PATHWAYS FOR CONNECTIONS

An emerging model for long-term reconciliation in post-conflict South Africa

IJR

THE INSTITUTE
FOR JUSTICE AND
RECONCILIATION

This publication was authored by the BIS team

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About the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation

The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) was launched in 2000, in the aftermath of South Africa´s Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The aim was to ensure that lessons learnt from South Africa´s transition from apartheid to democracy were taken into account as the nation moved ahead. Today, the Institute helps to build fair, democratic and inclusive societies in Africa through carefully selected engagements and interventions.

The Institute's work is implemented through four programmes:

1. Building an Inclusive Society
2. Justice and Reconciliation in Africa
3. Policy and Analysis
4. Communication and Strategy

Vision
Building fair, democratic and inclusive societies in Africa.

Mission
Shaping national approaches to transitional justice and reconciliation in Africa by drawing on community intelligence as well as macro-trend research and comparative analysis.

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Abbreviations and acronyms

ABCD	Asset-Based Community Development
AKYLDP	Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project
ANC	African National Congress
APDUSA	African Peoples Democratic Union of South Africa
ARNSA	Anti-Racism Network of South Africa
ASGISA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
BIS	Building an Inclusive Society
CBO	community based organisation
CH	Community Healing
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
CPC	Coloured People's Congress
CRC	Coloured Representative Council
CSO	civil society organisation
DBE	Department of Basic Education
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
EfR	Education for Reconciliation
FARE	Future of Agriculture and the Rural Economy in the Western Cape
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GJR	Gender Justice and Reconciliation
HIV/Aids	human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immune deficiency syndrome
IJR	Institute for Justice and Reconciliation
ILAM	International Library of African Music
KGG	Keep Grahamstown, Grahamstown
LGBTIQ+	lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, queer and allies
LSMS	Living Standards Measures
MAC	Memory, Arts and Culture
MTO	medium-term objective
NAP	National Action Plan to Combat Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerances
NDP	National Development Plan

NEUM	Non-European Unity Movement
NGO	non-governmental organisation
NGP	New Growth Path
PACSA	Pietermaritzburg Agency for Community Social Action
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACOS	South African Council on Sport
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SARB	South African Reconciliation Barometer
SCD	Social Cohesion Directorate
SOHP	Schools Oral History Project
STO	short-term objectives
STP	Social Transformation Programme
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UCT	University of Cape Town
UDF	United Democratic Front
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WCDA	Western Cape Department of Agriculture

Acknowledgements

Foreword

For a country that rightly prides itself on achieving a non-violent end to decades of racial oppression and centuries of colonialism, South Africa has seen remarkably little deliberate reconciliation programming, especially in communities where citizens are having to learn to live together.

This publication chronicles one of the few attempts to turn reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa into a lived reality. It not only merits thoughtful reading, but also careful consideration in policy formation and public debates. At a personal level, the publication offers a glimpse of hope for those South Africans who want to make a practical difference in their communities, during what is fast becoming a particularly disheartening period in the life of our nation.

Despite the important work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), from which the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) had its inception, South Africans have remained largely locked into apartheid-era racial enclaves. In places where these enclaves have softened, such as some of the newer mixed-income suburban developments, as well as some places of work, worship and education, virtually no attempts have been made in offering social support to aid a more effective and fair integration process. It appears now, looking back, that South Africans assumed that 'normalcy' (whatever this means) would be a product of simply 'getting on' with their daily lives after 1994.

Sadly, we now know better. The painstaking work detailed in this volume illustrates both the fallacy of leaving reconciliation to take care of itself, and the astounding possibilities that are unlocked when South Africans of different backgrounds do come together, learn to trust one another sufficiently and then set about changing their own communities for the better.

In 2000, as manager of the IJR's Reconciliation and Social Reconstruction Programme, I set out to discover what ordinary South Africans thought and felt about reconciliation in the wake of the TRC. Conclusions were fascinating, including much higher levels of acknowledgement about the atrocities of our apartheid past than what was expected then or is the case today (especially amongst beneficiary communities). A significant percentage of these citizens, according to IJR data, have since slipped

back into denial. 'Reconciliation' was most often described as 'forgiveness', an association powerfully bolstered at the time by the work of the TRC.

Since then, the IJR has tracked popular notions of reconciliation through in-depth qualitative work conducted largely by the Building an Inclusive Society (BIS) team, in combination with surveys such as the South African Reconciliation Barometer and Afrobarometer. Findings seem to point to an unavoidable conclusion: that ordinary South Africans' understanding of reconciliation has shifted dramatically over the past 15 years. Rather than seeing it as 'forgiveness', 'reconciliation' is now understood more pragmatically as a form of trust that enables, and is enabled by, concrete achievements in social transformation. The implication is clear: without more concrete and faster progress towards inclusion and equality, racial reconciliation (but also other forms of social cohesion) will come under increasing strain.

Over the years, the IJR has developed constantly evolving responses to these challenges, finding their culmination in the seven BIS projects described in this volume. These projects, each in their own right, have made significant strides in hundreds of milieus across South Africa, whether in relation to education, oral history, youth, arts and culture, community healing, land or gender. However, it has only really been since these responses were integrated into a five-year-long combined engagement in carefully selected communities that the real impact of these methodologies became evident. It is this impact, on challenging apartheid and colonial boundaries and their underlying assumptions, on which this volume sheds important light.

Thinking back, it is impossible not to pay homage to many courageous colleagues who, in addition to the project managers mentioned specifically in this volume, each played a key role in shaping the IJR's community engagements over the years: Nyameka Goniwe, Zubeida Jaffer, Somaya Abdullah, Fikile Mnguni, Valdi van Reenen-Le Roux, Natalie Jaynes, Sharon Vermaak and Simone Brink, to name a few.

The current crop of project leaders – Nosindiso Mtimkulu, Cecyl Esau, Kenneth Lukuko, Lucretia Arendse, Eleanor du Plooy, Leila Emdon, Megan Robertson, as well as visiting fellow Lindsey Doyle and interns Faranaaz Vraagom and Mbali Matandala – all contributed significantly to the work described here under the astute leadership of programme manager (and now executive director) Stan Henkeman. This publication would never have seen the light without their tireless contributions.

To be willing to put oneself in the crossfire of community tension in South Africa is not for the faint-hearted; nor indeed is the constant traversing between the disciplines of project management and engaged research and reflection – which this job demands on a daily basis. I am immensely proud of the way in which my colleagues have achieved precisely this, and this volume is testament to that achievement.

Fanie du Toit
Senior Adviser, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation
Cape Town, October 2016

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Lindsey Doyle, Megan Robertson, Eleanor du Plooy and Kenneth Lukuko

Overview of the Building an Inclusive Society Programme

The Building an Inclusive Society (BIS) Programme at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) works to acknowledge, confront and engage enduring colonial and apartheid legacies that continue to marginalise, wound and cause injustice. Using innovative and creative methodologies, BIS works to overcome these barriers through meaningful and deliberate initiatives to foster and then sustain reconciliation and reconstruction within and between individuals and communities. BIS acknowledges that this work is challenging and therefore requires a deliberate, thoughtful and conscious approach in attempts to make positive societal transformation and reconciliation possible and sustainable.

   The BIS mandate falls squarely within the IJR's vision of a fair, democratic and inclusive society for South Africa. As a think tank situated at the intersection of academia, government and civil society, the IJR straddles research and analysis and civic activism and engagement. BIS places greater emphasis on civic activism and engagement, but not to the exclusion of research and analysis. The BIS Programme strengthens the IJR's profile in in-depth community reconciliation work, drawing on its historical links to the South African transition.

   Within this context, BIS promotes processes of reconciliation and justice in post-apartheid South Africa. The programme's interventions collectively contribute to the creation of societies that live in dignity and peace with themselves and the communities around them. From 2012 to 2016, BIS has endeavoured to work in more collaborative and streamlined ways, enabling us to showcase an emerging social change model that culminates in Chapter 10. From 2012 to 2016, BIS has been involved in Warrenton-

Hartswater and Calvinia in the Northern Cape, Worcester and four regional clusters in the Western Cape, De Doorns and Atlantis in the Western Cape, Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape, and Vryheid in KwaZulu-Natal (see Figure 1.1). In addition, BIS focuses on several interest groups or constituencies in communities that are not geographically bound, including students, community leaders, youth, educators, artists and film-makers.

FIGURE 1.1:   Map of locations of BIS programme work

BIS in the South African context

South Africa has much to be proud of since its first democratic elections more than two decades ago. Many important social, moral, economic and political gains set it on a far more justice-driven path for most of its citizens. Among some of the noteworthy achievements are the expansion of access to education, healthcare, housing and basic services and other measures to redress the impact of a past of exclusion on many citizens. Despite important gains, however, the effect of centuries of deliberate underdevelopment of the majority of the South African population as a result of slavery, colonialism and apartheid is still felt by the majority of South Africans.

South Africa experienced political change in 1994 which was accompanied by a deliberate Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).[1] The RDP, a people-friendly and transformative plan supported by unions, civic movements and social movements, was developed to ensure political liberation was embedded in socio-economic equality. However, the RDP faced significant implementation challenges amongst the mounting list of national priorities faced by the new government. At the root of the RDP challenge was its reliance on a macroeconomic framework that assumed constraints on fiscal spending, liberalisation of trade and lowered taxes, while at the same time seeking to increase social services, infrastructure spending and overall gross domestic product growth. The RDP, in effect, was a combination of a socialist and neoliberal project. This inherent dichotomy presented numerous challenges for implementation,[2] foremost among them interministerial policy coordination.

In an attempt to mitigate some of the gridlock brought on by the RDP, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR)[3] strategy was introduced by government in 1996. The strategy was hostile towards labour and pushed rapid economic growth as the panacea for a prosperous country. It wrongly assumed that the captains of industry and corporations would share the profits across society through multiplier and 'trickle-down' effects. Unfortunately, despite economic liberalisation, private investment and job creation, gross domestic product growth was not sufficient to reduce unemployment, create greater wealth equity and decrease poverty. Instead, South Africa has become one of the most consistently wealth-unequal societies in the world.[4,5]

In addition to the economic challenges, reconstructing a state bureaucracy[6] that previously only served the interests of a racial minority into a government that is responsive to the needs of 55 million people has been slow to generate socio-economic transformation. This has left many, particularly young South Africans, feeling betrayed, disillusioned, dissatisfied and frustrated. Feelings of frustration have been exacerbated by increased levels of crime, persistent corruption and continued socio-historic-based divisions in all sectors. Dissatisfaction has over the past 22 years manifested in increasing service delivery protests, conflict between striking unions, miners and police and rising tension between business and labour, articulated in language that draws from the racial fault lines of the apartheid system. Quantitative evidence from the IJR's 2015 South African Reconciliation Barometer, which surveys all of South Africa, on sentiments toward government and politics supports BIS's findings at the local level.[7]

Socially speaking, a significantly damaging legacy of apartheid is that intergroup contact in South Africa remains limited. Persistent patterns of segregation are reflected in the South African socio-spatial landscape and these patterns of segregation continue to structure relations between members of different groups. Socio-economic cleavages and the absence of a common purpose continue to stand in the way of achieving national objectives of a more *inclusive* society. Historic divisions have mutated into new fault lines that yield economic contestation and feelings of marginalisation.

One result of the legacies of national conflicts is how they shape the ways in which historically dominant communities and marginalised communities attempt to live together for generations to come. Legacies of apartheid are invisible to some, yet tangible to others in their daily lived experience within South African society. This has dire implications for nation-building and reconciliation. In material, structural, attitudinal and relational ways, trust has to be built in order to develop a fair, inclusive and democratic culture in post-conflict societies.

Against this backdrop, BIS carries out various social dialogue interventions in South African communities in an effort to reduce prejudice, promote social cohesion and support community-led processes of reconciliation.

Rationale for this publication

In 2014, in the midst of BIS's five-year plan, the team began reflecting on how it was sharing information about its work. In addition to reporting requirements, this publication was conceived to provide a vehicle for a critical, overarching analysis of the programme's work.

This report documents the BIS Programme's efforts to unpack and address past grievances stemming from structural inequality and discrimination. It shows the ways in which BIS increases societal trust, a sense of fairness and inclusivity. Recognising that pathways for change are different among historically marginalised and dominant groups, we reflect on and explore what these pathways are and how best to support community processes that could lead to collective action and sustained positive social change. Case studies explore the challenges of reconciliation work within contexts of inequality and poverty and where historical, social fault lines continue to hamper efforts to bring about community-level positive social change. The publication presents how BIS's seven projects have implemented dialogical processes in a variety of ways, as well as how dialogue can best be applied in diverse contexts and with diverse audiences and stakeholder groups.

The motivations for doing so are many:

- To showcase the considerable initiatives and achievements;
- To document the ways of working for institutional memory;
- To draw out lessons learnt; and
- To share with other civil society organisations some of our tools, practices, styles, approaches and methodologies.

Our hope is that this publication can serve as a point of departure for conversations that generate further engagement, policy-shaping and development of best practices for long-term reconciliation work.

Conceptual overview

In the chapters that follow, the authors – BIS project leaders and staff – base their discussions on a set of key concepts. Many of these concepts are contested and continually developing. What follows is an overview of these concepts within which readers can situate themselves.

Reconciliation and justice

Reconciliation has been viewed as a tool to assist societies that have experienced conflict and historic oppression through structural injustices, direct physical harm and/or the suppression of group identities. It is a process or set of practices intended to challenge these injustices and rebuild relationships. As Johan Galtung observes, reconciliation is a concept 'with deep psychological, sociological, theological, philosophical and profoundly human roots – and nobody really knows how to successfully achieve it',[8] and it is therefore a highly contested term amongst all circles in society. In this publication, we use 'thick' reconciliation which can be linked to 'positive peace'[9] and the confrontation of structural violence.[10] We therefore aim to talk about reconciliation which promotes more holistic approaches to truth, justice and acknowledgement. Reconciliation implies critiquing structural injustices and violence, engaging with conflict-related trauma and dealing with issues around economic justice.[11] This is a term which has developed over time, not only in BIS's thinking, but also in the way BIS practically drives the work of reconciliation.

Throughout this publication, we allude to the fact that reconciliation necessarily implies an approach to justice that includes questions of economic justice. Therefore, although economic justice was not an initial project focus area, it is top of mind as we continue to seek ways of linking justice to participatory and community-level approaches to reconciliation.

Race

Even though racial segregation and classification is no longer legal in South Africa, the legacy of apartheid's racial engineering has resulted in the generally accepted idea that society consists of four distinctly separate racial categories – white, coloured,[12] Indian and black.[13, 14] BIS recognises the risk that continuing to use racial categories to effect racial redress may reify the popular use of the terms and thereby hamper the realisation of a more inclusive society. Yet, at the same time, it is important to recognise that the material, lived experiences of South Africans are still (and will likely be) determined by the race and political rights one and one's community was assigned by the apartheid system. These categories continue to operate and influence how society

is structured, how people relate to each other and how people construct and identify themselves.

This publication uses the race categories of white, coloured, Indian and black not as a descriptive tool to categorise people according to skin tone, culture or class, but rather to speak about relationally constructed groups that stem from colonialism and apartheid.[15, 16]

Gender

'Gender' is used in this publication as a term that encompasses one's internal, personal sense of being a woman or man, boy or girl, androgynous, or none of these. BIS recognises gender as a non-linear spectrum that can change over time,[17] not a fixed identity. Societies generally operate with a heteronormative, binary understanding of gender in which biological sex is strictly correlated with traits considered to be masculine and feminine and that all humans have sexual desires; however, BIS instead works with the understanding that gender is changeable and not necessarily correlated with biological sex. Gender is also one of several key identity markers that any one person can have or express at the same time, including categories of race, class and sex, as well as a myriad of other social identifications. Further, although a constructed category, gender is reinforced by how we are socialised from a young age and the expectations placed on us in a heteronormative binary view that forces us into expressing certain attitudes and behaviours. Gender is informed by cultural narratives and institutional contexts and therefore affects the material realities of society and the lived experiences of groups and individuals.[18–21]

Marginalisation and dominance

Marginalisation is a state of being in which an individual or group has little to no influence on broader political, economic or social agendas that impact them. Dominance and marginalisation can come in many forms and are not exclusively racial in nature. For example, in many of the towns in which BIS works, the local governments are not controlled by the white minority, yet still marginalise their population by limiting the channels for dissent or communication. Contrary to mainstream usages of 'minority' and 'majority,' marginalisation is not always a function of population size. In South Africa, marginalisation occurs at many different and overlapping intersections of race, class, education level, gender, religion, language, geographic location and the like. Some groups may be culturally dominant yet politically marginalised, or economically dominant yet linguistically marginalised. Moreover, certain spaces that value a particular language or educational level may marginalise certain segments of a community or a community as a whole if they do not speak the same language or do not have the same educational experience. Any one person may be dominant in some categories and marginalised in others; that person's 'net power' can only be determined by contact with another group. When used in this publication, 'marginal' and 'dominant' are used in relative, not absolute, terms and thus their usage is context-specific and should not be generalised across South Africa.

Social cohesion and inclusion

In this report, BIS makes use of publications by Chan, To and Chan[22] and Schiefer and Van der Noll[23] to conceptualise and operationalise our understandings of social cohesion. Chan et al. define social cohesion as:

> a state of affairs concerning both the vertical and the horizontal inter-actions among members of society as characterised by a set of attitudes and norms that includes trust, a sense of belonging and the willingness to participate and help, as well as their behavioural manifestations.[24]

In this definition, social cohesion is reflected in the interactions, attitudes and behaviours between all individuals and groups, including institutions and public figures. Schiefer and Van der Noll add that the quality and quantity of these interactions, as well as the acceptance of social order and rules, are important. They define social cohesion as 'the quality of collective togetherness' and characterise a cohesive society by 'close social relations, pronounced emotional connectedness to the social entity and a strong orientation towards the common good'.[25] BIS uses this framework of social cohesion within which to structure the reflections and analysis within this publication.

What can the reader expect?

Following this introduction (Chapter 1), Chapter 2 explains the BIS methodology and general approach to community-level work, including its guiding principles, an overview of the programme's objectives and tools and the project life cycle. Chapter 3, *Long-term geographic interventions for holistic community change*, and Chapter 4, *Targeted work with identity groups for reconciliation*, interrogate the merits of working in a targeted, multidisciplinary and long-term way toward sustainable social cohesion.

In working with communities across South Africa, it became evident that dialogical processes require community leaders and participants to transfer skills and practices to further the work of reconciliation in specific contexts. Chapter 5, *Using alternative skills and methodologies to maximise dialogical success*, unpacks and discusses the various skills that change agents acquire through their involvement in BIS inter-ventions and how these skills contribute to their personal development as leaders and productive members of society. The chapter focuses intentionally on lesser-known, alternative skills and methodologies to ensure social change engagement based on the expertise we have gained and that has been shown to work.

As dialogical approaches are central to BIS's work, Chapter 6, *Dialogue pathways to reconciliation*, reflects on the transformative power of talking and conversing and highlights some of the challenges presented when engaging diverse audiences. A particularly powerful pathway for engaging very diverse identity communities in dialogue and reconciliation processes is through the use of the arts. Chapter 7, *New and inclusive narratives*, explores the use of the arts and other creative means as a

catalyst for social inclusivity. Similarly, dialogical processes that encourage the co-creation of knowledge and the sharing of information empower communities and contribute positively to their sense of dignity. Chapter 8, *Post-conflict co-constructed knowledge*, illustrates this.

Chapter 9, *Engaging policy-makers for social change*, gives an account of how BIS impacted change through policy-making in partnership with various departments of the South African government.

Finally, in Chapter 10, *An emerging BIS model for social change*, BIS synthesises all seven project areas to make a case for an emerging model of how to create cohesive, post-conflict communities. This model is based on patterns of impact made across all of the interventions, as narrated in the previous chapters. The concluding Chapter 11 captures lessons learnt and a way forward.

ENDNOTES

1   Parliament of the Republic of South Africa (1994) *Notice No. 1954 of 1994: White Paper on Reconstruction and Development.* Cape Town: Government Gazette No. 16085. Available at http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/governmentgazetteid16085.pdf [accessed 5 December 2016].

2   It focused too narrowly on fiscal prudence and reallocation of existing (at the time) revenues while ignoring the need to increase the tax base to increase revenue.

3   GEAR was premised on the following elements: accelerated growth of non-gold exports; brisk expansion in private sector capital formation; acceleration in public sector investment; improvement in the employment intensity of investment and output growth; and an increase in infrastructural development and service delivery, making intensive use of labour-based techniques. See Department of Finance (1996) *Growth, Employment and Redistribution: A Macro-Economic Strategy.* Pretoria: South African Government. Available at http://www.treasury.gov.za/publications/other/gear/chapters.pdf [accessed 5 December 2016].

4   Depending on the variables used to measure inequality and the type of country profile it occupies based on the World Bank classification. See Bhorat H (2015) Is South Africa the most unequal society in the world? *Mail & Guardian*, 30 September 2015. Available at http://mg.co.za/article/2015-09-30-is-south-africa-the-most-unequal-society-in-the-world [accessed 5 December 2016].

5   South Africa has since implemented several other macroeconomic policies. The Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) was introduced in 2005, and then replaced by the New Growth Path (NGP) in 2010. In 2013, the government outlined the National Development Plan (NDP).

6   Including the ten former 'Bantustan' administrations.

7   Hofmeyr J (2016) *Political Participation: South African Reconciliation Barometer, Briefing Paper 3.* Cape Town: IJR.

8   Galtung J (2001) After violence, reconstruction, reconciliation, and resolution: Coping with visible and invisible effects of war and violence. In: M Abu-Nimer (ed.) *Reconciliation, Justice, and Coexistence: Theory and Practice.* Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books. pp. 3–23.

9   Where Galtung's 'negative peace' is the opposite of this and refers to the absence of violence or war. See Galtung J (1964) An editorial. *Journal of Peace Research* 1(1): 1–4.

10 Scanlon H (2016) *Gender and the Politics of Reconciliation*. IJR Occasional Paper. p. 5.

11 Ibid.

12 We recognise that 'coloured' is a contested term in South Africa, but is generally used to refer to a diverse group of people descended from Cape slaves, the indigenous Khoisan and other people of African and Asian descent who had been assimilated into Cape colonial society by the late 19th century.

13 For an overview of the political culture of each of these race groups, see Chapter 8.

14 Posel D (2001) What's in a name? Racial categorisations under apartheid and their afterlife. *Transformation* 47: 50–74.

15 Omi M & Winant H (1994) *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York: Routledge.

16 Machery E & Faucher L (2005) Social construction and the concept of race. *Philosophy of Science* 72: 1208–1219.

17 See McWhirter DP, Sanders SA & Reinisch JM (eds) (1990) *Homosexuality/Heterosexuality: The Kinsey Scale and Current Research*. New York: Oxford University Press.

18 Butler J (1990) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.

19 Collins P (2000) Gender, black feminism and black political economy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political & Social Science* 588(1): 41–53.

20 Connell R & Messerschmidt J (2005) Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender and Society* 19(6): 829–59.

21 Crenshaw K (1989) Demarginalising the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140: 139–167.

22 Chan J, To H & Chan E (2006) Reconsidering social cohesion: Developing a definition and analytical framework for empirical research. *Social Indicators Research* 75: 273–302.

23 Schiefer D & Van der Noll J (2016) The essentials of social cohesion: A literature review. *Journal of Social Indicators Research*: 1–25. DOI 10.1007/s11205-016-1314-5 [accessed 5 December 2016] .

24 Chan et al. (2006).

25 Schiefer & Van der Noll (2016): 14.

BIS METHODOLOGY AND WORK PROCESSES

Lindsey Doyle and the BIS team

This chapter presents an overview of the methodologies and work processes used by the Building an Inclusive Society (BIS) Programme, including guiding principles and strategic objectives. It includes a description of each of the projects within the programme from 1 January 2012 to 31 December 2016, as well as project life cycles.

Guiding principles

All BIS projects follow a set of guiding principles based on the institutional approach to and understanding of justice and reconciliation processes of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR). These guiding principles have been refined from lessons learnt through implementation and now represent BIS's best practices for intervention.

All projects use *inclusive*, *multistakeholder engagement* to bring together a multiplicity of voices in dialogue, given its capacity to break down social barriers. In the experience of team members, interventions that do not adequately take the historical context of post-conflict environments into account often exclude key voices, because they do not necessarily recognise how plurality has been neglected over many years of oppression. BIS-led multistakeholder engagements bring together a broad range of people from different backgrounds and experiences around the same 'table' to exchange perspectives on persistent historical and current conflicts – whether social, economic, political or psychological. Multistakeholder engagement is an inclusive process that aims to increase communication, understanding, trust and

collective *action* among many different parties that have not had access to platforms for cross-cultural engagement in the past. BIS views inclusivity as not simply about having representative numbers in any one dialogue, but to continually ask the question, 'Who is not here that should be?' This principle of inclusivity enriches conversation and increases learning. Social change requires members of divided societies to be willing to walk *together*, rather than apart or behind one another. It is through inclusive multistakeholder dialogue processes that South Africa will be able to address the challenges to transformation.[1]

Effective and inclusive multistakeholder engagement requires the creation of '*safe spaces*' for interaction. All BIS projects prioritise the creation of environments that allow for dialogue and dissent that is respectful and leads to deeper understanding. To reconcile, people often need to disagree. The legacies of the past need to be acknowledged and confronted in order to be addressed. In all its facilitation and dialogue processes, BIS fosters a culture of interaction in which people who disagree are not met with immediate resistance, but, rather, are guided through reflections in which they can better understand themselves and those with whom they are speaking. BIS guides these important discussions in a way that commentary does not alienate certain identity groups, nor discourage participants from speaking about their own personal experiences. Chapter 6 explores one application of this principle in greater detail.

All projects are *community-led*. BIS believes in working from the 'bottom up' and ensuring that any actions taken contribute towards building up communities to be able to drive their own ongoing sustainable development. BIS understands that each community is unique and many have the answers that best fit the challenges they are facing. The role of the programme is to support the identification of these needs and solutions and galvanise change, as opposed to entering a community claiming to have ready-made solutions. As part of this, BIS applies its cross-case knowledge of justice and reconciliation processes to work alongside community members as equal collaborators. Chapter 3 highlights the Ambassador Training Programme as an example of this principle in action. Coupling local knowledge with BIS subject-matter knowledge and skills generates synergistic effects for beneficiaries.

BIS projects generally follow the principle of '*mile-deep, inch-wide*' engagement: the programme's approach is one of in-depth work to achieve social change in a select number of communities, often over the medium to long term. In 2012, a strategic decision was taken to increase the interconnectivity between the various BIS projects and reduce the number of target communities. From the perspective of the IJR, the previous approach of working across large numbers of communities resulted in projects that were spread 'too thin' and closer collaboration in fewer localities could lead to greater positive impact overall. Chapter 3 examines this strategic shift in more detail. As a result of these changes, most BIS projects are targeted, longitudinal and based on intergroup dynamics. 'Targeted' refers to how communities are chosen. 'Longitudinal' means that BIS has remained in the same communities over a period of three to five years, working with the same people along the way and sometimes expanding the group of people that it serves. 'Intergroup dynamics' refers to a focus on how a single group of people with potentially diverse backgrounds is functioning

before, during and after any intervention. BIS works primarily in group environments, not solely with individuals. Chapter 4 elaborates further on these programmatic characteristics.

Trusting, long-term relationships are key to the success of the programme. Once an intervention site is selected, BIS consistently returns to that community. Typically, trust is built among community members only after the fourth or fifth visit, as programme staff are increasingly viewed as serious and committed. These relationships continue to develop through project life cycles; this is especially important because initial points of contact are not always as fruitful as anticipated. BIS seeks new partners if initial stakeholders are found to be exclusionary in their practices. BIS also works to honour its commitments in terms of programming and resources, investing in people and communities without charging fees, and recognising individual participation and engagement in these processes by giving awards and certificates. Recognition of this kind has proven to be immensely important for community members whose everyday efforts are rarely acknowledged.

Finally, BIS projects engage in *cross-fertilisation* of tools and approaches. Products such as videos and publications that are created by one project are often used by others as facilitation or teaching tools. The programme has developed a few key tools, as well as adapted resources used by other organisations.

Programme objectives

In working to achieve its vision of building fair, democratic and inclusive societies in Africa, the IJR has adopted a series of medium- and short-term objectives (MTOs and STOs). Among these, selected MTOs and STOs specifically guide the programmatic work of BIS. These MTOs and STOs and the projects that contribute to fulfilling them are shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Medium- and short-term objectives (MTOs and STOs) guiding BIS

NUMBER	OBJECTIVES	PROJECTS
MTO 1	**Policy processes are influenced by research, analysis and diverse community perspectives**	
STO 1.1	Relevant government departments and international agencies are aware of, and use the findings of, the individual projects and the models for building an inclusive-society intervention related to their work (acknowledge policy-making process).	Education for Reconciliation
MTO 2	**Stakeholders gain and use knowledge about justice and reconciliation**	
STO 2.1	Participants gain knowledge, develop an understanding of the relevance of the knowledge to community reconciliation and social justice, and use this knowledge to promote these aims.	Memory, Arts and Culture Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Schools Oral History Project Community Healing

Table 2.1: Medium- and short-term objectives (MTOs and STOs) guiding BIS (cont.)

