NATIONAL IDENTITY AND NATION-BUILDING
IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

Throughout South Africa's post-Apartheid history, the ANC-led government has undertaken a distinct nation-building program in pursuit of "a truly united, democratic and prosperous South Africa" (ANC, 2007). This is reflected in a two-pronged approach, coupling political and socio-economic transformation with the social-psychological aspect of forging a broad and inclusive national consciousness. The ANC's "rainbow nation" approach embraces cultural diversity through what I shall call the practice of "interculturalism". Interculturalism is a way of recognizing commonalities, reducing tensions and promoting the formation of social partnerships among different cultural groups. The ANC has also promoted a civic culture based on the principles of liberal democracy, non-racism, equality and the protection of individual rights. Interculturalism and civic nationalism are critically important factors to South African nation-building since together they foster a shared public culture and support meaningful participation in the creation of a truly just and democratic South Africa.

Unfortunately, in many ways South African society remains deeply divided by race, ethnicity and economic inequality. This thesis analyses various theoretical approaches to national identity and nation-building with the aim of identifying several concepts which arguably throw light on the problems of South African nation-building and national identity formation. It is argued that interculturalism and civic nationalism are context appropriate approaches which have been adopted by the ANC to further an inclusive sense of shared public culture and promote participation in the creation of a shared public future. These approaches have led to the limited emergence of a broad South African national identity.

However, South Africa's commitment to socio-economic transformation has been less successful in generating widespread support for a broad national identity. While some of those previously disadvantaged under Apartheid have benefited from poverty alleviation schemes, service delivery initiatives and black economic empowerment programs, many continue to suffer from homelessness, unemployment and worsening economic conditions. Increasing economic marginalization has caused growing discontent among South Africa's poor and constitutes the biggest threat to the formation of a cohesive national identity in South African society.

Ultimately, it is argued that while interculturalism and civic nationalism have played an important role in fostering the growth of a broad national identity, true South African social cohesion will fail to emerge without a massive and sustained commitment to wide-ranging socio-economic transformation.

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Introduction

In 1994, South Africa experienced the rebirth of a nation. For the first time in the country's history, South Africans came together in a non-racial democratic general election. After 45 years of state-sponsored Apartheid, the success of the African National Congress (ANC) led to Nelson Mandela's becoming the first black president of South Africa. With this act of political emancipation, South Africans began the difficult process of reconstructing the political, economic and social frameworks of a country long plagued by division, violence and discrimination. However, the dedicated commitment with which Mandela and the Government of National Unity assumed this challenge highlights the importance of national unity as a central goal in the state's post-apartheid nation-building program. At his 1994 inaugural speech in Pretoria, Nelson Mandela stated that, "the moment to bridge the chasms that divide us has come… we must therefore act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for nation-building, for the birth of a new world" (Mandela, 1994). Since then, South Africa's ANC-led government has sought to enhance unity and cooperation through their nation-building program and has consciously worked for the construction of a new, broad, united national identity among its citizens.

No longer constrained by systemic racial classifications, and transformed through the process of overturning Apartheid, South Africans have been given an opportunity to re-examine what it means to be "South African." A unified national identity may be most relevant for newly democratized nations or nations in transition because of its potential to prevent conflict, promote stability, and enhance state functioning. In support of this, Eaton remarks that, "for a newly-democratised, multicultural state such as South Africa, 'national legitimacy' and a subjective sense of shared group membership among citizens is crucial for the establishment of effective democratic governance and civil stability" (Eaton, 2002:46). For the modern South African state attempting to overcome the disparities, cleavages and injustices of Apartheid, promotion of a unified national identity is a matter of importance.

However, fifteen years later, the notion of a broad united South African identity shared by the majority of citizens remains elusive. Rather than a singular national identity, labels of "Black," "Coloured," "Indian" and "White," as well as "Afrikaans," "Xhosa" and "Zulu" continue to define, at least in part, the identity of many. As with any state possessing such rich cultural diversity, this multitude of personal identifications presents challenges for social cohesion within South Africa. In 1998, then Deputy-President Thabo Mbeki warned that South Africa remained a country of two nations, divided by both wealth and race (Mbeki, 1998). Far from an "unfortunate historical phenomenon", racism remains a powerful basis for discrimination and disparity throughout South African society (Ramphele, 2008: 73). In many regards, economic inequalities have worsened in the early 21st century, accompanied by a widespread rise in crime and violence. In 2008, the country witnessed an atrocious wave of xenophobic

violence, largely against foreign Africans. Later that year, the ruling ANC party suffered the defection of some of its members who formed a new political party, Congress of the People (COPE), in the wake of political controversies leading up to the 2009 general election. Thus, South Africa today seems to remain very much a divided country – economically, politically and socially.

What can account for these apparent failures of social cohesion? How has the ANC-led program of nation-building addressed the question of national unity in the post-Apartheid context? What are the limitations of this program of national unity and nation-building in the new South Africa? Have the ANC's goals of national unity and a united national identity taken root anywhere in South African society?

In pursuing the answers to these questions, this study employs the works of various social and political theorists in understanding nationalism and national identity with regards to the process of nation-building. Theories advanced by Ernest Gellner, Karl Marx, David Miller and Anthony Smith, among others, will be analysed in relation to South Africa. Additionally, the contributions of various South African academics and researchers will be examined to shed light on more specific aspects of nationalism and nation-building in the post-Apartheid context. From this framework, the multi-layered, ANC-led program of nation-building and national identity formation will be analysed to better understand its current accomplishments and limitations. It is hoped that this thesis will add to the necessary debate on the subject and offer insights into the arduous process of nation-building and national identity formation which is vital to South Africa's future.

CHAPTER 1: Key Concepts – Nation, State, Identity, National Identity, Nationalism and Nation-building

Paramount to an understanding of national identity is a discussion of relevant terminology. When speaking of "national identity," elements of sovereignty, citizenship, nationality, ethnicity and language are combined in a confusing and often contradictory manner. Primarily, the word "nation" may be used with reference to a geographical or political community as well as a social community. The conflation of these terms (nation as a state/political entity with nation as a cultural/ethnic community) was promoted in the European ideal of the nation-state. However, individuals and their personal identities are not bound or defined entirely by artificially constructed state borders. The majority of people who live in France are French; however, there have always been a number of minorities living in France who identify with other nationalities. Because most states have never been completely identifiable with one group of people, the nation-state ideal remains largely fictitious (Oommen, 1997: 15). Further misuse of these terms can be found in the everyday speech of journalists, academics, politicians and citizens alike: the United Nations is not an intergovernmental body of "nations" but of "states;" issues of state security are often referred to as "national security" problems and news reports of a "British national arrested in Dubai" refer not to nationality but to citizenship. The use and misuse of the terms "nation" and "state" inevitably leads to controversy when applied to the concepts of national identity, nationalism and self-determination. Thus, a clear understanding of these terms is fundamentally necessary for this discussion.

The modern concept of the state can be derived from the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. This treaty was instrumental in establishing norms for international political order based on territorial integrity and the supremacy of state power rather than religious authority. In modern political theory, the state continues to form the basic unit of analysis for international relations. In this context, the state can be defined as "a legal concept describing a social group that occupies a defined territory and is organized under common political institutions and effective government" (Udogu, 2001: 20). Sovereignty in the modern sense of international organization assumes that states are the sole political authorities within a specific territory and that only states are given legal international recognition (Cusimano, 2000: 3).

Neville Alexander suggests that "people identify necessarily with the state as it exists because, given consciousness of a larger whole, all people require to make sense of where they fit into the picture" (Alexander, 2001: 84). This raises discussion about the inherent social nature of humans and the universal tendency to draw connections and form relationships with others. Identification theory, based in psychology, holds that "every individual possess an inherent drive to internalise – to identify with – the behaviour, mores and attitudes of significant figures in his/her social environment; i.e. people actively seek identity" (Bloom, 1990: 23). This is derived from the need to achieve a sense of security and

social/biological survival. This process is ongoing; in fact, it is an "evolving configuration" persisting throughout an individual's entire life (Bloom: 36). Largely, individuals form relationships based on how they view themselves and how they view those around them. An individual's personal identity is a perception of his/her role or place within this dynamic.

Identity is a social construction through which people acquire meaning and a sense of belonging. Common platforms for identity are seen in gender, race, ethnicity, language, religion, history, class and geography. Identities may exist within personal, sub-national, national as well as supra-national spheres (Bornman, 2003: 24). With the many platforms and spheres of identity available, most people hold multiple identities simultaneously. Thus, an elderly, black, male, protestant, British professor who votes for the Labour Party and enjoys fishing may identify with other individuals on the basis of each of these distinctions. However, while shared interests may encourage the formation or acceptance of group identity, just because an individual shares these interests, ideologies or traits with others, does not mean that he/she will adopt a sense of collective identity based on these factors (Polletta and Jasper, 2001: 298). The elderly man may be technically a senior citizen but feel much younger and identify more with middle-aged individuals. Likewise he may work as a professor but actually detest his career choice and therefore hold little to no sense of attachment to this identity. For an individual to perceive a sense of identity, he/she must feel a sense of connection to other people who share the same interests, ideologies or traits. Collective identity refers to individuals' "cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution" (Polletta and Jasper: 285).

However, as much as group identities may actually exist in terms of similar interests, traits, values and worldviews, they can also be artificially constructed (Polletta and Jasper, 2001: 285). During Apartheid, people of mixed African and European descent were classified as "Coloured." Under the National Party's rigid system of racial segregation, specific laws and rights were given to each racial category so that a distinct coloured community developed, different from both black and white identities. In contrast, racial segregation in the United States existed in terms of the division of black/white. Since no formal system of classification existed for people of mixed race, a similar "coloured" community failed to develop in the United States. Therefore, cultural organizations, repertoires, laws, education and other institutions of socialization can be used to either create or strengthen perceptions of identity. In this way, an individual's understanding of identity is also reflective of others' perceptions of their identity. Though the elderly man may feel younger than his age, if the law arbitrarily advantages or disadvantages him on this basis, and/or if other individuals treat him accordingly, he may be forced to adopt a stronger identification with other senior citizens. This example highlights the very fluid and socially constructed nature of identity.

Often, cultural beliefs and practices form the basis of collective identities. Culture creates a system of meaning which people use in their daily lives. It provides a "framework for organizing the world" which collectively guides individual action and behaviour (Ross, 1997: 42). In this way, group identities help to reinforce individual self-perceptions, resulting in feelings of inclusion as well as potential exclusion (Joseph, 2004: 5). Ultimately, identity is a "dialectic between similarity and difference" (Jenkins, 2004: 5). Perceptions of "who we are" as well as "who we are not" are important for the creation and acceptance of group identities. However, these identities are never static and are always being re-examined and re-evaluated. Thus, identity formation is "an interactive process that involves 'becoming' as well as 'being' and belongs to the future as well as the past" (Bornman, 2003: 26). Furthermore, there is a psychological imperative not only to form identities but also to protect and enhance them (Bloom, 1990: 37). Individuals naturally seek to bolster and defend their sense of identity. Cultural beliefs and practices may be employed to support and preserve a sense of identity. Thus, culture represents an expression of as well as a basis for the formation of collective identities.

It is from this understanding of group identity that we can begin to analyse the existence and formation of national identity. T.K. Oommen defines nationality as "the collective identity which the people of the nation acquire by identifying with the nation" (Oommen, 1997: 33). Thus, nationality refers to a sense of identifying with and belonging to the national community. However, far more contested than a modern understanding of the state, the concept of a "nation" continues to evoke controversy. Though the term is often misused in place of "state" or in reference to aspects of citizenship or territorial sovereignty, a "nation" is also commonly associated with various other markers or definitions. In an attempt to resolve the dispute about what constitutes a nation, Joseph Stalin proposed that "a nation is an historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make up manifested in a community of culture" (Day and Thompson, 2004: 34). While this definition seems appropriately inclusive of the many different aspects of nationality, it seems that very few nations could simultaneously display all these criteria as clearly and completely as Stalin implies. Instead of one single definition as to what constitutes a nation, perhaps a more realistic approach would be aim for an understanding of the many factors which influence concepts of nationhood, while also recognizing the ultimate fluidity of the term. While concepts of nationality are influenced by a broad range of markers, it appears that the most common criteria advanced as to what constitutes a nation are territory, a shared culture and shared ethnicity.

Oommen draws distinctions between the nation, the state and the ethnie (ethnic groups) on the basis of shared culture and territorial attachment. In his view, the state is a legally constituted territorial entity which is in possession of authority and power. Nations are also territorial entities, but "to which the

people have an emotional attachment and in which they invest a moral meaning; it is a homeland" (Oommen, 1997: 33). In addition to territory, nations are built upon a shared culture, the most important aspect of which is language. Oommen believes that ethnic groups are similar to nations with regards to shared culture, but differ with regards to territorial attachment. Consequently, "ethnicity is a product of dissociation between territory and culture" (Oommen, 34). In this view, ethnic groups are born when they lose their homeland, but may be reformed as nations with the adoption of a new homeland.

This view suggests that culture is the most basic element of the concept of nationhood. Culture refers to a system of publicly shared meanings embodied in symbols and codes of behaviour. It is "a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life" (Ross, 1997: 45). Ethnicity integrates elements of shared culture with a belief in "myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories…and a sense of solidarity" (Udogu, 2001: 14). Both culture and ethnicity are social constructions. Ultimately, Oommen believes that a territorial attachment is needed to attach ethnic perceptions and cultural beliefs to the concept of a nation.

Some theorists such as Anthony Smith believe that national identities exist within the parameters of distinct pre-modern ethno- heritages. These ethno-heritages are determined by "the patterning of historical sequences, territorial associations, traditions and values of a particular ethnic community" (Dieckhoff and Gutierrez, 2001: 31). In forming modern nations, communities reconstruct and reinterpret ethno-histories and ethno-heritages through the use of symbols such as texts, artefacts, customs and myths. However, these theorists argue that national identities are founded on distinct pre-existing cultural traditions and histories. Collectively, these ethno-heritages can account for differences in cultural practices and thus differences in national identity. In this view, ethnicity forms the basis of the nation.

Most modern and post-modern theorists would disagree, arguing that culture and ethnicity are not primordial realties, but constantly evolving perceptions. These perceptions are adaptable to the political environment and social context. According to Benedict Anderson (1983), the nation is an "imagined political community" which exists "in the minds – the memories and the will – of the people who make it up" (Joseph, 2004: 112) Thus, perceptions of territory and ethnicity can be adjusted to reflect current cultural understandings. David Miller acknowledges that ethnicity is a powerful foundation for nationalist sentiment. However, he also argues that "even nations that originally had an exclusive ethnic character may come, over time, to embrace a multitude of different ethnicities" (Miller, 1995: 20). Here, the concept of nation rests largely on a sense of collective identity through shared meanings and systems of symbolic interpretation.

Though it can be agreed that the concept of "nation" is reflective of territory, culture and ethnicity, there is much controversy as to the exact relationship between these building blocks of national identity. How we define and construct the nation determines how we understand national identity. Additionally, it is important to understand the mechanisms by which individuals assert and maintain their national identity.

Perceptions of national identity result from both how people assert their national identities as well as how those identity claims are received by others. National identity is a "continually negotiated process" of affirming or rejecting national identity claims (Bechhofer et al., 1999: 527). These claims are largely based on various 'identity markers' or characteristics such as language, place of birth, ancestry, name, accent, dress, physical appearance and commitment to place (Kiely et al., 2001: 36). In researching Scottish national identity, Bond argues that the most important markers of national identity are residence, birthplace and ancestry (Bond, 2006: 611). Individuals who were born, currently reside in and have longstanding family ties to a specific area will be most likely to claim the corresponding national belonging. However the relative strength of these markers will depend on historical variations, discourses and the general "identity rules" which guide individuals' understandings of national identity. These rules are "probabilistic rules of thumb whereby under certain conditions and in particular contexts, identity markers are interpreted, combined or given precedence over others" (Kiely et al., 2001: 36). Consensus on perceptions of national identity requires that the majority of people in a given area choose to abide by the same identity rules. During Apartheid, the National Party created a distinct set of racially based identity rules under which people were forced to adopt personal identities. Since 1994, official racial categorization has ended, creating opportunities for the emergence of new identity markers and new identity rules. Thus, legal codes are not the only way that identity rules are formed. Since identity markers and rules are heavily dependent on social context with regards to majority/minority group dynamics and the possession of power, these markers and rules are flexible and subject to change. In situations of conflict, social upheaval or drastic change, there may be disagreement over identity rules concerning the salience of various identity markers. This could limit or confuse matters with regard to understandings of national identity. However, it may also provide an opportunity for the re-evaluation of identity rules and markers and the emergence of new perceptions of national identity.

