, which was all too frequently related to the dichotomy between the West and Africa, manifested itself most fiercely in the fight for control over the most public of symbolic forms, namely national symbols.

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6 Möller, Dickow and Harris (1999:254) indicate the flux of support for rainbowism among the racial groups in South Africa. In 1994, a majority of 65% of South Africans were political rainbow supporters. Two years later, in June 1996, the political rainbow supporters had dropped to slightly less than half (48%), with a considerable loss of support among Indians, who were formerly the staunchest supporters. In 1996, the idea still found its greatest acceptance among coloured and black people, but it was a far less enthusiastic acceptance than two years earlier. Among whites, who in 1994 were already less supportive than other groups, the loss of the political rainbow supporters was less dramatic.

The battle for the two most important national symbols was won with remarkably little resistance, in fact only token resistance by the white rightwing. The colours of the ANC (black, green and yellow) were 'inserted' into the colours of the previous flag (orange, white and blue) in the form of a triangle to form the multicoloured new flag. In a similar fashion the African anthem known throughout southern Africa, 'Nkosi, Sikelel' iAfrika' was combined with the previous national anthem, 'The Call of South Africa' (Die Stem van Suid-Afrika).

The symbol that exerted the most important and measurable influence was the new National Constitution. Based on some of the most advanced modern constitutions in the world it entrenched human rights and ensured a system of checks and balances that could neutralise the misuse of power and prevent the re-emergence of apartheid practices.

The re-articulation and re-appropriation of traditional apartheid symbols and icons also contributed much towards the relatively smooth transition. They included the inauguration of the new president at the Union Buildings and of the new government in the Houses of Parliament, and the wearing of the previously vilified Springbok emblem by Mandela when South Africa triumphed at the rugby World Games. But the major credit for the 'miracle' of national acceptance of the transition process of course has to go to the greatest pop star in the stage show watched by the world: the icon Madiba, as Mandela is affectionately known. It says a lot about the power of local pop if Mandela can make his doting fan Michael Jackson look small in more than one sense of the word.

Deconstructing development – the RDP and after

Important as new symbols are, they alone could not win the hearts and minds of the people. The moment the ANC started campaigning before the 1994 election they began popularising their new blueprint for the all-important area of development, the RDP. In recent years it is argued internationally that development should be seen as part of culture and not vice versa, that culture is the basis of sustainable development. Particularly UNESCO's World Commission on Culture informs the position and Development's report *Our Creative Diversity* (1995).

The RDP vision left little doubt about the aim of fundamentally transforming the country and the previous approaches to culture. The Programme was defined as "an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework. It seeks to mobilise all our people and our country's resources toward the final eradication of the results of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future. It represents a vision for the fundamental transformation of South Africa" (GNU, 1994:4).

The symbolic power of the RDP may well lie in the fact that it soon became a myth with a secular, utopian *telos*. Initially it was a small step for black Christians in particular to recognise their identity in the Biblical downtrodden poor, the focus of the RDP.

Inevitably, it soon became clear that salvation for the poor could not be delivered overnight. The RDP certainly presented development as a 'cultural thing'. However the challenge to establish the perception that economic development is part of a people's culture is especially difficult in a country such as South Africa, where the gulf between the haves and the have-nots is growing instead of diminishing — in spite of the introduction of the utopian RDP. This growing gulf was used as the reason for Mandela's successor, President Thabo Mbeki (shortly before accepting office in 1999) to refer to the country's "two nations" that still were evident: a white and a black

nation divided by the poverty line. The only culture that matters for many is indeed a pervasive 'culture of poverty'.

When the political backlash of failing to deliver on RDP promises hit the ANC, the central RDP office was closed down and the Programme all but disappeared from the public eye. Its continuation is perceived to be restricted to isolated community projects. Its blueprint role was taken over by the Growth, Equity and Redistribution (GEAR) programme. The private sector was fully involved in the new programme's conception and it was firmly based on tested 'First World' capitalist economic models, and perhaps anticipating – or rather pre-empting – Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) which mostly are imposed from above outside actors such as the World Bank and the IMF. It was difficult, if not impossible, to popularise GEAR in the way it was done with the RDP. The ANC, which remained a movement rather than a party, was severely criticised for its adherence to Western-technicist economic models by its close allies, the South African Communist Party and the largest trade union, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

Socio-cultural, rather than only economic, development (and particularly reconstruction) was one of the RDP cornerstones. A cultural agenda was part and parcel of the Programme and entailed "unlocking the creativity of our people, allowing for cultural diversity within the project of developing a unifying national culture, rediscovering our historical heritage and assuring that adequate resources are allocated" (GNU, 1994:9). In its efforts to counteract the legacy of apartheid, the RDP seemed to move to the opposite extreme of emphasising a 'national' and 'South African' culture as a holistic concept. This was later affirmed in an ANC discussion document, *Nation-Formation and Nation Building* (ANC, 1997). Elsewhere (Malan, 1995) it is argued that, while such a holistic approach could be important for nation-building, it does not significantly recognise the importance of cultural diversity and heterogeneity that is central to culturally sensitive development. As UNESCO's World Commission concludes: "Attempts at 'nation building' through making all groups homogeneous are neither desirable nor feasible" (1995:17). In any case the RDP's reference to 'a unifying national culture' is destined at best to remain a utopian dream, at least in the foreseeable future. At worst, the ideal may be diametrically opposed to democratic culture, as one of the most respected local philosophers, Johan Degenaar (1993:55; 1994), fears.