MTO 3	Platforms are created where personal and historical perspectives are acknowledged, prejudice is challenged and inclusive narratives are explored	
STO 3.1	Participants experience a transformative process where they understand narratives explaining the past, acknowledge the prejudices they hold of the other, develop empathy for lived experience and are motivated and empowered to build partnerships for reconciliation.	Memory, Arts and Culture Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Schools Oral History Project Community Healing Education for Reconciliation Gender Justice and Reconciliation
MTO 4	**Divided communities are engaged in dialogue to overcome sources of conflict**	
STO 4.1	Communities, including youth, are aware of the need for healing and dialogue and are equipped with the necessary dialogical skills to engage with other groups to drive their own community processes.	Memory, Arts and Culture Community Healing
STO 4.2	Relationships are strengthened between and among participating community structures and/or in communities where the BIS Programme works.	

Source: IJR

Projects within the BIS Programme

The BIS Programme comprises seven projects, which are described in this section of the report. Each project overview also includes a table providing details of key processes or approaches and outputs and deliverables. These processes have been developed and adapted over time through iterated learning among staff.

Community Healing

Established in 2001, the Community Healing (CH) project facilitates the creation of spaces for dialogue and debate over issues of political, social and economic justice and the impact of the past on the present and future. CH processes often involve storytelling, with the aim of bringing closure to previously damaged communities in order to move forward peacefully. The work of the project is informed in part by the IJR's annual analysis of the factors that encourage or prevent reconciliation and social cohesion in the country, through the South African Reconciliation Barometer survey. The CH project works to equip community leaders to facilitate sustained reconciliation-seeking dialogue processes.

Table 2.2: Overview of the Community Healing Project

Processes and initiatives	Description and purpose	Outputs and resources
Intercommunity Dialogue workshops	These workshops offered a space for residents from racially segregated communities of Cradock and, subsequently, Cape Town, to reflect on the past together and seek ways of addressing social divisions, creating a more cohesive future.	*Community Healing: A Guide for Facilitators*[3]
Intergenerational Dialogue workshops	Emerging from an intercommunity dialogue, participants from Bonteheuwel and Langa in Cape Town established the Bonte-Langa Forum. The forum aims to deepen dialogue between youth and older people from across the racial divide. While the forum is inactive at the moment, the community leaders supporting this initiative are part of the Siyakha Forum.	*Community Healing Facilitator Guide*[4]
Memory and Renaming Dialogues	In order to further deepen dialogue and the healing of social divisions, members of the Bonte-Langa Forum convinced the city council and community members to rename the bridge between Bonteheuwel and Langa to 'Bonte-Langa Bridge' and they developed a tour focusing on their shared history and efforts to achieve interracial unity. The leaders now work as employed tour guides between the communities.	
Community Healing Training and Post-Training Support	Commissioned by the Western Cape Provincial Government in 2008, the project trained social-transformation leaders in CH principles to better manage conflict, change and diversity for the sake of community development.	*Community Healing Participant's Training Manual*[5]

Source: IJR

Schools Oral History Project

The Schools Oral History Project (SOHP) was established in 2004 with the aim of filling in the fractured, untold histories of many South African communities and supporting the acknowledgement necessary for people to begin to see themselves as agents of history. Oral history is the process of individuals telling their personal life histories to others in the context of well-known past events, although these may be contested. This allows for the filling of historical gaps in written sources. Oral history methodologies also refer to the impact stories have on listeners. The SOHP facilitates oral histories in schools and communities (including training learners) and publishes these stories for broader audiences.

Table 2.3: Overview of the Schools Oral History Project

Processes and initiatives	Description and purpose	Outputs and resources
Oral History Introductory workshops	The purpose of the workshops was to increase awareness of the constructed nature of history and the interconnectedness of past, present and future. Facilitated dialogue and writing exercises were used to explore different perspectives, selective responses, understanding of the past (epistemology), how the significance of events is determined and how history is a dynamic process that is still being shaped today.	
Personal History Timelines	This initiative involved creating community histories based on aggregating the stories of individual community members and elders in particular.	
'I Was, I Am, I Shall Excel' workshops	This series of workshops aimed to increase agency among participants by helping them consider the past, present and future and ask questions about how to achieve the representations of history they would like to see. Emphasis was placed on the idea that individuals can act today in order to achieve what they want in the future.	*I Was, I Am, I Shall Excel: The Beginnings of My Story* [5]
Camera workshops and creation of short documentary films and radio programmes	Increase awareness about how people remember the past and portray it through a camera lens, which is intentionally limited in its framing and scope. This initiative teaches the idea that what is inside the frame is as important as what is outside the frame, to debunk the myth that any kind of history is inclusive of all experiences. Activities challenge thinking that in a community things have 'always been that way, so will always be that way'.	*De Doorns: A Photographic Narrative* [6]
Poster series	This series of highly visible posters raised the profile of community histories.	Warrenton,[7] Mondlo and Pampierstad[8] history posters
Healing, History and Leadership workshops	Community members were trained in interview techniques to enable them to document the lived and eyewitness histories in their communities. They were supported by a creative team to develop the stories they collected and share them with local sites of memory, libraries and schools.	Resource guides, CDs and DVDs: *Making Apartheid History: My Contribution*[9] Folk tales: *Stories op die Wind: 'n Handleiding*[10] *Stories op die Wind: 'n Veeltalige Bloemlesing*[11]

Table 2.3: Overview of the Schools Oral History Project (cont.)

Processes and initiatives	Description and purpose	Outputs and resources
Focus-group discussions with the 'invisible'	These discussions enabled participants to unburden themselves from past injustices by allowing them space to tell their stories, experience active listening and to be recognised for their struggle. They made visible and gave 'voice' to ordinary South African citizens who struggled against injustices, but did not have a dominant voice in the past.	

Source: IJR

Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project

The Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project (AKYLDP) is named after Ashley Kriel, a young Cape Flats political activist who was murdered by the apartheid regime in the 1980s. The project engages young people on the meaning of justice and reconciliation in the context of South Africa and the world. Established in 2004, the AKYLDP seeks to:

- Develop youths' interpersonal skills in leadership, self-esteem, acknowledgement of one's own agency and emotional intelligence;
- Prepare students to mentor learners from identified schools, as well as unemployed and out-of-school youths;
- Create a wider range of learning methods to provide young people with multiple avenues for making a successful transition from youth to adulthood when faced with diverse circumstances and needs; and
- Champion youth dialogues on university campuses.

The project also seeks to increase youth civic engagement, improve their understanding of the past and create effective interracial and intergenerational dialogues that otherwise do not occur. Youths consider what reconciliation means to them and what it should look like in practice.

Table 2.4: Overview of the Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project

Processes and initiatives	Description and purpose	Outputs and resources
Youth camps and workshops	The project convened an annual camp with selected young people, and focused on a variety of themes of identity, youth civic engagement, the South African political transition and the role of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). For the remainder of the year following the camp, these young people attended monthly workshops which dealt with various topics, including identity and healing, memory and memorialisation, youth voice and agency, history and representations of the past, youth activism, dialogue and reconciliation.	*Mapping the Past, Plotting the Future*[12] *My Voice, Our Story: A Collection of Young Voices*[13] *Freedom to Create Change: A Collection of Young Voices*[14]
Social-media engagement	The AKYLDP used Facebook, blogs and WhatsApp to maintain the social networks that had been established after the youth camps and workshops and to share information and extend the conversation into a more informal, social platform. This space was not facilitated but instead open for the youth to take ownership and to 'make light' of difficult issues in their daily lives.	*Ashley Kriel Youth Blog*[15] Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project Facebook groups[16]
Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD)[17] workshop	This workshop was a collaboration between the Gender Justice and Reconciliation Project and the AKYLDP, which focused on shifting communities' orientation from a needs- or deficiency-based outlook to an asset- and strengths-based outlook. Youth reflected on the resources and positive attributes they brought to their communities, identified community assets and resources and explored how to use these to benefit their communities and themselves. Youth were encouraged to view people from different municipalities in the same province as one community, to change their perspective from 'my' to 'ours'.	
Annual Ashley Kriel Memorial Lecture	This annual lecture commemorates the life of Ashley Kriel and celebrates current youth leadership and activities through a keynote speech by a youth leader and discussion. Young people are engaged on current issues affecting them.	Transcribed speeches of keynote addresses and some films (2004–2016)[18]

Source: IJR

Education for Reconciliation

The Education for Reconciliation (EfR) project aims to change the top-down, discriminatory approach to curriculum development and pedagogy that was institutionalised within the education system during apartheid.[19] The EfR informs policy and curriculum on topics such as respect and discrimination in educational settings. The project relies on communities' and members' understanding of their surroundings, challenges and opportunities. It uses an internationally recognised resource – the 'Teaching Respect for All' methodology developed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) – which has been adapted using local and contextual knowledge of South Africa. The project also assesses and informs policy-makers about the training and support needs of teachers and other educational staff. Work on the EfR project began in 2004 with the development of inclusive history curricula and narratives for the 'new' South Africa and it has since expanded into a full project.

Table 2.5: Overview of the Education for Reconciliation Project

Processes and initiatives	Description and purpose	Outputs and resources
UNESCO's 'Teaching Respect for All' workshops, adapted for South Africa[20]	These workshops empowered teachers through experiential learning to counteract discrimination in and through education as 'agents of reconciliation'. Educators shared their experiences regarding discrimination in schools and the methods they used to address challenges such as trauma. Workshops focused on topics such as perceptions about other people, resilience among learners, the effects of 'woundedness'[21] on educational performance, the Action Learning Tool for reflection,[22] changing approaches to dealing with discrimination and UNESCO's toolkit for educators. Resources have been shared with the South African Department of Education.	*UNESCO Teaching Respect for All Implementation Guide*[23] *Classrooms of Hope: Case Studies of South African Teachers Nurturing Respect for All*[24] *Lessons in Respect: Building Respectful Schools and Inclusive Communities through Education*[25]

Source: IJR

Memory, Arts and Culture

The Memory, Arts and Culture (MAC) project was launched in 2012 with the goal of using the arts to increase understanding across generational, racial, ethnic, gendered and other constructed social divisions. This project draws learners, post-school youth, educators and art practitioners together through indigenous and contemporary forms of art, storytelling, music and film to explore issues of exclusion and inclusion with the aim of reconciliation and building social cohesion.

The MAC project seeks to:

- Instil values needed to build effective communities;
- Create and sustain dialogue on issues of memory and identity for South African youth and their African peers;
- Deepen youths' understanding of themselves as Africans;
- Facilitate the process of converting meaningful exchanges into artistic products that are able to contribute to the socio-economic development of partnering organisations and communities through skills development in film, scriptwriting and development of replica indigenous musical instruments; and
- Build capacity in and deepen the impact of cultural-heritage education in South Africa.

Table 2.6: Overview of the Memory, Arts and Culture Project

Processes and initiatives	Description and purpose	Outputs and resources
'Follow the Beat' workshops	This series of workshops uses indigenous musical instruments and instruction by elders to increase appreciation and understanding among the youth of indigenous African culture and its fusion with other cultures. The workshops also encourage dialogue.	*Shades of Belonging: Follow the Beat Resource Guide and DVD* [26] *Memory as a Tool: Arts and Culture for Reconciliation* [27]
'African Identities' production, workshops and documentary series	This initiative explores various ideas through film of what it means to be African in order to stimulate group dialogue and change attitudes toward the 'other.' Documentaries were created by up-and-coming South African film-makers to build capacity and transfer practical skills in storytelling and artistic production. The outputs of this process (the films themselves) have been used by other BIS projects as pedagogical tools and have been submitted to national film festivals for wider dissemination.	*Season 1: About Black South Africans* [28] *Season 2: About White South Africans* [29] *Season 3: About Minorities* [30] *Season 4: Twenty Years of Democracy: Through the Eyes of Three Generational Groups* [31] *Season 5: LGBTI Community of Kimberley* [32]

Source: IJR

Gender Justice and Reconciliation

The Gender Justice and Reconciliation (GJR) project was initiated in 2015 to:

- Generate dialogue about diversity in gender and sexuality;
- Address the root causes of sexual gender-based violence;
- Educate and equip South Africans with knowledge and skills to increase gender justice at the grassroots level; and
- Influence government agencies and the general public on issues related to gender justice.

This project was in its pilot phase at the time of publication.

Table 2.7: Overview of the Gender Justice and Reconciliation Project

Processes and initiatives	Description and purpose	Outputs and resources
Understanding Gender workshops	These workshops involve screenings of Season 5 of the *African Identities* film series and using the 'Human sexuality: Binaries and boxes (or not!)'[33] facilitation tool[34] to sensitise people on stereotypes and discrimination. They bring marginalised gender voices to the fore and educate participants about the differences between sex, gender, sexual orientation and sexual play.	*Toolkit on Gender Justice* (forthcoming)
My Gender Story workshops	In these workshops, participants are invited to share their own gendered experiences in a 'safe space' on their own terms and in their own way. Workshops incorporate creative storytelling, body-mapping, poetry and writing.	
Mapping Gender Justice workshops	These workshops focus on issues of structural violence. Participants are guided in mapping safe spaces in their community, pinpointing hotspots for gender-based crime, identifying resources and service spaces (i.e. women's groups, clinics that respond to rape victims) and assessing gaps and needs. Outputs of these mapping exercises provided an overview of local-level gender (in)justice in South Africa.	
Reimagining Gender workshops	In these workshops, participants create a vision for obtaining gender justice and pose questions about how they themselves can create safe spaces, as agents of change. Facilitation tools include 'Open Space' technology[35] to generate participant-driven feedback from a range of diverse voices.	

Source: IJR

Social Dialogue for Agriculture

Established in 2016, the Social Dialogue for Agriculture project is the most recent addition to the BIS Programme. The project was introduced in response to the need for increased consensus-building, collective problem-solving and improved relationships between all stakeholders in the Western Cape agricultural sector. It will be piloted in the Cape Winelands District in 2016/2017 and subsequently rolled out across the province by 2019. The project aims to train and empower community

members to facilitate and engage in issues and challenges within the agricultural sector when the need arises. Project tools and resources are currently being developed.

Project life cycle

All projects within the BIS Programme follow the same life cycle, as shown in Figure 2.1. Each begins by identifying a community in which to work, or responding directly to a request from a community itself.

A number of *contextual factors* are used in deciding where to intervene and with whom, including:

- Divided local histories;
- Racial tension and exclusivity;
- Persistent geographic divisions between race groups in former 'Bantustan' or 'homeland' areas or as a result of apartheid group areas legislation;[36]
- Openness to the ideas underlying reconciliation processes; and
- Economic exclusion, particularly in relation to specific identity groups and in rural areas and former industrial hubs.

Practical factors taken into consideration include:

- Proficiency in local languages among BIS staff;
- Accessibility of communities; and
- A focus on areas where BIS has not previously worked and where there are limited initiatives, for example by other non-governmental organisations.

Programmatic factors are also considered and whether or not BIS interventions are aligned with the kinds of activities needed within the community.[37]

Once a community is selected, BIS makes contact with various local stakeholder groups to start building a relationship and show intent to support. Meanwhile, staff work to understand the local context through primary and secondary research. This includes informal conversations, interviews, document and news reviews, site visits and other forms of data collection. BIS then collaborates with community members to identify needs and how the programme can assist, based on the tools and expertise available. Only then does the programme implement an intervention, through a series of activities offered by way of the projects detailed above.

All work is evaluated using the IJR's Monitoring and Evaluation framework and the specific objectives of the programme, as well as through surveys, questionnaires, workshop feedback and materials and participant testimonials. Finally, data and lessons learnt are shared in a variety of formats with policy-makers and other stakeholders at the local, provincial and national levels.

BIS aims to encourage project longevity and sustainability, even after interventions are over. In consultation with communities, local participants are selected to continue running interventions without BIS staff present. Once a community is able to sustain

a programme on its own, the BIS role shifts to one of support and staff capacity and resources are allocated elsewhere. There is a constant learning feedback loop inherent in this life cycle, as new lessons are incorporated into existing programming on a continual basis. In this sense, BIS is a learning programme.

FIGURE 2.1:   BIS project life cycle
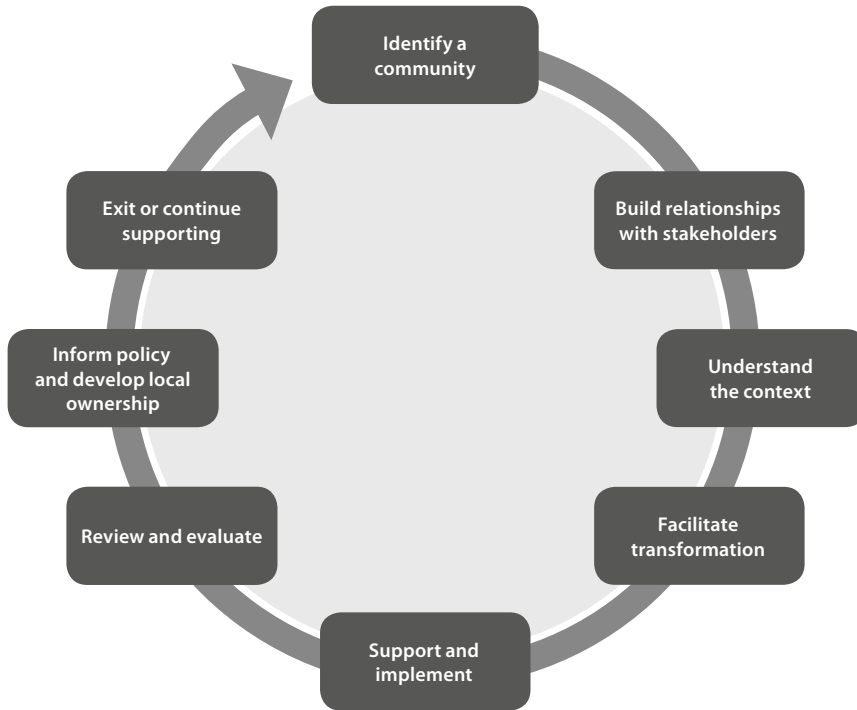
Conclusion

The seven BIS projects are increasingly working together throughout the project life cycle to work toward the end goal of a fair, inclusive and democratic South Africa. The guiding principles of inclusive multistakeholder engagement to create safe spaces through community-led processes over a 'mile-deep, inch-wide' area contribute to this vision. The following chapters will bolster this vision through examples of the implementation of this model in real communities.

ENDNOTES

1   IJR (2012) *BIS Intervention Plan 2012–2016 in Warrenton-Hartswater Corridor in the Northern Cape, Vryheid-Mondlo in KwaZulu-Natal, Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape.* Cape Town: IJR.

2   IJR (2003) *Community Healing: A Guide for Facilitators.* Cape Town: IJR.

3   IJR (2006) *Community Healing: A Resource Guide*. Cape Town: IJR.

4   IJR (2008) *Community Healing Participant's Training Manual.* Cape Town: IJR.

5   IJR (2015) *I Was, I Am, I Shall Excel: The Beginnings of My Story*. Cape Town: IJR.

6   IJR (2015) *De Doorns: A Photographic Narrative*. Cape Town: IJR.

7   IJR (2016) *Warrenton: A Community History*. Cape Town: IJR.

8   IJR (2016) *Pampierstad: A Community History*. Cape Town: IJR.

9   IJR (2009) *Making Apartheid History: My Contribution*. Cape Town: IJR.

10   IJR (2007) *Stories op die Wind: 'n Handleiding*. Cape Town: IJR.

11   IJR (2007) *Stories op die Wind: 'n Veeltalige Bloemlesing*. Cape Town: IJR.

12   Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project (2015) *Mapping the Past, Plotting the Future*. Cape Town: IJR. Available at http://ijr.org.za/publications/pdfs/mapping.pdf [accessed 8 November 2016].

13   IJR (2013) *My Voice, Our Story: A Collection of Young Voices*. Cape Town: IJR.

14   Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project Participants (2014) *Freedom to Create Change: A Collection of Young Voices*. Cape Town: IJR. Available at http://www.ijr.org.za/publications/akriel.php.

15   *Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project Blog*. Available at http://ashleykrielyouth.org/ [accessed 6 December 2016].

16   Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development 2013. Available at https://www.facebook.com/groups/598787020162683/; Freedom to Create Change IJR Youth 2014. Available at https://www.facebook.com/groups/387188321420230/; AKYLDP 2015: Mapping the Past, Plotting the Future. Available at https://www.facebook.com/groups/835005356548386/?ref=bookmarks.

17   The 'ABCD' approach was first developed by John Kretzmann and John McKnight in the United States of America and was taught to the IJR by an external consultant from I Am Somebody, a non-governmental organisation (NGO) based in Cape Town, South Africa, that specialises in wilderness education for social cohesion among the youth. See Kretzmann J & McKnight J (1993) *Building Communities from the Inside out: A Path toward Finding and Mobilizing a Community's Assets*. North-western University, Evanston, IL: Centre for Urban Affairs and Policy Research.

18   2004–2016, Ashley Kriel Memorial Lecture keynote speeches, IJR archival record.

19   Lee PJ (2012) How Bantu Education has deepened our wounds and blocked our progress: And a way out? Reflection from the Bishop for Education in the Anglican Church of Southern Africa. Unpublished sermon paper.

20   The BIS mission was to augment the UNESCO resource with stories or case studies of South African educators who are making a difference by tackling discrimination head-on. BIS believed that local educators had effective ways of dealing with difficult issues and that these could be shared with others. BIS needed to engage teachers to share the UNESCO anti-discrimination tools with them, while building upon their existing knowledge.

21   Cabrera M (n.d.) Living and surviving in a multiply wounded country. Unpublished essay. Available at http://media.withtank.com/997311354a/martha_cabrera_multiply_wounded_country_essay1.pdf [accessed 5 December 2016].

22   An approach to reflection on past work experiences that motivates continuous learning and future action. See Chapter 9 for more information.

23   UNESCO (2014) *Teaching Respect for All*. Paris: UNESCO. Available at http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002279/227983e.pdf [accessed 2 December 2016].

24 Wray D, Henkeman S & Arendse L (2015) *Classrooms of Hope: Case Studies of South African Teachers Nurturing Respect for All*. Cape Town: IJR.

25 Robertson M, Arendse L & Henkeman S (2015) *Lessons in Respect: Building Respectful Schools and Inclusive Communities through Education*. Cape Town: IJR.

26 IJR (2013) *Shades of Belonging: Follow the Beat Resource Guide and DVD*. Cape Town: IJR.

27 IJR (2011) *Memory as a Tool: Arts and Culture for Reconciliation*. Cape Town: IJR.

28 IJR (2011) *African Identities: Shades of Belonging Season 1: About Black South Africans*. Cape Town: IJR.

29 IJR (2012) *African Identities: Shades of Belonging Season 2: About White South Africans*. Cape Town: IJR.

30 IJR (2013) *African Identities: Shades of Belonging Season 3: About Minorities*. Cape Town: IJR.

31 IJR (2014) *African Identities: Shades of Belonging Season 4: Twenty Years of Democracy: Through the Eyes of Three Generational Groups*. Cape Town: IJR.

32 IJR (2015) *African Identities: Shades of Belonging Season 5: LGBTI Community of Kimberley*. Cape Town: IJR.

33 Van Dyk D (2015) Binaries and boxes (or not!): Understand human sexuality: Understand life! Available at http://23.91.64.91/~msmgf/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/BinariesBoxes_slidedeck.pdf [accessed 2 December 2016].

34 'Binaries and boxes (or not!)' was developed by OUT, a South African NGO that serves the LGBTlQ+ community. The facilitator divides a flip chart into four quadrants: gender, sex, sexual orientation, and sexual play. The visual exercise shows that the boxes are not static. The facilitator draws the boxes and, through questions, probes the audience about their understanding.

35 'Open Space' was originally developed by Harrison Owen and adapted for the gender subject matter by Michel Friedman, an associate at Gender at Work, based in Cape Town. As an example, BIS used this tool during its Gender Justice in the Workplace event in August 2016. See Owen H (2008) *Open Space Technology: A User's Guide*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers.

36 The Group Areas Act of 1950 was introduced under apartheid to legislate geographic segregation based on race.

37 How these criteria are applied to geographic communities will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

LONG-TERM GEOGRAPHIC INTERVENTIONS FOR HOLISTIC COMMUNITY CHANGE

Megan Robertson with Kenneth Lukuko, Nosindiso Mtimkulu and Cecyl Esau

In 2012, the Building an Inclusive Society (BIS) team began a five-year journey of working in targeted geographic areas around South Africa. This chapter reflects on the experiences of working in three main communities: Grahamstown (Eastern Cape), Vryheid (KwaZulu-Natal) and Warrenton (Northern Cape).[1] This approach was premised on the idea that deep, sustainable social change is possible through long-term[2] work in specific communities, particularly those that remain profoundly affected by South Africa's historical conflict, with divisions between people of different identity groups and socio-economic inequality.

This chapter discusses the rationale for this approach over the past five years and documents how the specific communities were chosen. It also details the work processes that took place in each area. We identify three main themes that have emerged in relation to this long-term work:

1. The importance of understanding historical context;
2. The significance of effective relationship-building; and
3. The pace of change – change sometimes requires patience and persistence.

These themes are analysed using three case studies. The chapter concludes with insights and recommendations for consideration when planning and implementing targeted, local-level work within communities.

Why work at a local level in South Africa?

At the outset of this chapter, it is important to establish why BIS adopted the approach of working on a long-term basis in a relatively small number of select communities. This is referred to within the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) as a 'mile-deep, inch-wide' methodology and is discussed in further detail in Chapter 4. Two main contextual factors contributed to the strategic decision to use this approach: the IJR's approach to reconciliation work, and the nature of the non-governmental sector in South Africa.

The IJR approach to reconciliation work

When the IJR first opened its doors in 2000, the lack of social cohesion was among the foremost challenges facing post-colonial and post-apartheid South Africa. A history of segregation and unequal development created major divisions between and within historically defined race groups. In 2012, the IJR identified four key principles to guide the work of the organisation which would lead to the healing of a broken and divided society and the creation of a country in which all people could live with dignity. These principles are:[3]

1. Listening to and understanding 'the Other';[4]
2. Acknowledging the past;
3. Forging partnerships with 'the Other'; and
4. Empowering each other.

In working to realise the first two principles, BIS determined that the work of the programme would need to involve sharing lived experiences and the resurfacing of community memories and oral histories. This meant a need to develop deep and trusting relationships between the programme and different groups of people in the communities in which we work, as a starting point for engagement and the exploration of difficult narratives from the past.

The third and fourth principles are geared towards sustainable, community-led redress and reconciliation efforts that contribute to the realisation of economic and social justice. Achieving these principles requires equipping and 'support[ing] people in claiming their individual human rights, meeting their needs and having greater control over the decision-making processes which affect their lives'.[5] To this end, pursuing reconciliation requires efforts that include training, empowerment and the establishment of sustainable community structures which can outlive the involvement of a non-governmental organisation (NGO) such as the IJR.

In practice, applying these principles to justice and reconciliation work led to the

decision to initiate long-term interventions in relatively small geographic areas, rather than a wide but 'thin' approach. Targeted long-term interventions allow for a deeper understanding of context, for the development of stronger relationships, for lasting empowerment and for better support for sustainable structures that contribute to healing, reconciliation and justice.

The non-governmental sector in South Africa

Prior to the transition to democracy in 1994, South African civil society was largely divided into two main groups:[6]

1. Organisations such as charities that provided services for people viewed by the apartheid government as non-citizens; and
2. Groups working to achieve a democratic state.

By 1994, there were more than 50 000 registered NGOs and community-based organisations (CBOs) in the country, of which more than 20 000 worked in the area of community development.[7] Post-1994, the government took on the role of providing basic services for all South Africans, primarily through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). During the transition period, many organisations experienced new challenges, including funding shortfalls,[8] a lack of clear policy objectives aligned with the new South African context[9] and a loss of leaders, many of whom left the sector for positions in the new government.