Ultimately, national identity is a form of collective identity which provides individuals with a sense of belonging and an understanding of their surroundings on a "national" scale. It "makes people aware of themselves as a unique collectivity conscious and protective of their historical possessions such as territory and culture" (Dieckhoff and Gutierrez, 2001: 9). Perhaps most importantly, national identity provides an organized, self-interested basis for national-level group action. Theoretically, "mass

mobilisation is possible when the individuals in the mass share the same identification" (Bloom, 1990: 51). Nationalism refers to the mass mobilisation of individuals on the basis of their shared national identity. In contrast, patriotism refers to a feeling of love or devotion to one's country but does not necessitate either mass action or shared passion to the degree that nationalism does. Historically, nationalism has been a force of unity and inclusion as well as division, exclusion and violence. In the mid-1800s, nationalism was a powerful force behind the unifications of Germany and Italy. In the 20th century, heightened nationalist sentiment led to two world wars in Europe and caused multiple civil wars and conflicts throughout the world. Competing ethno/national identities have led to violent instability in countless countries including East Timor, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, Sudan and Yugoslavia. For multi-national states, especially states in political transition, struggles around national identity may bring challenges to unity and stability

Most theorists agree that nationalism is largely a product of eighteenth century modernisation and industrialization due to the many socio-economic changes which occurred during this period. In developing, defining and controlling these changes, the state, as led by the ruling elites, is central to the development of nationalism. Constructivists assert that interpretations of national identity and the nationalist movements which follow them are continually subject to contestation and revision (Day and Thompson, 2004: 95). Thus, national identities and nationalist movements are dependent on both the way states construct and assert national identities and the way individuals respond to these identities. This process is often organized through programs of nation-building and state-building.

Nation-building can be understood as a state-led process of evoking national identity to promote unity and social cohesion within the state. Most often this is done with the aim of enhancing the legitimacy, stability and capacity of state institutions. Though the term is sometimes used synonymously with "state-building", traditional state-building concerns strictly the establishment or strengthening of state institutions and political systems while nation-building emphasizes the role of communities and social identities within this process (Fritz and Menocal, 2007: 47-48). Simply put, nation-building "describes the process whereby the inhabitants of a state's territory come to be *loyal* citizens of that state" (Bloom, 1990: 55).

Ultimately, the process of nation-building is dependent on the prior existence of national identities. A basic sense of collective identity is necessary for collective mobilisation. Since nation-building programs are a state-led process, this may suggest that the state, an established political-territorial entity, exists prior to any established social ethno-cultural nation. It may also suggest that nation-building is an attempt to forge or create a nation where it previously did not exist. However, this is not entirely accurate. Nation-building programs have been undertaken by states after they have gained

independence, after divisive civil wars or civil conflicts and in preparation for defence as well as conquest. In all these situations, nation-building is not the invention of national identities, but a process of re-defining them. Where previously many nations had existed or perhaps lacked clear definitions, nation-building programs seek to provide distinct understandings of national constructs, perhaps re-defining them in ways that are more broad and inclusive. In these situations, "political actors are trying to shape [national constructs] *qualitatively*… by addressing the values and beliefs that characterize the national identity in question, as well as the sentiments that bring it to life" (Norman, 2006: 33). More accurately, state-led nation-building suggests an attempt to redefine and clarify the relationship between national communities and political-territorial entities.

States pursue nation-building programs in light of the advantages derived from a national community which identifies more closely to the values and goals of the state. Inherently, state-building is a violent and conflict-ridden process (Fritz and Menocal, 2007: 13). New traditions and rules of organization are implemented by potentially new political and economic elites. These developments may exist within an environment of heightened grievances as well as expectations. However, the existence of a cohesive national consciousness encourages cooperation with and participation in state institutions, enhancing the successful functioning of the state. Citizens are more likely to peacefully acknowledge the authority of the state and make sacrifices for "the good of the nation", such as paying taxes or submitting to a draft, when they believe the state is acting on behalf of a national community of which they are a part (Eaton, 2002: 46). From the perspective of political and economic elites concerned with internal state control, "it is advantageous to evoke a common identification and then to possess a monopoly of power in terms of manipulating the symbols of that identity" (Bloom, 1990: 51). Thus, the state's role as protector of national identity promotes both the legitimacy of and loyalty to the state. From a more liberal perspective, a shared national identity encourages "mutual trust" among citizens, which "makes it more likely that they will be able to solve collective-action problems, to support redistributive principles of justice, and to practice deliberative forms of democracy" (Miller, 1995: 98).

On this point, a cohesive national consciousness has been described as especially important for strengthening the democratic functioning of the state. Mattes (1999: 154) argues that a common national identity is actually a "prerequisite" for democracy. In societies with multiple sub-national identities, individuals may identify more closely with their ethnic, linguistic or religious peers than they do with the national political community. Horowitz argues that identities offered by kinship or ethnic groups are far more powerful than broad inclusive identities offered by the state. This is due to the strong feelings of reciprocal obligation based on perceived bonds of descent which are characteristic of these groups (Mattes: 156). In this way, highly diverse societies may problematize democratic state functioning due to

the acceptance of different value systems, conflict over the legitimacy of political authority, and feelings of mistrust or inequality between members of different groups. Thus, a sense of common nationhood is needed to prevent these "divided societies" from breaking down. Rustow argues that "the vast majority of citizens in a democracy-to-be must have no doubt or mental reservations as to which political community they belong to" (Mattes: 154). The extension of citizenship to the majority of people within a political territory and the promotion of a common public culture are vital to the successful functioning of the state. Thus, nation-building programs have been promoted as crucial aspects of state-building in both developing and post-conflict societies.

Nation-building programs may involve attempts to reconfigure national identities by adjusting "national" priorities and morals, as well as through attempts to sentimentalize or even de-sentimentalize these concepts within the national consciousness (Norman, 2006: 41). Language policy, citizenship requirements, school curriculum and military service are the primary tools by which states pursue nation-building. Additional methods may include re-emphasizing or re-defining historical events, adopting new national symbols and traditions, promoting athletic patriotism, regulating the national media and altering various place-names (Norman: 45). Most nation-building campaigns employ a variety of these methods in attempting to strengthen the national community and/or redefine the nation-consciousness.

However, a more fundamental distinction between different forms of nation-building is provided by Hanf who analyses nation-building programs "in terms of the recognition given to the existence of and provision for diversity and the existence of sub-national cultures and/or identities" (Bornman, 2006: 386). Forms of "Jacobinistic nation-building" emphasize loyalty to the state and the adoption of a nation-state identity as more important than sub-national loyalties or identities. In these types of programs, cultural diversity is suppressed in favour of cultural assimilation and integration. Alternatively, more "multicultural" forms of nation-building advocate recognition of various sub-groups as "the building blocks of a larger unity" (Bornman: 386). These forms of nation-building incorporate immigrants and national minorities into the national consciousness through the protection of their cultural rights.

Ramutsindela (2001: 70) notes that "the main challenge to nationhood in post-independence Africa has been how to balance the recognition of ethnic groups with the imperatives of the envisaged nationhood." The mobilisation of certain groups within society for use as a political resource inhibits the creation of a unified national base. However, emphasizing national unity without also acknowledging social pluralism does a disservice to society as a whole, potentially alienating various social groups. Though it is argued that a degree of shared public culture and social cohesion is necessary for successful state functioning, this should not be advanced to the detriment of minority groups and the diversity of cultures. Critics believe that too much emphasis has been placed on nation-building as a method of

cultural assimilation whereby sub-national identities are subsumed into a greater identity based on the concept of the nation-state. O'Malley (1994: 88) argues that neglecting the reality of racial and ethnic divisions in such a way severely limits the success of nation/state-building programs. Though social divisions based on race or ethnicity have been the source of much violence and conflict in the world, the group affinities on which these divisions are based reflect real and powerful sources of identification. While the existence of social divisions does not inherently induce violent conflict, the continued marginalization of these sources of social identification may. Promoting a sense of shared national consciousness does not necessitate the destruction of minority ethnicities. Indeed, "it may well be possible to foster more than one common identity so that people can at once feel like they belong to a local community as well as to a larger entity" such as the national community (Fritz and Menocal, 2007: 15). Similarly, Horowitz argues that a sense of shared national consciousness within plural societies would be better achieved by accommodating rather than neglecting or excluding various minority groups (Bornman, 2006: 386).

An additional factor in the debate over different forms of nation-building refers to the dual dimensions of national identification upon which nation-building programs are based. An important distinction is between ethnic and civic forms of national identity. Loosely defined, "ethnic nationalism" is largely based on cultural factors and independent variables such as place of birth or residence, citizenship, ancestry and cultural affinity. "Civic nationalism" is comprised of more ambiguous political markers such as respect for laws and institutions and a shared public culture (Bornman, 2006: 386). Both the ethnic and civic dimensions are important for understanding national identities. Despite the importance given to civic attachments in various state-building programs, it seems that ethnic criteria may be more salient than civic criteria in defining national identity (Bornman: 386).

In part, this dichotomy has been exacerbated by the pressures of globalization. Amidst an increasingly interconnected world, states are losing sovereignty to supra-national and transnational actors in a multitude of ways (Bornman, 2003: 35). For individuals, globalisation "represents the possibility of new forms of citizenship, economic activity and social identity" (Chidester et al., 2003: 302). However, as personal identities become "globalized" to some extent, the legitimacy and authority of the "national community" is weakened. At the same time, reactionary movements may reassert their ethno-cultural minority identities in an attempt to establish a sense of local security and legitimacy. Thus, it is throughout all levels of society (local, sub-national, national and international) that we witness a struggle between inclusive civic identification and exclusive ethnic identification. In contrast to "the homogenising effect of global identities and the spread of a Western consumer culture, ethnic movements

as a form of localisation focuses on the differences between cultures rather than on similarities" (Bornman, 2003: 31).

In summary, due to the enhanced capabilities of the state which arise from a more united and socially cohesive national community, nation-building programs have become an important aspect of state-building in many developing countries. Traditional debates within nation-building models are based on the degree of inclusion/exclusion of minority groups. Models aimed at cultural assimilation may produce a heightened sense of unity and national consciousness for some, but at the risk of marginalizing various sub-groups and potentially instigating violent conflict. Paradoxically, models aimed at cultural equality may produce a more peaceful democratic environment but at the risk of a weak or uncoordinated national community. At heart, these arguments represent the relationship between ethnic and civic forms of nationalism. Strong ties based on ethno-cultural traditions are powerful but exclusive. Conversely, a sense of community based on liberal political traditions is highly inclusive but potentially weak and unstable. Successful nation-building programs must strive for a synthesis of these concepts.

Ultimately, for multi-national states, especially states in political transition, debates over national identity bring many challenges to unity and stability. Additionally, globalization presents modern states with the simultaneous challenges of homogenisation, de-territorialisation and fragmentation (Le Pere and Lambrechts, 1999: 18). These contexts highlight the fragile nature of nation-building and national identity concerning modern transitional states such as South Africa. However, they also serve to accentuate the necessity for a common and inclusive sense of national belonging and future. To understand nation-building and national identity formation in post-Apartheid South Africa, theoretical approaches to nationalism and nation-building must be analysed with specific regard to the South African context.

CHAPTER 2: Conceptualizing Nation-Building and National Identity in South Africa – Theory and Context

Like most countries in Africa today, modern South Africa is a product of European colonialism, independence movements and the various challenges and opportunities bestowed upon new states in an era of neo-liberalism and globalization. However, South Africa also carries a unique historical legacy of heavy industrialization, institutionalised racism and "colonisation of a special type"[1] which continues to influence its post-Apartheid development. In reviewing the many theoretical approaches to nationalism and nation-building, several themes appear especially relevant to national identity formation in the South African context. Paramount among these are the liberal principle of interculturalism, the theory of civic nationalism and the theoretical importance of industrialization to nationalism which highlights the relationship between economic factors and national identity. In many ways, these themes have all been reflected in the various nation-building programs advanced by South Africa's ANC-led government since 1994. A critical analysis of post-Apartheid nation-building with reference to these themes will allow for a better understanding of the challenges facing national identity formation in South Africa today.

Interculturalism

In 1988, Joe Slovo, then General Secretary of the South African Communist Party (SACP), wrote that "despite the existence of cultural and racial diversity, South Africa is not a multi-national country. It is a nation in the making… the concept of one united nation, embracing all our ethnic communities, remains the virtually undisputed liberation objective" (Slovo, 1988). These words are highly reflective of the non-racial political philosophy which characterized the ANC-led struggle to end Apartheid. Following the establishment of non-racial democracy in 1994, the ANC adopted a "unity through diversity" approach to the national question reflecting the liberal principle of interculturalism. In pursuit of a new national consciousness, the ANC reasoned that "we must seek to provide people with the space to express their multiple identities in ways that foster the evolution of a broader South Africanism as their primary identity" (ANC, 1997b). In many ways, the existence of these multiple identities, along with the powerful meanings and sentiments attached to them, has challenged the formation of a new South African national consensus. Products of history and social reality as well as Apartheid-era construction, they represent real and important sources of personal meaning and understanding for many people. As such, attempts at nation-building and national identity formation have been forced to address the multitude of identities present in South African society.

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[1] The ANC uses this term to describe the political settlement which existed following the Union of South Africa in 1910 whereby "the substance of the colonial status of the blacks remained intact, even though its form may have altered" (Slovo, 1988).

Today, South Africa enjoys a rich cultural diversity by nature of its indigenous inhabitants, its many immigrants and its historical settler/colonial legacy. Perhaps the only group truly indigenous to South Africa is the San or Khoisan people whose ancestors left their mark on the region through various rock art dating back to over 20,000 years ago (IPACC, 2007). However, with the arrival of Bantu-speaking blacks and white Europeans in the region, the San were largely colonized and assimilated into other dominant cultures. The 18th and 19th centuries marked a gradual escalation of settler/indigenous tensions as well as the emergence of several new identities. Among the many African societies which populated Southern Africa, the Ndebele, Ngwane, Pedi, Sotho, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu became powerful forces within this vast region. Settler identities emerged from both the early Dutch merchants who settled the Cape Peninsula in the 17th century as well as the British colonialists who exerted a dramatic influence on the region beginning in the 19th century. Some settlers adopted an "indigenous" identity through independent Afrikaner and Griqua communities. For others, Indian immigrant communities in Natal and various Coloured communities in the Cape emerged as meaningful forms of personal identity.

Though the small quasi-states of European settlers and African societies provided an important sense of identity for many of South Africa's people in the 19th century, they were in fact multi-ethnic and multi-lingual entities displaying only limited foundations of political and cultural unity (Butler, 2004: 10). However, as expansion, settlement and industrialization heightened divisions between these societies, South Africa was increasingly defined by violent struggle between competing identity groups. The growth of industrial mining led to the subjugation of South Africa's black Africans for use as a source of cheap labour. Combined with growing British military conquests, this led to a breakdown of traditional African communities. Violent conflict between the Afrikaners and the British led to a distinct rise in Boer nationalism. However, the growing acknowledgement that white political unification was "vital for their respective interests, all of which centered on supporting mining and controlling African labor" led to a limited reconciliation between the British and Afrikaners (MacKinnon, 2004: 174). Through this reconciliation, the Union of South Africa was established in 1910.

In effect, the Union solidified political structures of white domination over the country and entrenched support for a system of industrial development based on racial segregation and cheap African migrant labour. These systems became more powerful during the political domination of the Afrikaner-interest National Party (NP) after 1948. Through a series of 'petty Apartheid' legislation, the government divided the population in strict racial categories (White, Indian/Asian, Coloured and Native (later Bantu or African), prohibited 'mixed marriages' and enforced various forms of segregation in residency, education, employment and amenities (Butler, 2004: 17). To further strengthen white domination,

Africans were divided into ten separate 'nations' on the basis of language and perceived ethnicity. Each nation was designated a traditional homeland, a collection of fragmented, underdeveloped rural territories considered the only legitimate areas acceptable for African residency.

In opposition to Apartheid, increasing solidarity between African, Coloured and Indian interests culminated in the 1955 Congress of the People where thousands of delegates across all races met to adopt a political platform based on non-racism and equal rights. One of the most important documents adopted at this conference was the Freedom Charter which stated that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people" (Congress of the People, 1955). It is important to note that in this context, the term "black" was inclusive of all oppressed racial groups (African, Coloured and Indian). This distinction between "black" and "African" is still used by the ANC government. The final years of Apartheid were marked by increasing NP concessions to the non-racial ANC-led reform platform. Despite considerable opposition, mostly from various African homeland authorities and Afrikaner groups benefiting from the Apartheid regime, the cooperation between these organizations laid the foundations for South Africa's first non-racial national democratic election in 1994.