The RDP made it clear that one area where development cannot ignore the socio-cultural setting is that of cultural identity. Development within a multicultural context must inevitably give rise to all kinds of tension (Mazrui, 1994). Again, probably due to the apartheid legacy, multiculturality as the background for policy formulation did not receive the attention it deserved, as was pointed out by the first minister responsible for culture, Dr Ben Ngubane (1996). A range of intercultural relationships is part and parcel of development: developers are often Western experts who have to interact with so-called 'Third World' people.

The development scene of the NSA could not escape the negative influences of globalisation on endogenous cultural values. With the preservation of cultural identity becoming a major issue among developing societies, the acceptance of the content of communication media across international borders includes an acceptance of foreign cultural values which could, perhaps, be antithetical to the values of the receiving society. Sections of civil society in this country strongly resisted the homogenisation that comes with globalisation and the dissemination of world culture. With the politics of identity as a framework, culture is positioned squarely on the development agenda.

Five years since the transition, many in South Africa were still dissatisfied with the results of attempts to popularise and redirect development. The tensions between populist control and capitalist manipulation, and between globalism and localism in the development field, had worsened. Much more research is needed to untangle the dynamics involved in these tensions.

The African Renaissance

Although nation-building was a top priority for the new democracy, the country also had to reposition itself at the same time within the forces of rapid globalisation and as the regional leader. Again the popular came to the rescue and the concept of an African Renaissance was revived. In 1996 the then Deputy President Mbeki, speaking to the South African Constitutional Assembly, declared: "Whatever the setbacks of the moment, nothing can stop Africa now. Whatever the difficulties, Africa shall be at peace. However it might sound to sceptics, Africa will prosper." Although Mandela also propagated the idea of an African rebirth, it was Mbeki who gave it a central role in international discourse and government planning.

Of course the notion of the African Renaissance is only the latest in a series of concepts and attempts to evolve a new paradigm for Africa. The past thirty years have seen the collapse of what used to be known as the orthodox consensus that defined 'civilisation'. So-called Western models have traditionally shaped African development with their stress on macro-economic theories and investments. These Western models recast Africans into appendages of the West, creating a generation of Europeanised individuals whose thought processes and lifestyles was an imitation of the West. But alongside this Europeanisation of the African worldview there has historically always been some political, cultural and even military resistance to it, led by the liberation struggles, Nkrumah's Pan Africanism, Senghor's notions of the negroid and authenticity, Nyerere's *Ujaama* or African Socialism, Molefe's Afrocentrism, etc. African Renaissance is a revival or culmination of this historic resistance to the Westernisation of Africa.

South Africa could hardly resist the strong forces of globalisation with its dominating and popular Western models for sectors as different as development, the Information Revolution, trade and industry, fashion, entertainment, art, etc. The country not only took the lead in adapting the Information Revolution for Africa, but also became caught up in the global whirlwind of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs). South Africa was the main architect of the African Information Society Initiative (AISI) that guides the use of ICTs for development in the continent. Ironically, while ICT companies flourished, the impoverished sector of society reaped almost no benefits from these ICTs.

The popularisation of Africanism could pacify the country's neighbours who were uneasy about new, uneven relationships. Since the early nineties the level of trade flows between South Africa and other Southern African states increased considerably, as did immigration into this country. Totals in 1996 accrued to five to eight million immigrants. South Africa's SADC (Southern African Development Community) alliance generally resulted in market competition, and tensions arose between locals and immigrants. The leading position of the new democracy certainly did not always make it 'popular' with its neighbours. South Africa's renewed regional integration is characterised by substituting Zimbabwe's role as a core of SADC and characterises polarised and asymmetrical integration with other SADC role players: disparity in size (South Africa's GDP is larger than the rest of SADC); polarisation (regional flows of goods, people and capital converge on South Africa); trade surplus on the part of the centre; moreover, this country exerts a brain drain (doctors and intellectuals) and supplies the location of headquarters and centres for trade dispersion is in South Africa.

As a giant in both economic and demographic terms, South Africa as the newest member of SADC dwarfs the economies of other SADC states such as Zambia, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Swaziland and to an extent even Botswana. Botswana, one of Africa's most stable economies, and a stable democracy for over three decades, provides with South Africa a positive political and economic nexus within SADC. Against this background Landsberg and Kornegay (1998) ask whether South Africa can lead an African Renaissance. They argue that provided the Renaissance version does not balkanise Southern Africa and takes part in 'regionalising reconstruction and development' the potential for such a contribution may exist. "Whatever other obstacles face an African Renaissance, Pretoria's foreign policy choices — and South Africa's internal political development — remain crucial to the continent's prospects for renewal" (Landsberg and Kornegay, 1998: 47).