Habib and Kotzé found that, post-1994, multiple structural processes of social polarisation had divided the civil society sector into three main types of organisations:[10]

1. Large formal NGOs, which were 'bigger, more sophisticated and well-resourced', 'developed collaborative relationships with the state' and adopted 'the language of neoliberalism';[11]
2. Informal CBOs, which 'emerged within marginalised communities to enable their residents to simply survive the ravages of poverty brought on by neoliberalism';[12] and
3. Formal organisations and networks, which were 'starting to engage more critically with neoliberal policies and their effects on the lives of ordinary people', such as trade unions and churches.[13]

Lehman suggests that informal organisations achieve the greatest impact in sub-Saharan Africa, as they often involve collective decision-making, encourage shared social spaces and drive community-led processes.[14] Similarly, Whitehead argues in favour of 'pure' community-based interventions which operate without external 'expert' partners.[15] He maintains that these often have the best prospects for 'socio-cultural effectiveness', as they tend to operate within the existing social and cultural dynamics of the community. Here, sociocultural effectiveness refers to cultural sensitivity, relevance, appropriateness and the capacity for programmes to be integrated into routine sociocultural contexts, processes and meaning systems. This

is often a key strength of CBOs and is linked to a higher likelihood of sustainability and the sharing and dissemination of ideas and interventions through communities.

In reality, however, the sustainable and far-reaching impact of CBOs is often threatened by a lack of economic and human resources, in particular in rural South African towns. This hampers their ability to effectively implement and monitor interventions, regardless of how appropriate and relevant they may be for communities. Further, CBOs tend to have narrow networks of influence that limit their influence on governance processes and decision-making.[16]

Among these typologies, the IJR is a well-established, formal and internationally funded organisation that also works at community level. As such, the IJR has the benefit of the support and influence of a large formal NGO, with the levels of access of a smaller, less formal CBO. The IJR is thus uniquely placed in its ability to interact with and shape policy and governance processes, as well as to draw on some of the strengths of Whitehead's model for sociocultural effectiveness.

The BIS strategy of working in targeted geographic communities over extended periods specifically tapped into this position. The programme's long-term approach to reconciliation work means that interventions can be adapted to community needs over time and implemented in culturally relevant ways. At the same time, BIS is able to engage with government actors, decision-makers and policy processes to draw relevant stakeholders into dialogue, conferences and events raising the profile of important issues experienced by communities. As one example, in 2015 the Director of Social Cohesion and Nation-Building at the Department of Arts and Culture participated in a conference that addressed some of the issues faced by the LGBTIQ+[17] community in the Northern Cape.

BIS work processes at the local level

Prior to 2012, the different BIS projects operated relatively independently of one another (see Chapter 2 for an overview of all projects). Project staff were largely responsible for selecting their own areas of focus and collaboration was not always prioritised.

In 2012, the programme adopted a new intervention strategy, in line with the IJR's five-year plan for 2012 to 2016, which aimed to increase collaboration and cross-cutting initiatives.[18] This involved selecting targeted communities where all BIS projects would be implemented over the long term and with the involvement of the entire multidisciplinary programme team. The same approach was used to identify interest groups with which the programme could work, for example the LGBTIQ+ community.

In practice, each project leader selected one community in which she/he planned to explore the possibility of an intervention. The responsible project leader would then enter the selected community and identify and connect with the constituency most suitable to the focus of that project. These initial connections were made through meetings and engagements with institutions such as municipalities, schools, libraries, museums and civil society organisations (CSOs). Using this process, the Memory, Arts and Culture (MAC) project began working with youth interested in the arts in

Vryheid; the Community Healing (CH) project started engaging with community leaders in Grahamstown and the Schools Oral History Project (SOHP) began collaboration with local schools and the library in Warrenton. As these relationships deepened, each of the different BIS projects was introduced to Vryheid, Grahamstown and Warrenton. Project leaders worked with active constituencies and also sought out new participants. Members of the project team worked collaboratively and regularly travelled to these three areas, engaging in community dialogues, meeting with partners, conducting workshops and organising events such as concerts. Therefore, over the five-year period, all BIS projects were implemented in all of the different targeted geographic areas. This was conducted in four phases, as shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Phases of BIS project implementation, 2012–2016

Phase	Period	Activities
Phase One	2012	Background research and identification of target areas
	January–June 2012	Research and situational analysis in selected areas
Phase Two	July 2012–June 2013	80% of project leaders' time spent in community of their first intervention; 20% in areas selected by other team members
	July 2013–June 2014	60% of project leaders' time spent in community of their first intervention; 40% in areas selected by other team members
	July 2014–June 2015	40% of project leaders' time spent in community of their first intervention; 60% in areas selected by other team members
	July 2015–June 2016	20% of project leaders' time spent in community of their first intervention; 80% in areas selected by other team members
Phase Three	July 2012–June 2016	Impacting on policy decisions
Phase Four	2016	Development of an intervention model for building inclusive communities[19]

Source: BIS

In practice, team members found it challenging to align their time directly with the target percentages shown in Table 3.1, but nonetheless the goal of implementing all projects in all of the selected geographic areas was achieved successfully. This collaborative approach also meant that participants benefitted from the different skills, competencies and experiences of all project leaders. In turn, project leaders also found that participants who were involved with more than one BIS project across the five-year period demonstrated greater commitment to the process, as well as more interest in community-led reconciliation and justice work. This was particularly true of participants in Warrenton and Vryheid, where the project team observed that, through involvement in multiple BIS projects, participants increasingly recognised the need for a holistic approach to community reconciliation and the variety of ways to effect change at the local level.

This approach to implementation allowed the BIS team to engage with a variety of constituencies, including elders, youth, men, women and community leaders, using

different methods and forms of justice and reconciliation work. Participants and communities were not treated as homogeneous groups; rather, implementation was community-centred and inclusive irrespective of age, level of education, skills or interests. Intervention objectives were guided and revised on a holistic basis, as determined by the needs and perspectives of community members. Different community members who did not necessarily interact with one another on a regular basis, such as elders, community leaders and youth, were brought together. This in itself encouraged greater sustainability.

One of the main benefits to increased collaboration within the BIS Programme was the opportunity to reflect more deeply on our shared work and consider alternate methods and approaches. This reflection should be further enhanced in future to ensure a holistic and collaborative approach from conceptualisation through to implementation.

Choosing communities

Among the legacies of South Africa's history of separatist policies and racist ideologies is a distorted landscape characterised by far-reaching and extreme divisions. Trauma, conflict and exclusion are embedded in the geographies and histories of all cities, towns and communities in the country. Acknowledging this means that justice and reconciliation work is needed universally across South Africa, but the BIS project team was required to narrow down the areas in which they planned to work in order to achieve a lasting impact.

Targeted communities were selected on the basis of desktop research and site visits over a six-month period during Phase One, as shown in Table 3.1. A number of strategic and pragmatic reasons were also taken into account during the selection process.

Strategic considerations

Strategically, communities were chosen with the end goal of enabling BIS to begin developing a social change model that could be replicated elsewhere in South Africa. It was therefore important for the programme to work in areas that reflected the range of realities found in deeply divided societies.

The three provinces chosen – the Northern Cape, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal – are diverse in terms of culture, language and socio-economic features. The communities chosen evidenced a clear urban/rural divide. Urban communities often have greater access to employment opportunities, more developed economies and denser populations than sparsely populated rural areas. High unemployment levels in rural areas[20] often create fertile ground for poverty and the emergence of social ills, such as alcohol and drug abuse, crime and gender-based violence.[21] Further, BIS recognised that dominant public discourse on the state of justice and reconciliation is often based predominantly on urban experiences and expressions, but it is also important to incorporate rural perspectives on these issues.[22]

BIS also took the existence of local social divisions along race, culture and gender

lines into account when selecting communities.[23] Again, this was so that lessons could be documented at the end of the five-year process and integrated into a social change model used to replicate interventions elsewhere in South Africa – and potentially in other post-conflict societies. In each targeted community, there had to be clear evidence of direct conflict and/or persistent economic and racial divisions which had not adequately been addressed through reconciliation or redress initiatives led by the state or civil society:

- Grahamstown, for example, demonstrated unresolved internal conflict dating back to the Frontier Wars (1779–1878).
- Vryheid was one of the sites of the historic Battle of Blood River (1838).
- The Northern Cape towns of Warrenton, Jan Kempdorp, Pampierstad and Hartswater had largely excluded marginalised groups from local-area histories.
- Pampierstad had also been part of a previous Bantustan area established by the apartheid government.

Pragmatic considerations

Some pragmatic considerations were also taken into account in selecting communities. These included project leaders' experience and expertise in particular geographic areas and existing networks, and trust built in particular communities. Project leaders generally initiated interventions in areas where they had lived or worked before and brought with them the benefit of prior knowledge of area culture, politics and history.

Language was also a practical consideration and project leaders selected communities where they could speak at least two common local languages. Not only was this beneficial in terms of basic communication, but research shows that language is a marker of identity and is attached to shared knowledge, cues and communicative styles.[24] An intervener with this shared knowledge could potentially be at an advantage in terms of forming relationships and building trust in communities where they could connect through a common language.[25]

In some cases, communities where there was a clear demonstration of interest, or complementary initiatives or programming, were selected. In Warrenton, selected by project leader Cecyl Esau of SOHP, a local librarian had already expressed an interest in reopening the town's museum, and schools in the area were interested in allowing learners to participate in the project. In Vryheid, where project leader Nosindiso Mtimkulu initiated the MAC intervention, there were already a number of existing programmes focusing on indigenous arts and music.

Finally, project leaders assessed community assets in each of the target areas, including human resources, facilities and institutions, in terms of availability and willingness to work with BIS in implementing and sustaining interventions. A baseline study was used to evaluate various towns and communities, particularly in terms of the openness and readiness of local government and CSOs to collaborate with BIS. The study also took into account existing contact networks within communities, prospects for project sustainability and the willingness and capacity of local leaders to take projects forward. Baseline evaluations were not conducted in all communities,

but where this tool was used, interveners could more effectively gauge suitability and alignment to project objectives, as well as long-term sustainability. Table 3.2 provides an excerpt from baseline assessments conducted in Grahamstown and Vryheid. Each community was scored on a scale of one to ten across a number of indicators, using data derived from interviews, field observations and desktop research.

Table 3.2: Baseline score of Grahamstown and Vryheid [26]

Indicator	Grahamstown	Vryheid
Municipal readiness	8	6
Civil society readiness	8	6
Strength of interest community contact base	9	6
Issue contemplation	8	6
Post-intervention sustainability prospects	7	6
Historical significance	9	9
Community champions' readiness	7	7
Significance to national context	8	8
Prospects for intertown network	9	9

Source: BIS

A closer look at the target communities

As stated at the outset of this chapter, the experiences of the BIS team in adopting a 'mile-deep, inch-wide' approach to project interventions from 2012 to 2016 yielded a number of important lessons for future work. In the sections that follow, these lessons are analysed through the work of the programme in Grahamstown, Vryheid and Warrenton.

Grahamstown: Why understanding historical context matters

Grahamstown is located in the Eastern Cape, about 130 km from Port Elizabeth. Its population is about 70 000 and the main languages spoken are English, Xhosa and Afrikaans. The prominent Rhodes University is also situated here.[27] Work in Grahamstown was initiated by the CH project. Later, workshops and other interventions were conducted by the SOHP, MAC, Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project (AKYLDP) and Gender Justice and Reconciliation (GJR) projects.

At first glance you see only what is on the surface
When the BIS team first began planning interventions in Grahamstown, research found ample evidence of a local history of conflict. Project leader Kenneth Lukuko was interested in exploring the lasting impacts of the Frontier Wars, colonial land dispossession and apartheid racial segregation on Grahamstown's current social

climate. With the elite university surrounded by underdeveloped rural areas, he expected to find very little contact between residents of different races.

Perhaps Grahamstown was more cohesive than it seemed? Upon starting to work in the area, Lukuko found that it seemed much more harmonious than communities in the Western Cape, where he had worked previously. People of different races attended the same churches and worship services, students interacted and socialised in mixed groups and most residents seemed to dress similarly. The National Arts Festival, held annually in Grahamstown, recognised and celebrated diversity and multiculturalism.[28]

The effects of trauma, however, are complex. Often people who have experienced trauma lose faith in the humanity of others and find it difficult to regain trust. This anger and hurt can be dormant, but can influence interaction and engagement with other people in unconscious ways. Memories can be triggered, resulting in conflict erupting in unexpected ways.[29] The nuances of residual conflict may only be evident after working with groups of people or communities for a long period of time.

Tensions surrounding the Grahamstown bicentennial

At the time BIS began working in Grahamstown, the town was commemorating its bicentennial – 200 years after its establishment in 1812. This milestone unexpectedly served to trigger underlying and unresolved social tensions in the community. The local municipality had budgeted for a year-long programme of celebrations which raised the profile of historic buildings and architecture and paid tribute to the colonial settlers who travelled to the area and laid claim to surrounding lands. This programme appeared to be welcomed by many white residents, but, for descendants of Xhosa and Khoi families living in the area for generations, 2012 marked 200 years of remembering what had been taken from them.

Also in 2012, the local-government council revisited a proposal to rename Grahamstown to Makana – a move first tabled in 2007.[30] Nxele Makana had led indigenous warriors into battle against British settlers in Grahamstown in 1819 during the Frontier Wars.[31] Local oral histories detail how Xhosa warriors fought until the settlers ran out of gunpowder and were on the verge of defeat. However, a woman pretending to be pregnant or in a vulnerable state, managed to secretly deliver more gunpowder to the settlers. The conflict continued and led to a massacre of Xhosa people, while survivors retreated to nearby villages. Makana surrendered to put an end to the fighting and was sentenced to prison on Robben Island, where he later died while attempting to escape.[32]

In opposition to the proposed name change, some residents launched the 'Keep Grahamstown, Grahamstown' (KGG) campaign,[33] which appeared to attract a predominantly white support base. KGG proponents argued in favour of defending the traditional historical narrative celebrating the British settlers and further opposed using public funds for name changes rather than direct service delivery. Their position, however, neglected to recognise the needs of black and coloured residents for a more inclusive town history. As tensions rose, there were clear signs of a lack of reconciliation across race lines and evidence that resolving this conflict would require acknowledging both historical narratives.

Despite the appearance of a cohesive and integrated town at the outset of the project, tensions between residents continue to flare up and manifest themselves in various nuanced ways throughout the five years that BIS worked in Grahamstown. Working towards reconciliation in such a tense environment is challenging and new approaches needed to be taken to achieve successful results.

Post-colonialism in a 'frontier' town

There is little research or documentation on the lasting legacy of colonialism in Grahamstown or its impact on residents and communities today. However, members of the BIS team found that this legacy significantly influenced decisions about how and with whom to work, across the various projects and interventions.

Symbols and accounts of colonial history are evident throughout Grahamstown. The Anglican cathedral, a prominent landmark in the town centre, occupies the former site of the palace of King Ndlambe.[34] Makana's Kop, a hill from which the white lime used in traditional Xhosa ceremonies is often sourced, was fenced off by British settlers.[35] British Colonel John Graham, for whom the town was named, has been referred to as 'the butcher of the Eastern Cape'.[36] These are only a few examples of how colonists sought to occupy and erase spaces, beliefs and cultures; these practices continued under apartheid.

It appeared difficult for the white minority population of the town to confront this troubled history and reputation. A professor at Rhodes University suggested that some residents still viewed Grahamstown as the 'frontier' and were unwilling to critically engage with the past.[37] Local stakeholders advised the BIS team that white residents might be willing to participate in projects focused on charity and addressing poverty, but were unlikely to take part in activities that involved confronting the past.

Other groups within the community, including traditional leaders, also proved difficult to engage. When BIS began working in Grahamstown in 2012 and 2013, many area traditional leaders were involved in a legal dispute and were unavailable to take part in programmatic interventions.

Within this context, black and coloured residents made up the majority of those willing to participate in interventions dealing with memory, healing and reconciliation. It became clear that different approaches would be needed to engage other community members. BIS determined that, given the context, the most effective strategy would be to start targeting separate groups of residents. White residents would be engaged through meetings and consultations with academics and other community members already working on issues of white privilege, racism and reconciliation in Grahamstown.

The same approach was used in early dialogue sessions. Dialogues were convened separately with residents of different racial groups in order to create safe spaces for open discussion on tensions in the community and the steps that would be necessary to participate in interventions aimed at healing and overcoming divisions. Research has shown that conducting focus groups with participants of the same sex or race group can effectively create safe spaces for sharing personal experiences of sexism or racism. In a study of HIV/Aids education in schools in southern Africa, Pattman and Chege found that black female participants felt more at ease to express themselves

in single-sex groups and were less concerned about being labelled in derogatory, sexualised ways.[38]

The City of Saints: Working with ministers and the church

Grahamstown is sometimes referred to as the 'City of Saints' because of the large number of Christian churches in the area. Churches represent a significant presence in Grahamstown's history and have considerable influence on the ideas and beliefs of a large proportion of the community. BIS found evidence of this influence at an Anglican service in 2012 attended by two members of the project team. During the service, the white preacher voiced his opinion that public funds should be used to provide basic services, rather than for renaming – using his platform to effectively endorse the KGG campaign. According to Lukuko, members of the predominantly black congregation had no opportunity or power to debate or disagree with this position in that moment.[39]

It was important for the project team to consider whether or not to form partnerships with local churches and religious groups as a means of engaging the Grahamstown community. BIS approached members of the town's clergy with mixed results. Only black and coloured clergy members attended the gathering and their frustration and anger at the lack of participation by their white counterparts resulted in an unwilling-ness to be involved in any further interventions. As in the greater Grahamstown community, it was clear that clergy members were also products of their town's history and this experience reflected broader resentment towards established white institutional power structures. In the view of BIS team members, these issues could only be remedied if white residents were engaged in sustained processes that meaningfully brought about reconciliation and redress for the whole of Grahamstown.

Acknowledging our limitations and adjusting goals

Grahamstown's history of trauma and conflict is far-reaching and deeply ingrained in the lives of all residents. It is important to understand that unresolved conflicts persisted even between residents of the same race: one example is about the capture of anti-apartheid activist and Black Consciousness Movement leader Steve Biko, whose capture by the state security police was wrongly blamed on the last friend he visited before leaving Grahamstown. The impact of incidents like this have largely gone unacknowledged. The layers of hurt uncovered through years of working in Grahamstown stretch far deeper than recent local conflicts.

Understanding this meant that the project team needed to acknowledge its own limitations. Although the original goal of the Grahamstown intervention was to reconcile a post-conflict community, this was adjusted given the context and needs of residents. Rather, BIS aimed to capacitate a group of residents to pursue reconciliation work in Grahamstown, in their own time and at the right time. Approximately 100 learners were trained in oral history methods and another group of community members were taught how to conduct survey-based research using the Everyday Healing Indicators.[40] Some Grahamstown residents who participated in BIS interventions now intend to establish a non-profit organisation that will serve as an umbrella group forum for various formations involved in local healing initiatives.

BIS team members hope that these groups will continue to address the long-term tensions and deeply nuanced trauma within the community and bring Grahamstown closer to reconciliation.

Vryheid: The importance of building relationships

Vryheid is a small inland town in KwaZulu-Natal, located about 315 km from Durban, with a population of just over 47 000. The majority of residents are black, but Vryheid is also home to minority communities of white, coloured and Indian residents. The main languages spoken in the area are Zulu, Afrikaans and English. The geography of Vryheid continues to reflect apartheid town planning and a history of forced removals. Most white residents live in the town centre, while coloured and Indian residents live in the peripheral area of Lakeside. Most black residents live about 30 km outside of the Vryheid town centre, in an area called Mondlo.

Residents also face different challenges. Members of the black, coloured and Indian communities struggle with high levels of unemployment, economic exclusion, crime and limited access to education. There is also a lack of support from the municipality around community initiatives such as arts groups.

The BIS intervention in Vryheid began with the MAC project and initially focused on the arts. MAC hosted workshops on making and using indigenous musical instruments, in addition to producing five local documentaries for the *African Identities* film project. From 2013 onwards the CH, AKYLDP, GJR and SOHP projects also initiated interventions in Vryheid.

Historical conflict and context

There are very few written accounts of the history of Vryheid – most of these focus on the Dutch Reformed Church and the experiences of the white community. According to these texts, numerous battles were fought in the areas now known as Newcastle, Vryheid and Dundee: first between the Voortrekkers and the Zulus, then between the British and the Zulus and eventually between the Boers and the British during the Anglo-Boer War.[41,42]

Conflict over land ownership is a key feature of both written narratives and local oral histories in Vryheid and surrounding areas. Some texts embraced by white landowners maintain that the Zulu King Dinizulu gave land to the Boers as a gesture of gratitude for their support and assistance in his victory at the Battle of Tshaneni.[43] Zulu oral histories, on the other hand, suggest that there were no white combatants in the battle and that the land was in fact stolen from local indigenous residents. Against the backdrop of many further divisions and the structural traumas of both colonialism and apartheid, the legacies of these contested histories brought with them far-reaching consequences for Vryheid. BIS was unable to find records or evidence that any attempts to deal with this contested history had ever taken place before 2012.

Challenges entering the community of Vryheid

When BIS first began working in Vryheid, different methods were used to try recruiting participants. These included walking through the town and interacting

with residents, as well as contacting local churches, councillors and arts groups.

Project leader Nosindiso Mtimkulu found that black participants were willing to join the interventions on her first visit to Vryheid. As a black first-language Zulu speaker, Mtimkulu observed that she was able to communicate easily and shared ideas and a common understanding of culture with black residents.

Recruiting coloured, white and Indian participants proved more difficult. This is perhaps to be expected: the results of the 2015 South African Reconciliation Barometer (SARB) survey show that 67.3% of South Africans have little or no trust in people of other races. Interaction between people of different race groups tends to be concentrated in public places, such as in shopping centres, educational institutions and at work, rather than in intimate spaces such as homes, where stronger relationships can be formed.[44] It was clear that in Vryheid, as in Grahamstown, engaging participants of other race groups would require a different approach in order to develop trust and form genuine connections.

Even taking this context into consideration, working in a community characterised by a lack of trust and limited interaction between residents of different races was challenging and even hostile at times. One example is captured through an excerpt from the project leader's field notes:

> We were introduced to this restaurant by one of our [white] participants. While we [the black film crew] were filming her story, the manager of the place was quite perplexed, to the point of asking 'Who are you people?'. When we visited on another occasion, without our friend, the reception we received was … hostile. After speaking to our friend, who in turn spoke to the owner of the restaurant, the reception changed markedly.[45]

Members of the BIS team found that, while white participants were ultimately willing to share their stories and contribute to the making of a documentary film, none would take part in workshops or dialogue events addressing issues of identity and community with residents of other race groups.

Authenticity and trust-building
In order to encourage Vryheid residents to connect with the BIS team, it was important for people to understand that our objective was to form relationships across the community, without simply imposing our own agenda on participants. This required an approach that was authentic and participant-centred and that recognised community knowledge, lives and experiences and responded to the priorities of residents. It was also important to speak with residents in their preferred language when possible, which was often isiZulu, or to facilitate translations if necessary. Further, the BIS team found that it was also necessary to acknowledge the beliefs and values of participants upfront. In Vryheid, some participants wanted to pray before workshops started, while others who preferred not to join in prayer were encouraged to take a moment of silence and practise an internal centring exercise.

The context in Vryheid also meant that the BIS team was challenged to find ways to build relationships and win the trust of community members outside of events like

workshops and dialogues and to show genuine interest in residents as people. Project leaders spent time with participants in their homes, at social events like parties, in local bars and supporting local talent, for example, by accompanying DJ Kurt Robson to his performances. These proved natural and spontaneous ways to form genuine and lasting relationships with community members.

Unemployment is high in Vryheid and affects young people in particular, including many participants in BIS interventions. In one case, a young woman who had left university in her third year owing to financial difficulties had been searching for a job for a while. A project leader took the initiative to assist her in applying for a number of jobs and as a result she ultimately found employment. Although this was by no means a sustainable solution for addressing youth unemployment levels in the area, it went a long way to confirming the team's commitment and interest in the livelihoods of the people with which we worked.

The impact of valuable connectors

Ultimately, the BIS team found that the only way white participants could be recruited effectively was through relying on valuable connectors with whom project leaders formed relationships. For example, participant Ntokozo Ntshalintshali took the initiative to walk through Vryheid, specifically for the purpose of meeting white residents and telling them about the IJR and local BIS interventions. Ntshalintshali was responsible for recruiting the first white community member to attend a workshop, as well as a journalist from the *Vryheid Herald*, who attended a workshop and subsequently published an article profiling the project.

Team members also identified valuable connectors through normal, everyday interactions with community members. For example, a project leader staying at a local guest house met the manager who, following a conversation about the IJR's work, became very excited and enthusiastic about the need for people to get to know each other better in Vryheid. She arranged meetings between the project leader and a number of town residents.[46] Through their personal networks and relationships, participants Tracy Moolman and Kurt Robson facilitated valuable inroads into the white and coloured communities, respectively. As a result of the critical role of these connectors, the BIS project team was ultimately able to work with a diverse group of participants of different ages, languages, genders and races. Notably, in this case it was not local leaders or representatives, such as councillors or government officials, who effectively connected BIS with community members and participants. Rather, the influence and power lay with local people who believed in the work that was being done. This was significant in illustrating how 'ordinary' community members, with support and motivation, can have influence across traditional divides and boundaries.

A sustained presence allows for unexpected changes

Work in Vryheid also confirmed that relationships can be formed and an impact achieved among those not directly participating in workshops or other interventions. For example, a lodge hosted a series of BIS workshops between 2012 and 2014. At the outset of the five-year intervention period, BIS team members questioned whether participants were being treated respectfully by staff and several facilitators indicated

that they had been the subject of racially offensive comments by management. However, project leaders observed changes at the establishment over time. The owner acknowledged that BIS was doing good work in Vryheid and recognised the support provided for his business. Gradually, all participants were treated with respect and were even asked about their satisfaction with the lodge's services. It seemed as though the continued presence of the team encouraged staff to confront their views about 'the Other' in ways which they had previously not been challenged to do.

Change sometimes requires patience and persistence

Vryheid is an example of the successful outcome of a process of persistently pursuing the goal of achieving inclusive interventions. It took the BIS team three years to effectively connect with white residents, who only joined dialogues and workshops in 2014. After working to address issues of identity, build trust and strive for inclusive processes, meaningful engagement between residents of different race groups ultimately began taking place.

In 2015, BIS hosted a workshop in which a group of local white women offered skills training in crochet to a group of predominantly young, unemployed coloured men – often stereotyped as criminals, lacking ambition and with little interest in engaging with white residents. Through this experience of skills transfer and crocheting together, participants shared ideas, developed a mutual respect and gained a better understanding of one another. After the workshop, participating young men continued to crochet on the streets of Vryheid and sold their finished products, proudly mastering what is often viewed as a 'feminine' craft. This is only one example of the impact of persistent long-term work.

After five years in Vryheid, the BIS team managed to recruit residents from across race groups to participate in reconciliation processes and engage with one another through difficult conversations across historic dividing lines. Consistent and sustained processes enable a better understanding of community dynamics and networks and can encourage innovative ways of meeting people, gaining trust and building relationships.

Warrenton: Sustainability does not happen overnight

Warrenton is located in the Northern Cape, 76 km from the town of Kimberley, which, together with Hartswater, is the nearest economic hub. Most residents speak Afrikaans, Tswana and English. Despite historic apartheid divides, some coloured residents speak Tswana and some black residents speak Afrikaans, evidence of the relationships between these two communities – particularly before apartheid and the regulation of residential areas and marriages. BIS interventions in Warrenton were initiated by the SOHP and later the MAC, AKYLDP, CH and Gender Justice and Reconciliation (GJR) projects also conducted workshops in the area with residents, school learners and community leaders.

Warrenton in context

Warrenton is part of a rural, sparsely populated province and the extensive poverty is

painfully visible. Among residents, there is a sense that the Northern Cape – and its neglected rural communities in particular – has not experienced the fruits of freedom and democracy. Warrenton was previously a railway junction en route to Kimberley, Johannesburg and Mafikeng and was affected by the downscaling of these lines during the mid-1990s. The town continues to be characterised by high rates of unemployment.[47]

Like the rest of South Africa, the landscape of the Northern Cape continues to be racially divided. White residents of Warrenton live in the town centre, while the historic black and coloured residential areas of Ikhutseng and Warrenvale are on the periphery, separated by the N12 road. As in Vryheid, there are few written texts documenting the history of the town, with the exception of a master's dissertation dating to 1982, which focuses on the Dutch Reformed Church and the development of the white town centre from 1882 onwards.[48]

Readiness and willingness of community partners is essential for long-term success

After evaluating the Warrenton-Hartswater corridor area, it was initially the project leader's intention to begin the initiative in Hartswater – a well-established central economic hub to outlying towns, with a diverse population. Project leader Cecyl Esau arranged a meeting with the assistant to the mayor in order to begin building a relationship with the mayor's office. However, in response, Esau was told that the planned BIS interventions were outside of the jurisdiction of the municipality. Esau anticipated that finding participants would be challenging without the support of the municipality and mayor's office and decided to start the project in a neighbouring area, incorporating the Hartswater community at a later stage.

Warrenton is located in the Magareng municipality, whereas Jan Kempdorp, Pampierstad and Hartswater fall within the Phokwane municipality. A meeting with the municipal manager confirmed that Magareng was more supportive and open to the planned BIS interventions.