The effect of Apartheid on the personal identity of South Africans is undeniable. Apartheid legislation dramatically institutionalized racial segregation in pursuit of absolute white-domination. Though racial categorization was the basis of discriminatory policies and injustices, it also constructed powerful forms of identity for most South Africans. The laws, institutions, and social pressures of Apartheid encouraged white citizens to avoid contact and therefore limit identification with other races and ethnicities and to stand united amidst a non-white majority. Similarly, racial categorization served to strengthen Coloured identity as many different people of mixed races shed their former identities in favour of membership within a broad Coloured community. Though divided by language, urban/rural environments and ethnicity, Africans were united against their oppression under the Apartheid regime. While a non-racial platform did emerge through various resistance movements, this was limited by the systemic divisions of racial categorization which existed throughout the state. Indeed, perhaps Apartheid's most enduring legacy has been the fierce entrenchment and consciousness of racial division in South African society. The deep fissures within South Africa, both socio-economic as well as psychological, have limited the formation of a broad national identity in the post-Apartheid state. The ANC has noted that the liberation of previously disadvantaged communities against also "has the effect of liberating the white community from the false ideology of racial superiority and the insecurity attached to oppressing others" (ANC, 2007). In an attempt to resolve these divisions and find unity through diversity,

the ANC-led government has, among other programs, adopted an intercultural approach to nation-building derived from the broader concept of multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism is a liberal principle which, as described by Kallen (1982), may be used in three senses: "as a description of the state of cultural diversity in a society, as an ideology aimed at legitimising the incorporation of ethnic diversity in the general structure of society, or as public policy designed to create national unity in ethnic diversity" (Bekker and Leildé, 2003: 119). It is in the latter sense that elements of multiculturalism have been reflected in various nation-building programs including those adopted by post-1994 South Africa. Utilised in this way, multicultural policies aim to strengthen democratic society by integrating various cultures within the larger society without destroying their unique identity. Rather than a "melting pot" assimilationist approach to national identity, multiculturalism recognizes the importance of ethno-cultural attachments to personal identification and argues that by embracing cultural diversity, ethnic and national identities are capable of complementing each other. Either as a state-led process of managing diversity or as a minority-led process of demanding equality, multiculturalism serves to deliberate between "politics of recognition, politics of positioning and politics of equality" (Mydin, 2009: 64). Ultimately, an embrace of multiculturalism "in which each is able to demonstrate their difference and diversity equally" encourages individuals to look beyond narrow identity markers and embrace a shared inclusive national identity (Fritz, 2008: 24).

However, the term "multiculturalism" has been largely confined to western discourse. In nations such as Australia and Canada, multicultural policies were officially adopted in the 1970s in response to growing immigrant communities and the cultural divisions present within their societies (Bekker and Leildé, 2003: 120). Additionally, these countries were home to large indigenous or "first nation" populations. In plural societies, it is argued that multiculturalism promotes integration through the shared values of "respect for the rule of law, moderation in politics, commitment to gradual change and the recognition of the dignity of values in other societies" (Kuzio, 1998). Multiculturalism in western liberal democracies has been advocated as a policy congruent with liberal individual rights and a respect for national minorities.

From this tradition, it has also been argued that multiculturalism and the liberal protection of individual rights must be extended to include specific group rights for national minorities. Liberal nationalists such as Will Kymlicka (1995) argue that because culture provides individuals with shared meanings and values of great personal importance, access to "societal culture" is in fact a basic individual freedom. Thus, the protection of liberal rights must also include protecting access to culture, including the cultures of minorities and sub-national groups. (Day and Thompson, 2004: 158). However, due to politics of positioning within the state, majority groups enjoy the de facto privilege of defining multicultural

policies and the ability to represent minority cultures however they see fit (Mydin, 2009: 66). As such, Kymlicka argues that beyond mere commitments to multicultural politics, national minorities (those minority groups who, unlike immigrants, have territorial claims within the state) should be granted regional autonomy and a degree of self-government as the best method of protecting their rights and the ability to promote their cultures (Day and Thompson: 156).

However, critics are quick to point out that "historic ties to the land inevitably involve an arbitrary historical starting point" (Laitin, 1998: 230). In plural societies, especially those complicated by histories of colonisation, the changing claims and structures of minority/majority groups pose challenges for the recognition of "minority nations". Additionally, the promotion of national minorities as distinctive sub-state entities seems, in some respects, to mirror colonial policies of social division and categorization. Thus, multiculturalism has also been criticised on the grounds that rather than protecting a diverse national consciousness, it encourages cultural divisions within the state and weakens social cohesion (Baines, 1998). Additionally, when conflated with "plural monoculturalism," it is argued that multicultural policies serve to reinforce traditional markers of identity rather than promote freedom of self-identification (Fritz, 2008: 20). Ultimately, while multiculturalism argues that cultural diversity is important and must be maintained, this is often advocated to the point of fragmentation and a loss of cultural integration.

As a result, a theory of "interculturalism" has been advanced which aims to balance the recognition and protection of cultural diversity with the functional need for strong shared public values. Interculturalism values the liberal protection of individual rights over the recognition of group rights (Kuzio, 1998). Adopted throughout Europe beginning in the 1990s, interculturalism is based on the premise that contact between cultural groups "reduces prejudice and improves intercultural dialogue and communication" (James, 2008: 3). As a form of "interactive multiculturalism" intercultural theorists argue that individuals have more to gain from open and culturally diverse societies than from closed culturally homogenous ones (James, 2008: 5). Rather than promoting minority nations through codified protections or regional autonomy, interculturalism encourages intercultural dialogue as a way to recognize commonalities, reduce tensions and promote cooperation. Seen in this way, intercultural dialogue "becomes a synonym for transparency, trust, cooperation, mobilisation of the social capital, partnerships, mutual recognition and respect – in a few words, for social cohesion and the acceptance of pluralism" (Freskos, 2008: 34). Thus, interculturalism is a response to the criticism that "group rights multiculturalism" fosters disunity and damages cohesive civic identity. Fundamentally, interculturalism and the promotion of intercultural dialogues is an attempt to strengthen society and build social cohesion

by encouraging cooperation and the formation of social partnerships between the various cultural groups within plural societies.

Ultimately, it appears that multiculturalism is in fact a broad concept which may be defined and emphasized in different ways and in different contexts. As a social policy, it ranges from a basic liberal respect for cultural diversity as an expression of personal identity to an expanded protection of group rights and minority nations. Generally, societies which adopt a basic multicultural agenda are distinguished by "equality of opportunity, a rejection of the French assimilationist nation-state model, a single culture and set of individual rights in public coupled with a variety of cultures maintained within the private domain" (Kuzio, 1998). In pursuit of a greater national unity, interculturalism represents a compromise between cultural diversity and civic cooperation.

Within South Africa, nation-building programs and government policy documents refrain from using the term "multiculturalism." However, the ANC's "rainbow nation" approach to cultural diversity strongly reflects the principle of interculturalism. Historically, the ANC's approach is defined by a long-standing commitment to non-racialism (Bekker and Leildé, 2003: 122). A commitment to the protection of national minorities is evidenced through the state's eleven official languages and the 2003 establishment of the constitutionally provisioned Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities. However, the South African government has largely refrained from giving national minorities and traditional leaders special rights and privileges. The government repeatedly affirms its goal of a "united democratic and prosperous South Africa"; a pointed statement delegitimizing the group rights/minority nation claims of certain groups in South African society (ANC, 2007). Thus, South Africa's policy of 'rainbow nation multiculturalism' is an approach far more tempered than that advanced by Kymlicka. The sense of cohesive national consciousness pursued through the ANC-led nation-building program is illustrated by their 2009 campaign slogan "working together, we can do more." Ultimately, the ANC's commitment to interculturalism is one which, above all, advocates the sense of national unity which comes through a mutual respect for cultural diversity. In this way, interculturalism is a policy which harnesses cultural diversity in pursuit of cooperation and social cohesion.

Civic Nationalism

During the transformation from Apartheid to democracy, the ANC was driven by the immediate goal of democratising the country and the long term goal of liberating the African majority (ANC, 1994). Negotiated political settlements resulted in South Africa's first non-racial democratic presidential election in 1994, the election of an African president presiding over a racially-mixed Government of National Unity and the adoption of a new constitution in 1996. These developments marked "a qualitative

historical moment" in the transfer of political power from the white minority to the black majority (ANC, 1994). From this position of political authority, the new "democratic majority" as led by the ANC has pursued other elements of socio-economic transformation.

While the ANC maintains that the complete liberation of "Africans in particular and blacks in general" is the ultimate goal of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR), its immediate goal throughout the liberation struggle was restricted to returning political authority to the will of the majority (ANC, 2007). This pursuit of political power can be understood with reference to Ernest Gellner's (1983) principle that nationalism seeks "congruence between the political and national unity" (Ramutsindela, 2001: 70). This principle suggests that ultimately, both the territorial boundaries and interests of the nation, a socially integrated majority community, should match those of the state, the legitimate political authority (Calhoun, 1997: 69). Similarly, Breuilly argues that while often explained with reference to culture, class interests or economic modernization, nationalism is ultimately about political power, i.e., control of the state (Özkirimli, 2000: 105). Thus, while the ANC's commitments to the liberation of those previously disadvantaged under Apartheid includes socio-economic as well as political concerns, the primary goal of the liberation struggle was one of political transformation. It is only through political congruence with the majority that the interests of the nation (the complete liberation of those previously disadvantaged) can be pursued.

Once in control of political power, societies use the authority of the state to define the composition of the national community. As states developed in an age of industrialization and modernization, resulting socio-economic transformations required a new way to establish connections between the state and society. Breuilly (1993) argues that this was accomplished politically through the granting of citizenship, and culturally through the spread of a shared public culture (Özkirimli, 2000: 107). Citizenship bestowed liberal rights upon individuals and allowed them to participate in government through various democratic institutions. A shared public culture stressing the collective values of democratic society was encouraged to overcome social divisions within the national community and promote allegiance to state authority. Thus, nationalist movements, whether state-led or arising in opposition to state authority, are those combining political and cultural elements to mobilize mass support in pursuit of state political power (Özkirimli: 108). However, cultural components of nationalism may vary from a narrow ethnic, linguistic or religious basis to more inclusive approaches depending on the context.

Ultimately, modernists believe that nationalism is a political movement and that national identities are social constructions recreated either through or in response to various nation-building programs. In modern states, nation-building programs may attempt to pacify cultural or ethnic divisions

within society in a variety of ways including repression, assimilation and incorporation. As discussed earlier, the incorporation of minorities into a national culture may be pursued through aspects of multiculturalism. Additionally, many plural societies have attempted to foster a sense of shared public culture to generate national unity through a form of "civic nationalism".

Civic nationalism attempts to promote a sense of "rejuvenated, overarching national identity, capable of uniting poly-ethnic and multinational societies" (Day and Thompson, 2004: 157). Arguing that the nation is a "moral community" which provides individuals with an important sense of identity and a framework from which to understand the world around them, David Miller suggests that nations are associated with a distinct public culture (Miller, 1995: 27). Comprised of both "political principles" as well as "cultural ideals," this common culture is the ever changing product of public debate and revision. As a shared set of meanings and understandings, public culture will "enable people to develop relations of trust and fellowship, irrespective of their particular ethno-cultural identity" (Day and Thompson, 2004: 159). Through such a culture, the nation becomes an "obligation-generating community" which binds individuals to the national community and therefore, to each other (Miller, 1995: 82).

Critics of liberal nationalism question the degree to which individuals internalize such shared public cultures, and therefore, the extent of shared national identity and sense of moral obligation they feel towards fellow citizens. In many regards, narrow ethno-cultural ties or traditional values offer a more salient basis for national mobilisation. Ethnicists such as Anthony Smith argue that through such ethno-heritages and historical traditions, the past acts as a constraint on the adoption of new identities and social constructions. In this view, new traditions and a sense of shared national consciousness will only be effective "in so far as they can be shown to be continuous with the living past" (Özkirimli, 2000: 123).

In South Africa, the living past is an Apartheid construct of racial categorization, division and inequality. Within this environment, the majority of those who lived in South Africa were denied access to the official "white only" sense of shared public culture and national consciousness. Alternatively, among the black majority there existed a shared consciousness of oppression and the forced internalization of restrictive racial and ethnic constructs. Since 1994, the ANC-led government has worked to overturn these societal cleavages and has embraced a national consciousness based on inclusion and the respect of differences. While ethno-cultural ties continue to provide valuable sources of identity for many people, individuals are no longer confined to these sources of identity and are free to associate with and identify with whomever they choose.

In addition to the principle of interculturalism, the ANC's "rainbow nation" approach to nation-building also represents a form of civic nationalism. This approach promotes political openness and inclusiveness and creates a sense of shared public culture based on freedom and equality. Government is

constrained by a Constitution and individual liberties are protected through a detailed Bill of Rights. Democratic processes and institutions offer individuals equal opportunities to participate in government as well as to express their opinions through public debate. By affirming its commitment to non-racism, the ANC highlights "the individual's rights and freedom as essential elements of the envisaged nation" (Ramutsindela, 2001: 73). Repeatedly, the ANC has asserted its ideal of a South Africa "in which the value of all citizens is measured by their humanity, without regard to race, gender and social status" (ANC, 2007). Thus, a distinct civic culture has been promoted, based on the principles of liberal democracy, equality and the protection of individual rights. It is suggested that "mobilised around a clear vision of the kind of society we wish to become, the nation should act in partnership – each sector contributing to the realisation of the common good" (ANC, 2007). In an attempt to overcome both the current divisions in South African society as well as the divisive legacy of Apartheid, the ANC's nation-building program promotes a sense of civic nationalism and the development of a shared public culture throughout South African society.

Industrialization, Socio-Economic Conditions and Nationalism

The transformation of South Africa into a non-racial political democracy and the formation of a shared public culture based on liberal individual rights and a respect for cultural diversity have been important developments in post-Apartheid South Africa. However, the ANC-led government has repeatedly expressed that "the main content of the NDR is the liberation of Africans in particular and Blacks in general" (ANC, 2007). Therefore, state-led nation-building programs have largely focused on the difficult task of generating dramatic socio-economic transformation. In 1994, a Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was adopted to address the vast inequalities within South African society through various service delivery, poverty alleviation and social welfare initiatives. To achieve a more equal racial composition in the private sector, a system of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) was established which jumpstarted black participation in corporate finance. This was later expanded through Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) which included affirmative action programs, standards of good business based on racial equity and other incentives to diversify the economy's racial composition. In the fifteen years since 1994, success has been realized by a partially de-racialization of the national economy, the emergence of a growing black middle class, and the provision of homes, water and electricity to millions of South Africa's poor.

The vast inequalities which remain throughout South African society and the continued need for dramatic socio-economic transformation are historical legacies of the country's Apartheid past. In 1948, the National Party formally established a system of forced racial oppression and division which

permeated every aspect of life in South Africa for over 45 years. However, this system of state-sponsored institutionalised racism was itself built upon centuries of racial oppression and discrimination throughout the region. In the 19th century, this was exacerbated by the processes of modernization and industrialization and by the growth of South Africa's mineral economy.

Following the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886, the growth of South Africa's mining industry was secured through the powerful forces of industrial capitalism and British colonial imperialism (MacKinnon, 2004: 154). The intensive demands of industrial mining required a massive supply of cheap labour. Drawn by the opportunity to earn cash wages increasingly necessary for access to European goods amidst a capitalist environment, male African workers went to work in the mines. To secure the availability of cheap African migrant labour, various segregation laws and restrictions were enacted (MacKinnon: 137). Railroads and other trade/transport networks were enhanced to ensure the consistent supply of goods, services and above all, labour. Thus, spurred by an emergent mining sector, the spread of industrial capitalism throughout South Africa led to the establishment of a highly racialized and oppressive system of African migrant labour. These developments were reflective of a growing sentiment that "Africans would have to be subordinated to white interests in order for the country to progress" (MacKinnon: 155).

The creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 solidified political power in the hands of the white minority. Though the new political organization gave concessions to Afrikaner interests, the political rights of Africans were purposefully ignored. During the period of the two World Wars, white elites continued to strengthen their racial domination of the country's political and economic structures through the implementation of heavy taxes and restrictive pass laws. The Apartheid system, begun in 1948, was in essence a dramatic extension of the racially divisive political-economy which had existed in South Africa since the late 19th century. Thus, the system of Apartheid which arose in South Africa was primarily the result of an industrialized mining economy and a minority dominated political system sympathetic to its demands for a massive supply of cheap labour.

The importance of economic factors to the formation of national identity is explained by the modernist argument that nations and nationalism are the products of modernization and industrialization. Ernest Gellner argues that nationalism's economic and social roots can be traced back to the historical transformation from traditional societies based on agriculture to modern societies based on industrialization (Day and Thompson, 2004; 44). The rise of nationalism is due to the fundamental differences between these two types of social structures, and how the process of transformation between them is played out.

According to this theory, agrarian societies display a highly stable structural basis of social organization "which makes cultural variations and differences among members of the society appear relatively unimportant" (Day and Thompson, 2004: 45). Society is governed by a relatively small number of the population, the various elite classes (military, administrative, clerical), who are "rigidly separate" from the majority of the population, the peasants (Gellner, 1983: 9). The peasants, direct agricultural producers, do not have consciousness of themselves as a distinct class but are scattered into numerous self-contained and insulated communities, each with their own local culture. Change comes as industrialization erodes these structures and hierarchies. In this process, communities broaden as cultural similarities become more significant and more people identify with a shared consciousness. Simultaneously, conflict emerges as the differences between united cultural communities are also enhanced.