Again there was a price to be paid for popularising the Africanisation inherent in the concept of an African rebirth, particularly if it is seen to be opposed to the ideals of rainbowism. The symbol could alienate sectors of society. The 1997 ANC discussion document on nation-building not only stressed a united nation, but now also tried to popularise it as "an African nation on the African continent ...in outlook, in the style and content of its media, in its cultural expression, in its food, in the language accents of its children" (ANC, 1997). The emphasis on Africanism prompted Filatova (1997:51) to conclude that the rainbow ideal would cease to exist if the new policy was officially adopted – the text "offers little to those who are neither African nor poor black".

Locally the ideals of Africanism could easily be linked to the widely popularised African philosophy of *ubuntu*, togetherness, summarised by the slogan 'I become a person through other persons'. This approach to collectivity and sharing, typical of black communities, was often used to counteract the Western emphasis on individualism and achievement. *Ubuntu* should have been the driving force for the *Masakhane* (community-building) campaign, which was far less popular because it became associated with the non-payment of rates and taxes in the townships, again a result of resistance against apartheid.

The harmony implied in the concepts of an African Renaissance and *ubuntu* was undermined internally by the negative perceptions and stereotyping of both immigrants and emigrants as 'the other'. The stream of immigrants that entered the country from neighbouring countries, mostly unlawfully, led to the exacerbation of unemployment and wide-spread xenophobia. On the other hand emigrants who leave the country for reasons of crime, job security, the worsening infrastructure, etc., are often perceived to be 'sell-outs'.

Much research is needed to analyse the practical, economic, symbolic and other implications of an African Renaissance campaign as a means of countering the relentless forces of globalisation and strengthen an African identity.

Perceptions of the New South Africa

Nation building endeavours had mixed results for various sectors of South African population. However the sloganeering easily swayed young people, with their natural instinct for the popular. Dickow (1998) describes the results of a qualitative study in which South African youth were requested to write letters describing their lives in the new South Africa. It was found that slogans associated with nation-building such as 'the rainbow nation' and 'Simunye — We Are One' had become quite popular and were often quoted in the letters.

Did the nation-building project therefore 'work'? At face value it worked as well as any government could have hoped for. One can first look at statistics before asking more questions about the 'success story'. A 1998 survey among all population groups[7] showed that most citizens of the country were very proud of being South African (Bornman and Malan, 1999). There also seemed to be a national identity with which most citizens can identify. Respondents were asked to indicate on a five-point scale how proud they were of being a South African, with 5 indicating most pride and 1 least pride. The mean scores for all the groups were 4 or above. This indicates that the majority of the sample — including all racial and ethnic/cultural groups — were particularly proud to be citizens of the country. A similar survey conducted in March 1999 showed that this group numbered 85 % of South Africans. Some findings were the following:

- Pride in being South African and regard for the new symbols were strongest among blacks of all language groups. The nation-building project seems to be working exceptionally well for these groups.
- The survey indicated that national and other popular symbols play an important role in representing a shared South African identity. However, while white Afrikaans-speaking people were proud of being South African, they did not regard the national flag and anthem as highly and concepts such as 'rainbow nation' and 'African Renaissance' as important and probably did not identify with them. Since most respondents of this group were prepared to accept new national symbols in 1993-1994 (Malan, 1993), this is a significant shift in perception. White Afrikaans-speaking people, or Afrikaners, may be amongst the most alienated of all the groups. The survey showed that the more alienated people felt with regard to the political system in South Africa, the less importance they attached to the symbols.
- The South African Constitution is regarded as the most important symbol by all citizens and is a major factor that binds citizens of all ethnic and racial groups together.
- The idea of an African Renaissance does not appeal to other groups in a similar way than to blacks, and whites of both language groups do not regard it as important.

After five years of the NSA there was no denying that strategies such as enforced affirmative action had, on the one hand, resulted in much-needed reform, but on the other hand caused bitter resentment among groups such as newly impoverished and unemployed whites and the 'coloureds' of the Western Cape and some Indian people. The initial goodwill and willingness to share the country's wealth had been eroded by what was experienced by the affected as a new form of discrimination, heavy taxation, widespread corruption and crime.

Surveys showed that South Africans were reacting very favourably to the sense of unity and peaceful co-existence. But that was only one part of the popular picture, and many questions remained unresolved. Within the context of the nation-state waning at the end of the millennium, Balseiro (1997:7) as a non-South African grants that at least the seeds of unity are necessary if peaceful coexistence is to be a reality. "But national unity at what cost? And who sacrifices what?" she then asks. "So, is forging a nation out of the disparate shards of pain and oppression that make up South Africa a worthy cause?" Clearly there are no popular answers to these disconcerting questions.

The levelling of hierarchies

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7 The survey was conducted for the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) and involved a countrywide random sample of 2 182 respondents representative of all population groups, provinces and regions.

There could be, and probably is, a very simple reason why commissions, policies and blueprints aimed at nation-building and even multiculturalism had not really captured public attention towards the end of the millennium. The lively, ever-changing NSA had conditioned its citizens to deconstruct the 'edifice complex'. There was a growing impatience with the myriad councils, structures, restrictions, forms of red tape, etc., that characterised the 'old' South Africa and even the heydays of the RDP.