The project team was then referred to a number of local contacts, including a librarian who had established a number of satellite libraries and was closely connected to many area residents. She was also interested in re-establishing a museum that had previously been housed in the library until it closed and the artefacts were removed. There was a clear synergy and shared purpose between the SOHP and the Warrenton library, with the aims of documenting forgotten histories and restoring inclusive narratives to the community. Through this partnership, the BIS team was also introduced to a number of other key individuals in Warrenton, including Shadrach Theys – affectionately known as 'Oom Theys'.[49] A ward committee member, Theys was passionate about community-led development and headed the Soft Voice Cooperative, which ran a backyard vegetable gardening initiative. The support of these partners meant that, even when BIS team members were not physically in the area, our work continued and was sustained by community members.

It was important, though, to consider the needs and priorities of our partners – each also had programmes of their own. For such partnerships to come to life successfully, the initiator should take on much of the work upfront, until the conditions of the partnership have been agreed.

Encouraging inclusive community leadership

The BIS approach is one in which communities are engaged, not as recipients of projects or services, but rather as active role players in establishing and driving local interventions and adjusting aims and focus when necessary. In Warrenton, the first step towards initiating a community-led process was through an Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) workshop held in 2015.[50] The ABCD methodology was tailored for the specific needs of Warrenton residents and encouraged participants to focus not on what they lacked, but rather to take stock of existing community assets and consider how these could be used to created meaningful change. This was significant, as impoverished communities often become trapped in the mindset that development has to come from the outside, for example from government or other external role players. After the workshop, participants began recognising their own roles as drivers of social change in their communities. This workshop was followed up with sessions on the importance of networking with neighbouring communities and building on the broader assets of the region.

Makhoresta, an agricultural cooperative started by a small group of men who established a food garden in the community, benefited significantly from this workshop. Learning the ABCD methodology led to a broadening of the scope of their work and other workshop participants joined the cooperative. Makhoresta strengthened its internal organisation structures and established important links with both the National Youth Development Agency and the national Department of Agriculture.

The changes that resulted in Warrenton were so significant following the ABCD workshop that the Magareng Information Sharing and Entrepreneurial Development Forum (referred to as the Ambassadors Forum) was established. The forum consisted of some Makhoresta members and other members of the community who were ready to take on leadership roles or who saw themselves as representatives of the work that BIS had started in their community. This was the first community-initiated step towards establishing a core group of local leaders who could sustain justice and reconciliation work in the area.[51] Forum members continue to assist BIS in arranging workshops, encourage active participation of local residents, communicate important information between BIS and the community and act as role models for leadership and change in Warrenton. The success of the Ambassadors Forum underscores the importance of building leadership structures with people who may already be actively involved in the community and also see the importance of forming networks, pursuing opportunities and facilitating the flow of information.

This intervention was, however, not without its challenges. One-on-one consultations revealed that there was a lack of mutual respect between some forum members, which limited the effectiveness of the group. This was addressed by electing joint coordinators and exploring ways of better working together as part of a broader implementation strategy.[52]

Sustainability requires resources and hard work

In the experience of the BIS team, the sustainability of an intervention often depends on both the presence of project leaders and the continued commitment of other

stakeholders. This was a challenge in Warrenton, despite high levels of participation by both the BIS team and community members – some initiatives remain incomplete, even after the five-year period. The oral history process, for example, is unfinished, as similar processes need to take place in ten different areas simultaneously. This is always a risk when resources, including people and funding, are spread too thin and sometimes more can be achieved when time, energy and budget are concentrated in a single geographic area.

Another challenge was the intermittent, rather than permanent, presence of the BIS team in Warrenton. Important monthly municipal meetings can be missed, for example, without the continued presence of a project leader. Understanding the workings and impact of local dynamics and how these interact with regional and national developments is also difficult to gauge through periodic field visits.

This implementation approach therefore carries risks, including the possibility of working past state-led or other complementary interventions, inadvertently duplicating other work, or even hampering (and being hampered by) parallel competing processes. This is not to say that it is impossible to attain sustainability under these conditions. The advantage of not being based in the community is that the BIS team were compelled to be community-oriented, to support the establishment of local leadership forums and to actively encourage participants to take on independent initiatives.[53]

Reflections on local-level, long-term reconciliation work in South Africa

The three case studies discussed above had differing results. This section identifies a number of the lessons learnt through these processes.

When and where should you engage in local-level interventions?

South Africa's history has left the country with visible and invisible wounds. Continuous, well-thought-out interventions and programmes are necessary to address this history of conflict and trauma, virtually across the entire country. As seen in Grahamstown, historic and underlying tensions can resurface in unexpected ways and interventions conducted in times of relative peace may ultimately help communities to withstand disunity and even prepare them to cope with conflict. However, initiating community work when tensions are already rising – as was the case with growing animosity surrounding the bicentennial commemoration and debate over the renaming of Grahamstown – can make it difficult to engage with some sectors of the community. As a result, interventions may end up focusing on conflict management.

Who should you work with?

Understanding the local historic context is vital in influencing who you work with in different communities. Group identities and perceptions of others (both inside and

outside a community) are shaped by historic as well as present tensions. These tensions influence levels of engagement, but can also reveal the natural starting point of a new intervention. Background research should be conducted using sources such as newspaper archives, historical records and academic articles. However, as is evident in the three cases analysed in this chapter, knowledge and historical facts and narratives are not always written down. It is also important to have conversations with community residents who are diverse in terms of age, race, gender, employment status and duration of residency, in order to better understand the context in which you are working.

As was found in Grahamstown, understanding the local historical context provided insight into resistance among white residents to participate in initiatives promoting reconciliation and redress. As a result, the BIS team determined that residents were not ready to take part in multiracial dialogues and it would be more effective to engage separately with members of different identity groups. Ultimately, this also meant that limited time and resources were better spent engaging with more willing partici-pants, rather than trying to convince sceptics.

Knowing some community history is absolutely necessary. If you do not understand the partnerships, conflicts, challenges and successes of a community, particularly those of the recent past, interveners run the risk of increasing tensions. Time spent making amends and winning back trust can compromise project goals.

Relationship-building is key

In most communities, it is challenging for an outsider to visit and immediately achieve buy-in and support for a new initiative. This is particularly true within South Africa, given low levels of interpersonal trust, particularly between people of different races. Immediate and complete trust is not a given, even when an intervener may share a similar background, culture or language with community members. Building trust and lasting relationships requires time, energy, resources and creative strategies for engaging people:

- Making yourself visible through wearing branded apparel from your organisation or project, attending community events, reaching out to organisations and institutions and talking to people in shops and local hang-outs are all important ways of meeting people and building connections with residents.
- Being authentic and demonstrating genuine interest in people's lives are also invaluable to the process.
- Allowing participants to speak their own languages and express their religious and cultural beliefs also went a long way in developing mutual trust.
- It is also critically important to design interventions that are participatory and respond to the unique needs of each community.
- Lastly, remember that community members are the experts on their own lives and that agendas for change should be set by them, not by well-intentioned outsiders.

Influential connectors are valuable to the process

Finding participants in any intervention depends on successfully building trust and becoming part of a community. Living locally is an important way of achieving this trust, but it is not the only way. Partnering with well-connected, trusted or influential community members and groups can sometimes serve the same purpose. These connectors often know how to attract others and their support will lend authority to your interventions. Find these connectors and start with them, even if only through casual conversations, as was the case with the manager of the guest house in Vryheid.

Encourage community leadership from the start

Successful community-led, sustained interventions depend on encouraging local leadership. This is especially true of reconciliation work in areas characterised by high levels of poverty and inequality in which residents can often become trapped in thinking that development needs to be driven by people outside the community.

As shown earlier in this chapter, the ABCD workshop held in Warrenton represented a turning point for a number of project participants. This methodology, tailored to the local context, proved extremely effective in enabling community members to recognise their own role as drivers of social change early on in the project. Greater impact was achieved through training, mentoring and strengthening the ability of local leaders to work together collectively and within their own projects and initiatives. Participants can also be encouraged to expand the scope of their work and build new networks and connections. It is important to consistently use participant-centred approaches in which interveners support participants to drive change and generate new ideas.

Helping participants understand the strengths of their community and the roles they can play in building on those strengths is an important step in creating sustainable initiatives that live on without the supervision of an outside intervener or facilitator.

Build something that can be used to sustain the process

In order to support a sustained process, it may be necessary to create a community-led structure or structures, such as the Ambassadors Forum in Warrenton. This can also be achieved effectively through partnerships with existing structures. Strong structures that are community-owned and -led often remain intact as long as they are needed. Interveners can also provide support in terms of training and mentoring in strategies for organisational development, dealing with internal conflict, public speaking and communication and strategy.

Collaborative teamwork

The shift within BIS to a more collaborative working approach proved very effective. Different team members were able to work with and bring together different sectors and groups within communities. Team members were also able to support, monitor and evaluate projects and activities in each community, affording more opportunities

to adapt initiatives and strategies that were not working, respond to contextual changes and build one another's capacity. This collaboration can also help to identify weaknesses within a team, blind spots in a community and times when partnerships are necessary for a successful intervention.

Going forward within BIS, this approach should be prioritised and fine-tuned for the programme to achieve greater impact overall. Key factors contributing to a successful collaborative approach are:

- Agreed-upon goals and values;
- Respect for the competencies and perspectives of other team members; and
- A willingness to learn from others.

Conclusion

CSOs need to find new, effective models of working that consciously try to create trust between the organisation and the intended participants. We recognise that there are many ways to fill the gaps in civil society in South Africa. The IJR has piloted targeted, multidisciplinary and long-term justice and reconciliation work and we encourage other CSOs to document their strategies for working in order to create a more holistic knowledge base for reconciliation work in South Africa and other post-conflict societies.

ENDNOTES

1   In the Northern Cape, BIS worked in the areas of Jan Kempdorp, Pampierstad and Hartswater (Warrenton-Hartswater corridor), but the analysis contained in this chapter focuses specifically on the case of Warrenton. Additional interventions also took place in Worcester (Western Cape) and Calvinia (Northern Cape).

2   In this context, 'long-term' refers to the five-year intervention period, 2012–2016. Future interventions may still be planned for the targeted communities.

3   BIS five-year plan, internal document (2012).

4   This sociological term refers to the defining of 'us' and 'them' categories within society and the formation of oppositional identity groups. Its origins are traced to the work of Herbert Mead, referring to ideas of similarity and difference attributed to how we identify ourselves in relation to others. For example, women may be 'the Other' to men, black people may be 'the Other' to white people, and so on. See Mead H (1934) *Mind, Self and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago, and Said E (1978) *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.

5   Mubangizi B (2009) Community development and service delivery in South Africa: Work, workers and challenges. *Journal of Public Administration* 44(3): 437.

6   Leonard L (2014) Characterising civil society and its challenges in post-apartheid South Africa. *Social Dynamics* 40(2): 371–391.

7   Fioramonti L (2005) Civil society and democratisation: Assumptions, dilemmas and the South African experience. *Theoria* 107: 65–88.

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9   Ibid.: 113.

10 Habib A & Kotzé H (2003) Civil society, governance and development in an era of globalisation: The South African case. In: G Mhone & O Edigheji (eds) *Governance in the New South Africa*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

11 Ibid.: 260.

12 Ibid.: 261.

13 Ibid.: 262.

14 Lehman (2008): 117.

15 Whitehead T (2002) *Community-Based Interventions, Definitions and Types*. The Cultural Ecology of Health and Change Working Paper Series: Working Paper 2. University of Maryland.

16 Fioramonti L & Fiori A (2010) The changing roles of civil society in democratisation: Evidence from South Africa (1990–2009) and South Korea (1987–2009). *African and Asian Studies* 9: 83–104.

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20 Kingdon G & Knight J (2007) Unemployment in South Africa 1995–2003: Causes, problems and policies. *Journal of African Economies* 16(5): 813–848.

21 Khumalo P (2013) The dynamics of poverty and poverty alleviation in South Africa. *Gender & Behaviour* 11(2): 5643–5652.

22 An example of this was the public discourse around youth activism during the student protests of 2015 and 2016. Discussion was framed around the assumption that university fees were an issue affecting all young people across the country and neglected to take into account the experiences and struggles of many rural youths without access to universities and other institutions of higher learning.

23 BIS five-year plan (2012).

24 We recognise that language does not guarantee cultural similarity or the automatic building of relationships. Rather, language intersects with other forms of social identification and the agency of actors to construct meaning from interactions. See Hall J (2012) Language and identity. In: C Candlin & D Hall (eds) *Teaching and Researching: Language and Culture*. 2nd ed. London: Longman.

25 Ibid.

26 This baseline assessment was conducted by one project leader analysing available data, including interview texts, field observations and desktop research. As such, it is a subjective assessment.

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39 Interview with Kenneth Lukuko (2016).

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42 NG Gemeente Vryheid (n.d.) *NG Kerk: Die Gemeente Vryheid, 1886–1961*. NG Gemeente Vryheid.

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45 Memory Arts and Culture, field notes (2012).

46 Ibid.

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TARGETED WORK WITH IDENTITY GROUPS FOR RECONCILIATION

Eleanor du Plooy with Kenneth Lukuko and Leila Emdon

In many South African communities, there is limited social contact between people of different groups. Specific sources of division also exist within and between each community, with context-specific challenges and opportunities. This limited social contact between South African communities has its roots in the legacies of colonialism and apartheid. This 'apartness' – which was legislated and institutionalised by the state – permeated nearly all spheres of life in South Africa from 1948 to 1994. In essence, contact between citizens was limited and this principle of non-contact became commonplace in South African society.

The formal policies of separation as implemented by the apartheid regime were mainly along racial lines, with the explicit aim of limiting interracial contact. It is therefore not surprising that the major social fault line that exists within South African society today continues to be 'race' and its various intersections with other social divisions like class. In our view, promoting interracial contact is critical to fostering reconciliation and promoting social cohesion.

In speaking about 'race', the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) unequivocally states that 'race' is a social construct and that it does not exist in either biological or physical terms. Yet for centuries people have treated race as something more than a construct and have committed the vilest atrocities because of meanings attached to it. According to Foster and Wale, 'race as a social construction becomes real experience through the multiple processes of everyday life and the use of

language'.[1] Many people across the world have suffered greatly because of the reification of 'race'. It is no wonder, then, that our understanding of 'race' and the ways in which it organises South African communities continues to be the primary deterrent to reconciliation.

The country's first democratic elections abolished the laws and acts of the apartheid state that had dehumanised entire groups of people; however, they had already left their mark by disfiguring the social fabric of the country. Despite the abolishment of the state-sanctioned, non-contact social order, its effects on the physical landscape and the collective psyche of South Africa are still evident. Today, enshrined in the Bill of Rights of the 1996 Constitution, South Africans enjoy the freedom of association, but, more than two decades later, persistent patterns of inequality, a slow-paced transformation agenda and unrelenting racial tensions and racism continue to deepen the social divisions within South African communities. The formal policies of segregation have permeated into spatial planning, practice and tradition and tend to operate in insidious and often 'invisible' ways. We have to ask ourselves how far South Africa as a society has come in challenging and overcoming the legacies of centuries of separation and what is needed in order to forge new ways of being.

As pervasive as racial intolerance is, legacies of 'apartness' are not confined solely to racialised identities, but extend to gender, class, culture, ethnicity, age, education and language and vary between minority and majority status groups, as well as rural and urban contexts. Each of these identity groups has challenges with which it has to contend in intergroup interactions – these challenges correspond to the difference in status between identity groups[2] and will be explored in detail in this chapter.

This analysis is theoretically grounded in the 'contact hypothesis', which proposes that 'positive intergroup contact is capable of reducing intergroup prejudice and improving intergroup relations'.[3] In some way, when intergroup contact is optimal, it can cause behavioural changes and ultimately attitudinal shifts. When positive intergroup contact is established within the given contact situation, it can facilitate the development of new norms of intergroup acceptance, which in turn, could be generalised to other contact situations and ultimately toward sentiments held regarding the out-group as a whole. Despite robust empirical support for contact theory and its development into an integrative theory, it is still critiqued, particularly when applied to the South African context. A major criticism of the contact hypothesis is 'that it assumes that race is a given and visible and that racialised groups are bounded, homogeneous and stable'.[4]

A key objective of the Building an Inclusive Society (BIS) intervention plan is the concrete and active building and support of communities at peace with themselves. A crucial aspect of building inclusive societies is bringing together people who, due to the apartheid policies of segregation and its structural and psychological legacies, have not traditionally interacted in meaningful ways.[5] The model of 'mile-deep, inch-wide' or targeted longitudinal intergroup work for reconciliation between identity groups has underpinned BIS interventions. This methodology is guided by the assumption that working over an extended period of time with the same group yields more positive outcomes and ensures the sustainability of interventions.

In this chapter, we explore:

- Whether interracial contact between South Africans has enhanced reconciliation and furthered social cohesion;
- What opportunities exist for interracial contact;
- How effective targeted longitudinal intergroup work is for reconciliation; and
- Whether longitudinal intergroup work can allow for the emergence of marginalised and minority voices.

We will be looking at three case studies:

1. The Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project;
2. The Community Healing project's Siyakha Forum; and
3. The Memory, Arts and Culture project's *African Identities: Shades of Belonging* documentary films.

The contact hypothesis

History is full of examples of what happens when groups encounter members from a different group. Many times, this contact can worsen relations with that group, particularly when there is competition for resources: 'Contact could confirm our worst fears, promote prejudice and discrimination.'[6] Gordon Allport has received credit and is widely recognised as the person who has developed the positive version of contact theory. This positive version posits that, given optimal conditions, intergroup contact between antagonistic groups will reduce prejudice and as a result *improve* intergroup relations. Allport states that there are four prerequisite conditions for intergroup contact to be successful at reducing intergroup prejudice and conflict:

1. Equal group status within the contact situation;
2. Common goals;
3. Intergroup cooperation; and
4. Authority support.

These four conditions have until recently been viewed as the main prerequisites for prejudice reduction and Allport's formulation of intergroup contact has sparked robust and extensive research into conditions that facilitate prejudice reduction:

> These investigations range across a variety of groups, situations and societies. Going beyond a focus on racial and ethnic groups, investigators have tested the theory with participants of varying ages and with target groups as diverse as elderly, physically disabled and mentally ill participants.[7]

An important review of contact hypothesis (and major contribution to the research) was conducted by Thomas Pettigrew and Linda Tropp.[8] The review analysed 515 individual studies that had been conducted between 1940 and 2000, combining 25 089 individuals from 38 countries. Results showed the persistence of prejudice

reductions. One of the most important findings of this meta-analysis of contact theory was that it was *not* the aforementioned Allportian prerequisite conditions that were responsible for prejudice reduction, but *contact itself*. In general, there is substantial evidence that contact can lead to reduction in prejudice between groups and can contribute to improved relations between groups.

According to Swart and colleagues, there are still some gaps in the literature and research done on contact theory: 'These include a full understanding of both the affective mechanisms that underlie the temporal contact–prejudice relationship and the precise relationship between contact and prejudice over time.'[9] In efforts to understand the link between contact and improved group relations, theoretical considerations suggest a number of pathways in respect of mediators. Research suggests that there are three common affective mediators of intergroup contact effects:

1. Intergroup anxiety is a strong negative mediator. When someone anticipates that future intergroup encounters are likely to have negative psychological, behavioural or evaluative consequences for themselves, they are more likely to experience anxiety. This can inhibit individuals from engaging in intergroup contact and thus promotes prejudice. 'These negative expectations … might be brought about by a lack of prior intergroup contact … or negatively skewed outgroup knowledge and stereotypes.'[10] Often stereotypes – and, more specifically, meta-stereotypes[11] – contribute to the anxiety associated with contact.
2. Empathy and factors that support friendship and other positive emotions provide pathways for reduction of prejudice. Intergroup friendships often provide the context for contact in which many of the important conditions for positive inter-group contact can be met.[12]
3. Outgroup knowledge has an effect, albeit to a lesser degree, 'in that contact has the potential of improving accurate knowledge of the "others" and displacing negative stereotypes'.[13]

Recent research has shown that there are significant differences in the contact processes within majority and minority identity groups and that there are distinct ways in which members of minority and majority status groups might respond to intergroup contact.[14] These differences can be attributed to many factors, including differences in histories and lived experience. Social relations, the magnitude of these relations and intergroup contact differ significantly for majority and minority status groups. 'These differences may reflect how the two categories view relations between the groups. Those with less power may continue to be wary of close relations due to recognition of their devaluation in the past.'[15] Both majority and minority groups have challenges to contend with; these are often related to and broadly correspond with groups' differences in status:

> The concerns of members of majority status groups typically involve being perceived as prejudiced by individuals lower in status, whereas the concerns for members of minority status groups involve becoming the target of prejudice from individuals higher in status.[16]

Research on contact processes among and between minority and majority status groups suggests that there is also a difference in the ways in which these status groups think of their intergroup relations, as well as how they define these relations. It has been argued that members of majority status groups, relative to members from minority status groups, generally give less consideration to and are less aware of their group's privileged status. The inverse holds true for minority status groups: in contrast to majority status groups, members of minority status groups tend to be more aware of their group's devalued status.[17, 18]

The South African context

The South African historical record is dominated by accounts of intergroup conflict. The oppressive apartheid policies drastically reduced and violently limited contact across racialised groups and consisted of legalised segregation that operated on three levels:

> Macro involving separate citizenship and states (the 'homeland' or 'Bantustan' policy); meso-levels in terms of the Group Areas Act and separate institutions such as schools and hospitals; and micro involving interpersonal and intimate separation such as no mixed marriages, sexual relations nor even shared park benches.[19]

The legacies of apartheid remain salient within South African society and continue to inform the mental framework of many South Africans. With democracy came a shift of political power in the country – from white minority rule to black majority rule. Despite the change in political power, white South Africans continue to enjoy a socio-economic advantage over black and coloured South Africans.[20]

Perhaps one of the most damaging legacies of apartheid is that intergroup contact in South Africa remains limited. Schools and residential areas have remained largely racially homogeneous and the limited contact that does happen is often characterised by feelings of mistrust, unease and even anxiety.

Another detrimental legacy of both apartheid and colonialism is economic inequality. Levels of inequality are high and have been on the rise. 'Social hierarchies and inequalities have a bearing on contact and this degree of material inequality needs to be borne in mind for any social analysis of South Africa.'[21]

The socio-economic reality of South Africa challenges the potential utopianism of the contact hypothesis. This is reflected in the tenacious nature of segregation as a system of organising race relations. The socio-spatial isolation of groups continues to further exacerbate intergroup prejudice. Segregation as a legacy of colonialism and apartheid continues to govern the patterns of interaction and contact between South Africans. It is nowhere more evident than in the spatial ordering of communities. In real terms, very few opportunities exist for meaningful interaction between identity groups.

Targeted longitudinal intergroup work for reconciliation

In this section we explore how the BIS guiding principle of 'mile-deep, inch-wide', targeted longitudinal intergroup work for reconciliation between identity groups reduces prejudice and how the creation of safe spaces enables processes of reconciliation by looking at the following case studies:

- The first case study examines the effect of intergroup contact between young South Africans in the Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project, and their attempts at navigating this new social terrain and making sense of their role in society.
- The second case study brings into focus the ways in which community-led reconciliation processes are enhanced by intergroup contact in the Community Healing project's Siyakha Forum.
- The third case study explores the differences in the contact processes within majority and minority identity groups, with a focus on gender and the LGBTIQ+[22] identity group.

⦿ CASE STUDY 1:
The Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project

The Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project (AKYLDP) draws its inspiration from young political activists such as youth leader Ashley Kriel from the Cape Flats in the Western Cape who was murdered by the apartheid regime in the 1980s. The archetypal representative of 1980s student and youth leadership, he is a symbol of and for youth activism in its many forms, as well as a symbol of the very real potential that the youth wields for bringing about social change.

The main objectives of the project are:

- To strengthen the capacity of young people in order to recognise and take ownership of their agency through building their assets and ultimately realising their full potential;
- To foster a sense of national cohesion, while acknowledging the existence of diverse circumstances and needs by providing opportunities to address these;
- To create a wider range of ways of learning; and
- To provide young people with multiple avenues and exit opportunities for making the transition from youth to adulthood.

The AKYLDP engages the youth in dialogues on various platforms, including physical and electronic, from which to promote conversations on issues that are pertinent to youth leadership and development. The project aims to encourage, nurture and further develop the ability of young people to engage critically with their social context. By connecting a cross section of the youth from various sectors of society, it endeavours to generate meaningful dialogue through which personal and historical

perspectives are acknowledged and inclusive narratives are explored. The project hinges on the principle of leadership development through knowledge production and sharing.

Participants in the project indicate their interest in being part of the leadership development programme through applications at the beginning of a new year. They do so in the form of written pieces and voice or video recordings. Successful applicants spend an initial five full days together at an IJR youth camp getting to know one another and sharing their stories and lived experiences. Afterwards, participants reconvene once a month for six months at workshop sessions. These workshops and dialogues engage the youth on the topics of history, youth activism, memory and the relationship between the past and the present.

Through interactions with one another in various historical spaces in and around Cape Town, participants are able to reflect on their personal stories in relation to their peers and to recognise the potential they have in bringing about positive change, not only in their personal lives but also in their communities.

Demographic breakdown

In Cape Town, the project has a core group of 30 young people who display leadership potential and who are interested in engaging critically with issues pertaining to social justice and reconciliation. The group comprises out-of-school, employed and unemployed youth and also students from three universities[23] and from Further Education and Training colleges in Cape Town. Many of the university students are not from Cape Town and come from as far as Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal. This brings an interesting dynamic to the group and added richness to the conversations. Particular care is taken in the selection of the participants to ensure that the group comprises young black, white, coloured and Indian South Africans to facilitate maximum interracial contact between participants.

Youth and intergroup contact: Proximity shifts perceptions

Before attending the IJR youth camp and the workshop sessions that followed, many of the participants self-identified as being open and tolerant of others and highlighted the need to acknowledge people's differences. The workshop exercises, however, revealed that many of the participants had very limited social interaction and/or meaningful conversations with people who were different from them. One of the major barriers to meaningful connections between these young people was race and perceptions of class differences.

The IJR's South African Reconciliation Barometer[24] (SARB) measures the levels of interracial contact in two different environments. The first kind of contact refers to interracial talk and the second to interracial socialisation. According to the SARB, it is the second kind of contact – interracial socialisation – that is most effective in reducing prejudice and negative stereotypes:

> Social environments are more likely to create a sense of equality and personal interaction. Through social interracial contact, it is also more likely that individuals will reciprocally recognise their shared humanity

and come to learn about and be concerned with, the lived experience of different people.[25]

A major insight the SARB has to offer, which has implications for contact theory and how we understand reconciliation, is the extent to which class inequality has become a key mediating factor for interracial integration in South Africa:

> The 2013 SARB proposed the concept of radical reconciliation on the basis of these findings to argue that reconciliation needs to respond to the realities of sustained socio-economic exclusion by those who were also marginalised under apartheid.[26]

There is a prominent relationship between class and race, especially in terms of material exclusion. Centuries of colonialism and the brutality of apartheid culminated in the legacy of a mutually reinforcing system of racial discrimination and class inequality. Black South Africans remain the majority of the materially excluded, with only a few managing to climb the social ladder through policies of economic empowerment. Yet these economic policies have done little in the way of uplifting the masses of poor and disenfranchised. As a result, the interracial class inequality among black South Africans has widened. This, in turn, has resulted in sustaining the race/class system that underpinned apartheid.

> For both everyday interracial talk and interracial socialisation, the poorest of South Africans report the lowest levels of contact and socialisation, followed by the lowest Living Standards Measures (LSMs)[27] and then the wealthiest LSMs.[28]

A noteworthy finding of the SARB in relation to interracial contact and class is that, whereas the poorest South Africans report the lowest levels of contact and socialisation, the middle and upper LSM groups are becoming more integrated.

At the IJR youth camp and workshop sessions, participants were removed from their comfort zones and brought to a neutral space where levels of education, socio-economic status and language differences held little currency. This, in turn, facilitated the creation of a safe space for interracial contact. Findings from these workshop sessions with young people are in line with the Allportian prerequisite condition of equal group status within the contact situation for intergroup contact to be successful.

Intergroup contact affects how we see people and ourselves. Through social close-ness, it becomes hard to classify people through a single story and stereotypes – and perceptions of the 'other' are challenged in a meaningful way. Longitudinal intergroup contact enabled participants to re-evaluate some of their personal prejudices. When asked whether their personal prejudices had been challenged during the course of the year following IJR interventions, 89% said 'Yes' and the remaining 11% said 'no' (Figure 4.1).

Despite the discomfort that accompanies listening to and sharing different perspectives and narratives, young people recognise that these are important not only

for personal growth, but also for community reconciliation.