Ultimately, Gellner suggests that "nationalism is rooted in a *certain kind* of division of labour, one which is complex and persistently, cumulatively changing" (Gellner, 1983: 24). Capitalism's focus on perpetual growth makes for a highly volatile economic system necessitating social and individual mobility. In opposition to the cultural diversity of isolated agrarian societies, the social mobility emerging from industrialized capitalism also promotes a sense of egalitarianism and homogenisation (Gellner: 25). Urbanization encourages the adoption of shared meanings and understandings and the forging of new social relationships. New cultural ties are established and advocated by social elites through symbols, codes of conduct and expression as well as shared meanings and understandings. The state defines the national consciousness using aspects of pre-existing cultures in creation of a new cultural understanding. This force, "the drive towards new [cultural] units constructed on the principles corresponding to the new division of labour" is the strongest force affecting societies during industrialization (Gellner: 49). With its growth as an accepted social reality, nationalism may be used as a means of mass mobilisation (Day and Thompson, 2004: 48). In this way, Gellner argues that nationalism is a belief-system, a prevailing mind-set "tied to the nature and existence of the nation-state and its role in fostering economic expansion and social development" (Gellner, 1983: 43). As broader cultural understandings replace traditional narrow ones, individuals gain a sense of solidarity among those who are culturally similar, and a separation from those who are perceived as culturally different.

Historically, this can be seen through decreasing British/Boer conflict in support of broader 'white' interests in 20th century South Africa. Similarly, the early 20th century was a time of expansive urbanization resulting in a limited 'black consciousness' movement uniting African interests above narrow ethnic identities. The ANC was formed in 1912 as a result of this growing identification between Africans. Additionally, the rise of the National Party in 1948 can be seen in response to this growing

African identity. An extreme increase in the number of Africans living in urban areas in conjunction with a growing fear of their organization and activism led many whites to call for a renewed commitment to and strengthening of racial segregation. Thus, the origins of nations and nationalist movements in South Africa can be seen to lie firmly within the various socio-economic changes brought on by the rise of industrialization.[2]

Similarly, Marx argues that the processes of concentration, homogenization and education brought on by industrial capitalism will lead to changes in socio-economic and political structures (Sabia, 1988: 53). Marx argues that the political economy of capitalism creates social divisions between workers and those who own the means to production. These divisions are reflected in social classes which eventually form the dominant level of social identification. Through the rise of industry, commercial interests and the establishment of classes, capitalism removes workers from their narrow localities and creates broader social identities. For the bourgeois, the means of production and collection of capital necessitate re-organization from local to national levels. However, the state, as controlled by the bourgeois, only serves the economic interests of the ruling class. According to Marx, concepts of nationhood and nationalism, while ultimately irrelevant for proletarian identity, provide a sense of temporary organization and patriotic motivation for class identity, encouraging the mass mobilization of workers.

Ultimately, the theories of Gellner and Marx highlight distinct aspects of the relationship between economic factors and national identity. Gellner links nationalist sentiment and the formation of nations to the efforts of political elites attempting to manage the socio-economic changes brought on by industrialization and modernisation. While recognizing the importance of these socio-economic changes, Marx argues that rather than being a state-led process, identity formation is a result of socio-economic realities and the class-based relationships they engender. In large part, the consolidation of white power in 20th century South Africa and the entrenchment of a system of racial domination can be seen as attempts to manage the socio-economic changes brought on by industrialization. Moreover, in opposition to a racially based system of economic inequality, the disadvantaged groups of South African society formed

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2 In many ways, Alan Paton's "Cry, the Beloved Country" (1948) seems to partially illustrate modernist theories of industrialization-led nationalism within a South African context. In Paton's novel, set in 1940's South Africa, the local cultures of various small tribes are being destroyed by the processes of modernity and industrialization. Johannesburg, and the modernity it symbolizes, exists less as a melting pot of mutual assimilation than as a force for the universal acceptance of a new culture typified by language (English), values (capitalism) as well as different social rules and norms. In this greater process of socio-economic and political change, traditional agrarian systems and familial ties are breaking down. There are also renewed calls from the white bourgeoisie for strengthening the systems of socio-economic control. Though the novel ends with hopes of rebirth for the small rural town of Ndotsheni, this will most likely come not through the resurrection of past traditions, but with the acceptance of technological advances, new traditions and systems of order, a new language and, as symbolized by the anthem "Nkose Sikelel' iAfrika," perhaps a new sense of identity.

resistance movements which challenged the divisive Apartheid system. Certainly, socio-economic inequalities were a central aspect of black discontent, a source of collaboration and cooperation in the formation of resistance groups and a driving force motivating the liberation struggle. Socio-economic conditions are highly relevant to the formation of national identity and nationalist movements.

Modern theorists of nationalism argue that above all, national identity is a state-led construction. In South Africa, this is supported by the continued salience of Apartheid-era categorizations, as well as the extent to which the ANC-government has promoted the formation of a modern cohesive South African national identity. However, though nations and nationalist movements are primarily social constructs, it is important to consider the existing socio-economic conditions upon which national identities are adopted. As expressed by Raymond Aron, "the existence of too great a degree of inequality makes human community impossible" (Ramphele, 2008: 24). Marx argues that socio-economic similarities are the primary basis of social identities and collective movements. While this degree of class primacy in identity formation is debatable, it appears that without relatively similar lived socio-economic realities, the shared symbols, values and understandings advanced by the state will be unable to captivate society as a whole. Thus, for states such as South Africa engaged in programs of nation-building and national identity formation, resolving the socio-economic inequalities present in society is an important step for both reducing sources of discontent and for widening the space of potential social cohesion.

Ultimately, political ideologies and national identities must be appropriate to the context of national communities. Nationalist movements "must provide appropriate modes of behaviour, appropriate attitudes, appropriate ideologies, appropriate identity-securing interpretative systems for dealing with real, experienced situations" (Bloom, 1990: 52). The various theoretical approaches to nation-building and nationalism present a variety of understandings and explanations related to national identity formation. However, the unique historical legacy of South Africa must be recognized in analysing these different approaches. For most individuals, "a symbol or an ideology without a relevant experience is meaningless and impotent in terms of evoking identification" (Bloom: 52). Theoretically, the principles of interculturalism, civic nationalism and the relevance of socio-economic conditions emerge as important considerations for analysing national identity in South Africa. Accordingly, the ANC's nation-building program includes elements of cultural diversity and cooperation, a respect for liberal rights and non-racial democracy, and above all, a commitment to socio-economic transformation.

CHAPTER 3: Post-Apartheid Nation-Building – A Two-pronged Approach

During his Inaugural Address in May 2009, South African President Jacob Zuma congratulated fellow ANC members and all South Africans for their efforts in establishing South Africa as a non-racial democracy based on the principles of human dignity and equal rights. Yet he also spoke of the present as a "moment of renewal… an opportunity [for South Africans] to rediscover that which binds us together as a nation" (Zuma, 2009a). While there have been many accomplishments in South African state/nation-building over the past fifteen years, there remains much to be done in entrenching these changes in the political and social consciousness. Thus, the objectives of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) have yet to be fully realized. Ultimately, as post-1994 South Africa represents a triumph over the divisive and oppressive Apartheid regime, it appears that a new South African identity must be understood in terms of what the previous regime was not. For both the South African state as well as South African national identity, successful transition may be characterised by "the antithesis of all that was bad about the apartheid system" (Ramphele, 2008: 13).

Throughout the liberation struggle, the ANC was guided by the objectives of the NDR: social, economic and political empowerment of the people, especially those formerly discriminated against. In reiterating the goals of the NDR in 2007, the ANC renewed its commitment to the realization of:

> "-a united state based on the will of all the people, without regard [to] race, sex, belief or geographic location; a dignified and improving quality of life among all the people by providing equal rights and opportunities to all citizens; and the restoration of the birthright of all South Africans regarding access to land and other resources" (ANC, 2007).

Defined here, the goals of the NDR, and subsequently what has been pursued through the ANC-led program of state/nation-building, reflect equality in political rights as well as socio-economic opportunity. The ANC has highlighted "the liberation of Blacks in general and Africans in particular" as a central focus of the NDR (ANC, 2007). Thus, the successful realization of a new South Africa, as well as a new South African national identity, is inherently linked to the state's ability to generate dramatic change and reform, both in the political as well as socio-economic realms.

South Africa's political transformation, symbolized by the 1994 presidential election and culminating in the adoption of a new constitution in 1996, was a process of liberation and empowerment. A unitary democratic state has been established based on non-racial universal suffrage, equality, rule of law and protection of human rights (MacKinnon, 2004: 268). A broad bill of rights includes the rights to equality, human dignity, property, education, social welfare, language and culture as well as the freedoms of religion, expression, movement and occupation. Cultural diversity is further protected through the recognition of eleven official languages. Other special provisions include guarantees to the rights of

women, traditional chiefs and the right to self-determination. The Constitution also provides for the creation of special institutions to act as safeguards to democracy (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). Forged through negotiation rather than revolution, South Africa's political transformation represents a peaceful commitment to equality and freedom, in opposition to the divisive and unequal legacy of Apartheid. Initiated under a Government of National Unity and supported by successive ANC administrations, the Constitution serves as the foundation of a non-racial, democratic South African state. Similarly, this spirit of equality and inclusion so espoused in the Constitution is central to the desired sense of national consciousness which has been promoted through various state-led nation-building programs. As with South Africa's political transformation, attempts at social and economic transformation have been pursued in the name of liberation, inclusiveness and equality.

In fostering a new South African identity based on these principles, the ANC has adopted a two-pronged approach with regards to its nation-building program. A distinct focus on political and socio-economic transformation has been coupled with the social psychological aspect of forging a broad and inclusive national consciousness. Not only efforts to redress apartheid-era inequalities, but also a consensus on the necessity of these efforts seem to be imperative. Since 1994, the ANC government has worked to overcome the many barriers which plague South African society and more importantly, has sought to build mass public support for its nation-building program.

Socio-Economic Transformation

Both the establishment of non-racial democratic institutions and an intense focus on economic growth and development can be seen as efforts in the liberation of South Africa's disadvantaged citizens. From the outset of their nation-building campaign, the ANC acknowledged that "the challenge of forging a lasting national consensus is closely linked with the challenge of forging a common approach towards the transformation of the economy" (ANC, 1994: 10.3). Acknowledging the economic inequalities within the current system, the South African government has attempted to alleviate poverty, redistribute land, provide much needed welfare services and create opportunities for its citizens through initiatives such as the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE).

Since 1994, socio-economic transformation has been the most crucial aspect of the ANC-led nation-building program. One of the most destructive legacies of the Apartheid system has been the almost complete underdevelopment and impoverishment of South Africa's African people. Any attempt at nation-building must directly engage in confronting and redressing the economic realities of this legacy. Indeed, Zuma has stated that "at the core of nation-building is the development of our nation's human potential" (Zuma, 2008). The development of South Africa's human potential must begin by

addressing the vast material differences as well as differences of opportunity which exist between members of South African society.

At the dawn of democratic South Africa in 1994, the country was defined by gross inequalities in distribution of wealth and standards of living on the basis of racial categorization. Control of public and private business remained almost exclusively in the hands of Whites. Across almost all economic indicators including level of unemployment, standard of living, household income and level of education, Africans/Blacks were at the worst end of the scale (Klandermans et al., 2001: 27-33). Whites held the best levels of these indicators with Coloured and Asian/Indian populations falling variously in between, thus reflecting the extremely hierarchical nature of Apartheid society. In 1994, over 27% of Africans were officially unemployed compared to 2.5% of Whites. With regards to education, only 9% of Africans and 12.5% of Coloureds had achieved Standard 10. Compared to the 40.5% of Asians and 59% of Whites who had reached this target, this represents a serious disparity in levels of education. Furthermore, as an extension of socio-economic deprivation, the average life expectancy in 1988 was only 57 years for Blacks, compared to 73 years for Whites (Van Rooyen, 1994: 208).

These extreme disparities in wealth and well-being were the source of much anger towards the Apartheid regime. Socio-economic inequalities helped fuel the liberation struggle and led to the rise of the ANC. With regards to the relationship between economic inequality, instability and democratization, it is noted that "economic factors influence not only the transition to democracy but also the stability of democracy itself" (Van der Berg, 1994: 240). Aside from the ANC's moral obligation to the millions of disadvantaged South Africans it came to lead in 1994, the legitimacy of its rule and the stability of democracy in South Africa also require a commitment to socio-economic transformation. Historically, the ANC holds a left-leaning economic philosophy committed to social welfare and economic equality as shown through the Freedom Charter's calls for redistribution of land and nationalisation of industry. However, amidst a long period of South African economic decline, it was argued that the necessary scope of this transformation could not be realized without an equal commitment to economic growth and a revitalization of the national economy. Thus, while the ANC government has remained committed to economic liberation and reform, its national program of economic transformation has largely been a compromise between the need for redistribution and poverty reduction and the need for rapid economic growth (Van der Berg: 241).

In 1994, a special developmental policy framework was adopted to guide the socio-economic transformation of South African society and promote economic growth. This Reconstruction and Development Programme focused on poverty alleviation, service delivery and infrastructure projects in an attempt to boost domestic demand, entice investment and increase employment (Naidoo, 2006: 111).

Efforts were made to provide adequate housing, clean water, electricity and public health care to disadvantaged communities. Additionally, public works projects were encouraged to increase employment, more money was devoted to education and specific measures were initiated to encourage land reform and redistribution (Harsch, 2001: 13). However, it was soon recognized that more rapid economic growth would be needed to meet the financial requirements of such sustained social investment. In pursuit of this, a five-year macroeconomic Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy was adopted to lower the budget deficit and increase domestic and foreign investment. This policy change marked a shift from a "growth through redistribution" approach under RDP to one of "distribution through growth" under GEAR (Maré, 2003: 36). The adoption of GEAR marked a firm commitment to internationally advocated neo-liberal capitalism above the ANC's more socialist rhetoric during the liberation struggle and its partners in the Tripartite Alliance.[3] While the ANC's fiscally conservative economic approach under GEAR did not abandon socially conscious programs aimed at economic transformation, RDP received a symbolic downgrading with the 1997 closing of its independent office within the Presidency (Lodge, 2002: 69). Ultimately, these policies resulted in mixed success with regards to socio-economic transformation.

While decreasing the budget deficit and bringing greater macroeconomic stability to the Sough African economy, the GEAR strategy fell short of its targets for economic growth and did relatively little to address national unemployment (Naidoo, 2006: 114). Massive job losses were recorded and a tighter fiscal policy restrained the government's RDP objectives. In a series of annual surveys from 1999-2001, over 53% of South Africans believed that the general economic situation had worsened in the past year (Struwig, 2002: 97). However, it would be incorrect to claim that the nominal market growth achieved through GEAR was "jobless growth." From 1995-2002 the South African economy created about 1.6 million jobs (Bhorat, 2006: 276). Rising unemployment rates which, using an 'expanded definition'[4] had reached over 7.2 million by 2002, were the result of an ever expanding labour market rather than overall loss of employment. Despite GEAR's success in stabilizing the South African economy and providing the foundations for economic growth, it has achieved only limited success in transforming growth into poverty alleviation and development, let alone greater socio-economic equality.

However, the RDP was relatively successful in providing social services and poverty alleviation efforts to disadvantaged communities. Data shows that average household income and living standards

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[3] The Tripartite Alliance is a political partnership between the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP). COSATU and SACP do not participate independently in national elections but field candidates and influence government policy through the ANC.

[4] Traditional/strict definitions of unemployment mark the percentage of the workforce actively seeking employment but unable to find jobs. In contrast, the expanded definition also takes into account the existence of discouraged work-seekers: people who desire work but have ceased actively trying to obtain a job.

actually increased marginally between 1994 and 2000 (Klandermans et al., 2001: 30-31). More dramatic increases among the African and Coloured populations point to limited progress in narrowing the gaps between South Africa's social groups. Between 1994 and 2000 over 4 million people were provided with access to clean water, over 900,000 housing units were completed, over 1,5000 kilometres of roads built under various public works initiatives and over 68,000 families resettled on agricultural lands (Harsch, 2001: 14). Admittedly, many of these accomplishments fall far short of the RDP's earlier ambitions. For instance, though a 1997 White Paper on South African Land Policy promised to redistribute 30% of agricultural land from white to black ownership by 1999, actual redistribution was less than 2% by 2001 (Thwala, 2003). It has also been noted that advances in service delivery have been tempered by the fact that there have been "approximately ten million cut-offs in water and electricity services because people have not paid their bills, and a further two million people have been victims of evictions for non-payment of rates and rent" (Ballard et al., 2006: 402). By failing to provide disadvantaged communities with the social and economic capital necessary to substantially alter the racial disparities present in South Africa's economy, RDP and other poverty alleviation programs seem to represent minor short term gains rather than definitive socio-economic transformation. However, for many people, the accomplishments of RDP were a much needed material redress of Apartheid-era inequalities. Despite their limited capacity to engender dramatic socio-economic transformation, RDP accomplishments symbolize the government's commitment to poverty alleviation and development amidst the difficult task of balancing economic redistribution with sustained economic growth.

A more successful approach to de-racializing the national economy has been through a collection of programs referred to as Black Economic Empowerment (BEE). BEE seeks to overcome racial disparities in wealth and income by promoting black ownership and control over the economy. Along with the government's commitment to service delivery through RDP, the creation of "black-owned and black-controlled enterprises" was an early focus of promoting the growth of small, medium and micro-enterprises (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 2003: 8). Other policies committing the government to a more proactive role in encouraging economic de-racialization included programs to promote affirmative action in employment, give black enterprises preferential treatment in acquiring a stake in the economy and establish a system of incentives for public participation in BEE. From these programs emerged a small but growing black business class. In 1993 there was one transaction on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) representing investment from a black business. In contrast, the year 2000 witnessed 65 such transactions. Similarly, the number of black-controlled firms on the JSE, virtually non-existent in 1994, rose to 35 in 1999 representing about 6% of the value of shares traded (Iheduru, 2004: 16).