Lightning-fast changes had catapulted the country into the era of post-modernism. Eventually even the most traditional sectors of society had to be influenced by the forces of globalisation typical of a post-industrialised society where networking and the information explosion were threatening the essence of the nation state.

It is not unusual that social revolutions are so quickly reflected by the most popular symbolic forms. Instantaneous change and adaptation is a feature of the popular. The fascination with the popular is in itself a post-modern phenomenon, for it is the mark of "the levelling of hierarchies and blurring of boundaries which is an effect of the explosion of the field of culture..." (Connor, 1989:184). There are therefore no longer clear distinctions between the cultural, social, economic and political.

The rapid crumbling of apartheid's cultural master codes ('white', 'Afrikaner', 'national', 'male') left vacuums for the conceptualisation of an own identity and that of the other. Even the Afrikaners were bewildered in the process of repositioning themselves, but likewise the ANC alliance's new set of codes ('of the people', 'African', 'South African') did not always succeed in uniting all sectors of the black population. At the same time globalisation assaulted people with the implications of being members of the network community and the global village, sharing in world and cyberculture. South Africans were therefore assailed by all kinds of identity options. Since the unbannings of 1990, Chapman (1997:21) maintains, "the identity of both white and black people has been assaulted by an array of new local and global discourses, programmes, modes of thought, accents and subjectivities. Whereas pre-global times were characterised by oppositions, global times are about proliferations; instead of unitary systems we have diverse modalities and rapid mobilities". In such a situation of fluidity the use of popular symbolism for the establishment and maintenance of subcultural identities is obvious.

Subcultural groupings such as feminists, gays, Aids awareness campaigners and the 'green' conservationists are using popular publications and emblems to campaign in an increasingly militant manner against different cultural master codes. Privilege based on race, class, gender, sexuality, religion, literacy, educational level and so forth, are in fact most subtly being undermined at a popular symbolic level.

It remains an open question whether popular culture, besides the centrifugal force it exercises, does not nevertheless contribute centripetally to promoting a shared or 'national' culture. The popular at least served to bind South Africans together, especially in its associations with global culture and universal popular trends. It seems that the value of the popular is not so much in its contribution to an illusive national identity, but in its celebration of diversity and many forms of subjectivity. Addressing South Africans, Stuart Hall (1997:16) had this to say about a rainbow identity (his emphases):

> We need to begin to think about cultural identity with that notion of the fact of the *relationship*, the *forging of the relationship between past, present and future*. Not in an imitative or monumentalist way but in the way, which enables *new subjects to be introduced*. We talk about there being rainbow subjects, we just have to spend a lot of time

thinking about what it is. But it is a new subject. We are talking about the production of *a new subjectivity*.

Using the concept of a political community of citizens it can be argued that at the end of the millennium South Africa had reached a juncture where it was necessary for citizens to reach consensus on shaping their own future. The grand narratives for development and the reconstruction of society had lost their hold due to cultural fragmentation. There was little doubt about the country's leading role in the region and in Africa, but many doubts about the mobilising power of a myth such as the African renaissance. Internally, after five years of democratic rule the answers could no longer be sought in ideologies and the illusive notion of a single, united nation, however popular they may be. As has been discussed, cultural symbolism is important as a means of ensuring unity and recognising diversity, but the critical issue was to move ahead towards consolidating democracy, to move beyond ideologies and sloganeering. To achieve this the focus should be on ensuring an empowered civil society, accountable governance and social justice. Perhaps what was needed in South Africa was a new social contract.

Research is needed to map out the implications of postmodernist fragmentation of identities and culture, and the emergence of new sub-identities. If the constructions of both a single united nation and homogenous ethnic groups such as Zulu's or Afrikaners are perceived to be myths, only research can inform policy- and decision-makers how new identities in the changing South African landscape is taking shape.

SECTION C
Race, gender and the position of minorities

Charles Malan

The clash of cultures

Non-racialism, which is integral to the concept of rainbowism, was popularised in an astonishingly short period. One of the most significant manifestations was the way in which the media stopped referring to skin colour in reports. Public spaces such as restaurants, previously white suburbs and schools became integrated in a fairly peaceful way. The integration of highly visible national sports teams, previously a contentious issue, eventually was accomplished without much tension. Popularisation ensured much of the cultural synergy that is reflected in Steyn and Motshabi's collection of essays (1996) on the topic. Still, there was no denying that as the ANC entered its second term of office in 1999 much of the popular veneer of rainbowism had worn off. According to Friedman (1999:3) the 'obvious' interpretation of the country's second universal-franchise election on 2 June 1999 is that politics in South Africa was in grave danger of becoming 're-racialised'.

The end of institutionalised apartheid certainly did not bring an end to the many tensions resulting from intercultural interaction. In many cases, such as the desegregation of rural Afrikaner schools and the integration of the erstwhile freedom fighters into the defence force, these tensions eventually flared up in ugly racism and violence. The media were constantly on the lookout for

these sensational and newsworthy incidents that frequently involved Afrikaners. In general, "(w)hite racism, particularly on the cultural and institutional levels, continues to distort the contribution of Africans" (Sonn, 1996:9).