> If I only know one-sided tales of history I won't be able to accept and understand another side of it. *Youth participant, IJR Reflection, Inter-generational Dialogue, 26 July 2015*

FIGURE 4.1: Personal prejudices challenged
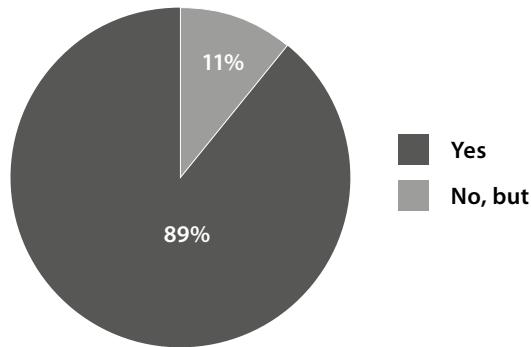
Source: BIS

A willingness to engage with difference is the first step towards enhancing understanding. This awareness encourages youth to develop empathy for the lived experience of others, which, in turn, enables them to become motivated and empowered to build partnerships for reconciliation. As mentioned earlier, feelings of empathy for others are an important mediator of intergroup contact effects, as this positive emotion provides a key pathway for the reduction of prejudice: 'Empathetic responding [is] associated with positive outcomes in interpersonal and intergroup relations.'[29] According to the contact hypothesis, empathetic response would be increased through close friendships. Through cross-group friendships, the context can be created for powerful experiences of feelings of empathy towards those outside of the group. 'Intergroup contact (including cross-group friendships) is positively associated with empathy that in turn, is negatively associated with prejudice.'[30]

> How I judged people has been drastically influenced. My perspective of other races has changed from a generalisation of who different cultural groups are to taking each individual as a different human being. I had a very strong opinion about the black community which I initially thought was based on experience but the programme had made me realise that a lot of my prejudices are because of the influence my parents have on my life. Their opinion about people became my opinion. *Youth participant, IJR Youth Camp 2015*

In addition to the transmission of intergenerational trauma, many young South Africans are subjected to the transmission of prejudice and racism from their parents' generation. It is therefore imperative that youth engage with people who have different

lived experiences and orientations. This opens up spaces for inclusivity and increases appreciation of different narratives.

> My personal prejudices have been challenged. I now have a more accepting heart and a heart willing to actually learn about others and their personal narratives instead of living your own, because narratives do sometimes overlap and it is of great accomplishment to find someone whose narrative is similar to yours although you had your particular prejudices regarding them. *Youth participant, AKYLDP workshop, 2015*

Personal perspectives explaining the past challenged

At the end of a six-month process, 94% of participants said that their personal perspectives explaining the past had changed (Figure 4.2). In South Africa, it is particularly important to diversify the narratives explaining the past.

FIGURE 4.2: Personal perspectives explaining the past changed
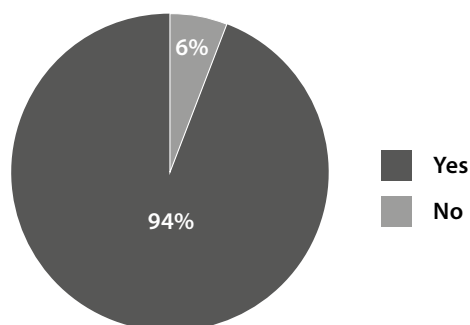
Source: BIS

Through workshops dealing with history, memory, memorialisation and active citizenry, there is a constant process of learning and unlearning, whether these are personal beliefs or whether it is through an exploration of how new knowledge can be internalised and shared. This constant learning and unlearning challenges youth to identify ways to promote community reconciliation. One participant said:

> Yes, everyone's truths will not always make you feel 'nice' but it is necessary because as the youth, the vibrant determined youth we are, the hungry youth, as the youth we have a role to play in changing our society or at least our community. We need to take each lesson we have learnt and somehow work it into our community healing projects. *Youth participant, IJR Youth Camp 2015*

This participant displays an awareness of the need for collective action and collaboration, despite our many differences, to bring about community-level change.

According to Allport, one of the four prerequisite conditions for intergroup contact to be successful at reducing intergroup prejudice and conflict is having common

goals. This enables participants to move beyond traditional barriers to intergroup contact, exposing them to a wider spectrum of perspectives and ideas that could challenge previously held beliefs and prejudice.

> Physically my contexts where I get involved have enlarged to not only where I feel comfortable but to where the need is (this is mostly where I am not comfortable). My political perspective has been given depth as I have been exposed to other political views from different races. Also my perspective on other people's stories has gained weight. They are more important to me to gain knowledge to understand people's views. *Youth participant, AKYLDP dialogue, 2015*

By being aware of the need for collective action, participants who have been part of longitudinal intergroup work for reconciliation can work together in achieving common goals.

◎ CASE STUDY 2:
Siyakha as an interest community

Community healing work addresses the need for further community engagement that encourages historically divided communities to build more inclusive narratives. The IJR has found that, as a result of community healing interventions, communities experience greater awareness about social values and identity, engage in more dialogue and cooperation across traditional barriers and that new generations of leaders have begun to emerge who will carry forward the ethos of inclusivity when guiding community developmental processes.

Context

At the end of 2009, the BIS Community Healing training course[31] took on 190 leaders from the Social Transformation Programme (STP), housed in the office of then-premier of the Western Cape, Ebrahim Rasool. They had been trained in community healing processes in 12-week-long residential workshops,[32] with the idea that, on returning to their community forums, they would enhance prospects for deepening understanding and long-term healing of relations across historical social divisions. By early 2010, however, the STP programme had been discontinued after a change in political administration, and so, too, had the forums from which the trainees had been recruited, resulting in a lost opportunity for trainees to apply their learning. A year-long impact evaluation study was conducted and it revealed that the impact of the training would likely dissipate if no further engagement was done with participants.[33]

A smaller group from the 2009 database was selected using trainee performance monitoring scales developed during the 2009 workshops. The 60 chosen trainees were invited to participate in a roundtable discussion where learnings were presented to the participants, academics and civil society organisations. There was an acceptance

amongst all that a mechanism was needed to maintain the networking ability of community leaders who do volunteer work in vulnerable communities, especially with the STP programme having been shelved.

Within the year, what had been planned as the post-training support programme for visiting trainees in their communities slowly developed into a network forum that met and deliberated regularly. They focused on growing into a standing forum, calling themselves Siyakha, which means 'we are building'.

The social energy generated by the trainees with BIS support, some of whom lived hundreds of kilometres apart, ensured that the positive expectations raised about their potential to change their communities did not sour into feelings of abandonment. This was a view expressed many times by those who had become sceptical about workshops, regarding them as nothing more than 'talk-shops' where nothing ever followed to change the power dynamic for marginalised communities. This harms prospects for the future, as those who become despondent are less likely to believe in change processes to which they are invited in future.

There was also learning from previous community interventions[34] that some participants may not show much promise to implement activities either in the workshop setting or immediately when they return home. However, weeks and months later, they start implementing their learnings as individuals by becoming champions of the ideas with people who had not even been part of the training. In Doringbaai, Elandsbaai and Elsies River, for example, participants had started to visit each other across communities that were still racially segregated, without IJR involvement. In one case, a fellow trainee from Nyanga was invited and presented learnings from the course to the Elsies River Stakeholders Forum, as an expert on the training by trainees from that community.

A Facebook account was created after a networking strategy workshop and many more participants were able to reconnect and ideas for deepening interaction followed. The need for a social platform or forum became even more pressing, so the supporters of the Siyakha idea began to consolidate their gains.

Siyakha Forum then and now

Some of the issues that participants identified as social fault lines within the various communities across the Western Cape in 2009 included:

- Service delivery;
- Race;
- Marginalised community histories;
- Intergenerational gaps;
- Economic exclusion;
- Youth marginalisation;
- Reintegration challenges of repeat offenders;
- The role of men in social cohesion;
- Gender-based violence; and
- Tension amongst rival political parties within communities.

Through sustained engagement with participants by way of workshops and focus-group discussions, participants have established and maintained two subcommittees dedicated to addressing some of the issues identified: the Healing and Gender Support Group and the Social Enterprise subcommittee. The networks of collaboration that were formed as a result of the extended contact between and among members from different communities have greatly impacted on the sustainability of their initiatives and have become an important source of support for all community healers involved.

Successes

A key success of the Siyakha Forum was the ability of participants to reconnect effectively after what was quite a traumatic discontinuation of the programme that had brought them all together and kept them working in communities. Technically, this had meant they would likely also abandon the community healing agenda, since there were then no structures through which to implement their community healing initiatives. But they persisted and succeeded nevertheless.

The numerous ways in which participants proved able to assist each other across the many identity boundaries, such as geography, gender, race, political persuasion and generation, amongst many others, were another sign of success. These boundary-crossing relations became visible only after some time and could not have been evidenced had the project not extended its work with the group.

Yet another success was the way in which participants proved to be resourceful when the farming community strikes occurred in 2012. Many of the participants held their communities together in the aftermath of the strikes and the violence between police, farmers and strikers. This was the case in Saron, Clanwilliam, Worcester, Tulbagh and De Doorns. The IJR's Community Healing project responded by opening and sustaining space for engagement within the striking community, among members led by the project's leaders in those communities, as well as between those communities and farmers and other role players.

After the strike, the project's leaders began to articulate the need to formalise their forum into a registered, fully functioning organisation with the ability to respond more earnestly and regularly to the emergence of traumatic community conflicts. That led to the successful registration of the Siyakha Forum in 2016, which now has the ability to interact with the project as a partner organisation rather than as a forum of participants fully dependent on the project for their continued existence or interaction.

Learnings

When bringing together a group with such diverse identity backgrounds, it is critical to ensure that, 'identities' aside, there is first an accommodation of the emotional and/or spiritual engagement and expression of each person. This allows for a more authentic emotional engagement on an individual level, which, in turn, offers moments in which the collective can connect to one another in more meaningful ways. A 'new' or 'temporary' space can thus be created in which participants feel respected and can participate fully as part of this 'temporary' collective.

Deepening relationships between people who come from divided identity groups in communities takes time. Similarly, the confidence that it takes to follow through with processes of personal transformation and community change also takes time and often it is only after an extended period of time, often long after the initial contact, that individuals claim their agency and apply learnings. Through sustained longitudinal targeted work with identity groups as represented in the Siyakha Forum, participants accumulated capacity over time as community healers.

Intergroup contact and prejudice among minority and majority status groups

Since the launch of the Gender Justice and Reconciliation project within the BIS Programme, the IJR has embarked on a deeper examination into the nexus between gender justice and reconciliation piloting methodologies and incorporating a gendered lens in our community work.

Marginalised gender identity in South Africa

Throughout South Africa, deep gender wounds and trauma keep communities divided and hinder many attempts to bring peace to communities. Therefore, until gender justice is addressed, all attempts at justice and reconciliation will be incomplete and only serve those in communities who hold symbolic and political power. For this reason, we argue that South African women, as well as sexual minorities such as the LGBTIQ+[35] community, face increased marginalisation within society and, without targeted work with these groups, they are in danger of being further marginalised as gender norms[36] become increasingly entrenched. This section reflects on our work with marginalised gendered identities and explores the distinct ways in which minority groups respond to intergroup contact.

The IJR defines gendered identity as one's internal, personal sense of being a woman or man, boy or girl, androgynous or none of these. Although many of us live in a culture in which people are classified into one of two genders – male or female – this does not mean everybody conforms to such a strict separation, which is generally confused with biological sex, or sex assigned at birth. The IJR works with the understanding that gender is intersectional[152] and people experience their identity through intersections of race, class and gender (as well as a myriad of other social identifications). Without addressing racial divides and structural inequality, gender justice cannot be achieved.

The nexus between gender justice and reconciliation

By creating spaces for women, men and LGBTIQ+ individuals to acknowledge the pain of the other, to tell the truth and to pursue forgiveness and healing – the common goal of building more inclusive societies – gender reconciliation can be imagined and attained. However, while material and structural inequality remains, gender

justice cannot be achieved. Therefore, definitions of reconciliation that address material and structural changes align with the ideals of gender justice. In 2007, Nahla Valji authored a briefing paper that looks at the gendered aspects of justice and reconciliation; she argued that justice, truth, reconciliation and guarantees of non-repetition for victims in the wake of conflict are just some of the core goals pursued by societies through the employment of transitional-justice mechanisms. None of these goals, however, are attainable in a context of exclusion and inequality – as inequality, an injustice in itself, is a causal factor of conflict. 'Violence thrives in societies entrenched in hierarchical structures and relations; and no inequality is more pervasive, both vertically and horizontally across the globe than gender inequality.'[38] Valji argues that gender justice can be defined as:

> The protection and promotion of civil, political, economic and social rights on the basis of gender equality. It necessitates taking a gender perspective on the rights themselves, as well as the assessment of access and obstacles to the enjoyment of these rights for both women, men, girls and boys and adopting gender-sensitive strategies for protecting and promoting them.[39]

Justice and reconciliation are, have been and will be experienced differently by women, men and all those who identify along the gender spectrum. To ignore the gendered experiences of justice and reconciliation is to further entrench harmful gender norms.

Current context

South Africa currently faces gender crises of extraordinary proportions. At the time of writing, South Africa's statistics reflect that, every day, three women die at the hands of their intimate partner: that is, one woman every eight hours. South Africa has a femicide rate five times higher than the global average. Research proves that the chances of a woman being murdered by someone whom she knows or is in an intimate relationship with are much higher than any other type of murder.[40] One in four women in the general population has experienced physical violence at some point in her life. In Gauteng, South Africa's most populous province and home to 25% of the country's population, 75% of men have committed some form of violence against women at some point. This compares with 48% of men in Limpopo, 41% in KwaZulu-Natal and 35% in the Western Cape.

Up to half of all South African women will be raped in their lifetime. The Medical Research Council has estimated that only one in nine rapes is reported to the police. The actual number of rapes in South Africa is therefore even higher than numbers recorded. It is a chilling reality that we do not yet know the true extent of the problem. In 1996, South Africa became the first country in the world to provide constitutional protection for LGBTIQ+ people. South Africa is the only African country on the continent that recognises same-sex marriage. Yet, LGBTIQ+ communities remain marginalised and under threat, despite our progressive Constitution. There has been a rise in the attacks against the LGBTIQ+ community, especially against lesbian women. These attacks are known as 'curative' or 'corrective' rape, referring to when

a man rapes a lesbian, thinking that the action of rape will turn that person into a heterosexual. The Luleki Sizwe Womyn's Project[41] reports that, in South Africa, 31 women have been murdered in the last ten years because of their sexuality. According to an article in the *Daily Maverick*,[42] in Cape Town alone, ten cases of 'corrective'[43] rape are reported every week. Aside from a handful of statistics collected by civil society, comprehensive data on this phenomenon does not exist because data on rape is not disaggregated by motive of the attacker.

Historical context of gender injustice

At the IJR's roundtable on the nexus between gender justice and reconciliation, Professor Louise du Toit described how as a nation we have inherited a 'violent sexual project' that we can trace back to an early history of extreme discrimination and exploitation of women.[44]

The structural violence of apartheid South Africa has left a legacy of violent masculinities and patriarchy entrenched in every system. Racial discrimination was embedded through the political and legal framework and this context had a profound impact on gender roles.[45] Specific policies such as forced removals and influx control were intended to prevent the black population, but, in particular, black women, from settling in urban areas. There were also more subtle examples of racially motivated social control of which women were the primary victims. This was evident in the area of employment and education, as well as reproductive rights. For example, there were attempts to socially engineer population growth through policies aimed at inhibiting the growth of families among the black population, while promoting larger families among the white population.[46]

South Africa's transition

The release of Nelson Mandela in 1990 and South Africa's subsequent democratisation were accompanied by commitments to create a non-racial and non-sexist society and, in so doing, prevent a repetition of the past. This was always going to be a formidable task, given the ways that race, class, gender and sexuality were manipulated through apartheid's legal framework.[47] But, as often occurs after a regime change, mobilisation by civil society occurred to ensure gender-sensitive policies and laws were enacted. In December 1996, a new Constitution bestowed South Africa with one of the most progressive, comprehensive frameworks for the protection of human rights in the world.[48] It notes:

> The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.[49]

In order to realise gender-based rights, the Constitution called for the creation of a Commission on Gender Equality, whose object was 'to promote gender equality and

to advise and to make recommendations to parliament or any other legislature with regard to any laws or proposed legislation which affects gender equality and the status of women'.[50]

Beyond the Constitution, a number of laws and policies have been implemented to address gender issues, such as the Domestic Violence Act of 1998 and the Sexual Offences Act of 2009. In addition, one of South Africa's oft-cited achievements is the representation of women in public office, which has been achieved through the ruling African National Congress's (ANC) own quota system. By 2009, women made up 44% of those in the National Assembly, the third-highest representation of women parliamentarians in the world.

The gains on paper have, however, not been matched by authentic changes in women's lives. Unfortunately, 22 years after apartheid ended, vulnerability, exclusion, ongoing violence and insecurity continue to be the hallmark of women's experiences.

Creating safe spaces for marginalised gendered identities

The IJR works to bring diverse groups together in inclusive, safe spaces. Most of our gender dialogues have had nearly equal representation of women and men and have been inclusive of transgender individuals. It has been important for all genders to listen to each other and hear the experience of the other.

In May 2015, in collaboration with the AKYLDP, BIS hosted a five-day workshop with 35 young people from Warrenton in the Northern Cape. Within the framework of asset-based development training, BIS facilitated a gender dialogue. The objective of the dialogue was to create a safe space for women and men to discuss the assumptions they have about the other gender. For women, it was a rare time for men to hear the pain and abuse they feel at the hands of men in their families and communities. For some men, it was the first time they truly listened. One women summed it up, saying the abuse of women was tangible:

> We are emotional because we have witnessed it. It is part of our reality.
> *Female participant, Asset-Based Development workshop, Warrenton, Northern Cape, May 2015*

It emerged that women feel that they do not have much decision-making power in the community, are not heard and respected by men and are made to feel alienated. For some women, it was too painful to even speak. For the men, it was extremely challenging to sit in silence and witness the women speaking about how men make them feel. The men revealed deep mistrust and even anger towards women, commenting on how they 'always change their minds, want money and are lazy'. The dialogue unearthed deep gender fault lines and anger.

For some women, the dialogue created a safe space to speak and acknowledge their strengths and assets. For some men, the shifts were great and for others it was the first step, but the conversation was started on how to challenge assumptions about women and define new ways of being a man in the community.

While it is important that women and men work together to overcome gender

fault lines, women and LGBTIQ+ individuals need groups that foster gender-specific healing, given long-standing marginalisation. Because power relations between women and men are skewed, women do not always feel safe enough to speak freely in the group and articulate their experiences. There is much written on the value of women-only spaces in societies where gender inequality is rife and gender-based violence is high. Evidence suggests that the establishment of women- and/or girl-only spaces helps to reduce risks and prevents further harm during acute emergency responses. These spaces provide women and girls with a safe entry point for services and a place to access information. Safe gathering points also offer them an opportunity to engage with each other, exchange information and rebuild community networks and support. In this way, safe spaces can be a key way of building women and girls' social assets.[51]

In May 2016, the Gender Justice and Reconciliation project, the AKYLDP and the Memory, Arts and Culture project collaborated on a three-day women-only workshop in Warrenton. The women included older and younger women from the communities of Warrenvale and Ikhutseng. These communities are historically divided by race. Women were divided by generations, yet were able to connect, share and nurture networks based on their common experiences of being women of Warrenton. The workshop included a skills development activity whereby older women taught younger women the skill of crocheting. This empowered them with an income-generating skill that could potentially ease some of the impacts of poverty. We also looked at the structural and systemic violence that specifically impacted women through an activity in which women had to map their communities: where they felt safe, where they experienced violence and where they could go for help. It was clear that women experienced high levels of violence and very little was available by way of support and access to justice. The community has only one social worker and one of the women in the group took it upon herself to provide support for families and to report serious cases to the social worker.[52] Following this, women discussed issues affecting them personally, for example sexuality, reproductive health, consent, marriage, relationships and expectations placed on women.

The space created by BIS allowed for the free sharing of experiences. For many women, there were no other spaces such as this where they could share their experiences in a safe and trusting space. Within this context, some women felt comfortable to share extremely painful, traumatic and even taboo stories. These conversations were difficult, extremely triggering, and emotional for participants, but, overall, the safe space, the trust between participants and the ability to share freely was deeply appreciated.

In addition, the space was accepting of all those who identified as women: of the 20 participants, three trans individuals who identified as women were welcomed into the group. This level of acceptance and belonging was also significant. On the last day, women discussed the way forward, potential future engagements and the start of a women's network that will continue their support for each other.[53]

The value of this targeted work just with women was key in recognising women's marginalised position within society and the importance of giving them the opportunity to express themselves in a safe space.

Understanding the gender spectrum: challenging prejudice

The screening of the *African Identities* films on the LGBTI community of Kimberley[54] enabled a deep and transformative dialogue process across different groups and ages on gender justice. This session was facilitated with young adults in Vryheid, KwaZulu-Natal, young adults in Warrenton, Northern Cape, high school students in Grahamstown, Eastern Cape, the LGBTIQ+ community in the Northern Cape and community leaders from across the Western Cape (mostly over the age of 35 years).

Season 5 of *African Identities* showcases the life stories and gender experiences of the LGBTIQ+ community in the Northern Cape. Each film showcases a different aspect of gender and sexual orientation. Through the films, some of the most marginalised groups are centred in the conversation on gender. Furthermore, these are South African stories – they are relatable and accessible. The films humanise individuals in our society who are often dehumanised. One cannot escape the empathy one feels hearing their stories, hearing how they have suffered and continue to suffer because of who they are.

From the start of our gender work with communities, we have consciously begun with a session on marginalised gendered identities by debunking dominant gender stereotypes. We do this because of a trend in gender justice development that prioritises women's rights or men's rights or equality between the sexes, but fails to challenge a gender binary that is systematically heteronormative and gives preference to a certain type of gender identity. We have attempted to:

- Bring trans individuals into the conversation on gender from the start, so that we do not sideline and further marginalise trans issues;
- Bring LGBTIQ+ communities into the discussion on gender identity and sexual orientation; and
- Encourage people to embrace different expressions of gender identity to show that one does not need to conform to identities that can be inauthentic and problematic.

In every session, BIS screened different films, each with different responses. The films have had multiple responses – people repeatedly reported that the films helped them to accept LGBTIQ+ communities, to understand how discrimination affects the LGBTIQ+ community and to change their mind and hearts. It seems that, for many, the films had a humanising effect and brought stories that are often on the margins into the everyday. One person commented:

> I have never really heard their stories and the pain that they go through, the suffering that the community puts them through. After watching the videos, I have learned to be more aware, more compassionate and more accepting of them, although when seeing them intimate it is still unbearable to watch but with time it can be something that [I] can accept and see as the norm. *Participant, Vryheid workshop, October 2015*

On the other hand, viewing the films also brought up questions around sexual orientation and identity; for many it brought to the surface their own prejudices and, in some cases, even hatred for homosexuality.

The Northern Cape LGBTIQ+ community

The *African Identities* films in conjunction with the LGBTIQ+ *African Identities* DVDs enable marginalised groups to be incorporated into the conversation on gender justice from the start and bring the marginal and the 'other' into focus. Challenging the gender binary not only helps move away from harmful discriminatory practices and bring LGBTIQ+ issues to typically heteronormative, cisgendered spaces, but it also shines light on issues of masculinity, femininity, gender relations and gender identity. Many have reported using the 'Binaries and boxes (or not!)'[55] tool in their own work; for example, Siyakha community leaders described how, despite their own beliefs, they as community leaders have a responsibility to educate the youth with this knowledge.[56] In addition to being an educational tool for the heterosexual community and on sexuality in general, it has also empowered some of the LGBTIQ+ community in the Northern Cape to better make sense of their own struggles and identities and why they experience so much oppression. It helped participants understand that this was not because something was wrong with them, as many had been told throughout their lives, but because society expects everyone to conform to a certain expectation of gender norms and sexual identities. These norms therefore marginalise those who do not conform.[57]

Lessons learnt

The first step to combating gender inequality is to equip people with the tools and knowledge to understand gender and sexuality so that they have the language to not only articulate their own gender identities, but also challenge stereotyping and discrimination against other gender identities. Once people learn that gender is not fixed but rather a series of roles and beliefs that we inherit, people have more freedom to choose new ways of defining gender – on their own terms. In addition, understanding sexual orientation enables people to challenge the idea that only one sexual orientation (heterosexual) is acceptable in society. Understanding the differences between sex, gender and sexual orientation is crucial in empowering people to move beyond destructive perceptions around gender.

Going forward, lessons include ensuring that participants are better equipped to share the 'Binaries and boxes (or not!)'[58] tool within their communities, through better training of participants and dissemination of materials. It is also essential to explore masculinity and heterosexual privilege, as it is a dominant theme that comes up throughout the sessions.

> After watching the films I was very overwhelmed because I think it has enlightened those who did not know anything about the gay and lesbian community. I see that people know and understand clearly. I am very

emotional and very sad that we have people who are brutal in the way of murder and rape and even insult one another. *LGBTIQ+ community member, Gender workshop, Northern Cape, 2015*

Conclusion

BIS's work has shown that there is a definite link between intergroup contact and prejudice reduction. Regular interaction over a sustained period of time between members of different communities and identity groups greatly improves the attitudes they have towards one another.

As established earlier, there are favourable conditions that can further facilitate successful intergroup contact and prejudice reduction, yet, owing to the incredible degree of socio-economic inequality in South Africa, the vast majority of the population remain socially and economically marginalised, creating serious implications for reconciliation. Persistent patterns of segregation are reflected in the South African socio-spatial landscape. These patterns of segregation continue to structure relations between members of different groups.

Social interventions like targeted longitudinal intergroup work for reconciliation may help reduce prejudice and promote reconciliation, but, unless there is a significant change in the socio-economic condition of ordinary South Africans, their impact may be limited. Without due consideration of the material prospects of citizens and without real attempts at enhancing said prospects, any social interventions are at risk of being perceived as disingenuous. This is especially the case with interventions that promote social cohesion and reconciliation.

Despite the persistence of apartheid geography and all the forms of racial inequality and distance associated with it, 'the transformation to post-apartheid society … has been marked by the creation of a panoply of new opportunities for social integration and encounter. Yet it has also seen the emergence of a host of new forms of division, avoidance and exclusivity, as some citizens seek to preserve or reestablish … "comfort zones".'[59]

ENDNOTES

1   Foster D & Wale K (2017) Contact and reconciliation. In: K Lefko-Everett, R Govender & D Foster (eds) *Rethinking Reconciliation*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

2   Tropp LR & Pettigrew TF (2005) Relationships between intergroup contact and prejudice among minority and majority status groups. *American Psychological Society* 16(12): 951–957. Available at https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/16313659 [accessed 10 December 2016].

3   Swart H, Hewstone M, Christ O & Voci A (2011) Affective mediators of intergroup contact: A three-wave longitudinal study in South Africa. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 101(6): 1221–1238. Available at http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.716.3505&rep=rep1&type=pdf [accessed 10 December 2016].

4   Erasmus Z (2010) Contact theory: Too timid for race and racism. *Journal of Social Issues* 66(2): 387–400.

5   Boezak S & Ranchod S (eds) (2014) *Fertile Ground: A Mid-Term Reflection on the Work of the Building an Inclusive Society Programme of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation*. Cape Town: IJR.

6   Foster & Wale (2017).

7   Pettigrew TF & Tropp LR (2006) A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 90(5): 751–783. Available at http://www.iaccp.org/sites/default/files/pettigrew_tropp_2006_contact_theory_0.pdf [accessed 10 December 2016].

8   Ibid.

9   Swart et al. (2011): 1221.

10   Ibid.: 1222.

11   Meta-stereotypes are stereotypes that we imagine others to have of us; for example, white people might fear that black people regard them as racist.

12   According to Swart et al. (2011), these conditions for positive intergroup relations include voluntary contact, equal status, contact intimacy, common goals and stereotype disconfirmation.

13   Foster & Wale (2017).

14   Tropp & Pettigrew (2005).

15   Foster & Wale (2017).

16   Tropp & Pettigrew (2005): 951.

17   Ibid.

18   Minority status groups also recognise that they are even likely to be seen and evaluated in terms of their devalued group membership.

19   Foster & Wale (2017).

20   Swart et al. (2011).

21   Foster & Wale (2017).

22   Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, intersex, queer plus allies.

23   The University of Cape Town, the University of Stellenbosch and the University of the Western Cape.

24   The SARB survey is a national public opinion poll that tracks progress in reconciliation across a range of multidimensional indicators, including political culture and relations, human security, dialogue, historical confrontation and social relations.

25   Wale K (2014) *Reflecting on Reconciliation: Lessons from the Past, Prospects for the Future*. Cape Town: IJR. Available at http://reconciliationbarometer.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/IJR-SA-Reconciliation-Barometer-Report-2014.pdf [accessed 2 December 2016].