Though early BEE was successful in the creation of an emergent black business class, it was restricted by a lack of capital investment and the lack of a coherent policy framework. In 2003, the government reasserted its commitment to BEE with a more comprehensive strategy of wider scope known as Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE). Defined as "the economic empowerment of all black people including women, workers, youth, people with disabilities and people living in rural areas" BBBEE is committed to socio-economic transformation on behalf of all black people: Africans, Coloureds and Indians (Southall, 2006: 186). As of 2008, the definition of "black" was expanded to include Chinese people who were also previously disadvantaged under Apartheid (Mbola, 2008). A set of 'codes of good practice' were drafted in 2004 and adopted in 2007 to guide and promote BBBEE implementation across all sectors of the economy. They set clear targets and quotas for black employment, management and ownership in all companies with an annual turnover of more than R5 million (Southall, 2006: 186). Special scorecards are used to assess companies' achievement in these areas. High achieving companies are rewarded with preferential treatment by the government and more opportunities for lucrative contracts whereas low scoring companies or "non-contributors" are marginalised by government as well as other companies for fear of association (Ramphele, 2008: 249).

Overall, these policies have been relatively successful in diversifying the racial composition of South African business. Notably, the percentage of black representation among top managers in South African companies has increased from 12.7% in 2000 to 22.2% by 2006 (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 2008: 39). However, such improvement is often overshadowed by the fact that black people represent 88% of the South Africa's Economically Active Population (EAP) (Ramphele, 2008: 252). In contrast, the 2006-2007 Report of the Commission on Employment Equity showed that white people constituted less than 13% of EAP though still retained 75% of top management positions. Despite the overall inequalities which exist, BEE has encouraged the growth of a small but expanding black middle class. First-generation beneficiaries of these policies, the young so-called "black diamonds", have created a new class of consumer symbolizing limited but real progress in the socio-economic transformation of South Africa's economy (Ramphele: 262).

In effect, rather than promoting massive economic redistribution, BEE symbolizes the extent of the state's compromise between macro-economic stability and economic redistribution. Though government expenditure on social welfare services has increased since 2000, in many respects, the state's commitment to black economic empowerment seems to overshadow its commitment to RDP (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 2008: 34). Indeed, it appears that government officials refer to RDP less as a specific economic program than "simply in terms of the fulfilment of various 'delivery' targets directed at basic needs" (Lodge: 2002: 69). Since 1994 there has been moderate growth

in the black middle class and an increase in the proportion of affluent blacks. However, this has been coupled with rising income inequality and social divisions within the black population (Beall et al., 2005: 693). By focusing on investment into existing businesses rather than the creation of new enterprises, BEE inadequately promotes the interests of black lower classes who would be better served by job creation (Southall, 2006: 197). Critics have argued that rather than promoting unity through socio-economic transformation, the BEE strategy merely legitimises the government and uses black capital to "balance the potentially explosive expectations of the black majority to immediately attain corresponding or proportionate economic power with the white minority" (Iheduru, 2004: 20). Though current commitments to BBBEE will most surely continue the development of a "black bourgeoisie," the ability of the program to fully democratise capital and promote broad socio-economic transformation seems limited.

Ultimately, South Africa's economic policy since 1994 has provided for a stable macroeconomic environment with sustained growth and declining government debt (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 2008: 31-33). Through RDP, GEAR and BEE/BBBEE, the ANC government has sought to redress the economic inequalities inherited from Apartheid and promote socio-economic transformation. A commitment to democratising capital and liberating the previously disadvantaged segments of society has been central to the government's nation-building program. Though significant progress has been made through both service delivery and an emerging black business class, vast economic inequality remains a widespread, tangible and potentially volatile fixture in South African society. Despite increased government expenditure on social welfare services and RDP, unemployment and poverty continue to affect millions of South Africans, predominantly Africans. In many ways, black economic empowerment initiatives appear more likely to "blur the boundaries of race and class than to propel South African capitalism in a more inclusive, accountable and equalising direction" (Southall, 2006: 198).

Despite commitments to socio-economic transformation, the South African economy remains fractured by disparity, largely along racial lines. These inequalities challenge both the ANC's nation-building campaign and the emergence of a broadly inclusive South African national identity. Perhaps clearer perceptions of a new South African national identity may emerge with advances in socio-economic transformation providing equal opportunities for economic growth and development across racial lines. However, noting the length of time it will take for socio-economic changes to take root in society, Mbeki argued over ten years ago that "it is the subjective factor, accompanied by tangible process in the creation of the new material base, which must take the lead in sustaining the hope and conviction among the people that the project of reconciliation and nation building will succeed" (Mbeki, 1998).

Social-Psychological Transformation

Throughout the past fifteen years, the social psychological aspect of nation-building in South Africa has focused on the construction of a new South African identity through a variety of initiatives and discourses. Initially, and most symbolically, was the promotion of South Africa as a "rainbow nation". Embracing the country's vast cultural diversity, this discourse seeks "to promote national reconciliation through mutual respect of differences" (Baines, 1998). Inclusive of national symbols such as the flag, a new national anthem and currency, this agenda is further evident through the state's eleven official languages and the re-creation of public celebrations such as Heritage Day (Bornman, 2006: 384). Within this intercultural approach to national unity there has also emerged an underlying current of Pan-Africanism. With regards to national identity in South Africa, the ANC holds that, "in its own unique way, South Africa should emerge as a united African nation, adding to the diversity and identity of the continent and humanity at large" (ANC, 2007). Additionally, athletic patriotism has been seized upon as a nation-building exercise, especially in preparation for South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Ultimately, as today's South Africa stands in stark contrast to its Apartheid past, the process of nation-building necessitates confronting this divisive historical legacy. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established to provide an opportunity for South Africans to share the memories, guilt and sadness of their recent past, and to emerge united in their efforts to build a new nation. From national symbols to national programs, these nation-building initiatives have focused on creating a broad and inclusive sense of national unity in spite of the country's great diversity and contentious history.

At a 1994 Thanksgiving service celebrating South Africa's peaceful transition to non-racial democracy, Archbishop Desmond Tutu famously proclaimed South Africans to be "the rainbow people of God… all of us, black and white together!" (Dickow and Møller, 2002). Throughout the liberation struggle, the ANC was devoted to the principle of non-racialism, bringing together various black as well as white activists in overturning Apartheid. This commitment to non-racialism was one of the founding elements of South Africa's united democratic state. As an extension of non-racialism, the ANC has sought to build a national consensus embracing all aspects of South Africa's rich cultural diversity. The "rainbow nation" metaphor has come to symbolize the government's social-psychological approach to nation-building.

South Africa's forty-seven million people identify with a variety of cultures, ethnic groups, languages and religions. Under apartheid, forced racial categorization was used to establish a hierarchy of discrimination against non-white South Africans. With the creation of ten separate ethnic homelands, South Africa's diverse ethnic composition was used as the basis of a system to separate Africans from "white" South Africa. However, since 1994, the government has promoted commitments to diversity and

inclusion as defining characteristics of the new South Africa. The importance of unity has been stressed both with regards to a common territory as well as a common national identity. Today, all South Africans are said to inhabit one country and live in one common territory, "not in a balkanised South Africa, not in a constellation of TBVC 'states', not in a confederation of autonomous and independent provinces and not in a Volkstate" (ANC, 2005). Similarly, there has been an effort to build a national consensus around one common culture with which all citizens can identify. However, this has not been promoted to the detriment of other forms of personal identification. The ANC states that "as with any nation, South Africans will continue to have multiple identities based on class, gender, age, language, geographic location, religion and so on. In a national democratic society, such diversity should feed into an overarching national identity" (ANC, 2007). In building this common South African identity, the ANC remains committed to cultural diversity and the preservation of the many distinct aspects of South African society. In contrast to an Apartheid-era "diversity as the basis of division" mindset, the current "rainbow nation" discourse promotes unity through diversity and the balancing of various sub-national and personal identities with a broadly inclusive national identity.

Embodying this "rainbow nation" mantra are the many national symbols, customs and values adopted during the transition to democracy. The first step in this process occurred in 1992 when a new series of banknotes was issued replacing the longstanding likeness of Jan van Riebeeck (present on the face of South African Rand since 1921) with the "big five" African animals (Groenewald, 2007: 21). Artistic depictions on these notes combine themes of agriculture, industry, mining, tourism, nature and communication with diversity in colour and language. The use of English as well as two other languages on each of the five banknotes ensures that all of South Africa's eleven official languages are represented. In this way, the celebration of difference within a series of banknotes "where each denomination evinces a separate animal and colour, anticipates – and subsequently supports – the imagining of a plural and heterogeneous nation as a rainbow" (Groenewald: 27).

On April 27, 1994, a new national flag was introduced to which citizens of a newly democratised South Africa may form attachments free of Apartheid association. Though the government maintains that its colours have no universal symbolism and are open to personal interpretation, the flag's 'V' form (on the left) flowing into a single horizontal band symbolizes the convergence of different elements of South African society, approaching the future in unity (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 2009a). In 1996, a new national anthem was proclaimed which combined the Xhosa hymn "Nkosi Sikilel' iAfrika" (God Bless Africa) with the Afrikaans anthem "Die Stem" (The Call of South Africa). Utilising four different languages the final stanza was rewritten in English to emphasize the ideal of unity in pursuit of freedom (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 2009a). In 2000, a new national coat of arms was

adopted highlighting "the democratic change in South Africa and a new sense of patriotism" (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 2009a). Included on the national emblem is a motto, written in a Khoisan language meaning "diverse people unite." Committing the government to "unity in diversity" through the language of one of the oldest indigenous groups in Southern Africa is representative of the liberating and inclusive sense of national identity these symbols attempt to convey.

Additionally, new public holidays have been created emphasizing South Africa's diversity and promoting reconciliation. Initiated in 1996, Heritage Day is celebrated on September 24th to recognize the diverse cultural heritage which contributes to South African society. More recently, the holiday has been informally re-branded as "National Braai Day" in celebration of what has now become an expression of South African culture. During Apartheid, December 16th was celebrated as the "Day of the Vow" in remembrance of the 1838 victory by Voortrekker forces over a numerically superior Zulu army at the Battle of Blood River. In 1994, this holiday was redefined as a "Day of Reconciliation", promoting national unity over the state's violent and divisive history (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 2009b).

Collectively, these and other national symbols are powerful methods of communicating the government's commitment to building a common national identity based on the inclusion of South Africa's many diverse cultures. Discussing the use of such symbols in promoting national identity, Billig (1995) describes them as an element of "banal nationalism." Though objects such as currency and the flag are commonplace and barely observed aspects of daily life, they carry important symbolic meanings which are interpreted, internalized and "repeatedly remind people of where they are, and to what they belong" (Day and Thompson, 2004: 99). Perhaps more than any other symbol, the national flag enjoys widespread popularity and has been 'banalized' by being "printed and displayed on all kinds of consumer items such as bumper stickers, designs for caps, clothes, cars and all kinds of curio's and traditional art" (Bornman, 2006: 385). This shows that as much as national symbols are actively asserted in ways such as painting flags on faces at sporting events in a display of athletic patriotism, they are also passively internalized and adopted through their incorporation in various advertisements, objects and media. Billig argues that national identity is "a form of life which is daily lived", embodying the various multidimensional habits of social life (Day and Thompson, 2004: 100). In addition to socio-economic realities, legal classification, political inclusion and social relationships, national symbols provide an ever-present reinforcement of national identification. In this way, these symbols form part of a national discourse which, together with language, place-names and rhetoric, emphasize the nation's existence and provide a subconscious sense of national belonging.

The issue of changing place-names is another important aspect of banal nationalism. During the transition to democracy, the names of many provinces (Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo, Mpumalanga), cities, towns and other geographical locations (O.R. Tambo International Airport) have been changed to reflect a more "African" history or representation. The legacy of European colonialism and Apartheid resulted in a disproportionate number of place names reflecting a distinctly European or Afrikaner influence. The government has argued that "just as the cities, towns, streets, rivers and mountains of this country belong to all its people… it is necessary to ensure that the languages, culture, history, aspirations and heritage of all South Africans is reflected in the names that are given to the world they inhabit" (Motlanthe, 2008). In pursuit of this, the South African Geographical Names Council was established in 1998 to provide a platform for negotiating place-name changes in the new South Africa. By 2007, 53% of the name changes which had taken place have been made in African languages (King, 2007). As recently highlighted by the current debate surrounding Pretoria/Tshwane, the process of changing place-names has caused much contention, argument and even confusion throughout society. However, by redressing Apartheid-era inequalities and promoting cultural diversity, changing place-names remains an important aspect of the government's nation-building program.

Under the guidance of Nelson Mandela, the government's nation-building program throughout the first years of democracy was focused on promoting peace and reconciliation between different groups in South African society. Utilising discourses of the "rainbow nation" and multicultural unity, nation-building was primarily understood as "South Africans joining hands across all the racial and tribal distinctions" in pursuit of a common and liberated, non-racial democratic future (Mandela, 1998). However, under the leadership of Thabo Mbeki, the government's nation-building approach shifted to one more conscious of its continental heritage. In his famous "I am an African" speech, Mbeki recounts the diverse roots of South African society and portrays a South African identity inclusive of all its unique cultures. However, he also locates this understanding directly within the historical context of African colonialism as a whole. Speaking at the 1996 adoption ceremony for the new South African Constitution, Mbeki remarked that "Today it feels good to be an African. It feels good that I can stand here as a South African and as a foot soldier of a titanic African army, the African National Congress…" (Mbeki, 1996). By using the terms "African" and "South African" relatively interchangeably, Mbeki attempts to link all South Africans to the rest of the continent, crafting a vision of South African identity conscious and prideful of its place within the whole of Africa. Supporting this pan-African element of national identity, South Africa has often been portrayed as a modern nation at the helm of a general African Renaissance.

Central to this notion is the idea that South Africa is inseparable from the rest of the continent and that to understand South Africa, a greater understanding of Africa as a whole is needed. Linked by their

common struggle against colonialism and the similar challenges currently facing developing countries, African nations must embrace their shared African identity and promote the levels of integration and interdependence which already exists between them. The importance of this is shown through Mbeki's view that today, "South Africa stands as tall as it does because it is standing on the shoulders of the rest of Africa" (Mbeki, 2009). Indeed, millions of African migrants live and work in South Africa, adding to the country's diversity and contributing to its economy. As a second home for much of the region's migrant population, South Africa accounts for the source of 98% of total remittances received in SADC countries (UN-INSTRAW, 2007). Thus, the African Renaissance movement reflects the idea of a pan-African identity and hopes to provide leadership for the awakening of such a consciousness in the 21st century. Examples of this can be found through the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), an economic development program adopted in 2001 to encourage cooperation and integration between African countries, as well the "African solutions to African problems" approach to international relations. Promoting African political leadership, this approach has been symbolised by Mbeki's use of "quiet diplomacy" in negotiating with Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe.

However, the relative failure of both NEPAD and "quiet diplomacy" highlight the difficulties of moving the African Renaissance concept beyond the sphere of mere political rhetoric. Domestically, attempts to foster an Afro-centric national identity have been limited. Critics argue that "no attempt was made to explain the strong Africa-focus in the country's foreign policy to ordinary South Africans, especially the poor blacks who would have to share the limited resources with African immigrants" (Zondi, 2008: 32). Indeed, the wave of xenophobic violence which swept South Africa in 2008 points to the inability of pan-African dialogue to resonate with some portions of South African society. Surveys have shown that the idea of an African Renaissance appeals far less to Coloured, Indian and White South Africans than it does to Africans, thus limiting its ability to serve as a source of unity within the nation-building program (Bornman, 2006: 393). Furthermore, with regards to self-identification, South Africans from the highest income groups "did not see themselves as 'Africans,' implying that the main beneficiaries of the South African economy are those who see themselves in terms other than 'African'" (Ramutsindela, 2002: 56). While this may reflect the dominant position of Whites in the South African economy, it also suggests that there are apparently few economic incentives to adopting a pan-African identity. Accordingly, while remaining committed to "the reconstruction and development of the African continent", nation-building rhetoric under South Africa's Zuma-led government appears to have scaled back its embrace of pan-Africanism in favour of a more coherent South African vision for the future (Zuma, 2009a).