In his submission of a subproject on racism for the present investigation Kevin Durrheim summarises the gaps in local knowledge about racism compared to the position in other Western Democracies. Opinion surveys in the U.S.A., Europe and Australia have indicated that opinions of the 'white' majority about 'black' minorities have become substantially more tolerant and liberal in the past few decades. This qualitative shift in mass opinion has been attributed to broad changes in the value systems that occurred in these countries in the second half of the 20th century. These liberal-democratic, 'developed' societies of the West have outlawed racism and uphold egalitarian norms. During the 1990s the racist principle of apartheid was rejected in South Africa and racist legislation scrapped as liberal values of equality and human rights were enshrined in the constitution. Have the racial opinions of the mass populous changed accordingly? Do changes in the content, structure and correlates of South African racial attitudes mirror those of the Western Democracies? These broad shifts in attitudes have had their impact on attitude surveys, as new measures have had to be developed, sensitive enough to measure 'symbolic', 'subtle', 'aversive' 'modern' racism. One of the first tasks in measuring contemporary South African attitudes is to develop valid and reliable measures of racism.

According to Durrheim's planning, and building on previous research on distributive justice, the present study will examine how sub-group identification (with 'racial' groups), superordinate-group identification (with an inclusive 'South African' identity) and racial opinion may influence 'white' and 'black' South Africans' perceptions of the (in)justice of different aspects of the government's programme of land reform (which embraces sub-policies of tenure reform, land restitution and land redistribution) and affirmative action. Land reform and affirmative action have been chosen as a research context not only because is they are a cornerstone of the government's efforts to reduce poverty, but also because they form part of a broader strategy for promoting national reconciliation by redressing the injustices of the apartheid era.

Racism and non-racialism cannot be isolated from the issue of human rights. After the ANC government's first term of office minority and cultural rights remained a bone of contention. Afrikaner intellectuals in conjunction with radical black scholars pointed out that the government after five years in power had failed to translate rainbowism into the effective protection of minority rights. There were heated complaints that the policy of multilingualism was not working and that the language that was most widely used in the country, Afrikaans,[8] was being sidelined through official practices. Only in 1999 a Commission for the Promotion and the Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities was in the process of being established. It should provide an institutional framework for the rights to the expression of community identity through culture, language and religion. Such a framework was intended to inculcate the principle of equality of status and the value of all cultures, religions and languages. Its objective is to capture the duality of differentiation and equality. The new body's impact will be tested within the new millennium.

There were good reasons to place the Commission and the complex issues that it had to deal with 'on hold' for five years. Apartheid ghosts were still perceived everywhere. South Africa has always been a society divided along ethnic, race and linguistic lines. These divisions opened the

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8 Although Zulu is the language with the most speakers, Afrikaans is used in most provinces and firmly entrenched as a language of education, science, business, etc.

way for politicians to inflict social engineering on society as a way of regulating conflict, such as apartheid and pseudo-consociationalism. The effect of these political systems was to entrench the divisions further, making democratisation even more difficult. It seems that stronger and more developed group identities are associated with greater inter-group antipathy, threat and intolerance (Gibson and Gouws, 1998:15). South Africans who identify exclusively with a particular subgroup are amongst the less democratic segments of the population. Strong group identities are therefore not conducive to democratic politics. A consolidated democracy encompasses the idea of a nation which may consist of different identities but which are tolerated by each other. This has to be a more solid identity than the idea of a "rainbow nation" (*ibid.*).

The establishment of the Commission will probably stimulate much-needed debates about the nature and strategies of nation-building and the promotion of multiculturalism and cultural pluralism. During the eighties the apartheid regime contaminated even the concept of cultural pluralism, using it as the sugar coating for its ideology. However cultural pluralism is now generally recognised as an organising principle of society – particularly in countries with a policy of multiculturalism, such as Australia, Canada and Sweden (UNESCO, 1998). In contrast to the idea of the melting pot, which promises to erase ethnic and group differences, different groups are encouraged to maintain their cultural heritage or to assimilate or do both. Differences among groups are seen as a national resource rather than a problem to be solved – they are reflected in many forms of popular culture. The pluralist approach to multiculturalism promotes a broader interpretation of a common South African culture and looks for due recognition for the ways that the nation's many racial, ethnic, and cultural groups have transformed the national culture.

Whatever the emphasis, the role of culture, including popular culture, is generally been recognised in the process of sustaining democracy. Areas where cultural issues have acquired particular salience are those concerned with self-determination and ethnic nationalism, indigenous autonomy and the entitlements of minorities, the various categories of human rights, and the possibilities of establishing democracies outside of the West (Lawson, 1998: 251). Culture within a democracy is closely associated with the establishment, enhancing and sustaining of the democratic process amidst potential cultural tensions. The art of politics in this sense is to maintain democratic structures among potential cultural tensions or clashes, without regression into civil strife.