26   Ibid: 21.

27   The SARB gleans class position from the LSM, which is a composite measure of the standards of living of the household to which the respondent belongs.

28   Wale (2014): 23.

29   Swart et al. (2011): 1223.

30   Ibid.

31   In 2009, 11 Community Healing training workshops were facilitated for representatives from the various community structures. These community members/representatives were selected based on their involvement in the Western Cape government's Social Transformation Programme Forum, which was still operating at that stage.

32 As outlined in IJR (2008) *Community Healing Participant's Training Manual.* Cape Town: IJR.

33 As reported in the Impact Evaluation Report conducted in 2010. Mouton C, Rangasami J, Van Heerden J (2010) Community Healing Project Outcomes Evaluation Report.

34 Such as 'Bonte-Langa': see Chapter 2, Table 2.2.

35 The full acronym is LGBTTQQIAAP (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, queer, questioning, intersex, asexual, ally, pansexual). However, this document acknowledged the gender spectrum by abbreviating as LGBTIQ+ with a + at the end to signify the multiple identities and sexualities in our society.

36 A sociological term referring to a set of 'rules' or ideas on what types of behaviours are generally considered appropriate, acceptable or desirable for a person based on their actual or perceived sex or gender.

37 A sociological theory introduced by critical race theorist Kimberlé Crenshaw, referring to the interconnected nature of social categorisations such as race, class and gender as they apply to a given individual or group and how these intersections create overlapping and interdependent systems of discrimination or disadvantage. See Crenshaw K (1989) Demarginalising the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140: 139–67.

38 Valji N (2007) *Gender Justice and Reconciliation.* Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Occasional Paper 35. Available at http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/05000.pdf [accessed 22 November 2016].

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40 Shukumisa Campaign (2015) 16 days of discontent: The overall picture. W24, 10 December 2015. Available at http://www.w24.co.za/Wellness/Mind/16-days-of-disconsent-the-overall-picture-20151210 [accessed 2 December 2016]. The Shukumisa Campaign, consisting of 46 organisations and individuals across South Africa who work towards combating sexual violence, is a coalition of community-based service organisations, research institutions and legal services.

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USING ALTERNATIVE SKILLS AND METHODOLOGIES TO MAXIMISE DIALOGICAL SUCCESS

Eleanor du Plooy and Ayesha Fakie

A plethora of tools, resources and methodologies lie at the disposal of any practitioner seeking to engage in dialogues, workshops and conversations to build reconciliation and make progress on transitional justice, as well as individual and community reconstruction. These resources are well known and oft-used, ranging from how to conduct oral histories and interviews to facilitation practice, action and experiential learning. While they offer significant benefit and continue to provide lessons learnt in gaining deeper insights around skills that work best in building inclusive societies and communities, there are limitations to what they offer.

In reflecting on the work of the Building an Inclusive Society (BIS) Programme, with a view to showcase the skills we believe are important in bridging divides and healing wounds, we took a deliberate approach of focusing on the skills and methodologies we have used and sharpened over time that may be less well known. These skills are not the traditional set of practices to be found in a practitioner's handbook. We believe that BIS stakeholders are well versed in those 'traditional' methodologies and a retread of best practices in those areas is not what we set out to document in this publication. Instead, in this chapter we have identified innovative or alternative tools, practices and methodologies that BIS has found to work to great effect in creating dialogical meaning. These alternative tools draw on means of expression that assist in sense-making for individuals. They draw on tools that create

meaning with or without using the spoken word, using poetry and personal story-telling as a force of expression, and media tools as a way of creating resonance and memory for meaning and healing.

Ursula Le Guin's famous quote 'there have been great societies that did not use the wheel, but there have been no societies that did not tell stories'[1] holds true, deeply so, for BIS's work. And whether through art, narratives or handcrafts, BIS encourages stories to be shared as a way of connecting – and yet also disrupting – patterns of thinking that inhibit us, helping the brain to reach a place of quiet, mindfulness, reflection and sharing in a space safe.

We chronicle four alternative methodologies by showing how we have used them in BIS, drawing out key lessons from their use in our work:

1. Creativity and creative expression;
2. Poetry and poetic expression;
3. Digital storytelling; and
4. The craft of crochet.

Sense-making through creative expression

Creativity and creative expression is a force within all of us and we use this creativity to express how we feel about our lives, how we see ourselves, to make sense of the world and to find deeper meaning. What our creativity and creative expression allows for is that it enables us to explore beyond our immediate reality and to find new ways of seeing and understanding and in so doing bring new things into being. We use our creativity to solve problems and to bring about change in ourselves and the world around us.

History is record to the many ways in which human beings have used this urge to create. For thousands of years all over the world, humans have used natural materials around them to paint, carve sculptures, make jewellery and weave cloth. Even the most functional objects were decorated with meaningful symbols. The ways in which people cook, decorate their homes, dress, tell stories, celebrate special occasions and express their religious beliefs affirm the centrality of creative expression in everyday life. Some people express their creativity through the arts – music, drama, dancing, writing or the visual arts. Through such art forms, people are able to communicate their feelings, ideas and experiences to others. Even in the harshest living conditions, people use their creativity as a form of expression, as a means of transforming their environment and in efforts to transcend their difficulties.

Art has been used as a tool for healing for many years. Art is a non-verbal way of expressing feelings and emotions and is not limited by reason, rules or logic. Images are a powerful way of expressing things that cannot always be expressed through words. Art-making can be a natural therapy for dealing with emotional pain and suffering, such as trauma, loss and grief. Feelings can often be resolved rather than suppressed through art. In a sense, this healing act of art-making becomes

a bridge between the inner and the outer world and, by making the invisible visible, it reflects what is inside us. This process can lead to greater self-awareness. By using our imagination and through creative expression we can make meaning of these experiences.

The work and processes of reconciliation are largely associated with history, law and politics. The legacy of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and similar truth-telling processes involve historical records, legal documents and numerous political requirements and processes. Yet, any human experiences that are or have been informed by violation and the vindication of rights – the struggle against oppression, restraint or self-control during periods of trauma, the quest for freedom in whatever form – 'draw on the emotions, the imagination, vivid images and moving narratives, all of which are a profound part of the practice of the arts and the pedagogies of humanistic knowledge'.[2]

As important as the act of testimony is, particularly in processes of truth-telling, it can be argued that it is the aspirational role and, importantly, the interpretational power of the arts that have the creative potential to transform human relations and the trauma of the past. Through creative expression, we further develop our ability to imagine. Imagination is fundamental to our ability to confront and deal with obstacles in life and to invent solutions to problems. This, in turn, develops into life skills that help us find creative ways to solve problems and to bring about change in our own lives.

In BIS engagements, participants were taught how to make drums, flutes, whistles, reeds and bows produced and used traditionally in Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele, Pedi, Tswana, Venda, Tsonga, Khoi and San cultures. They were taught how to use the different instruments with a view to presenting a collaborative performance at the end of an engagement cycle and recording the music produced. The musical event showcased the intervention and provided the musicians with an opportunity to perform their compositions. A key thread throughout the project was the emphasis on reconciliation through indigenous art forms.

The interventions did not only focus on musical instruments. The project leader included what was already available or practised in the community, for example spiritual dancing in Warrenton, *Inhaul* in Vryheid and *Umxhensto* in Grahamstown. Popular art forms like hip-hop dancing, ballroom dancing, rap and anything that young people found interesting was incorporated during the workshops.

The power of poetry and poetic expression

The act of transforming lived experiences into stories or poems allows the writer to explore and discover areas which they need to think about and reflect on more deeply. This can lead to a greater understanding of their position in the world.

Often, the writing experience can be cathartic, as it can sometimes be experienced as safer than speaking aloud at first. The act of 'talking to a piece of paper' is more private: it can't answer back, interrupt, embarrass, or worst of all – remember.[3] Yet the

therapeutic value of poetry writing is more than just the catharsis that comes with the initial spilling of thoughts and emotions onto paper. Reworking and redrafting poetry is a deeply thoughtful process of attempting to capture the thoughts, emotions and experiences as accurately as possible. 'Poetry writing can assist clarity of thought and understanding and offer discipline and a measure of control which can be stabilising.'[4] It can be argued that, when an issue can be clarified to the extent that it can be visualised, put into words and shaped into poetic form, the said issue is in the process of being dealt with.

Generally, poetry-writing as an enabling methodology is used to facilitate a deeper reflection on a particular topic or issue dealt with within the workshop or dialogue space or as a process to facilitate personal and spiritual development.

Reflective writing and poetry were used in a BIS workshop session on the second day of a five-day process with a group of 30 young people. Having spent the first day doing basic introductions, with group members getting to know one another, the second day was dedicated to creating moments for authentic engagement between group members. As a writing starter the group was given the line 'I come from … ' as a prompt. They were given 10 to 15 minutes in which to silently write whatever was triggered for them following the prompt. They were encouraged to write without thinking and in a sense to allow their hand to take over. They were then given enough time to privately and in silence read and reread what they had written. Afterwards, the group was divided into smaller groups where project participants would read what they had written to their group. The writings were discussed with the intention of focusing on what was written and not who had written it – allowing for the space to be safe for the writer, as there is an assurance that what will be discussed will not transgress the limits of what had been written and therefore with what they felt comfortable sharing. After the small group sharing, each group member was asked to select one line from their written pieces and, as a larger group, add each person's line to form a new, group poem. The new poem was then read out aloud to the group and this became a powerful experience for everyone.

This shift from silent, private reflection and writing, to public reading and listening represents a healing process for two reasons. Firstly, the initial writing allows individuals to unburden themselves and to make sense of their experience. Secondly, the group dynamic of sharing with one another evokes compassion, caring, acknowledgement and a sense of belonging.[5] The individual act of writing, combined with the sharing of the written pieces and culminating in a group poem was a powerful process, which allowed deep personal reflection, gave an opportunity to learn about other group members and facilitated the start of the formation of a group identity.

Digital storytelling

Across disciplines, scholars support the importance of voice. Voice manifests itself as narrative – the telling of one's story.[6] All people have stories. Every culture, every family, every religion and every community has its own stories, which are told and

retold as reminders of who we are, where we have come from and to affirm our place in the world. Stories give meaning to life and are powerful ways to remember.

Using methodologies that employ storytelling as a form of healing restores dignity by:

- Enabling the storyteller to speak in their own voice;
- Allowing for the 'correction' of false stories;
- Allowing the communication of experiences of pain and suffering between people who normally have limited opportunities to engage with one another and who therefore have a limited understanding of one another; and
- Creating spaces for new forms of remembering which can lead to healing.

Digital storytelling is a relatively new form of expression that was made globally accessible and available through an array of digital tools as well as the Internet. It offers an alternative way in which we engage with others in communities and has the potential to inspire and promote democratised media practices and civic involvement.[7] In digital storytelling workshops, a collaborative environment is created where the gap between everyday life stories and professional media can be filled. What differentiates digital storytelling from written narratives or oral history is its multimodality – the use of a combination of, for example, language and music. Project participants use the powerful multimedia, multimodal literacy of digital storytelling to articulate pivotal moments in their lives and reflect on their life trajectories.

Using digital storytelling and documentary film-making as a methodological approach in some of BIS's work promotes a sense of agency among project participants and facilitates a process of deeper reflection. Stellavato argues that 'the entire process of digital storytelling could be said to be a personal interrogation or analysis of personal feelings and experiences and quite often opens up spaces for deeper reflection and further action'.[8] The retelling of stories not only allows for possibilities of discovering something new about oneself, but also allows a process of making sense of the past and in a way deciding on a view of reality. This can, in turn, affect and shape actions and emotions.

By using digital storytelling and documentary film-making, participants embark on a process of authoring multimodal autobiographical narratives about self, family, community and society. Digital stories therefore are not only a reflection of social life, but also have the capacity to comment critically on it. One such example is the narrative of a young Afrikaner man who shares his journey of making sense of his identity within a post-apartheid South Africa. Not only does he reflect on the challenges that he faces, but he also critiques the ways in which identity politics continue to shape and inform our interactions with one another. In his story, he invites the viewer into his home and introduces us to his immediate family. We are allowed a glimpse of some of the forces and influences that have informed who he is. In this instance, digital storytelling became a powerful form of communication and means of representing self, family and the social world. 'Digital stories, through their combination of image, music, sound and text, seem to engage young communicators to provide an especially potent way to perform a self.'[9]

Crochet

The unlikely craft of crochet was used as a methodological tool through which we engaged an intergenerational group of women between the ages of 18 and 60 in conversation. The subject of the conversation was on their gendered experiences of living in a small semi-rural town buckling under the weight of poverty, crime and poor service delivery. The major challenge these women reported facing in their daily lives was the escalating incidence of gender-based violence and the ways in which these acts had become normalised.

Initially, we did not ask women directly what their experiences of violence were, but rather started the conversation with a discussion on consent and on women's bodies in general. As the conversation progressed, project participants alluded to, suggested and occasionally recounted in specific detail, experiences of extreme violence. Women spoke of the violent rape of pre-pubescent girls by neighbours, the infidelity of husbands and consequent transmittance of HIV/Aids, witnessing the brutal assault of women by men, and the near daily spectacle of alcohol-fuelled public feuds that saw couples fighting in the street.

Not all of the women in the room spoke in such detail about their experiences of violence. As one woman would tell of her experience, the others would listen quietly, punctuating her story with silent assurances of occasional nods or verbal utterance of 'that's true' or 'uh-huh'. As some women came to particularly traumatic aspects of their experiences, they began to cry and could no longer continue speaking. Often, they would find it difficult relating their stories in English and would stop speaking or would switch to either Afrikaans or Tswana. Other women would then stand up and support them and would often tell parts of or translate their story on their behalf. Through the translation and the telling of pieces of the stories of women who in the moment could not do so themselves, accounts began with specific incidences of trauma and ended with accounts of their own experiences.

Many times, the room was engulfed in a heavy silence, especially after the recounting of acute memories of intimate acts of violence. In these heavy moments, the group would almost jointly immerse themselves in crocheting. Through the act of crocheting, with each stitch that gets added to the chain, women engaged with painful memories, remembering and retelling these stories by sharing with the group or by silently stitching the colourful pieces of yarn together. It can be argued that an experience of remembering does not merely consist of acts of recalling from an archival record of past experiences but is a process that involves an engagement with a host of senses. This includes thinking of places, objects, persons and lived experiences that are all filled with meaning. Senses such as sound, taste, smell and touch can be primary in the process of remembering.

> Stitches made and the patterns they form together include not only memories of times, places, people and social relationships and the potentiality for new memories to be made in time, place and social networks, they also call upon the embodied memories of knowing fingers.[10]

The use of the craft of crochet as an enabling methodology for dialogue and deeper conversation allowed project participants to self-regulate how engaged they were willing to be in the conversation. When the conversations became particularly heavy and evoked painful memories, women could become silent and, as a means of processing, become engrossed in the meditative repetition of adding one stitch to another. In this way, they could take a step back, reflect on that which resonated strongly with them and then re-engage in the conversation when they were ready.

Crochet in dialogue not only endowed project participants with a practical skill but became a means through which they could engage with one another on difficult issues in a deeper manner. In these gendered and shared activities between women, mothers and children, traumatic and painful memories are enfolded in the practices required of crocheting.[11]

Conclusion

Various skills for social and emotional intelligence used to facilitate dialogical engagement play an important role in community-building and in addressing the legacy of the past. Using alternative, creative and meaningful skills that inspire social change enables stakeholders to address the ways in which the legacy of apartheid continues to impact the current context and that make the most sense to them based on their positionality and context. These creative and, in some instances, indigenous methodologies emanating from localised culture, communal oral history and tradition are often ignored for the more widely used academic practitioner approach, which assumes that all interventions work for all contexts. We have shown that, in addition to the conventional methodologies and approaches, there is a place and space for alternative mechanisms to enhance facilitation. Perhaps more importantly, these alternative mechanisms can aid in crossing the divides that still separate us, based in large part on the continued structural and historical barriers that divide us. At BIS we believe that overcoming legacies of division require methods and tools that transcend the obvious, making human connections possible through means of expression.

ENDNOTES

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DIALOGUE PATHWAYS TO RECONCILIATION

Kenneth Lukuko with Nosindiso Mtimkulu and Lucretia Arendse

The word 'dialogue', in colloquial language, is understood as a path of engagement that deals with issues of interest between two or more parties in an orderly instead of a violent manner.[1] There is usually full acknowledgement that the potential and propensity to use violence to settle the issues that divide the parties is ever present. This tension, if not fully acknowledged, can derail the actual dialogue attempt.

This chapter uses case studies from Building an Inclusive Society (BIS) interventions in South African communities to illustrate some of the possible challenges that may arise when attempting to build reconciliation[2] between groups or communities using dialogue, as well as possible solutions when the contexts are very different in terms of audience and process.

We interrogate three themes through three case studies to illustrate aspects of dialogue that, evidently, led to a notable impact for reconciliation in different ways:

1. In the first case study, BIS facilitated a dialogue with an audience whose identity backgrounds are very diverse. The Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project provides the setting for this case study.
2. The second case study shows dialogue between participants from two distinct generations in a single community. Vryheid's Memory, Arts and Culture project provides this setting.
3. The third case study features ad hoc dialogues. The issue of race relations and tensions had emerged in the country with sustained prominence through 2015 and 2016. BIS was approached and engaged in dialogues with different role players, seeking to deepen understanding of the roots of racial tensions so as to

allow citizens a more holistic view on the issue. BIS had already been engaging with policy-makers and civil society partners in the formulation of a national framework, known as the National Action Plan to Combat Racism, Xenophobia and Related Intolerances,[3] as well as helping to deepen dialogue on the issue through the Anti-Racism Network of South Africa (ARNSA) and by addressing citizens directly through mainstream media platforms.

To lay the groundwork for the case studies, it is important to focus briefly on how South African society has come to understand dialogue in recent history and some of the events that have shaped this understanding over time.

Dialogue

Dialogue became more popular in South Africa during the late 1980s when numerous initiatives for dialogue were undertaken between the apartheid government, the private sector and the then-banned liberation movements in order to move away from a trajectory of conflict that would likely have led to civil war. Galer characterises it as 'the process whereby … diverse groups of people were brought together to review, discuss or develop "scenarios" of different futures for the governance and socio-economic development of the country'.[4]

Research on the political changes that led to the 1994 negotiated settlement shows that one of the determining factors was citizens' and leaders' ability to choose the 'High Road', characterised by negotiation and compromise for the sake of averting an economic crisis and political violence. Dialogue shaped the establishment of the new government, including the 'Groote Schuur Minute',[5] the National Peace Accord,[6] the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) 1 and 2,[7] the Government of National Unity[8] and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)[9] in post-1994 South Africa.

The emergence of the TRC highlights the first stage in the history of the 1990s where engagement in dialogue did not focus on matters of political or economic interest, but rather on the emotive effects of the history of the country, such as anger about the past and the search for forgiveness and reconciliation. Reconciliation was understood by many to be a process in which former enemies or victims and perpetrators could engage with one another on the pain caused, seek and find ways to break from past relations of conflict, enter and commit to paths that correct the wrong done and move towards more harmonious relations. Acknowledging the emotive aspects of the process prepares the way to acknowledge the need to address these challenges. So dialogue, as it is geared towards reconciliation, BIS argues, needs to equip itself to not only address issues that led to conflict, but also 'heal' the hurts of the conflict:

> In the most fragile of circumstances, reconciliation calls adversaries to create common ground in the midst of bitter memory and ongoing conflict.

> Such efforts take time and they are frequently painful. It is a task that can be guided but not directed. Addressed to bridging deep division, reconciliation seeks to deliver an inclusive or holistic notion of justice that stresses both accountability for past wrongs and the need for future, peaceful coexistence.[10]

Ensuring that past wrongs are addressed and not repeated is a critical stage in the path towards reconciliation. If this is not done, the path itself loses integrity, and many, especially the wronged parties, cannot continue their commitment to it. The TRC stressed the need for continued dialogue early on in the new South Africa's history, suggesting that, 'given [South Africa's] complex post-conflict context, reconciliation and social justice should be the ongoing task of all South Africans. Key to this task is the building of healthy, safe and integrated communities.'[11]

However, by focusing primarily on economic and material goals and not allowing enough room for a more emotive processing of the issues that may have led to the conflict, the momentum of social change slowed when the new government came to power. The processes leading to 1994 left much to be desired. The fundamental change in social relations that South Africans expected did not occur. As such, many have begun to argue that the entire negotiated settlement of the 1990s now seems to be unravelling. Critics argue that the TRC never delved deep and far back enough in history to correct past wrongs and that the emotional outpouring of grief, as well as forgiveness given, was mostly done by the victims. There is also a growing belief that transformative action to change the structural architecture that caused the conflicts of the past (meaning the economic imbalances) has not been followed through.

BIS has observed that there is usually a rush to dialogue without doing much to let parties first engage in internal dialogue to understand themselves deeper in relation to their interest issues. Secondly, there is also a need to understand what the dialogue engagement with the other is going to require from one for the desired agreement to hold. Thirdly, it is important to understand the needs that the other brings and how meeting some of those needs would be to the long-term interest of both. Commitment to the dialogue process needs to outlive the actual reaching of agreement.

The danger (which perhaps could not have been foreseen) seems to be that, as a result of merely focusing on economic and material goals when that era was over, the social-transformation aspects were not given as much importance. Hence, as many have begun to argue, the entire negotiated settlement of the 1990s now seems to be unravelling.[12, 13, 14]

BIS interventions

In BIS interventions, participants work through the emotive process of first understanding what holds them back from committing to dialogue processes, such as one's past and internal woundedness. This 'healing process' must precede any dialogue between parties. In what ways do the dialogue interventions conducted by BIS fill

gaps left by the South African national dialogue? What are the challenges when this is attempted? What are the full emotional requirements that must be catered for if one wants full commitment from all sides to the dialogue?

The context is framed within South Africa's negotiated settlement. From smaller dialogue platforms that sought to reflect on the social legacy of the past on South African citizens, BIS, together with communities, determined that more community dialogue was needed. Importantly, within this context, identity is to be seen as being multidimensional.

BIS has made many deliberate attempts to bring people together and understand why people may or may not talk to each other. BIS has looked at contested histories (of Afrikaner youth) and created spaces for dialogue on diverse and difficult topics. Amongst such difficult topics would be issues such as racism and interaction between South Africans of different racial groups.[15]

Figure 6.1 illustrates the varying degrees to which South Africans of different races simply never or rarely interact with one another across diverse social settings. The chart suggests that most citizens interact with other races at shops, followed by places of work or study; it is seldom to meet other races at communal or private social gatherings. By bringing citizens together, BIS is creating opportunities for more private social interaction across race in spaces where they are less accustomed to have interaction with people of other races.

Figure 6.2 suggests that the longer citizens remain with limited acquaintance with each other, the more difficult it would be to confront racism and other difficult issues. It follows that the more BIS brings citizens together, the sooner they might be able to confront racism and other issues than would otherwise be the case.

FIGURE 6.1: **South Africans who rarely or never interact with other groups in different settings, 2015**
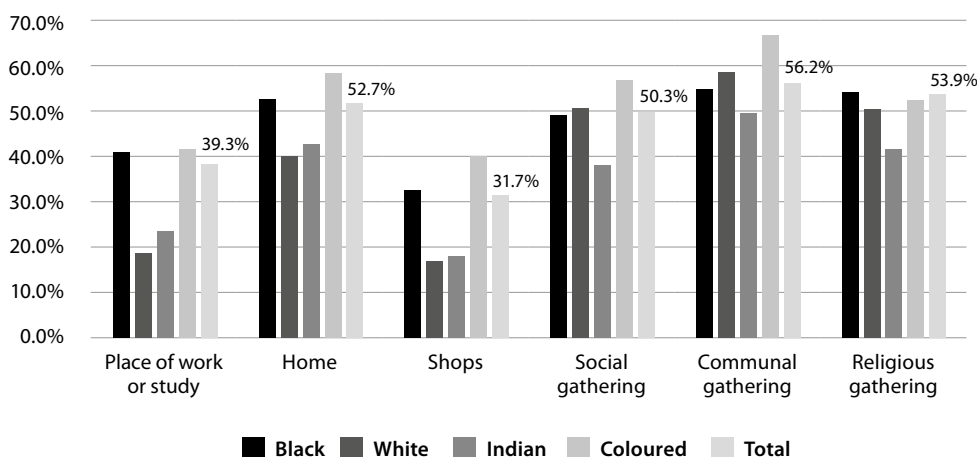
Source: South African Reconciliation Barometer (SARB), 2015

FIGURE 6.2: **Difficulty confronting racism, 2015**
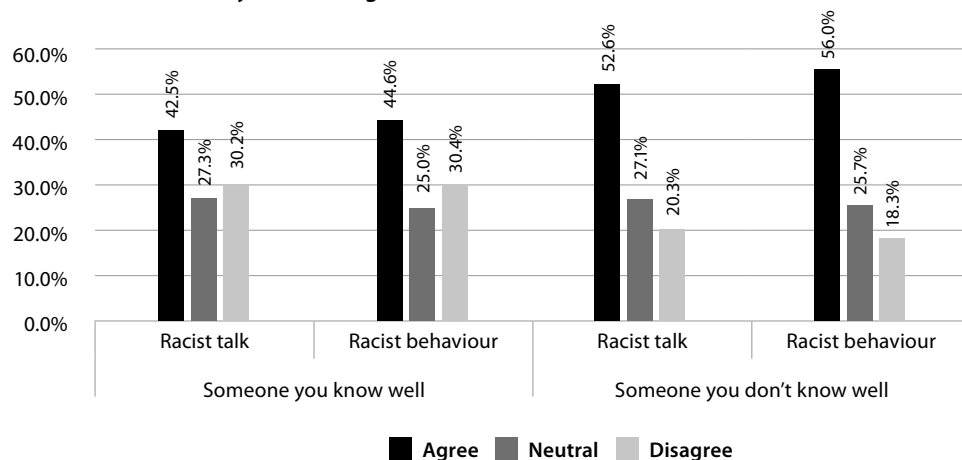
Source: SARB, 2015

Case studies

We illustrate the aspects of dialogue that are the focus of this chapter, as well as how they led to reconciliation in demonstrable ways, using three case studies. The following aspects will be discussed:

- The impact of the context on the intervention, the process imperatives and the emotive issues around the dialogue process;
- The event or process implementation and/or challenges encountered;
- The learnings and discoveries from the intervention; and
- The impact of the case study on new knowledge.

◉ CASE STUDY 1:
Dialoguing through diversity

Of the BIS project interventions, the dialogue processes conducted as part of the Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project offer arguably the more diverse[16] participants in the programme in terms of race, occupation, class, geographic space, education, gender, political persuasion, generation and religion. This affords the study an opportunity to take lessons from instances when dialogue is facilitated amongst participants from very diverse social backgrounds or life experiences.

Context: Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Dialogue, July 2015
At this dialogue event, Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project (AKYLDP) participants were invited to bring along one additional person each to the group, preferably someone from their parents' generation, to allow for more varied life experiences to be shared. Given South Africa's history and the persistent legacies of

segregation, these participants would probably not find it easy to meet and share experiences and perspectives otherwise, mainly due to the legacy of apartheid spatial planning. What features in this summary is their diversity, mainly in terms of generations and the way in which it intersects with race, class and gender.

From the outset, the AKYLDP has emphasised the need to see the diversity of social backgrounds amongst young people as a welcome challenge for managing dialogue processes. Therefore, a key consideration in planning the process included the insistence on having all racial, class and gender identity groups present. This was done by staying close to the tertiary educational institutions, as well as the unemployed and the employed youth across the country and keeping cohorts of participants in regular contact across social media from year to year. This was necessary to counter the trend of limited social contact amongst South Africans, especially from different race groups.

Two decades of life in the new South Africa have given rise to a generation of youth whose voice has grown in importance in two ways. Firstly, they are, in terms of national history, the first of those born after apartheid to have reached adulthood and therefore with the power to make their own decisions culturally, politically and otherwise. Secondly, as a generation they have reached a critical mass as a voice in the national sociopolitical and economic discourse. They make up a significant portion of the population and their voice has started to become very significant.[17]

To what extent would they differ or agree with apartheid-era generations in their understanding and experiences of reconciliation and dialogue? This same question applies in how much they would differ or agree as a result of the different lived experiences that their class, gender, political persuasion and other dimensions of identity place on them. As a result of legalisation of multiracial education in the new South Africa, they are part of the first generations to have been raised with social contact across the nation's traditional lines of social division, including race and class. In the AKYLDP, they have indeed brought and engaged with that diversity perhaps more than has been the case in most of the BIS interventions.

Implementation

Most of the participants did not bring a guest along. This was frustrating, as the workshop was designed around the assumption that there would be a proportional amount of older and younger participants. When asked what the reasons were, there were various explanations, chief of which was the unavailability of or cancellation by the guest. It was, however, encouraging that, despite not having brought someone along, participants still came.