As part of its social-psychological approach to building a cohesive national identity, the ANC government has long supported the growth of athletic patriotism. Owing to colonial and Apartheid legacies, sport in South Africa has been a symbolic source of identity for many people. Traditional stereotypes held that cricket, "because of its elitist image and purportedly gentleman status", was seen to embody British identity, rugby was regarded as the national sport of the Afrikaans community while football was deemed an appropriate pastime for the black community and working classes (Van der Merwe, 2006: 2-3). During Apartheid, racial discrimination was extended to national sport, resulting in South Africa's exclusion from international sporting competition from the 1970s to the early 1990s. Following South Africa's post-Apartheid reintegration with the international community, sport was immediately advocated as a potential source of national unity and reconciliation. In this vein, the government sought and was awarded the responsibility of hosting the 1995 Rugby World Cup and co-hosting the 2003 Cricket World Cup. For many South Africans, their triumph in the 1995 Rugby World Cup was one of the defining moments of the transition to a democratic nation of non-racial unity. Presenting the victory trophy to the national team dressed in a Springbok rugby jersey, President Mandela proudly remarked that that "rugby, once the symbol of division and exclusion, had crossed the threshold into a new era of a united and reconciled nation" (Cornelissen, 2004: 44). The following year, South Africans again enjoyed a surge of national pride after hosting and winning the 1996 African Cup of Nations (football). Through its use as a motive force for building and sustaining national unity, sport and the hosting of mega-sporting events has been an important aspect of the ANC's nation-building program.

Since the 1995 World Cup, and the 1996 African Cup of Nations, South Africa has hosted various other sporting events, including the 2003 Presidents Cup (golf), and consistently submits applications to host future large-scale sporting competitions. Sport has been identified as "an important basis for nationalism and identity" and the hosting of mass-sporting events offers an opportunity for strengthening or legitimizing identity claims (Cornelissen, 2004: 44). Surveys in South Africa have shown that across all racial groups, sport has been one of the main sources of national pride (Dickow and Møller, 2002). Indeed, in one 2003 survey, over 44% of South Africans selected "achievements in sports" as a factor they were proud of with regards to their country (Kersting, 2007: 285). Thus, sport was the highest ranking factor of national pride, even garnering more support than factors such as "the way democracy works", "the fair and equal treatment of all groups in society", and "history". Far less divisive or contentious than other marks of achievement in South Africa's recent history (ex: RDP, GEAR, TRC, democratic transition, overthrow of Apartheid), the ability of sport to unite people and inspire feelings of national pride may be attributed to its seemingly apolitical nature. However, the ability of sport to promote national unity and a sense of South African pride has not gone unnoticed by the government. The

ANC has noted that "one of our greatest successes in the transition has been to promote the 'feeling' of pride in being South African, including through activities like sport, which may seem trivial" but which continue to support the national campaign for a "New Patriotism" (ANC, 1997c).

In addition to fostering a sense of cohesive national identity, the hosting of sporting events in South Africa also reflects a developmental ambition. A major theme in Cape Town's unsuccessful bid to host the 2000 Summer Olympics was its ability to contribute to the country's human development. Through infrastructure projects, job creation and increased tourism, the hosting of sporting events is a powerful source of economic stimulation. By stressing the developmental potential of hosting the games, the government aimed to "use the Olympic Games as a platform to improve the lives of all its citizens especially those who were disadvantaged by apartheid", thus reflecting the use of sporting events as a potential instrument of government policy (Cornelissen and Swart, 2006: 115). Similarly, the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup has been regarded as a major development project for South Africa. It was estimated that in addition to boosting tourism, hosting the World Cup would "generate an additional tax income of approximately US$550m, contribute 2% to the GDP and create 129,000 jobs, 60% of which would be permanent" (Cornielssen, 2004: 44). President Zuma has stated that it is one of the biggest infrastructure projects in the nation's history, one which "will leave a proud legacy from which our children and our communities will benefit for many years to come" (Zuma, 2009b).

Overall, sport has been a major component of the government's nation-building program due to its contributions to both socio-economic development and social cohesion. Additionally, the hosting of sporting events supports the ANC's emphasis on pan-Africanism by publicising a broader "African" destination. In its campaign to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup, South Africa used the slogan "Its Africa's Turn" to build support and unity across the continent. Furthermore, as a political accomplishment in state/nation-building, South Africa's hosting of the World Cup has even been described as "the crowning achievement of South Africa's re-entry into the international community and its journey from pariah state to global intermediary" (Van der Merwe, 2006: 6).

Though sport has shown to be a powerful source of national unity in South Africa, the ability of athletic patriotism to fully transcend the many racial, ethnic and economic barriers of South African society seems exaggerated. Due to its seemingly apolitical and uncontentious nature, sport provides an easy conduit to inspire a sense of national pride and unity. However, while easy to inspire, these feelings may be equally difficult to sustain. During times of trial or contention, once-passionate feelings of athletic patriotism may easily fade when challenged by more tangible political, social or economic realities. Most appropriately, athletic patriotism and the use of sporting events to promote national unity should be recognized for their ability to project ideals of national unity and social cohesion into the national

consciousness. However, as with all national symbols, this must be supported by a commitment to deeper social partnerships before meaningful social transformation and the adoption of a truly inclusive South African identity is to take place.

Ultimately, the use of cultural symbols has been a distinctive aspect of the ANC-government's nation-building program. Throughout these symbols, there is an acknowledgement of the great diversity within South African society as well as an emphasis on the unity arising from these different cultural backgrounds. Though these symbols and place names represent a very tangible aspect of the greater social-psychological transformation, and to varying degrees have been embraced by the national community, their ability to engender deep social cohesion within South African society seems limited. Despite the recognition of athletic patriotism as a source of national pride, can this truly generate the sense of common nationhood and shared destiny which the ANC envisions? How well does the flag or the national anthem create a sense of understanding among people that "however varied their skin complexions, culture and life conditions, the success of each nevertheless depends on the effort the other will make to turn into reality the precept that each is his or her brother's or sister's keeper?" (Mbeki, 1998). Current protests against changing place-names reveal a lack of consensus within the community on certain issues related to common identity and historical legacy. Reoccurring xenophobic violence highlights the degree to which perceptions of South African identity remain detached from a respect for pan-Africanism. Though the ANC's commitment to interculturalism in pursuit of national unity should be commended, it appears that the many colours of South African society have yet to come together in an identifiable rainbow.

Throughout South Africa's post-Apartheid history, the ANC-led government has undertaken a distinct nation-building program in pursuit of "a truly united, democratic and prosperous South Africa in which the value of all citizens is measured by their humanity, without regard to race, gender and social status" (ANC, 2007). Through a variety of programs, initiatives, symbols and discourses, the ANC nation-building program highlights the importance placed upon a broad and inclusive sense of united national identity. In large part, common identity among citizens "is built on a commitment to political community and to the dialogue, reciprocity and recognition that that entails" (James, 2008: 6). With some success, a commitment to democratic principles and a sense of social cohesion based on the respect of cultural diversity has been driven into the national consciousness. However, it is also recognized that "the social psychological phenomenon on its own is not sustainable without socio-economic transformation" (ANC, 1997c). For such an inclusive national identity to be adopted across all aspects of South African society there must also be meaningful advances in achieving socio-economic equality. Indeed, the primary goal of the nation-building campaign remains the complete liberation (political, economic and

social) of "Blacks in general and Africans in particular." Though initiatives such as RDP, GEAR and BEE have dramatically chipped away at the systemic racially based disparities of Apartheid, economic inequalities and inequality of opportunity continue to stifle the country's human potential. These constraints remain significant challenges to a successful socio-economic transformation and thus, the popular embrace of one united and inclusive national identity.

In 2007, the ANC renewed its commitment to the creation of a "national democratic society" and highlighted several main steps which would bring South Africa closer to realizing this ideal (ANC, 2007). These include: entrenching the principles of liberal democracy throughout government and society, building social cohesion and the capacity of a rich civil society, accelerating economic growth, developing the nation's human potential through social welfare and human development initiatives, and enhancing the overall safety and security of its citizens. Ultimately, these steps, highlighted as "the main emphasis in the work of the ANC government in the coming decade", continue to reflect the mutually reinforcing approaches of social-psychological and socio-economic transformation (ANC, 2007). Perhaps it is only with the passage of time that the formation of a cohesive national identity will take root in South African society. However, a better understanding of the limitations to social cohesion and how they are being addressed through the current nation-building program may provide new solutions towards the creation of a South African society in which "all our people can feel equally at home" (ANC TODAY, 2009).

CHAPTER 4: Prospects for a United Democratic South Africa

In 1997, the ANC claimed that "the foundation has been laid for our society to develop into a truly united, non-racial and non-sexist nation" (ANC, 1997a). Ten years later, proudly declaring the success of their nation-building campaign, the ANC announced that "the legitimacy of the state system is reflected partly in the growing number of South Africans of all colours who view their national identity as the primary form of self-identification" (ANC, 2007). This assertion was based on a number of surveys showing increasing levels of self-identification with and pride in being "South African" (Dickow and Møller, 2002; Klandermans et al., 2001; Ramutsindela, 2002). Here, the concept of "South African" has been described as a "widespread identification with South Africa as a territory and as a reflection of the presence of some society-wide loyalties" (Ramutsindela, 2002: 55). However, for many people, various sub-national identities remain powerful forms of self-identification. Additionally, it appears that various political, economic and social events (2008 xenophobic attacks, political election campaign rhetoric, 2009 municipal worker protests) continue to challenge the notion of a cohesive South African society. Merely fifteen years since the country's first non-racial democratic election, to what degree have South Africans adopted a truly united and inclusive sense of national identity?

In 1999, a survey was conducted in which 61% of people primarily identified with being "South African" over various other forms of identification such as language, race or religion. (Ramutsindela, 2002: 48). From 1997 to 2000, those who strongly agreed with the statement "*being a South African is an important part of how I see myself*" rose from 35% to 42% (Klandermans et al., 2001: 102). In total, 87% of people agreed/strongly agreed with that statement in 2000. Initially, this seems to validate the government's "unity through diversity" approach to nation-building. However, as a source of national pride symbolizing reconciliation and unity, support for the "rainbow nation" was shown to decline from 1996 to 1999 in favour of other factors such as RDP and sporting achievements (Dickow and Møller, 2002). This suggests that the "rainbow nation" discourse is losing its importance for many South Africans. A rise in the number of people "opposing" the rainbow nation suggests that for some, the new concept has failed to live up to its promises of inclusiveness. However, a greater rise in the number of people who simply feel that the discourse "has no meaning" suggests that the abstract concept is less capable of inspiring national pride than economic reforms or athletic patriotism (Dickow and Møller, 2002).

While overall support for a South African national identity has increased, levels of support have not increased equally among all sub-national groups. From 1997 to 2000, strong support for a South African national identity increased from 30% to 44% among Black respondents. However, among Asians, Coloureds and Whites, levels of strong national identity declined significantly until 1999 (Klandermans et

al., 2001: 102). Within these racial groups, White English-speaking people initially recorded lower levels of national identification than did White Afrikaans-speaking people. As opposed to rising support among other black ethnic groups, support for national identification among Zulus remained constant at 35%. These trends point to the continued salience of sub-national identities in South African society. Different sub-national groups interpret political and socio-economic developments in different ways, thus leading to varied levels and trends of support for a broad national identity. Furthermore, as much as the adoption of a South African national identity could be based on feelings of national unity, alternatively, it could also represent an emerging sense of ethnic nationalism (Bornman, 2006: 397).

However, it would be incorrect to assume that the continued salience of sub-national identities represents the strengthening of racial or ethnic divisions. In fact, ethnicity as a source of sub-national identity decreased across all racial groups from 1994 to 2000 (Klandermans et al., 2001: 94). Though ethnicity, as opposed to class, gender, generation, locality, political affiliation or religion, remains the most popular basis for sub-national identities, there has been a marked growth in the range of personal and individualised ways people choose to describe themselves. Indeed, over this time period, "people's self-descriptions reflected a process of personalisation… the categories people used to describe themselves became more exclusive" (Klandermans et al.: 93). Thus, increased levels of support for a South African national identity have been accompanied by the persistence of sub-national identities as well as a distinct rise in various personal identities. Following the end of Apartheid, personal identity can be seen to rest less on a legal or systematic definition than it does on individual self-perceptions and self-classifications. Though race and ethnicity continue to be the most salient social identity groups in South African society, it appears that South Africans are increasingly identifying with others at both the national level and in more personal ways.

Furthermore, these identities are not necessarily mutually exclusive. On average, the respondents in a 2001 study identified with three different groups (Klandermans et al., 2001: 95). Additionally, it was found that "people who identified with a larger variety of groups were also more likely to identify with their nation" (Klandermans et al.: 105). Indeed, the percentage of respondents with "dual identities", strong subgroup identity as well as strong national identity, rose from 25% in 1997 to 36% in 2000. This suggests that the increased identification with South African national identity has been adopted not in place of, but in addition to various sub-national identities. Though public support for the "rainbow nation" concept has apparently faded, the reality is that trends in personal identification seem to validate the ANC's "unity through diversity" discourse.

History has shown that "attempts to force people to forsake their subgroup identity in favour of a superordinate identity backfire and, on the other hand, demonstrate that the formation of superordinate

identity prevents subgroup identity from becoming divisive" (Klandermans et al., 2001: 192). Neville Alexander (1996) has described the multilingual/multicultural context of post-Apartheid South Africa as one of "mainstreaming by confluence." In this analogy he portrays South African society as a large river formed by many different tributaries flowing together, mutually forming the shape and content of the river. With regards to South Africa, this suggests "the possibility of conceiving of a situation where the self-defined groups (tributaries) – based on religion, language, region, customs, et cetera, but not on 'race' – will continue to coexist and yet be South African as well as open to larger collective identities" (Alexander, 1996). Alexander argues that throughout South Africa's history there has been an integration of cultures, beliefs, languages and people. Now, unburdened by the legal divisions of Apartheid, the confluence and interfluence of these different segments of society may be free to influence the greater South African society in new and dynamic ways.

In many ways, Alexander's analogy seems to illustrate the ANC's intercultural approach to nation-building. The ANC's form of 'rainbow nation multiculturalism' is founded upon a commitment to non-racism. The constitution provides protection for the country's great linguistic and cultural diversity. While there is common acceptance of the principle that the great diversity of South African society must be preserved, it is repeatedly stated that ethnic, tribal, linguistic and racial barriers must not impede the formation of a united South Africa. Thus, rather than promoting diversity, the ANC's intercultural approach is primarily about protecting the various aspects of South African society from discrimination, thereby allowing for the integration and confluence of these sources of identity. This brand of interculturalism focuses on the preservation of equality and above all, the opportunity for integration which comes with respecting cultural diversity. In many ways, this policy is a rejection of more exclusive forms of multiculturalism such as those advanced by Kymlicka.

Group rights multiculturalism runs counter to the ideal of a united South Africa, the ideal most celebrated throughout the liberation struggle and the post-1994 transformation. While the different minority groups present in South African society must be free to celebrate their distinct cultures, the sense of exclusion promoted by group rights multiculturalism limits the ability of these cultures to influence the greater shared public culture. While ethnic ties and cultural traditions remain important sources of identity for many people, "there seems no reason except fear and prejudice to keep insisting on their separation and distinctiveness, as if that was all human life was about (Alexander, 1994). Conversely, Kymlicka's advocacy for regional autonomy in protection of minority rights provides an adequate foundation for the principle of national self-determination. In many ways, this principle has been applied to preserve various Apartheid-era divisions in South African society.

During the post-Apartheid transition to democracy, various groups attempted to use the principle of group rights multiculturalism as a strategy for political gain or to mobilise support for those wishing to exclude themselves from a non-racial South Africa. Several homeland leaders who had risen to power under the Apartheid system, such as Simon Skosana of KwaNdebele and Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, opposed the ANC and amassed their own defence forces to protect the autonomy of their rural ethnic-based Bantustans (MacKinnon, 2004: 258). Paramount among such leaders was Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the KwaZulu homeland who formed the Inkatha movement advocating an exclusionary ethnic-Zulu autonomous region. However, these aspirations ran counter to the ANC's primary goal of a united South Africa. Either through force or through political co-option, these groups were encouraged to submit to a culturally and ethnically diverse but politically united South African state (Ramutsindela, 1997: 105).

Additionally, the principle of group rights multiculturalism was adopted by various Afrikaner groups such as the Afrikaner Broederbond who sought to re-define themselves as minorities in pursuit of regional autonomy (Baines, 1998). Famously, the Afrikaner political party Freedom Front (FF; later Freedom Front Plus: FF+) petitioned the government to include a provision in the 1996 constitution guaranteeing the right to self-determination for national minorities. Thus, Section 235 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa provides for "the right of self-determination of any community sharing a common cultural and language heritage, within a territorial entity in the Republic or in any other way, determined by national legislation" (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). Though a special Volkstaat Council was established in 1994 to protect Afrikaner cultural rights and negotiate the formation of an autonomous Afrikaner homeland, the ANC government has continually marginalized negotiations towards the creation of an Afrikaner homeland and has repeatedly expressed its commitment to a unitary South African state.