The problems related to popularising unity-in-diversity are of course found internationally and closely related to globalisation. One of the central questions that preoccupied UNESCO at their 1998 intergovernmental conference in Stockholm was "how to define national identity so that all communities can identify with the country and its self-definition" (UNESCO, 1998). The implications of their international action plan for which pluralism is a guiding force still have to be related to South African policies. UNESCO is hardly mentioned in policy discourses.

At least at the end of the millennium social and structural changes in South Africa had worked in favour of multiculturalism and cultural pluralism. Society was becoming more ethnically and culturally integrated and there was a class breakthrough with the relative normalisation of relations and the emergence of a new black bourgeoisie. With the new middle class emerging, suburbs were integrating in numerous areas. Socio-economic cross-cuttings were emerging, which invariably may lead to a more stable society.

Continuing research will have to indicate what shifts in the perceptions of a national identity have occurred and, following global trends, how multiculturalism can be introduced as central government policy – if that is possible. Research aimed at policy formulation is urgently needed to inform policy aimed at explosive issues such as the safeguarding of minority group and cultural rights.

SECTION D
The Role of the Information Revolution and the Media in Developing the Nation

Pieter Conradie

1   Introduction: The global information revolution

It is becoming increasingly evident that all countries are subject to globalising developments, and that as the constraints of geography shrink the world is rapidly becoming a single place (Waters, 1995). This **globalisation** process can be described as "the confluence of economic, political, social, and cultural factors interacting on a world scale thanks to the expansion of knowledge, information, trade, and technology beyond geographic borders and poles of economic activity" (Morales-Gómez, 1997).

Manual Castells, in his trilogy on *The Information age: Economy, Society and Culture* (1996, 1997, 1998), states that the world is undergoing a historic period of transformation to a **new global social order** where networking is the major pattern of social organisation. The economy of this new societal system is increasingly characterised by informationalism (productivity and success depends on the ability to handle information) and globalism (organised on a global scale through networks), while the principal driving force of this process has been the development and rapid spread of information and communication technologies (ICTs) which provide the necessary platform for an emerging "information" economy (Wilenius, 1998).

It would seem that this emerging global "informationised" society (Webster, 1995) - also called the "**information society**" (European Community Information Society Project Office, 1995) - heralds profound changes (Forbairt, 1996a) in many walks of life, but also that the new dispensation provides both opportunities (Share, 1993 & 1997b; Forbairt, 1996b) and threats (Oppenheimer, 1997; Share, 1997a & 1997b).

Given the growing prominence of and demand for especially the digital information and communication technologies that are driving many of the globalisation processes, political policy makers and practitioners concerned with developmental initiatives, increasingly have to take decisions that weigh up technological potential with the requirements of local social development. It is not however at all clear whose projections these decision makers should heed regarding the **impact of ICTs** on societies, for there is a sharp difference between the optimistic projections made from the "utopian" perspective and those made from the more pessimistic "dystopian" perspective.

According to the optimistic or **utopian perspective**, many positive changes can be expected on different levels of society, including an increased potential for economic growth, better provision of information and education, more democratic political processes and better quality social services. On the other hand, the **dystopian perspective** predicts that the ICT deployment will simply reinforce historical trends toward socio-economic disparities, inequality in political power and gaps between knowledge élites and the knowledge-disenfranchised (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), 1997).

2   The impact of the information revolution on development in South Africa

Policy makers world-wide have mostly advocated a generally utopian perspective with regard to potential impacts of the information revolution on development, irrespective of the context in which specific ICTs applied. For example, a UNESCO (1996) position paper states that for developing countries the question that should be afforded high priority is not *whether* they should participate in the information society, but rather *how* information technologies can effectively be applied to development.

Policy and decision makers in **South Africa** also mostly seem to have taken an optimistic view with regard to potential developmental benefits of ICTs in society. Examples of this are the government's Comtask Report (South Africa, 1996a), the White Papers on Science and Technology and Telecommunication Policy (South Africa, 1996b &1996c), the Development Bank's "Info.com" report (Townsend, 1997), and position papers by the Department of Communication (1999a).

One of the areas in which it is vital for the country that the information revolution (especially applications of digital ICTs such the Internet) should lead to positive developmental outcomes, is **the educational arena**, where the focus is on ICT applications that attempt to promote information provision and learning. According to the "utopian" perspective that is supported by the powers that be, the information age heralds global access to information to all on an unprecedented scale, especially via the Internet. In turn this is expected to open new opportunities of learning with computers (as distinct from learning about computers) for old and young, e.g. pupils, teachers and education administrators (Seepe, 1997). Prominent among the opportunities (see Franklin and Kinnel, 1990; Schank, 1994) is the potential of new interactive technologies to foster a new **learning culture** in societies, as opposed to the teaching-orientated culture that has been prevalent in most of our educational institutions in the past. Barker and Tucker (1991) call this the "interactive learning revolution".

According to the opposing more pessimistic perspective, in developing countries like South Africa the lack of access to ICT facilities and training will prevent benefits flowing equally to all sectors of society. In education only the most skilled and wealthy learners are expected to be able to take advantage of the new interactive learning potential of ICTs, creating even greater disparities than before. Information overload could also hamper rather than promote learning.