It became evident in this workshop that one of the major barriers for real intergenerational dialogue is cultural practices and norms.[18] One participant who had not brought anyone from the parent generation to the workshop said that her mother was in the Eastern Cape, but, even if she had been in Cape Town, she would not have brought her because the topics discussed at the workshops were not generally things spoken about between generations. The issues discussed in the youth workshops include topics like race, memory, representations of the past and the need for social cohesion.

Many of the student participants were first-generation university students and, as such, had been exposed to a higher degree of intergroup contact than their parent generation. Another participant mentioned that, for her mother, a white person is 'Madam' or 'Baas'.[19] This is just the way that things are and in her mother's mind there is no real need to challenge or change the way things are. Another participant mentioned that, in some of the Nguni languages, there are no translatable words for 'reconciliation'. How does one talk about difficult issues when language poses a challenge? It becomes important to be able to talk about difficult topics in a simple, practical manner in order to move away from the theory of reconciliation and the application thereof in real life.

The born-free generation has access to numerous opportunities not afforded their parents. Chief among these is access to better education. Participants who are first-generation university students expressed frustration with the challenges posed by their ability to move between spaces – between university and the township, between the language of reconciliation and justice and their lived experiences, between knowing what is right and how tradition is sometimes interpreted. The gap that arises because of these tensions is especially pronounced between generations.

To encourage participants to think about the ways in which national and international historic moments had impacted on their life trajectory, the use of a physical time line depicting key historical moments was used as a tool for dialogue. The time line was used as the anchor activity to look at the past, represented in a linear interpretation of time and history. Yet it was striking that there were participants who expressed a need to know about the pre-colonial history of the country and the 'good' parts of the narrative of this place. Youth expressed a need for the celebration of a positive history. In response to this, a participant said, 'My greatness, I want that back.'

Learnings

Who are the custodians of transformation? Is the onus on the youth? Or should it be a joint responsibility between those who are older and the current generation of youth?

Participants were able to link ideas and make connections. In terms of BIS's short-term objective (STO) 3.1 – participants experiencing transformative processes – the objectives of the workshop were met.[20]

> What shifted for me was the idea of always thinking it's only us black people who care about this country. There's so much that needs to be done and all races can make a change for the good and these conversations are needed in all communities. *Youth participant, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) Reflection, Intergenerational Dialogue, 26 July 2015*

> The first question: 'Why should we talk about the past, what excites you?' really got the ball rolling for me today. I realised that no matter how ugly or bad the past is, it still needs to be talked about. Not merely to keep it alive but to learn from it by not repeating the same mistakes and also creating a better future for us and future generations. What frustrated me is that the

past is never past but is always with us in the present and is instrumental when we [make] the choice of building our future. What also stood out for me is that history has preference. We may choose what we want to talk about and how we want to talk about it. We remember only the aspects of history which are of sentimental value to us. *Youth participant, IJR Reflection, Intergenerational Dialogue, 26 July 2015*

This case study shows that shifts in personal attitudes towards others who are different have taken place as a result of the rare social contact and sharing or listening to perspectives that are different from those that one is familiar with. In some cases, participants discovered that certain perspectives are shared by people with which they previously never expected to agree.

◎ CASE STUDY 2:
Dialogue across generations

Context: Memory, Arts and Culture project, Vryheid

Participants in a community dialogue workshop in Vryheid identified the relationship between youths and their grandparents as one of the major social fault lines or barriers to healing in their community. Vryheid, like many South African communities, had experienced the forced removal of some of its residents during the apartheid years and this, together with a broader array of apartheid experiences, had left a legacy of trauma, especially amongst the older generations.

Most participants narrated stories of mistrust and general conflictual relations in their families or households between the two generations, essentially agreeing that the older generation had 'too much anger', which the youth found difficult to understand or resolve. In their view, this negative relation between the generations contrasted sharply with what they had observed at the recently held Indigenous Music Concert organised by the Memory, Arts and Culture (MAC) project, when young people and elders together had been sharing knowledge about the history of indigenous musical instruments.[21] They wished to organise a dialogue in the community between the two generations to explore possible solutions to mend or heal these relations.

It was important that those participants who wanted to organise this inter-generational dialogue first had to understand the historical background of this mistrust. This would help them to communicate a coherent message to all the grand-parents they wanted to invite. The group of youths therefore discussed extensively many dimensions of the mistrust from their own experiences and questioned each other to gain a deeper understanding. A number of themes were summarised as the possible sources of the mistrust, but they said they needed to hear the actual explanation from the grandparents themselves. These included the need for a common understanding between the grandparents and the youth, of the history of their community, the complexity of modern lifestyles that the grandparents, apparently, found difficult to accept, as well as a better understanding of the kind of cultural upbringing that the grandparents' generation had gone through when they were young.

Implementation

The youths then appointed those amongst themselves who would be able to lead and help guide dialogue on each of these themes with the grandparents for the planned dialogue. They also, in a deliberately orderly manner, decided on an invitation plan, dividing themselves along various geographic sections of the community. Each person would invite their own grandparents or neighbours, so that there would be a greater sense of familiarity for the elders, which would hopefully lead to them feeling that the gathering was a safe space in which they could express themselves freely.

BIS decided to join the planned event by organising a MAC indigenous music concert to make the event resonate with the cultural music of the community. The format would involve one of the youth participants, who had suggested the dialogue event, being the lead facilitator of the dialogue. BIS also let the youth organisers design a gesture of appreciation for the elders, with the youth thanking them for the dignity they had displayed throughout their lives, especially the difficult years of oppression. The organisers also decided on inviting a special elder, who was also a church minister, to initially open the gathering on their behalf, use his seniority and in that way become a form of reassurance for the other elders.

The dialogue ran very well and with good engagement. On the basis of its success, the main organisers lamented the fact that they video-recorded only parts of and not the entire event, so that the elders have something to look back on.

There was agreement that all of the issues that separated the two generations tended to spark a lot of emotion.

Grandparents expressed the following:

- There was disappointment that the youth did not seem to value the sacrifices and the hardships that the older generations had endured and which had enabled the youth of today to have a better life than they had had.
- They felt that the cultural values that they had been taught and practised (even though apartheid sought to oppress them) helped to keep their community socially cohesive and prevented many of the social ills among the present-day youth, such as pregnancies, sexual diseases and broken families.
- They were incensed by the culture of disrespect, with the youth openly displaying affection and disregarding the presence of elders, for example by kissing in public. These were all practices that were almost an attack on a culture that had been under attack from oppressors of the past, but, in the new South Africa, were now under attack from their own offspring for whom they had sacrificed so much.

The youth, on the other, hand felt that the older people were just too angry all the time and offered no opportunity to listen to them. They wanted to seek to understand but were prevented by an apparent ignorant attitude about the youth amongst the elders.

Towards the end of the dialogue, emotions ran high again as the elders were handed a certificate each by the youth as a mark of appreciation for the exemplary and dignified manner with which they ran their lives. On subsequent visits to the community, BIS learnt that most of the elders had since then kept their certificates in a central place in their houses.

Learnings

It is possible to break cycles of mistrust with elders, provided that the engagement is done in a culturally sensitive way.

The elders seemed to enjoy giving answers to the youth's questions through telling a lot of stories and reminiscing about the years of their own youth:

> Ngesoskhathi ke, ngangiseyiyo iTshitshi bantabami, kufuneka ma umfana ekubheka, abone intombi-nto. *(So my children, in those days of our youth, when a young man sees you, he must see a young woman who is dignified and strong in her culture.) Elder participant, Vryheid Community Healing Intergenerational Dialogue, 2015*

The youth seemed to be very animated when taking the opportunity to stand in front of so many elders and ask questions. This showed that the energy to continue with the dialogue was much greater than anticipated.

The elders more than once expressed the need to replicate the gesture to the rest of the youth in the community who were not present at the workshop. It also became evident that the elders wanted more youths to be present when they were invited to a future dialogue, as it seemed to encourage the elders that the youth were capable of changing.

Since the elders first dialogued with the younger generation, they have attended every gathering of the youth and even embarked on a social-behaviour research survey with them. Many of the elders had virtually no school education but managed to work through the feedback graphs in a team with the youths.

The use of the arts tends to make people forget about their differences, even momentarily, and focus on the common goal, be it making an instrument or rehearsing a song or telling a story. It allows people to interact on a human level. Once this takes place, different generations become more willing to engage with one another. Once trust is built from this process, the different generations can begin to do joint tasks for the benefit of the community, as happened in Vryheid.

One of the senior women expressed her appreciation in this way:

> Now, you see my children, you have done something we had no longer expected because of the way most of you behave [yourselves]. So may God bless you for choosing to be different and to put the hearts of your parents at ease.

It seems that the youth's dialogue with the elders restored the faith of the elders in the community's youth in general. The reconciliation seems to have been deepened since the first dialogue days: now, the elders do not only come and dialogue with the youth, but every time the project visits Vryheid they also volunteer and do additional tasks and assist the youth in that way.

With the overall mood so upbeat, especially amongst the elders to meet more regularly, project constraints mean that they will not be able to meet unless a plan is made to prepare one of the local businesses to take over the supportive role from the

project. The signs are there that reconciliation seems to be deep but needs continued support to be sustained.

◎ CASE STUDY 3:
Engaging the issue of racism through nationwide discourse

Dialogue in BIS interventions is primarily pre-planned and usually takes the form of a slow process of reflecting on the past to make better sense of the present and on how we can reshape social relations for the better. However, we often find that South African society pays attention to dialogue only in times when there is a raging social crisis that it wants to 'move on' from. We refer to this as issue-based dialogue. This section deals with what the BIS Programme has learnt from ad hoc interventions where we have been invited to assist in resolving 'temporary issues', rather than dialogues that are pre-planned in programme work plans.[22] There are also instances in which the IJR would be expected by society to offer guidance informed by the research or dialogue work that it is known for through the country's media platforms.[23]

Context

For a number of years leading up to 2016, South Africa experienced a series of public outcries sparked by incidents of race-related prejudice or even physical attacks against black citizens by white citizens. Each incident had its own unique details as to how it materialised, but the public outrage and counter-insults on social media demonstrated very clearly that there was a need to respond to this by addressing the country's race relations. There would often be no clear sense of direction as to how to unite citizens across the racial divides to solve the crisis more permanently. Citizens and the media in general seemed to be expressing a need for voices that could help to guide society through what they saw as problems that would seemingly never go away.

In 2015, this frustration was compounded by the realisation that, even in countries where the race relations problem seemed to have been addressed, such as the United States of America (USA), there was a new wave of uprising against racism. The Black Lives Matter movement arose after a series of brutal killings of black men and women by mainly white police officers.[24]

This seemed to link up in the news with another new movement within South Africa, of mostly black students at tertiary institutions, protesting against the prominence of cultural icons that represent racial colonial oppression of black people. The Rhodes Must Fall movement, formed at the University of Cape Town in 2015, led a relentless campaign against architectural representations of colonialism at the institution, epitomised by the centrally positioned statue of Cecil John Rhodes that until then had overlooked the university for over 80 years.[25]

This campaign pitted mostly black students and workers against, generally, white students, management and alumni.[26] The campaign replicated quickly at universities across the country and ultimately pitted black and white students in racial attacks against each, including, most shockingly, at the University of the Free State. It had become even more racially charged when it evolved to include demands for the

removal of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at universities.[27]

The IJR would often respond through media commentary or interviews and articles. After the 2001 United Nations Conference against Racism,[28] and before these crises, the IJR had already been part of a network of civil society organisations that had helped national government draft a framework on how segments of society could or should address issues of racism in a more sustainable way. This was a process to effectively institutionalise responses to the issue of race, through helping to guide the actions of government departments, Chapter 9 institutions and civil society, as well as communities of victims.

In summary, the context around the race issue included very highly charged emotions as well as violence, the use of racial insults and language contestation. It also featured a younger generation that articulated the issues in more ways independent than their predecessors had done.

Implementation

The BIS dialogue interventions on this issue were varied and, although ad hoc, they had to be sustained over time to allow deeper interrogation of multiple perspectives, rather than superficial treatment of the issues. Because the society as a whole often responded with impatience or frustration, as described above, BIS chose to partner with a broader array of civil society organisations through the ARNSA, a more permanent social dialogue network for civil society across the country.[29]

Each incident, although similar to others, was unique, depending on geographic space, the generation of those involved, their occupation(s) and the political culture of the time, as well as the influence of anonymous voices on social media. Through ARNSA, BIS could interact with partners who are in direct contact with citizens across all provinces and strata of society and in that way gain insight to the many dimensions of the conversation about the issue from wide-ranging perspectives.[30]

BIS involvement in the National Action Plan to Combat Racism, Xenophobia and Related Intolerances process gave a deeper understanding of the possible roles of different societal actors and the interrelatedness of race, gender discrimination and xenophobia, thus helping to understand groups defined as vulnerable to racism.

BIS could also contribute by identifying and analysing trends from the SARB that signalled changes in attitudes between and within different racial groups on numerous issues that often divided opinion along racial lines. In 2015, the programme also began to use race-disaggregated trends from its community-level social-behaviour research known as the Everyday Healing Indicators in combination with SARB data.

ARNSA's ultimate vision is of a South Africa free from racism and other related intolerances. In pursuing this vision, ARNSA coordinates the efforts of non-governmental, community-based and faith-based organisations, sports, educational and government institutions, labour unions, foundations, business entities and individuals. ARNSA believes that this sort of coordination is vital in the fight against racism and related forms of discrimination, such as hate crimes, xenophobia, sexism and gender-based violence, and uses a collective weight of multiple organisations and individuals, making local efforts national and bringing national efforts to a local level.

The race issue is highly emotionally charged. Just by observing social media, the opinions that were in conflict tended to be defined by the race of the proponent.

Views also tended to link race with party-political orientation. A number of the incidents that caused racial controversy were directly linked to political parties. At a conference of an opposition party seen by many as representing the political interests of the white community, renowned journalism veteran, Allister Sparks, stated that the founding apartheid leader had been a good politician. A white member of the same party expressed frustration at seeing so many black people at a beach, referring to them as 'monkeys'.[31]

Race has become very closely intertwined with art and cartoons. Numerous artworks and cartoons by white artists, from Brett Murray to Zapiro, had caricatured black politicians, with university students depicting black domestic workers in derogatory costumes.[32]

A number of incidents showed that even highly educated public servants tended to be as controversial as the ordinary members of the public:

- A High Court judge, who was white, asserted that rape of children is part of the culture of black men;[33]
- A white teacher used a cartoon of the country's president in a class assignment where learners were seemingly encouraged to link the race of the person to incompetence;[34]
- Very young black children at an elementary school were separated from their white counterparts while engaged in a group activity;
- At a national university, white students watching a rugby match attacked and assaulted black students engaged in a peaceful demonstration that disrupted the match; and
- A white member of Parliament used social media to encourage white students to 'crush' their black counterparts, prompting a black member of Parliament to retaliate against him.[35]

These events show that the race issue affects students, politicians, parliamentarians, teachers, beach-goers, estate agents, journalists, artists and even judges.

In instances where BIS was invited to national commentary and analysis by media, interventions were ad hoc – there were no events to organise and no logistical challenges. Instead, opinions about a controversy develop and multiply very quickly on social media, so one needs quick access to all possible platforms of news in real time. Another challenge is that, compared with the amount of time scheduled for discussion during planned group dialogues, the time available during interviews on electronic media is very limited. One tends to focus on a shorter list of issues for the media audience to consider. In addition, many of these may be edited out to save time, depending on the editorial priorities of the media producer. The highly emotive nature of the dialogue that was observed in society generally when engaging on the issue of race also meant that careful consideration was needed of how best to create a space or spaces safe enough for all to express themselves as openly as possible.

In instances where the BIS team engaged in dialogue directly either with civil society or government in networks, there was more time, as well as more avenues for engaging through both formal and informal proceedings, as the events normally lasted at least a day. In the cases of ARNSA and the National Action Plan processes, partners shared each other's programmes of dialogue events for the year in order to ensure the dialogue spaces across the country were accessible to most citizens, especially groups they had identified as the most vulnerable. Through ARNSA, partners could regularly forward the views of the citizens from their respective dialogues and make submissions of recommendations for the National Action Plan per province.

Learnings

The series of engagements on the race issue brought a number of important discoveries.

Firstly, the high emotions around the issue of racism made it attract more media attention. This meant that even citizens who might not otherwise physically participate at dialogues planned in the BIS Programme, were able to interact with the issue through the media. As evidence shows on social media, such as Twitter and Facebook, viewers of electronic media often engage on social media by quoting media interviews they have seen on television or heard on radio. There is continued exchange of ideas and perspectives, although oftentimes it may seem too confrontational or polarised. This means that the principles of dialogue can be applied through electronic media interviews, social media and print-media articles. In this way, society's understanding of the issue can be improved without the need for every citizen to attend the dialogue. This is a manner of dialogue that has perhaps been underutilised previously and which has in recent years enjoyed more attention due to improved collaboration with the IJR's Communications Programme.

Secondly, by institutionalising issue-driven dialogue through collaboration with civil society partners, BIS is able to interface with perspectives from citizens who have not directly attended its own planned dialogues.

In addition, through interacting directly with policy-making processes on an issue that is addressed in issue-based dialogue, BIS can enable participants in its planned dialogues to inform policy-making processes, such as happened with the National Action Plan process.

Further, through engaging with foreign multilateral state institutions, perspectives from other countries can also be taken into account, helping to deepen BIS's understanding of the issue as a facilitator of dialogue.

It also emerged that there is a positive interaction between the often highly charged exchange of views on racism and South Africa's journey towards reconciliation. In one way, it can be stated that the emergence of the 'race-issue' dialogue is a deepening of reconciliation, rather than the end of it. The emergence of the issue of racism had, on the contrary, been characterised as an indication that reconciliation had failed. Those who believe that the opposite is happening argue that, in the earlier years of the reconciliation dialogue in South Africa,[36] especially soon after the TRC, racism had not been taken as seriously as it is currently, and that those earlier years were an indication of a shallower reconciliation, where issues that were uncomfortable to

deal with were effectively 'swept under the carpet'. A further indication cited was that for the first time in South Africa's history, the president declared an entire week in the 2016 Human Rights Month (i.e. March) as Anti-Racism Week.

At one of the series of race-issue dialogues with our civil society partner organisation, Pietermaritzburg Agency for Community Social Action (PACSA) in Pietermaritzburg, the intergenerational transfer of racism was accepted as one of the main obstacles to the eradication of racism.[37] A report from the PACSA dialogue lists a number of key suggestions coming from the event:

> It is important to start with ourselves. Each one of us can go out and make a conscious decision to work on our own stuff, make a decision not to be prejudiced. Each one of us has the potential to be racist, so let's start with our families. Not everyone can attend a workshop like this, which is a luxury. We need to look for ways to include people who eke out a living. In Worcester in the Western Cape, for example, they have what is known as Koinonia groups, where small groups of people come together, taking turns to host dinner. After dinner, the hosts have the opportunity to tell their stories. When you hear another person's story, that person becomes humanised. In this way people from different cultures get to understand the story of their neighbours. We can challenge each other to start new groups and in this simple way we can cultivate a culture of dialogue.[38]

If it stays in this room, it is meaningless, but when we deal with one another one on one, peeling away our layers of protection, that's when we create a new dialogue. The saying goes, 'We can curse the darkness, or we can light a candle.' No matter how dark, the light will penetrate. In the same way, we need to penetrate racism, inequality and xenophobia. But to paraphrase Nietzsche, in your attempt to slay the monster, be careful you don't become the monster yourself – and retribution can turn you into a monster.[39]

> There is the story about a man who became very disillusioned with his town and his surroundings. He decided to seek out heaven and walked all day to get there. By evening, he was exhausted and decided to sleep right there on the road. To make sure he would know which way to go the next morning, he slept with his shoes pointing [in] the direction he was walking. He fell into a very deep sleep. However, while asleep, a strong gust of wind came up and swept him around, facing the opposite direction. The next morning, he woke up and began to walk again. Eventually he saw what he believed to be heaven, but it was his old town. He had gone straight back to where he had come from, but somehow it looked different … better. The reason for this was simple: his expectations had changed. He was looking at his place of origin with different eyes and that generally brings about solutions.[40]

Like the man in the story, it appears that at times, South Africans' perspectives on the race issue, or on any other controversial issues, tend to be greatly influenced by emotional responses or despondency in such a way that even if solutions could come, they may not be seen.

There has also been an emergence of the term 'anti-racism', defined as an active, collective process of addressing racism in a racialised society. South Africa is still a racialised society where the legacies of apartheid and colonisation are still evident in present-day interactions, institutions, policies and behaviour. Anti-racism aims to identify and challenge any forms of racism and related intolerances at all different levels and spheres of society in order to stop the perpetuation of structural racism. South Africa still remains an unequal society in terms of economic participation, mobility, ownership of property and access to social services, namely healthcare, education and housing. This inequality is based on a power imbalance that was institutionalised in South Africa's past and which still needs to be distributed. Anti-racism as process aims to give South Africans a way of being and doing and builds a consciousness about power and how power imbalances shape how people experience South African society.

Results

BIS has noted a deepening of reconciliation from its dialogues in a number of ways:

- There is a demonstrable shifting of participants' attitudes to acknowledge the perspectives of others in the AKYLDP case study.
- Direct participation in dialogue in the AKYLDP case study shows the definite questioning by participants of their own perspectives once they are in a dialogue with participants who come from a different lived experience. They ask themselves deeper questions to interrogate their own sense of commitment for what still needs to be done for the journey of reconciliation.
- In the case of Vryheid, participants in the planning process for the intergenerational dialogue showed a high degree of commitment to try to understand the factors behind the anger in their elders' generation, before they had them in the same room for the intergenerational dialogue.
- They showed careful planning by recognising that observance of cultural norms when dialoguing with the older generation was important, by inviting a church minister to take the role of introducing them as a generation in order for the elders to feel respected.
- In the same case study, the elders expressed a deep appreciation for the initiative of the youth to foster intergenerational dialogue with them, and, thereafter, they began to work more closely with the youth.
- Within groups, people can realise that their ideas are shared and empathy can be built.

Conclusion

Based on the learnings from the interventions of the BIS Programme in South African communities, the argument can be made that a deeper understanding of the concept of dialogue, its practice, as well as honest interrogation of its impact in different contexts, can help to deepen reconciliation in the broader South African society.

The first section of this chapter attempted to highlight the need for a common understanding of the concept of dialogue and reconciliation. As pointed out, the initial experiences with national-level dialogue enabled South Africans to engage with one another from opposite political and economic interests and avert a civil war or an economic crisis in the 1980s.

There was, however, perhaps due to the pressures of the time, a tendency to neglect the need to engage with the more emotive aspects of the society (such as the trauma left by the legacy of apartheid) and to focus exclusively on the material or economic trade-offs between the parties or leaders at the time. Upon deeper interrogation of how dialogue was understood, the realisation came that more could have been done or can still be done to manage the quality of the dialogue engagement, at least taking lessons from the international community of practice on the subject.

The TRC was the first real experience of acknowledging and engaging with the depth of the hurts and the realisation for the need to address these. Indeed, the TRC became that powerful moment when the nation faced its terrible and evil history. In that way, it captured citizens' imagination and perhaps helped them to understand the need for engaging in reconciliation processes. Naturally, the experience, once concluded, left some useful lessons that pointed at how reconciliation could be done better or its quality improved. Key amongst these, it seems, is the need to also address the social and structural architecture that is the legacy of South Africa's past more earnestly. Continuous measurement of attitudinal trends amongst citizens points to a difficulty to engage across these traditional social boundaries.

BIS interventions attempt to do justice to these lessons and engage at community level to offer more opportunity for citizens to engage with the other in different ways, and perhaps also to offer lessons for the broader society. The case studies illustrated the need to understand and learn from dialogue with very diverse audiences, different generations engaging with one another, as well as dialogues that take place in response to ad hoc social crises or conflicts. Each of these highlighted different lessons and paths towards the deepening or enhancement of the opportunity for those in dialogue to deepen reconciliation amongst themselves.

The converse of this is that perhaps there are also other ways through which reconciliation can be reached that do not involve deliberative dialogue, at least in the way it is popularly known. In some instances, BIS came across improvement in relations between communities but discovered that deliberate dialogue was not part of the process. People simply worked on specific intergroup outcomes that led to greater mutual appreciation but decided not to purposefully interrogate the issues, through dialogue, that brought them together or kept them apart. For example, this might involve a soccer club[41] that helps underprivileged youths with their sporting

potential by supporting them financially or otherwise, but is not willing to talk about the past or the social divisions, such as poverty, that remain involved. This does not, however, mean the absence of dialogue; it is only that planned dialogue is absent, as all concerned parties communicate throughout their alternative activities.

Questions remain on whether we should focus on personal or community change, as well as how to respond when people feel interactions should be ad hoc or non-prescriptive rather than talking about generic issues. Various exercises included in the BIS approach take account of this in different ways and are applied in varying degrees by the different projects in their interventions. This method perhaps does away with the difficulty to engage with complex historical tensions left by the legacy of the past. The more prescriptive dialogue engagements used in the BIS interventions, on the other hand, attempt to do the opposite and directly engage with these complex historical tensions but offer a safer, more controlled or facilitated, social space in order to do so.

From dialogue with a group of very diverse participants, BIS learnt that direct social contact with other citizens who are very different from oneself can often impact quite deeply on one's own internal reasoning and meaning-making about the issues that separate citizens. Through careful, facilitated interrogation of the issues, stereotypes are broken down and questions and engagement with how one can contribute to a healing of or reconciling with one's own past takes place. At the same time, the social, political, economic and cultural barriers between citizens with different identities and backgrounds are discussed in a safe space with the opportunity to learn more from that direct engagement.

BIS learnt that, when dealing with intergenerational dialogue, the importance of cultural norms is perhaps most critical, even when initiating the engagement. When each generation demonstrates to the other that they have a deep appreciation of what the other values, it can lead to a breaking of attitudinal barriers from the other. BIS gained the insight that, after that point, there exists an opportunity to build trust more earnestly. In the Vryheid case study, once trust was built between the generations, the yearning for more regular and deeper collaboration seemed to indicate that real intergenerational partnership and reconciliation can be even deeper than initially anticipated, leading to more powerful social agency from the combined generations.

While facilitated dialogues with diverse audiences and different generations has positive outcomes, a possible limitation is the fact that they take place in physically limiting spaces. The issue-based dialogue example shows that there is a way to counter this limitation. Dialogue in response to an ad hoc issue is essentially a dialogue to a public outcry or an issue that affects the public in general, and most of those affected are actively looking for real-time solutions. It has the attention of far greater numbers of people than can fit into the physical workshop or facilitated-dialogue space. Hence, the opportunity for immediate and more impactful social change is far greater. The way an issue-based dialogue intervention is done also affects this potential. This is made possible, as in the case study used, where there is greater desire or political will from policy-makers to engage with society with help from civil society. When BIS decided to partner in the dialogue process to develop the National Action Plan with varied and diverse stakeholders, the cumulative effect of that intervention on the

race issue had far greater critical mass. Each stage in the process can build on the impact made by the previous stage:

- The community-level intervention feeds lessons that shape input into the policy-making dialogue;
- That dialogue, in turn, exposes potential to strategically deepen dialogue across a wider geography in partnership with civil society across the country; and
- The cumulative exposure draws invitations from national media broadcasters for BIS to address the entire nation and help it interrogate certain questions, offering the opportunity for reconciliation to take place amongst those in the media's national audiences.

These processes and engagement are not without challenges. Logistical considerations highlight the need for the dialogue to have the resources to bring audiences together into a space that is socially more safe than the normal experience. This means that facilitation might be a greater challenge for those that are under-resourced.

Understanding the impact of the emotional context on the dialogue engagement is also important, as it can help to shape the facilitation approach.

BIS has argued that reconciliation is possible through concerted efforts in dialogue. Dialogue enables people from different walks of life in South Africa to enhance the opportunity for reconciliation to take place. Logistical and then contextual considerations become more important when the journey necessitates facilitation. As that process takes place in earnest, taking lessons from it to the next level of the social-change cycle and engaging with policy-makers and civil society partnerships are key considerations for reconciliation to become a sustainable and embedded social-change process.

ENDNOTES

1   'Dialogue' generally refers to a conversation between two or more people, or groups of people. 'Deliberative dialogue' is planned and facilitated to purposefully interrogate issues of common interest or sources of conflict between groups or communities, as opposed to a process where the groups attempt to improve relations or reduce conflict by using ideas that they come across almost by accident but without discussing these together in a planned fashion. See also Guzman J (1999) What is deliberative dialogue? *Insights on Educational Policy, Practice and Research* 9. Southwest Educational Development Laboratory. Available at http://www.sedl.org/policy/insights/n09/1.html [accessed 22 November 2016].