A pointed example of the ANC's limits to the principle of multiculturalism can be found in its admission that "tactics adopted to appease some of other narrow ethnic interest during the transition (like the Volkstaat Council or elements of the dispensation for traditional leaders) for the sake of making an overall advance should not be automatically elevated to being elements of our strategic approach to the national question" (ANC, 2005). Thus, while protecting the cultural diversity of South African society, the ANC's commitment to interculturalism is primarily focused on building unity within the state. Balancing these occasionally competing forces, the ANC has recognized that various personal identifications will not "disappear in the melting pot of broad South Africanism. Rather, they can all co-exist in healthy combination" so long as they do not prevent the formation of a broad national identity and are not used as the basis for "gender oppression, or to campaign for racial or ethnic divisions among

citizens" (ANC, 1997c). Thus, the "rainbow nation" discourse's embrace of interculturalism enhances identity plurality primarily as the basis for national identity formation. Expressions of cultural diversity which do not challenge the state are encouraged, while those such as calls for regional autonomy are either co-opted, pacified or ignored.

Symbolic of this approach was President Nelson Mandela's 1995 visit to the exclusive, private Afrikaner settlement of Orania in the Northern Cape. Meeting Betsy Verwoerd for tea was seen as an act of reconciliation with the Afrikaner community as well as expression of the state's authority over the enclave community. Since then, support for an Afrikaner homeland has diminished (Blaser, 2004: 193). However, in other ways, the South African government has shown its support for minority cultures. In 1995, the descendants of various San families lodged a restitution claim to land in the Northern Cape within the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park. In 1999 it was agreed that the San claims were legitimate and in 2002, 28,000 ha of land was transferred from the South African Government to the San community (Bosch, 2003). This successful act of land restitution represents a clear government commitment to protecting San minority rights. It is notable that San claims were merely in pursuit of land restitution, not regional autonomy. Additionally, by working within established state institutions and procedures, their suit helped to reaffirm state authority. Rather than advocating regional autonomy and thus promoting sub-national interests in opposition to the state, it appears that most national minorities have largely accepted the need to work through state institutions.

Overall, the ANC's commitment to interculturalism has been a successful balancing act between the protection of cultural diversity and liberal rights and the promotion of state unity and authority. Increased support for state institutions as well as a broad South African national identity point to the success of a "rainbow nation" approach to nation-building. Since 1994, voter support for ethnically based political parties, such as the FF+ and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has declined while support for broad-based parties such as the ANC and Democratic Alliance (DA) has increased. These trends suggest that ethnicity is losing its salience as a basis for political expression in favour of more inclusive political organizations. Rather than limiting the ability for consensus on a broad South African national identity, interculturalism seems to enhance an environment receptive to such an identity. Further supporting the necessity of an intercultural approach to nation-building, it has been shown that levels of trust in government are highest among those individuals who display a strong national as well as sub-national identity (Klandermans et al., 2001: 107). Thus, the ANC's commitment to interculturalism, as symbolized by the "rainbow nation," is a valuable aspect of its nation-building program. By encouraging the formation of multiple personal identities, the ANC fosters an open environment united in its embrace of

cultural diversity. This sense of unity creates support for an inclusive national consciousness and thus encourages the adoption of a broad South African national identity.

However, increased levels of support for South African national identity or levels of pride in being South African do not necessarily represent the existence of a true shared national consciousness. Rather, they may also represent mere "forms of patriotism or territorial allegiance and/or differential interpretations of a South African identity" (Bornman, 2006: 397). Indeed, levels of support for different symbols of national pride ("rainbow nation" discourse; achievements in sports, African Renaissance, national flag, national anthem, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, international acceptance, RDP, the Constitution) have been found to vary dramatically across different racial/ethnic groups (Bornman, 2006; Dickow and Møller, 2002). However, widespread support for South Africa's democratic transition may suggest that an enhanced "civic identity" plays an important role in fostering national pride.

Notably, studies have shown that as a symbol of national pride, the South African Constitution is held in high regard by members of all racial and ethnic groups (Bornman, 2006: 393). Coloureds, Indians and Whites (both Afrikaans and English speaking) were shown to value the Constitution more than other markers of national pride. While most Africans (across all black language groups) ranked the Constitution lower than other symbols of national pride, their support for the Constitution remained high. This suggests that encouraging a sense of "civic nationalism" based on widespread loyalty towards accepted symbols of political inclusion and the rule of law may be a meaningful way of generating loyalty to a shared national consciousness.

With regards to South Africa, a commitment to non-racial liberal democracy and the protection of human rights have been fundamental principles of the ANC-government since 1994. Indeed, embracing a vastly liberal constitution with an expansive Bill of Rights, the Republic of South Africa can be seen to have come a long way since the Apartheid regime in securing personal freedoms and political equality. Such a commitment to democratic principles and the rule of law provides an opportunity for citizens to exercise their voice and engage in the state's political system. It is argued that such a "culture of justice" is less likely to alienate people who were disadvantaged in the past and encourages all citizens to participate in crafting a vision of their shared future (Fritz, 2008: 23). In this way, the ANC seems committed to promoting a sense of civic nationalism, stating that "we seek a vibrant, dynamic partnership that is enriched by democratic debate, that values diverse views and accommodates dissent… we need to make real the fundamental right of all South Africans to freely express themselves, to protest, to organize, and to practice their faith" (Zuma, 2009a). Public support for the constitution and relatively high levels of

voter turnout in national elections[5] suggest that South Africans share their government's embrace of liberal democratic principles (Independent Electoral Commission, 2009). Though there exists fierce competition and mutual distrust between political parties, widespread consensus on the importance of resolving differences through the democratic process points to a high level of political cohesion in South African society (Chipkin and Bongani, 2008: 68). By advocating a political philosophy supported by most all aspects of South African society, the ANC generates consensus towards a sense of broad and inclusive South African national identity committed to non-racial democracy.

Overall, the relative success of South Africa's intercultural approach to nation-building, inclusive of a sense of civic nationalism, serves to validate the importance of cultural diversity and protection of liberal rights in democratic societies. Though race and ethnicity remain significant identity markers for many people, it is notable that minority groups have utilised state institutions to demand protection and accommodation for their cultural differences (Bekker and Leildé, 2003: 131). However, while concepts such as interculturalism and civic nationalism have been useful in portraying the ANC's vision of a national democratic society, it is recognized that the main criteria for this vision remains rooted in economic terms. Simply put, the ANC defines its approach to nation-building as:

> "In the first place, it is about the liberation of Blacks in general and Africans in particular. Secondly, it is the struggle to create a non-racial, non-sexist democratic and united South Africa. Thirdly, it is the quest for a single united South African nation with a common overriding identity." (ANC, 2005).

Thus, the ANC's approach to nation-building is primarily focused on socio-economic transformation. Other political and social concerns are relevant to the broader strategy of achieving a national democratic society, but ultimately, the success of the NDR rests on its ability to liberate groups previously disadvantaged in South African society. Indeed, for the South African underclass, intercultural policies appear largely irrelevant. Rather than identifying with national or even ethno-cultural groups, members of the South African underclass "express strong local identities… defined by exclusion rather than with pride" (Bekker and Leildé, 2003: 129). Motivated by declining economic opportunities and feelings of marginalization, many individuals turn to criminal activity to express their discontent. As the state's intercultural sense of civic nationalism has failed to deliver socio-economic transformation for the underclass, these groups turn to non-state actions such as crime, gangs, and participation in the informal

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[5] Statistics show that 77.3% of registered voters cast ballots in the 2009 presidential election. This marked an increase from 76.7% in 2004, but below the levels of 89.3% in 1999 and 86.87% in 1994. However, a more accurate depiction of trends in voter turnout measures the number of voters as a percentage of the entire eligible voting age population, regardless of whether individuals actually registered to vote or not. Using this measure of election participation, South African voter turnout declined from 85% in 1994 to 64% in 1999 and 57% in 2004. However in 2009, voter turnout increased to 65% (Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA), 2009; International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), 2009; Government of South Africa, 2009c).

economy for inclusion. These actions foster non-state identities. Interestingly, it is noted that criminal violence "is rarely experienced as either racial or ethnic because the institutions competing with one another in order to offer personal dignity and material rewards are infra-racial and infra-ethnic, typically localised in underclass neighbourhoods and marginalised from state-civil society relations" (Bekker and Leildé: 131). Thus, while the principles of interculturalism and civic nationalism have been relatively successful in conveying a sense of shared public culture to the elite and middle class segments of South African society, it appears that the underclass remains deeply marginalised. The inability of these groups to integrate within a broader South African national identity is due to their socio-economically disadvantaged position within society as a whole.

As far as the success of such economic initiatives as BEE, GEAR and RDP, the achievement of a broad socio-economic transformation has been limited. In 2001, a survey measuring perceptions about the economy revealed that the majority of South Africans, across all standards of living, felt that economic conditions in South Africa had deteriorated within the past year (Struwig, 2002: 98). However, it was the individuals at the extremes of the standard of living scale, the most affluent and the most poverty-stricken, who felt most strongly about deteriorating economic conditions. This suggests that the government's economic initiatives are of most benefit, or are of least disturbance, to the middle strata of South African society. However, ANC ideology holds that "social cohesion in a national democratic society will depend on the extent to which the rights of those in the lower rungs of the socio-economic ladder are protected" (ANC, 2007). While widespread identification with a broad national identity has increased, it appears problematic that "a significant proportion (27%) of people with the lowest income (let alone unemployed) see themselves in ethnic terms" (Ramutsindela, 2002: 56). Thus, it appears that the failure of economic initiatives aimed at poverty reduction and socio-economic liberation have also contributed to the continuation of various divisions within South African society.

In a discussion of nation-building, development and citizenship, Ivor Chipkin (2005: 135) argues that development is the process of producing ethical citizens and functional communities. Citizenship is a term comprised of three qualities: "a constitutional *status*, a moral-ethical *disposition* and a political *identity*" (Chipkin: 142). This is to say that in addition to being a constitutionally derived right, citizenship also includes an agreement on ethical public behaviour as well as consensus on certain political principles and institutions. Development is a state-led process of generating moral and ethical citizens capable of reproducing themselves in sustainable ways according to the state-defined image of the good subject. Chipkin's emphasis here is on the sustainability of these moral/ethical codes of public behaviour. As such, the "rights of citizens are not simply those of 'basic needs', where this refers to the provision of a range of social products (a house, a serviced site and so on), but lie in furnishing the

conditions for individuals and households to sustain themselves socially and economically" (Chipkin: 136). Lacking sustainable opportunities for adhering to codes of ethical public behaviour, individuals may be forced to abandon these codes and thus, distance themselves from identification with the national community. Development is limited by the inability of government to transform existing communities into functional and moral communities able to "reproduce themselves without recourse to crime or any other activity deemed 'inappropriate' by the state" (Chipkin: 136). In this way, failures in socio-economic transformation inhibit the production of functional communities by not advancing the capacity of individuals to live in accordance with state-defined ethical and moral codes. Without the development of moral functional communities, the state lacks a medium for fostering and reproducing a shared public culture. Hence, a broad and inclusive sense of national identity will fail to materialize throughout society.

In South Africa, the failure of government to successfully foster moral functional communities is evidenced by high levels of crime and a large informal economy. RDP initiatives, while important for meeting the immediate needs of South Africa's poor, have been largely unsuccessful in establishing adequate conditions for maintaining functional communities. BEE programs, while successful in partially de-racializing the private economy and promoting a black middle class, have done little to provide economic opportunities for South Africa's poor communities. Additionally, several studies have reported both low levels of local participation in municipal decision-making as well as low levels of local representation in government institutions (Chipkin and Ngqulunga, 2008: 75). This suggests that there is an absence of dialogue at the local level necessary for defining and shaping perceptions of moral and ethical citizenship. As a result, absent from participation in shaping the concept of national citizenship and failing to receive the benefits of socio-economic transformation, many individuals in South African society are now completely marginalized from the national community. While at least officially, the ANC-led nation-building program prioritizes social welfare and economic transformation, the failure in adequately addressing the problem of socio-economic inequality remains the greatest challenge to the development of sustainable functional communities in South Africa.

Furthermore, the continued prioritization of economic initiatives within government programs may itself present challenges to a sense of shared national identity. For instance, in 1999, Africans noted RDP as a significant source of national pride while Coloureds, Indians and Whites described achievements in sport as their greatest source of national pride (Dickow and Møller, 2002). While the necessity of programs aimed at poverty alleviation and socio-economic transformation is undeniable, this statistic suggests that there is a racial gap in the level of public understanding with regards to these programs. It appears that the ANC must do more to strengthen the national consensus in support of these programs. In 2008, Zuma displayed an awareness of this dilemma, stating that "we must understand that

nation-building requires that we tackle the material differences between our people. We cannot have a united nation when a significant section of our society remains in poverty, or do not have access to quality education, or still live without basic services like water or housing…" (Zuma, 2008). However, both the failure to achieve adequate socio-economic transformation as well as the lack of public consensus on the need for this transformation appears to limit the state's ability to generate a united sense of national identity.

In pursuit of the national democratic society, the ANC defines itself as a "disciplined force of the left" (ANC, 2007). Simultaneously, it contrasts its position with the alleged opponents of a united non-racial democratic South Africa: unsuccessful national liberation struggles, neo-liberalism and ultra-leftism. The first refers to various resistance/independence movements which emerged during the struggle to end Apartheid but oppose the ANC's vision of a national democratic society. This includes traditional homeland authorities, Afrikaner Volkstaat groups, and political organizations lacking a commitment to socio-economic transformation. However, organizations which fall into this category command little public support and do not present a serious challenge to either the ANC or the ANC's vision of a national democratic society. The ANC's critique of neo-liberalism may appear misplaced in light of the neo-liberal macroeconomic foundations solidified under GEAR and displayed through initiatives such as NEPAD. However, a critique of unrestrained market capitalism serves to portray the ANC as a socially-conscious organization committed to economic equality and socio-economic reform. Conversely, the ANC's critique of "ultra-leftism" serves to allay fears of prior socialist rhetoric which partially defined the ANC during the liberation struggle. Officially, the ANC is joined in a Tripartite Alliance with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP). An official rejection of "ultra-leftism" serves to temper the ANC's partners and cement market capitalism as South Africa's economic policy. Frankly, defining these three forces in contrast to the ANC represents an attempt to portray the limitations to ANC-led nation-building programs as external challenges. Lack of success in achieving a national democratic society is attributed to the persistence of these opposition forces in South African society. These claims must be recognized as political rhetoric supporting the position of the ANC within South African society and deflecting criticism of its nation-building program.

Ultimately, the real limitations to nation-building in South Africa are the various forces of marginalization within society which remain inadequately addressed by ANC programs and initiatives. Arising from a number of sources, feelings of economic, political and social marginalization limit social cohesion and prevent the formation of a broad South African national identity. Rather than arising from external forces, or forces in opposition to the ANC, marginalization within South African society

transpires from systemic problems related to the legacies of Apartheid, as well as the dramatic changes which occurred during South Africa's post-Apartheid transition.

Economically, the failure of BEE, GEAR and RDP to achieve adequate socio-economic transformation contributes to feelings of economic marginalization among many South Africans. Unemployment, extreme poverty, a lack of social services and a sense of growing economic disparity promote feelings of exclusion from a perceived majority of people not suffering in the same way. In 2004, the proportion of unemployed African matriculants was 51%, compared to 14% Whites, 28% Indians and 30% Coloureds (Zondi, 2008: 29). This leads to attitudes of discontent, social unrest and potential violence as economically marginalized communities react to the injustice of failed socio-economic transformation. In this light, the "xenophobic" attacks of 2008 have alternatively been described as expressions of economic discontent by those on the margins of society. Due to feelings of marginalization, these attacks "were a response to the difficult socio-economic conditions of many poor South Africans aggravated by uncontrolled immigration of equally poor and desperate Africans and other nationalities" (Zondi: 28). Violent crime remains "extraordinarily high" in South Africa and is mostly concentrated in poor neighbourhoods. If criminality is an expression of a lack of social cohesion, this suggests that "the battleground in the fight for social cohesion in South Africa" is in the socio-economically depressed communities where violent crimes are most prevalent (Chipkin and Ngqulunga, 2008: 69). A further expression of this discontent and disunity was the Poor People's Alliance's boycott of the 2009 presidential election under the slogan "No Land! No House! No Vote!" (Losier, 2009). This organization seeks to mobilize poor rural and urban communities in pursuit of better service delivery and poverty alleviation initiatives, programs which they claim the ANC has neglected since coming to power in 1994.

Alarmingly, the reaction of the state against such grassroots organizations has been one of repression and censure. Several leading members of similar organizations in Durban have been assassinated, and local security forces have broken up meetings and arrested party-leaders (Pithouse, 2009). In decrying the severe marginalization of South Africa's poor, some critics have spoken of a "second democracy for the poor" in order to "confront the reality that in our society many people are routinely prevented from exercising the right to dissent with threats of violence and with actual violence – often at the hands of the state" (Pithouse, 2009). Ultimately, repression against these groups damages democracy as well as further marginalizes these constituencies. Their dissatisfaction presents a real challenge to national unity which must be openly and adequately addressed by the ANC-led government. Commitments to "the liberation of Blacks in general and Africans in particular" must be honoured

through new initiatives and programs aimed at reducing poverty, creating jobs and reforming the systems of inequality which continue to limit social cohesion in South African society.