It is clear that local policy makers have placed a high priority in transforming South Africa into a **"knowledge-based society"** through the use of ICTs (Department of Communication, 1999a &199b; South Africa, 1996b, 1996c, & 1996d). However, a prerequisite for this is wide-spread access to ICTs. Accordingly there have been a number of large-scale **initiatives** aimed at improving the telecommunications and electricity **infrastructure** in all parts of the country (e.g. by Eskom, Telkom, MTN, and Vodacom). In the educational arena this has been accompanied by a number of actions aimed at connecting **schools, colleges and universities** country-wide to the Internet and at developing and supporting ICT training and implementations in these institutions.

The most notable actions of this kind are those of SchoolNet SA (working in conjunction with the Department of Education and the IDRC), and the Department of Communication's "Internet 200" and "DOC-WIL" (Web Internet Laboratory) projects (Department of Communication, 1999b & 1999c).

Research conducted locally - see the "TELI" (Technology Enhanced Learning Investigation) report (South Africa, 1996d) - has pointed to the importance of using ICT to enhance **learner-orientated interactive learning**, i.e. learning that is learner-initiated rather than teacher-driven, and that is characterised by information seeking by learners rather than teacher instruction and memorisation by pupils. The report suggested that benefits associated with such a learner-centered educational approach can be obtained by using interactive and hypertext media (Internet, CD-ROM) in educational settings and by means of simulated interaction through multimedia technologies.

It is however still not known **what contextual circumstances** are optimal for achieving learning benefits this kind of interactive ICT-usage. For example, in situations where the learners involved all have an initial lack of familiarity with ICTs, local studies have pointed out that it might be necessary to use ICT-supported cooperative learning environments to promote learning (De Villiers, 1995; Grobler, 1995; Potgieter & Conradie, 1998; Conradie,1998).

With regard to **adult basic education & training** there have also been a number of actions aimed at establishing community "telecentres" - locations where ICTs are available for use by local communities - in both urban and rural areas. Rural telecentres are useful venues for a variety of ICT-related **educational** and **developmental interventions**. The most prominent telecentre launching actions have been conducted by the Universal Service Agency (USA), the Department of Communication (their "Public Information Terminal" initiative), the Government Communication Information System (GCIS), while a number of telecentres have also been established by NGOs (see the 1998 telecentre database of the National Information and Technology Forum). This increase in the number of telecentres prompted the 1999 BICA (Building an Information Community in Africa) conference to propose that as the lack of access to ICT facilities was being addressed by many initiatives in South Africa, priority issues to tackle now were promoting effective ICT-mediated information provision and exchange, as well as the provision of ICT training (e.g. for telecentre staff).

Major issues that remain unresolved are how to deploy ICTs effectively in telecentres in order to reap optimal educational or other developmental benefits, and how communities using the telecentres can best be assisted to make the most of the development information on offer there. The latter brings to the fore the whole issue of how development support communication should be applied in telecentres. The recent Telecentre 2000 study (Stavrou & Benjamin, 2000) has also indicated that the long-term economic sustainability of telecentres is still a major problem.

Another area in which local policy makers are hopeful that the information revolution will lead to positive developmental outcomes, is the **political arena.** Only a small minority of political decision makers seem to support the pessimistic "dystopian" expectation that a pseudo-democracy will emerge, allowing participation in marginal decisions only. This negative view expects the proliferation of ICTs in the home to individualize information consumption to a degree that makes the formation of a democratic public opinion no more than an illusion (UNRISD, 1997).

Most local political policy makers are optimistic that decentralized and increased access to large volumes of political and other information will occur and that this will contribute to the

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democratic process. This view is in accordance with research findings (Bikson and Panis, 1996) that indicate that access to ICTs could significantly influence opportunities of communities to participate effectively in a range of economic, social and civic activities. Political role player therefore believe that ICTs are being used increasingly for purposes of communication and information provision by political institutions and role players, and that most people and organisations will ultimately be empowered to participate more in public decision-making. This belief is however not supported by recent HSRC findings (Olivier et al, 2000) that indicate voter participation in elections have been declining steadily in South Africa over past few years.

3   Understanding the relationship between ICTs, identity construction & development

Research on the developmental impacts of global technologies such as the Internet has shown that the **context** in which an ICT is applied is crucial to the success of any ICT-related developmental venture (Nulens, 1999; Van Audenhove, 1999). Without detailed knowledge of the status of relevant contextual variables, it is usually equally possible to project positive effects as negative effects (UNRISD, 1997). When researching the impact of ICTs on development, it is therefore necessary to also investigate the impact of ICT's on relevant contextual variables that, in turn, could have an effect on development.

A major contextual variable of this kind (in other words a variable that can mediate the impact of ICTs on development processes) is **identity construction** (Braman, 1998). Understanding the relationship between ICTs, identity construction and development is therefore vital for informed decision making by policy makers.

According to Braman (1998), ever since the seminal work of Lerner in the 1950's, the nature of **individual identity** has generally been accepted as being the key to those transformations of traditional society (from traditional through modern to postmodern) that are referred to as development. Other variables associated with the transition from a "traditional" to a "modern" individual are literacy, media use, urbanisation, empathy (the ability to see oneself in the position of another), and political participation.

In a traditional context one's position and sense of self are determined relative to the community and by the community, while in a modern context individual identities are self-determined. In a postmodern context the sense of an individual's identity is fluid and sometimes even incoherent. An interactive communication medium such as the **Internet** can have important **impacts on identity formation** processes, for example:

(a) The Internet expands for its users the domain of possible identities that they can choose,
(b) it provides a range of virtual environments in which different types of identity formation processes can occur symbolically, and
(c) it brings one in touch with new forces and ideas that can influence and lay claim upon an individual's identity.

It can further be concluded that ICTs (especially the Internet) impact on individual identity formation processes in such a way that it has **implications for the developmental progression** of individuals from traditional context to first a modern and then a postmodern context. For example, all three types of impacts on identity formation mentioned above place demands on individuals to make choices that could change the way that they see themselves. This results in individual identities being more self-determined, which is typical of a modern context. If these

demands to make choices become stronger and more diverse, this could result in a more fluid and even incoherent sense of self, which is more characteristic of a postmodern context.

This then **illustrates the dynamics of the relationship** between *one type* of ICT (the Internet), one type of identity construction (individual), and one type of societal development (progression from a traditional context to a modern or postmodern context). In this relationship the ICT functions as an independent variable, identity construction is a mediating variable, with progressive societal development as dependent variable. In South Africa there are however *many other types of ICTs* (e.g. radio, TV, multimedia) that can have an impact on other types of desirable *development processes* (e.g. more self-initiated interactive learning in schools and telecentres, increased democratic participation in political processes, and the raising of computer literacy levels) via mediating contextual variables such as other modes of *identity construction* (e.g. national identity and community identity).

For each different combination of variables in the relationship, a **different set of interactions** is expected. For example, it has already been shown how the Internet could impact on *individual* identity construction, and how this could speed up society's progression to a postmodern context. It is however also possible that the Internet could – by providing users with large amounts of global information - be weakening *national* identity, and this in turn could impact negatively on democratic participation in political processes. *Community* identity in rural areas is also expected to impact in very specific and unique ways on development communication ventures.

4   Conclusion: Research questions that need to be asked

It is clear that local policy makers have high hopes of radically transforming South Africa through the use of ICTs – even to the extent of "leapfrogging" (Department of Communication, 1999a) into a first world "knowledge economy". Castells (1998) on the other hand, predicts that instead of leapfrogging to the level of developed countries, the economies of most underdeveloped or "third world" countries in Africa will lag behind even more, creating a new "fourth world". This inevitably raises the issue of whether or not policy makers in South Africa have been realistic in assuming such an optimistic pro-technology stance towards promoting an information society in the country.

The discussion above has indicated that what is needed to address this issue is **research** that will
(a)   determine what *direct effects (positive or negative)* ICTs are having on development processes within each of the specific developmental arenas mentioned above,
(b)   reveal *how ICTs could indirectly be affecting development* by having an impact on certain mediating contextual variables that in themselves can impact on development processes, and
(c)   investigate the dynamics of *how these contextual variables are also contributing to these* development outcomes.

It has been stated above that **identity construction** is one of the most relevant contextual variables for mediating the effect of ICTs on development processes in developing countries. In other words ICT usage fist impacts on processes of identity construction, and this in turn impacts on development.

This means that in order to fully understand the dynamics of how the *information revolution* (especially the increasing use of interactive ICTs such as the Internet) is impacting on *development processes* in society (e.g. the transformation of a society from traditional through modern to postmodern, the democratisation of society, or the improvement of the education in society through the adoption of new and more efficient modes of interactive learning), *research*

questions such as those specified below need to be asked in each specific *arena* of ICT application (e.g. the political, educational, or developmental arena):

The following are therefore **types of research questions** that, if addressed by means of rigorous research, would each yield data that could contribute significantly to a fuller understanding of how the information revolution is impacting on development processes in South African society:

(a) What type of *impact* does a specific *ICT* have on a certain type of *developmental process?* (Examples: What positive or negative impacts do two-way satellite TV broadcasts have on interactive learning at schools? What positive or negative impacts does home access to the Internet have on voters' participation in democratic processes?)

(b) What type of *impact* does a specific *ICT* have on specific mediating *contextual variables,* i.e. variables that in turn can also influence certain *developmental processes?* (Example: What is the role of regular Internet access with regard to (i) individual identity construction among high school learners, (ii) the way in which communities perceive themselves, or (iii) the strengthening or weakening of a national South African identity among voters?

(c) In what way does a specific *contextual variable contribute to* a certain type of *developmental process?* (Examples: What aspects of community identity impact most on technology training in rural telecentres? In what way does identification with virtual learning communities impact on self-initiated interactive learning in schools?

Depending on the body of scientific data that is already available with regard to the dynamics of the processes within a particular area of ICT application or impact, it might be possible for the researchers to narrow a research question down to one ore more detailed hypotheses that could then be tested empirically. Very specific conclusions could then be made. Where this is not possible, the research will have to be more open ended and qualitative in nature. Either way, the results are expected to contribute in some way to our understanding of how the information revolution is impacting on development in South Africa.