As such, the issue of land reform must be given renewed commitment and focus within a greater commitment to socio-economic transformation. Since 1994, merely 5% of white-owned land has been transferred to historically disadvantaged South Africans (Lahiff, 2008: 1). This figure falls far short of the 30% redistribution rate promised by the ANC in 1994. While the market-based "willing-buyer/willing-seller" system of land reform was effective in maintaining national stability during the transformation from Apartheid to democracy, it has done little to encourage a dramatic redistribution of land ownership in South Africa (Ramutsindela, 2001: 65). As such, the agricultural economy remains dominated by "relatively few, large-scale, capital-intensive and generally white-owned enterprises alongside millions of small and poorly resourced black farmers" (Lahiff, 2008: 32). The process of South African land reform must be accelerated but also coupled with educational and development assistance grants to enable proper utilisation of transferred farmland. Moreover, small-business/cooperative agricultural grants and incentives must be employed to encourage production and the development of sustainable systems within a changing agricultural economy. Only by acknowledging the past failures of socio-economic transformation will the ANC-led government be able to adequately develop new initiatives to challenge the pervasive forces of socio-economic marginalization which continue to divide South African society.

Though the racial ideologies of Apartheid have been officially destroyed, various forces of social marginalization continue to exist within South African society. As minority identities, Coloured, Asian/Indian and to a lesser extent Afrikaner and White identities occupy an uncertain space within public discourse and nation-building dialogue. Openly faced with the ANC's admission that the primary focus of the NDR is the liberation of Africans, these minority groups are challenged with finding their own place within the political and social framework of the South African state. This uncertainty is symbolized by their lower levels of support for a broad South African national identity as well as for individual markers of national pride (Bornman, 2006; Klandermans et al. 2001).

Following the formal eradication of Apartheid laws, it has been argued that the new government must work to establish the hegemony of a non-racial ideology in South African society (Alexander, 2001: 84). Though an embrace of interculturalism demands a respect for diversity, the government must withhold from inadvertently entrenching those differences through policy and/or discourse. Indeed, the old Apartheid-era categorizations of Black, Coloured, Indian and White continue to be upheld through various aspects of government and civil-society. Alexander argues that relying on these constructs is a "ridiculous practice" which "forces us into a racial mould, whether we like it or not" (Hadland, 2009). Similar to currency and the national flag, these racial discourses are a form of "banal" symbolism which

reinforces racial stereotypes and inhibits the formation of a cohesive national identity. More dangerously, while socio-economic inequalities fall primarily along racial lines, continued reliance on race as a component of affirmative action and BBBEE good business practices merely serves to entrench a system of racial categorization. Naturally, "as long as there is a benefit from being labelled 'historically disadvantaged' one would want to retain the label and cash in on its largesse" (Ramphele, 2008: 267). While the liberation of "Africans in particular and Blacks in general" is surely a necessary prerequisite for social cohesion in South Africa, the systems of transformation meant to resolve these inequalities must refrain from inadvertently perpetuating these racial classifications. Ultimately, if the formation of a shared national consciousness is to take place, it necessitates the adoption of new discourses surrounding race and social identities in South Africa.

The failure to embrace a new non-racial discourse continues to manifest itself in the racially divisive political rhetoric of election campaigns. Controversially, the predominantly white Democratic Party's 1999 campaign slogan "Fight Back" was interpreted by some as a racist attack against the black ANC government. During the run-up to the 2009 national election, exchanges between Julius Malema, leader of the ANC Youth League and Helen Zille, leader of the Democratic Alliance (DA) were charged with racist innuendos. [6] Additionally, Malema's campaign rhetoric contained references to a "vibrant, militant and disciplined youth movement" committed to supporting the ANC (Malema, 2008). Aside from being politically and socially divisive, the overt racism and militarism expressed in 2009 campaign rhetoric detracts from healthy democratic debate. Rather than encouraging socio-economic marginalization and the persistence of racially divisive language, politicians must lead the adoption of non-racial discourses.

Aside from political rhetoric, the threat of political marginalization inhibits commitment to a broad South African national identity. In democratic societies, the adoption of superordinate identity "makes it possible for people to accept disadvantages imposed on their subgroup in the interest of the larger community, as people trust authorities to make sure that their group will benefit next time" (Klandermans et al., 2001: 109). A strong respect for democratic principles creates an environment of trust and inclusion in government where individuals are encouraged to work within the political system to resolve their grievances. Thus, a strong civic identity fosters the adoption of a broad national identity. However, if individuals are led to doubt the government's commitments to democratic principles, or if they perceive inequality or injustice in government actions, their sense of civic identity and belief in government may decline, resulting in a sense of political marginalization. The ANC's commitments to

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[6] In a series of campaign mud-slinging, Malema reportedly called Zille a "racist, colonialist and imperialist" and referred to several upper level black DA members as "Helen Zille's garden boys." In response, Zille called Malema an "inkwenkwe", a Xhosa word meaning uncircumcised boy (Karrim, 2009).

democratic principles have won praise from the international community as well as from domestic South Africans. Indeed, as shown by pride in the constitution, a sense of civic nationalism presents South Africa with an important framework for national identity formation. As opposed to elsewhere in the world and on the continent where democratic systems exist more in name than in practice, the presence of an entrenched and well-functioning democratic system is one of South Africa's greatest assets in fostering a sense of broad and inclusive national identity. Therefore, any forces of opposition to democratic principles such as political corruption and racialized/militarised rhetoric must be eliminated. Allegations of political corruption spawn perceptions of government unaccountability and inadequacy within civil-society. This serves to erode the legitimacy of the state and fosters feelings of political marginalization.

Though South Africa is a genuine democracy, its historical legacy has contributed to an effective dominant-party political system. Within this system, minority parties may feel politically marginalized. However, with the formation of COPE, the strengthening of the DA, and the broadening of political support bases, it appears that South Africa may be maturing into a competitive multi-party system. Competition is a healthy aspect of democratic political systems and the development of multi-party competition should be encouraged. Thus, it is important that the ANC refrain from using its position of political dominance to undermine the emerging competitiveness of South African political space. This would only result in further political marginalization and the loss of an opportunity for more South Africans to adopt a sense of civic identity and belief in the national identity.

Overall, the ANC-led nation-building program has succeeded in laying the foundation for a broad and inclusive sense of South African national identity. This two-pronged approach, highlighting both socio-economic as well as social-psychological transformation, has successfully fostered the growth of a united democratic society and the adoption of a broad national identity. Through "rainbow nation" discourses and a commitment to liberal democratic principles, a sense of interculturalism and civic nationalism has been fostered which successfully contributes to social cohesion. To varying degrees, national symbols, athletic patriotism and government commitments to socio-economic transformation have driven levels of respect for cultural diversity, non-racial democracy, and the need for economic reform into the national consciousness. However, public consensus on the need for dramatic socio-economic transformation appears to be less than universal. Additionally, the ANC's primary goal of socio-economic transformation has largely failed to materialize. This constitutes the biggest failure of the ANC's nation-building campaign and presents the greatest challenge to a cohesive South African society. Ultimately, current limitations to national unity exist in the various forces of marginalization present within South African society.

Conclusion

Since 1994, South Africa has been faced with the difficult task of building a cohesive national community after decades of institutionalised racial discrimination and oppression. In contrast to its Apartheid past, the new South African state has identified the creation of a united and inclusive national democratic society as the goal of its nation-building program. The ideals of this national society will be promoted through a shared public culture committed to non-racialism, equality before the law, a respect for cultural diversity, concern for social welfare and the protection of liberal democratic rights and institutions. In attempt to foster a sense of national consciousness dedicated to these ideals, the ANC-led government has pursued a two-pronged approach to nation-building focusing on elements of both socio-economic and social-psychological transformation.

Due to the ethnically heterogeneous composition of South African society as well as a long history of racial oppression and violence, there are many challenges to building a cohesive national identity in post-Apartheid South Africa. While there are many theoretical approaches to national identity and nation-building, those which are most appropriate in providing insight into successful strategies for national identity formation in South Africa are those which reflect the country's unique cultural and socio-economic history. In large part, the question of national unity in the post-Apartheid context has been addressed using theories of interculturalism and civic nationalism. These are social values of inclusiveness appropriate to overcoming the deep cleavages that characterized South Africa for a large part of its history.

Through a "rainbow nation" discourse embracing cultural diversity and promoting the concept of unity through diversity, the ANC has adopted a policy of respect and openness with regard to the national question. Encouraged by culturally inclusive policies such as the state's adoption of eleven official languages, individuals are encouraged to embrace and express their distinct cultural or personal identities. It is acknowledged that ethno-cultural identities provide individuals with meaningful sources of personal identity. However, individuals are also encouraged to adopt and participate in the creation of a new common national identity through national symbols such as the flag, national anthem and state currency. Rather than promoting assimilationist nation-building programs, the ANC promotes interculturalism as a way to protect national minorities and cultural identities while still promoting the integration of individuals towards a common national identity. Interculturalism encourages intercultural dialogue and focuses on the similarities between cultures in an attempt to minimize conflict and broaden opportunities for social partnerships across cultural divides. As opposed to group rights multiculturalism which entrenches sub-national divisions, interculturalism emphasizes respectful cooperation between cultures and encourages citizens to actively participate in collectively shaping the national future. As individuals

work together in social partnerships they form new identities at the national level. Thus, interculturalism is an important instrument for fostering national unity highly appropriate within the context of South Africa's divisive Apartheid legacy.

Additionally, intercultural policies are effective in part because of their congruence with the values of civic nationalism. Civic nationalism represents the promotion of a national public culture providing citizens with a sense of shared meaning and understanding. In South Africa, support for liberal democratic principles forms the basis of the national public culture. Identified through the values of the South African Constitution, a sense of civic nationalism has been promoted based on the principles of non-sexism, equality, individualism and justice. Indeed, support for the constitution and high levels of voter participation are expressions of support for the national public culture based on these principles. By promoting the values of equality, justice and non-violent conflict resolution, the presence of an entrenched and well-functioning democratic system is one of South Africa's greatest assets in fostering a sense of broad and inclusive national identity.

Interculturalism and civic nationalism are social values which encourage a sense of cohesive national identity. Fostering a civic culture based on these social values is an expression of the developmental state's production of ethical and moral citizens. In this sense, promotion of the national public culture is a state-led process of "supporting and consolidating activities deemed as 'acceptable', 'honest', 'legal' and negating those deemed not, ultimately to realise a state of community that accords with the image of the 'good society', the 'modern'" (Chipkin, 2005: 137). Chipkin suggests that successful nation-building and development programs are those which are able to foster the growth of sustainable morally functioning communities. In part, civic nationalism enhances this sustainability through promoting the concept that citizens are stewards of the national public culture. In the post-Apartheid context, the concept of citizenship as stewardship "starts with taking ownership of the gift of freedom from those whose sacrifices made freedom possible for all South Africans" (Ramphele, 2008: 127). In many ways, the ideal of stewardship represents the epitome of civic nationalism, requiring both obedience to the values, rights and laws of shared public culture, but also a sense of activism and willingness to participate in continually re-defining and upholding the civic culture. While corruption and divisive political rhetoric are present in South African political culture, public participation in democratic institutions and support for democratic principles suggests that elements of stewardship, and thus strong national identity, do exist in South African society.

While interculturalism and civic nationalism are important aspects of the ANC's nation-building program, the main focus of this program has been on socio-economic transformation and the liberation of those disadvantaged under Apartheid. The process of nation-building and achieving a cohesive national

identity is dependent on minimizing the various disparities between different groups in society and creating a platform upon which social partnerships and shared public culture may be adopted. In the political arena, disparities in access to government and participation in shaping the public future have been addressed by officially dismantling the Apartheid system and granting universal suffrage. Moreover, through poverty alleviation and service delivery programs, affirmative action policies and other economic empowerment initiatives, the government has attempted to de-racialise the economy and provide economic opportunities for black South Africans. However, widespread socio-economic disparities such as income inequality and unequal access to resources, education, and employment remain in the new South Africa. While interculturalism and civic nationalism may help define and promote participation in the national public culture, these values will not take root in society without a large degree of socio-economic equality.

It is argued that "mere identification with the political community (calling oneself South African), and perhaps even the constitution, does not automatically translate into behaviours that accord with the values that they are supposed to instantiate" (Chipkin and Ngqulunga, 2008: 75). Social cohesion is produced through various institutions which socialise individuals according to shared values and norms. Important institutions for fostering social cohesion are the family, school, state or other democratic institutions such as trade unions or youth organizations (Chipkin and Ngqulunga: 76). However, specific economic conditions are fundamental to the basic characteristics of all of these. Families and schools with similar economic backgrounds face similar social problems and have access to similar solutions. Similar economic conditions foster similar shared values and norms among individuals and thus similar beliefs about social cohesion. Irrespective of the type of institution through which individuals are socialised, economic conditions shape the environmental conditions through which ideas are shared and values internalised.

Socio-economic realities are important determinants of personal identity because they are the most basic and persistent expressions of daily life. They are the constant and ever-present factors of life upon which social relationships, mutual concerns, shared ideas and collective action are based. Disregarding external forces such as war or natural disaster, individuals with extreme differences in lived socio-economic realities lack the foundations necessary for adopting shared values and common identities as the daily problems and potential solutions they encounter are completely different. Without a common platform for collective action, individuals are unable to form fruitful social partnerships. This constitutes a major barrier to achieving cohesive national identity.

Furthermore, socio-economic disparities provoke feelings of marginalization among the poor and economically disadvantaged. Alienated from functional communities capable of sustainably participating

in the national economy, economically marginalized individuals are often forced into criminal activity. Increasingly distanced from the concept of moral/ethical citizenship defined by the national public culture, economically marginalized individuals lose their attachment to the national identity and forge new identities based on narrow ethnic or local associations. Alternatively, situations of relative socio-economic equality decrease the potential for economic exclusion. In environments with less potential for exclusion, individuals are more likely to adopt shared values such as interculturalism and civic nationalism through which a cohesive national identity can take hold. This suggests that the failure of the ANC's nation-building program to adequately promote meaningful socio-economic transformation presents a major limitation to national unity and nation-building in the new South Africa.

The development of national identity formation in South Africa has been a challenging process of transforming Apartheid-era divisions into foundations of meaningful social partnerships and shared public values. Fifteen years since the country's first non-racial democratic election, many South Africans have responded to the ANC's nation-building program by identifying with a broad and inclusive sense of South African national identity. Most seem to have embraced the concepts of interculturalism and civic nationalism as shown by the high levels of support for national symbols, the South African Constitution and principles of liberal democracy. Additionally, economic programs such as BEE have partially de-racialised the national economy contributing to the emergence of a black business class. Though the extent of socio-economic transformation remains limited, progress in the liberation of those previously disadvantaged under Apartheid has created support for the shared public culture promoted under the ANC's nation-building program. Thus, many South Africans have adopted a sense of South African national identity in addition to other personal or sub-national identities.

However, for the majority of South Africans, socio-economic inequalities are a daily reminder of the injustices of Apartheid and the failure of the ANC to adequately engender dramatic economic transformation. Growing levels of crime, poverty, unemployment and inequality suggest that the lower strata of South African society is becoming increasingly marginalized and detached from the national community. When presented with state-led nation-building programs and cultural values, the willingness or ability of different communities to adopt these values is dependent on the degree to which they are seen to benefit from the state. Communities which benefit from the state, or which believe themselves to benefit from closer identification with the state will be more likely to support state-sponsored conceptions of shared public culture and national identity. Likewise, communities marginalised from participation in the economy or socio-political organizations will perceive less attachment to state-constructed national communities. While the majority of South Africa's economically disadvantaged communities may continue to support the ANC in honour of the historic struggle against Apartheid, the realities of

persistent socio-economic inequality may strain this relationship to the point of disassociation from the ANC-promoted shared national consciousness. As the ANC continues to develop its vision of a national democratic society composed of sustainable functional communities reflecting a moral shared public culture, it appears that communities which are unable to meet these standards may become alienated from the national society. Only if the state is capable of producing sustainable opportunities for economically marginalized communities to participate in the shared public culture and become moral functional communities will a broad and inclusive sense of South African social cohesion be achieved.

In 1923, Olive Schreiner famously asked "how from our political states and our discordant races, can a great, a healthy, a united, an organized nation be found?" (Schreiner, 1923). Over 85 years later, South Africans are still grappling with the challenge of building a cohesive national community. Since 1994, South Africa has established a strong democratic tradition with commitments to liberal rights and cultural diversity. Moreover, commitments to socio-economic transformation have attempted to redress the racial inequalities which characterized Apartheid. Continued efforts to foster a sense of civic nationalism and stewardship among South African citizens may strengthen attachments to the national community and further entrench the institutions currently responsible for promoting a sense of a broad South African national identity. While limited success has been achieved through a partial de-racialization of the business economy and the emergence of a growing black middle class, much more needs to be done to ensure that socio-economic transformation benefits all members of South African society. Indeed, the continued socio-economic marginalization of South Africa's poor currently represents the greatest challenge to nation-building in the country. Aggressive programs of social welfare, education, employment and renewed commitments to land reform are necessary to continue the pace of socio-economic transformation and foster the growth of sustainable functional communities necessary for expanding South Africa's shared public culture to the previously disadvantaged majority. Thus, continued progress is needed with regards to both socio-economic and social-psychological transformation before a truly broad and cohesive sense of national identity will be adopted throughout South African society.

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