2   'Reconciliation' refers to the re-establishment of cordial relations between people or groups of people who were previously in conflict.

3   The National Action Plan process is one of the outcomes of the United Nations World Conference against Racism, which adopted the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action. See United Nations (2001) World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, Durban, South Africa, 31 August–7 September 2001. Available at http://www.un.org/WCAR/ [accessed 6 December 2016].

4   Galer G (2007) Scenarios of change for South Africa. *The Round Table* 93(375): 369–383. DOI: 0035853042000249960 [accessed 6 December 2016].

5   O'Malley P (1990) *The Groote Schuur Minute 4 May 1990*. Available at https://www. nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv02039/04lv02103/05lv02104/06lv02106.htm [accessed 22 November 2016].

6   South African History Online (2011) This day in history: Saturday 14 September 1991: Major political organisations sign the National Peace Accord calling for the laying down of arms to create an environment conducive for negotiations. *South African History Online*. Available at http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/major-political-organisations-sign-national-peace-accord-calling-laying-down-arms-create [accessed 22 November 2016].

7   South African History Online (2011) A history of the South African Constitution 1910–1996: The CODESA negotiations. *South African History Online*. Available at http://www.sahistory. org.za/article/codesa-negotiations [accessed 22 November 2016].

8   Mpanza JB (2014) A critical study of the impact of the Government of National Unity in South Africa, 1994–1999. Unpublished master's dissertation, University of Zululand. Available at http://196.21.83.35/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10530/1417/A%20critical%20study%20of%20 the%20impact%20of%20the%20Government%20of%20National%20Unity%20in%20 South%20Africa,%201994-1999.pdf?sequence=1 [accessed 21 November 2016].

9   South Africa: Overcoming Apartheid, Building Democracy (n.d.) *Unit 7: Exploring the Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. Available at http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/unit. php?id=65-24E-3 [accessed 22 November 2016].

10   IJR (2004) *Pieces of the Puzzle*. Cape Town: IJR.

11   IJR (2008) *Community Healing Participant's Training Manual*. Cape Town: IJR.

12   Steyn M & Foster D (2008) Repertoires for talking white: Resistant whiteness in post-apartheid South Africa. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31(1): 25–51.

13   Seekings J (2008) The continuing salience of race: Discrimination and diversity in South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 26(1): 1–25.

14   Moodley K & Adam H (2000) Race and nation in post-apartheid South Africa. *Current Sociology* 48(3): 51–69.

15   Hofmeyr J & Govender R (2015) *SARB Briefing Paper 1: National Reconciliation, Race Relations and Social Inclusion*. Cape Town: IJR.

16   'Diversity' refers to a variety of identities in a group or groups of people.

17   Maswili B (2014) Born free in South Africa. *Fieldworker* 5(2). Available at http://www.statssa. gov.za/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Fieldworker-Low-Res-April-2014.pdf [accessed 21 November 2016].

18   Intergenerational dialogues involve the direct engagement of people from one generation with those of another, for example between the youth and elders of a community.

19   'Madam' for a woman and 'Baas' for a man were terms used by black employees to address their white employers or, by extension, any other white people during the apartheid era in South Africa.

20   For more details on STOs, see Chapter 2.

21   This music-sharing event was part of the Follow the Beat project, to which the community elders were invited and transferred knowledge to the youth about the indigenous musical instruments in their culture.

22   The core dialogue interventions of each project in the programme are planned a year in

advance and are aimed at specific social target groups with specific outcomes in mind. Issue-based dialogues, on the other hand, arise out of issues that simply emerge in national discourse from time to time. BIS is then invited or forced by circumstances to respond, without the full resource support that normally accompanies the core interventions.

23   The SARB report is produced annually and is launched in all the major news networks and print media. It often highlights changes in social attitudes between citizens from diverse demographics, helping to make the IJR name synonymous with knowledge about social behaviours that either enhance or hinder prospects for reconciliation. Hence, when a social controversy around identity arises, the IJR is often amongst the first to be invited to comment or respond. One will often hear a journalist ask on the telephone: 'What is the IJR doing?' or 'What is the IJR's position on this issue?'

24   Sidner S & Simon M (2015) The rise of Black Lives Matter: Trying to break the cycle of violence and silence. CNN. Available at http://edition.cnn.com/2015/12/28/us/black-lives-matterevolution/ [accessed 12 June 2016].

25   Van der Merwe M (2016) #Rhodesmustfall: UCT's day of mayhem. *Daily Maverick*. Available at http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2016-02-16-rhodesmustfall-ucts-day-of-mayhem/#. V8gBxJh97IW [accessed 2 December 2016].

26   Pather R (2015) Rhodes Must Fall: The movement after the statue. *The Daily Vox*, 21 April 2015. Available at http://www.thedailyvox.co.za/rhodes-must-fall-the-movement-after-the-statue/ [accessed 6 December 2016].

27   Phakathi B (2016) Fight for Afrikaans on campus is a fight for all languages, says Afriforum. *Business Day*, 8 July 2016. Available at http://www.globaladvisors.biz/inc-feed/20160708/fight-for-afrikaans-on-campus-is-a-fight-for-all-languages-says-afriforum/ [accessed 6 December 2016].

28   This conference produced the Durban Declaration, which mandated countries to establish national plans to combat racism. See United Nations (2001).

29   ARNSA, of which the IJR is a steering committee member, is a loose network of organisations that share perspectives, but organise dialogue interventions independently of one another.

30   ARNSA's profile outlines an array of organisations across the country. See Anti-Racism Network South Africa (n.d.) *What is the ARNSA?* Available at http://www.arnsa.org.za/home [accessed 6 December 2016].

31   Tabane OJJ (2015) Dear Allister Sparks, let's talk frankly. *Daily Maverick*. Available at http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2015-05-12-dear-allister-sparks-lets-talk-frankly/#. WEF4tNJ97s0 [accessed 2 December 2016].

32   Smith D (2010) Bloemfontein students admit humiliating black campus staff. *The Guardian*, 27 July 2010. Available at https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jul/27/bloemfontein-students-black-staff-campus [accessed 6 December 2016].

33   Laing A (2016) White South African judge sparks outrage after claiming 'rape is black culture' in online rant. *The Telegraph*, 9 May 2016. Available at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/09/white-south-african-judge-sparks-outrage-after-claiming-rape-is/ [accessed 6 December 2016].

34   Tandwa L (2016) School apologises for Zuma cartoon test question. *News24*. Available at http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/school-apologises-for-zuma-cartoon-test-question-20160524 [accessed 2 December 2016].

35 Shange N (2016) University of Free State suspends lectures after Varsity Cup violence. *Mail & Guardian*. Available at http://mg.co.za/article/2016-02-23-university-of-free-state-suspends-lectures-after-varsity-cup-violence [accessed 4 August 2016].

36 Lukuko K (2016) Reconciliation and racism in South Africa. IJR Presentation to European Union Head of Mission Delegation, 15 February 2016.

37 Goedgedacht Forum (2015) *Racism: The Conversations We Are Not Having.* Available at http://goedgedachtforum.co.za/wp/racism-the-conversations-we-are-not-having-pietermaritzburg/ [accessed 6 December 2016].

38 Ibid.

39 Nietzsche F (2002) *Beyond Good and Evil.* J Norman (transl.) & R-P Horstmann (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

40 Goedgedacht Forum (2015).

41 During the series of intercommunity dialogues between three historically segregated communities in Cape Town, BIS engaged with a soccer club in a 'white' community, which drew some of its less privileged players from the neighbouring 'black' community. The club assisted these players with many of the necessities they could not afford, whilst playing together, thus breaking historical barriers. However, upon invitation to join dialogues between the two communities on their past and the social barriers that separate them, the club respectfully refused, preferring to continue to foster healing the past in the manner of simply playing together, rather than talking extensively about it.

CHAPTER SEVEN

NEW AND INCLUSIVE NARRATIVES

Nosindiso Mtimkulu with Lindsey Doyle, Eleanor du Plooy and Cecyl Esau

The history of South Africa is very exclusive. The experience of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) demonstrates that South Africans need new and inclusive narratives in order to dialogue, heal and move forward. The IJR's Building an Inclusive Society (BIS) programme has built 'safe spaces' in several communities to encourage the kinds of interactions that were otherwise not commonplace in everyday South African life. These safe spaces are nodes for inclusive dialogue, productive conflict and, eventually, reconciliation. This chapter focuses on the rationale, methodology and case examples of how new and inclusive narratives in communities can lead to reconciliation. The methodological research on creating safe spaces and its effects on the dynamics of a group is rich and multifaceted. The work documented in this chapter adds to this body of knowledge by demonstrating the nuances of these dynamics in lived experience through five case studies and argues that the model can be replicated in other contexts.

Safe spaces and inclusive narratives

A 'safe space' is a place, room or general area where participants are able to express their honest opinions, thoughts, impressions and attitudes without the fear of being judged or ridiculed. It is a place where people's feelings are taken into consideration and they are not mocked for their ideas. Establishing common ground and goals between participants helps in creating safe spaces. According to Hunter, the cultivation of common ground ensures the creation of spaces where cultures can safely and

meaningfully meet. This concept is based on communication and respect without undervaluing the often difficult and challenging nature of cross-cultural interactions.[1] Moreover, there is a neurological basis for the importance of safe spaces:

> When the body senses safety, the autonomic nervous system supports a state of open receptiveness. This state has been found essential to both learning and integrating new information, as well as preventing retraumatisation when engaging past experience.[2]

A 'narrative' is a detailed written or verbal story that is told to other people of 'something that happened. It's the telling of that story.'[3] An 'exclusive narrative' is one that tells a singular story, a story that only provides one point of view, whereas an 'inclusive narrative' is one that includes other dimensions, perspectives or angles of the same story based on the accounts of people who are seemingly different from the storyteller.

The need for safe spaces is grounded in theories about dehumanisation and rehumanisation. In order to harm another human being, people tend to 'dehumanise', or remove or ignore the nuances, commonalities and dignities of a person. This involves a deactivation of the conscience and an application of logic that is purely self-referential. Speech patterns about other people contribute to this dynamic: labelling, hate speech, name-calling, binary thinking, stereotypes, culturally insensitive eye contact[4] and acting quickly without critical thought all contribute to simplifying views of the 'other' in ways that make it 'acceptable' to harm them and for there to be no emotional consequence for the perpetrator. Safe spaces for dialogue and intergroup interaction are essential to rebuilding a sense of reciprocity and interconnectedness that serves as the foundation for community-based improvements.

In order to understand the need for inclusive narratives, it is important to look at the history of exclusive narratives. Before democracy, South Africa consisted of predominantly black, coloured and Indian society on one side and white society on the other. As a result of apartheid and colonialism, the dominant histories in South Africa were constructed to give power and significance to white people; simultaneously, the oppressed people of the country had their own narrative that was excluded from dominant constructs of history. South African history books before 1994 focused only on the history of white people, turning history into propaganda for the white ruling minority.[5] Nationalist histories tended to serve the values, ideologies and state-building interests of the ruling minority. Meanwhile, the majority of South Africans were perceived as ahistorical beings without agency or historical significance. Histories excluded community-level micro-narratives, which were left buried in community archives. The reasons behind this kind of selective history are both conscious and unconscious, based on what people prioritise in their history. This can cause an unintentional blindness in history and can construct exclusive narratives that render certain histories invisible.

After the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) and other political organisations in 1990 and the discussions that led to the first democratic elections in 1994, South Africa needed to deal with its past so citizens could forge a common

future. For reconciliation to happen, the two societies not only had to learn each other's histories, but also understand each other's identities. According to Gray, historical facts alone cannot supply sufficient insight into a group's identity, because dates fix people's lives in cycles of victories and defeats, while overlooking the details of suffering, emotions, setbacks and successes of ordinary people.[6]

In post-1994 democratic South Africa, there is still a need to continue to confront the exclusive narratives that divide communities and ignore certain identities. One-sided histories contribute to the racial divisions ('othering') that persist to this day. To create space within dominant histories for other sides of the story, South Africa must generate a *historical consciousness* within its communities. This allows for community members to engage in a process of self-realisation and humanisation of the 'other'.[7] Building inclusive narratives through historical consciousness makes community members *subjects* of their own history, instead of objects of the history of others. It gives community members the agency that was robbed from them in the construction of exclusive histories. In order to build inclusive societies, history needs to be co-created within communities and across different identities.

Recalling history and ancestry humanises people and gives them a sense of belonging. Realising one's own subjectivities and being self-reflective allows people to be more conscious of the selectiveness of history, which is important when building inclusive histories. In the BIS Programme, community interventions and interest groups unearth these narratives with the intention to understand the fault lines of different communities.

Creating safe spaces

BIS initiated projects by first visiting the selected areas and meeting with people who were identified as key players in the different communities. These people were identified by word of mouth and desktop research. The foundation of the programme was built on strong, long-standing relationships that BIS spent years cultivating. Facilitators met first with homogeneous groups to build their trust in the process and in the IJR, as well as increase willingness for groups to meet each other.

One major challenge of doing memory work in South Africa is attracting white participants. Without white representation within conversations dealing with the past, the struggles of white South Africans and their experiences of dealing with their particular past get lost. BIS observed that a combination of fear, guilt and shame seemed to inhibit many white South Africans from engaging on issues of the past. Some white participants experienced negative emotions when confronted with how members of their racial category treated the black community and as a result closed themselves off from dialogue and did not want to participate in workshops. South Africa's troubled past and its legacies become barriers to meaningful engagements. As such, many workshops started with very racially homogeneous groups of mostly black South Africans. In Vryheid, for example, it took almost three years to find people from other racial groups to participate in our interventions. The strategy of recruiting more white participants included approaching key players who were able to assert

influence within the white community. Since 2012, there has been a marked increase in white participation in most BIS projects.

During the initial interventions with fairly homogeneous groups, participants focused on understanding one's own community, one's power to foster change, one's understanding of history and documenting oral history, and the importance of culture and language, among other topics.

Successfully recruiting a multiracial group naturally changed the dynamics of the dialogue. BIS communicated with all participants so that they were able to arrive confidently knowing the general process of what would happen during the intervention. This allowed them to engage and explore the topic in a safe and supported way.

At the first meetings, BIS facilitators first allowed for deep introspection among participants about the past, family, friends and work, then connected that reflection to a larger network of stories to build a collective consciousness and social contract. Facilitators created safe spaces by setting norms for the group, such as 'common courtesies' of keeping all information confidential, to take the conversation seriously, not to laugh when people are sharing their experiences, and guidance on how to respect one another through active listening. Participants are instructed to look at one another, as eye contact in certain South African cultural contexts helps to activate the conscience.[8]

This first step was intended to 'slow participants down' from their normal ways of interacting and to help them feel that they can remove the hardened 'masks' that they wear to get through life and not feel vulnerable. The facilitator tapped into the participants' common need for emotional safety. Once they have had a moment to let the gravity of the interaction set in, the facilitators began the discussion and allowed people to tell their stories or respond to a thematic prompt or question.

Creating safe spaces prior to a dialogue in turn generates a positive feedback loop in which people speak and receive supportive feedback from the group and consequently feel even more willing to share. This process evokes a feeling of trust and duty to safeguard each other's vulnerabilities; stories become a kind of social currency and the cost of defecting and sharing someone else's personal information outside of this circle becomes very high. Participants plant the seeds of intergroup trust and empathy. Moreover, people connect their own stories to those of the storyteller. They recognise their interconnectedness of place, past, purpose, practice and perspective.

The topics then changed to focus more on the communities they live in, what they need for reconciliation to happen and what people can do as individuals. By the end, people want to revisit themes and tackle local problems jointly because they have developed a common interest. They tend to finish with a sense of needing each other and are therefore more willing to invest themselves in those new relationships. The publications produced at the end of each cycle provided the participants with tangible evidence of their involvement in the project. This, in turn, helps to build and strengthen the new relationships across local, cultural and racial divides, as well as relationships between the community and BIS. Figure 7.1 illustrates the marked increase in white participation over the five years of the project. The sociograms in Figure 7.2 show the relational connections made across the predominantly white area of the town of Vryheid, the predominantly coloured area of Lakeside and the predominantly black areas of Mondlo, Bhekuzulu and Makwatasi.

FIGURE 7.1: **Change in demographics of BIS project participants in Vryheid, 2012–2015**
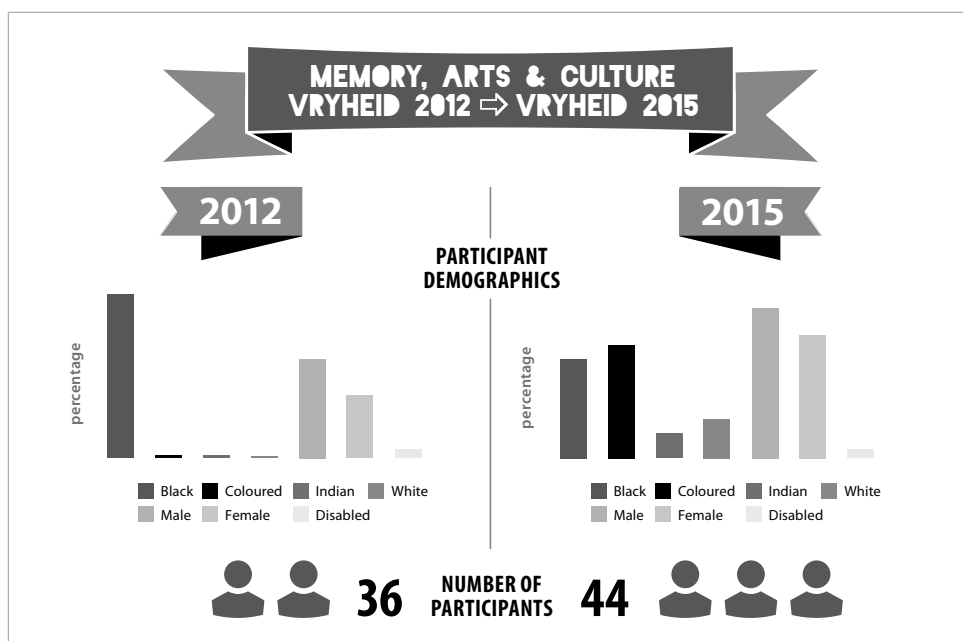
Source: BIS

FIGURE 7.2: **Sociograms showing the increase in connections in Vryheid, 2012–2015**
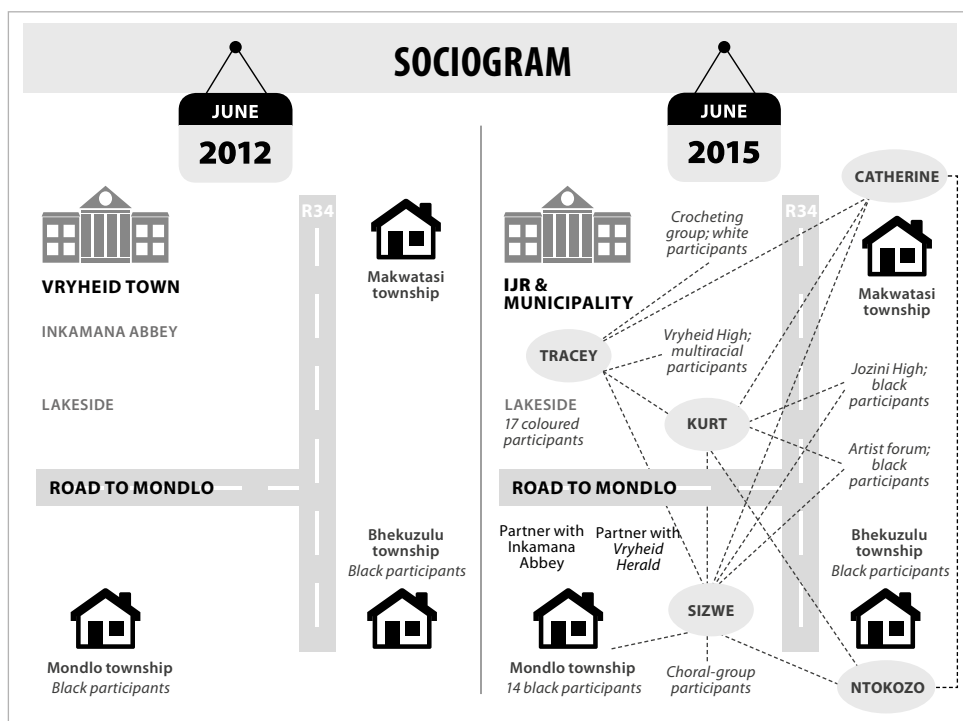
Source: BIS

Case studies

This section documents the types of workshops that BIS ran using the safe-spaces model to transform exclusive, singular histories into inclusive narratives. Each example includes the local context, project description, results and lessons learnt.

⦿ CASE STUDY 1:
Exploring contested histories in Worcester

In order for certain histories to become dominant, they need to exclude categories of society and make them invisible. History, whether oral or written, is constructed in the present and is inherently selective, subjective and limited. The documented historical record of Worcester in the Western Cape did not adequately reflect the social, cultural, economic and political spheres of all of its residents. Where the historical record dealt with any of those areas of life, it often did not reference the broader South African context. This kind of representation invariably alienates large sections of the society and inhibits the creation of an inclusive society.

Like many South African towns, Worcester bears the imprint of state-imposed apartheid town planning, which separated racial groups spatially. As a result of policies of segregation during colonial rule and apartheid, the culturally and politically vibrant Parker Street multi-ethnic community had received scant attention. For example, the Worcester Museum, which has its origins in the Kleinplasie Open Air Museum, has since its inception represented the agricultural history of the Breede Valley primarily from the perspective of the farmers. In addition, collaboration across social, cultural, religious, political and trade union divides had hardly been explored.

There were a number of potential contested histories. A range of issues and events that had never been explored from all angles prior to BIS's intervention included:

- The impact of the structural violence of slavery, colonialism, apartheid, forced removals, the Second South African War,[9] the First World War and the Second World War;
- Segregation of the South African Rugby Union for coloured people, the South African Rugby Federation for blacks and the South African Rugby Board for whites;[10]
- The Afrikaner Conference in 1900;
- Clashes in Parker Street[11] in 1930 that resulted from a raid to confiscate illicitly brewed beer and in 1960 during protests against the Pass Laws;
- The 1952 celebration of the tercentenary of the arrival of Dutch colonist, Jan van Riebeeck, who first established colonial rule in 1652, focused mostly on the white community;
- Establishment of the Zwelethemba community as a result of the Group Areas Act, which removed black people from Parker Street and relocated them to an industrial area east of the R62 in 1957;
- Worcester's 150th anniversary in 1970 celebrated primarily the achievements of

the white section of Worcester;[12]
- The imprisonment, banning and death of Worcester anti-apartheid activist John 'Hennie' Ferus;[13]
- The exile and return of Worcester activists Ayesha 'Bibi' Dawood[14] and Ben Baartman[15]; and
- The 1996 bombing on Christmas Day of Shoprite on Russell Street by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.[16]

Moreover, there are a limited number of historical texts about Worcester's past. BIS could identify only the following:

- Rocky Grebe's honours degree paper on Worcester;[17]
- Publications from the Van Riebeeck Society on southern African history;[18]
- Biographies of Worcester black women activists written by the Black Sash organisation (founded in the 1950s to protest the Senate's usurping of constitutional rights);[19]
- Histories of trade unions such as the Food and Canning Workers Union;[20]
- Documentation of the political and civic struggles in the 1930s by Willie Hofmeyr;[21,22]
- Accounts by anti-apartheid journalist Tony Karon[23,24] and David Shandler[25] (head of the End Conscription Campaign in the 1980s);[26]
- Church histories;
- Rugby teams such as the Villagers Worcester Rugby Football Club;[27] and
- A DVD by Excelsior Brass Band, a Worcester-based musical brass band.

While these are vitally important histories, there are many more whose story has not been told publicly. Nonetheless, there are a number of developments since the advent of democracy that are contributing to the process of reconciliation in Worcester. These include:

- Establishing a new community radio station, Valley FM, in 1997, with the mandate to explore cultural histories;
- Work being done to date by the Restitution Foundation around the 1996 Christmas Day bomb explosion at Shoprite;[28] and
- BIS's Community Healing project activities, as well as BIS's Schools Oral History Project (SOHP) 2009 training workshop at the request of the district subject adviser for history.

Project description

In Worcester, BIS ran workshops exploring these contested histories and historical archives. To contribute to developing inclusive histories, BIS focused on hidden or marginal oral histories as a first step towards democratising the historical record and exploring the connectedness of Worcester residents. These lived experiences needed to be documented, exhibited, published and disseminated to platforms where others could engage with them. SOHP, in partnership with Valley FM Radio, embarked on

documenting the musical traditions from Worcester communities since 1950. This has been explored across different genres, brass and Christmas choirs, pop music, Langarm, Scatamiya, Afrikaans, Gospel and Afrikaans hip-hop. Valley FM Radio trained learners and educators in recording, interviewing and producing posters to problematise how invisible certain histories are in Worcester.

Results

The immediate output of the exploration of the musical traditions in Worcester consists of a set of professional-quality posters that will be distributed to local libraries and schools, as well as to cultural organisations in the Breede Valley municipal area. Although a review of the outcomes of this project has yet to be conducted, in a similar intervention in Warrenton, the school librarian noted: 'School learners often come to the library in search of information on the history of Warrenton, of how it used to be and how it has changed.'[29]

Participants from previous oral history engagements have remarked:[30]

> We the learners of Reakantswe Intermediate School, have told wonderful real-life stories which makes us different and unique from others … What makes us great, what makes us heroes today, what makes us outstanding … it's our originality, our personality, our stories and most importantly what we stand for. *Windsorton project participant, 2015*

> Through this project I have really learnt a lot and I for one have changed my perception of history and how history is written. The general value of history for us [is] to understand how the present comes from the past and ultimately leads to the future. *Windsorton project participant, 2015*

BIS anticipates that the generation of new historical knowledge will contribute to the democratisation of the Worcester historical archive by piquing student interest in community-level knowledge. Looking forward, in 2020, this former frontier and slave town will celebrate its 200th anniversary. This event presents an ideal opportunity to showcase and represent multiple narratives about the lived experiences from a cross section of Worcester communities and to explore inclusive historical accounts of Worcester.

Lessons learnt

- It is more advantageous to do oral history projects over a number of years to provide sufficient follow-up after the information-gathering phase.
- In order to ensure that awareness and capacity are created in the process, there should be a variety of stakeholders, cultural activists and different media institutions involved.
- One disadvantage of doing this project over more than two years is that stakeholders or intended beneficiaries might lose interest, because 'life happens'. Hence it is of critical importance that the champion of these kinds of projects

should have institutional backing to see these kinds of projects through from start to finish.

CASE STUDY 2:
Democratising the historical archive in Vryheid and Mondlo

KwaZulu-Natal has the largest concentration of battlefields in southern Africa. One historic battle after another was fought in this region, including the:

- Zulu Wars;
- Voortrekker-Zulu Wars (1836–1852);
- Anglo-Zulu War (1879), which included Isandlwana;
- Transvaal (First Anglo-Boer) War of Independence (1880–1881); and
- Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902).

Most of the historical representations of these wars relate to the colonial era.

Vryheid in KwaZulu-Natal features prominently in the Voortrekker[31] history and in the struggles against British imperialism. Vryheid was the site where the Anglo-Boer War was initiated. The Blood River Monument and Ncome Museum between Vryheid and Dundee are perfect examples of the divided past and how the same event is commemorated differently. The Blood River Museum tells the history of Afrikaner conquest and memorialises the one-sided Voortrekker history of some Vryheid residents. When you visit the Blood River Monument, you are faced with Voortrekker wagons situated just as they were on the day of the famous battle. Also on display are replicas of the three cannons that proved so decisive in halting repeated Zulu charges against the laager.[32] The DVD played inside tells a gruesome story of how the Zulu warriors were killed. Another nearby museum, the Lucas Meijer Museum,[33] also tells related stories from the Voortrekker perspective.[34]

After 1994, the democratically elected government established the Ncome Museum, which is across the river within walking distance from the Blood River Museum, to document the same major clash from the Zulu perspective. This publicly funded museum is shaped like the Zulu war horn formation, which was initiated by the Zulu king, Shaka ka Senzangakhona. This side offers a reinterpretation of the 1838 war and exhibits items on Zulu and SeSotho material culture in general.

Together, the museums highlight how historical events are contested and problematised from different perspectives. The physical proximity of the two sites of memory provides a stimulating setting for the exploration of multiple perceptivity and voice about the past. Recently, a bridge was built to join the two historical sites. Initiatives like this create ideal platforms for finding ways to bridge the artificial divides that still separate many communities.[35]

Project description
The Vryheid Oral History Project explores the visual and lived experiences of locals to enlarge the local historical record. This oral history project documented the process

of forced removals from KwaBanye in Vryheid and surrounding areas such as Kingsley to Mondlo in 1963. A series of posters depicted the process of forced removals, resettlement and the development of Mondlo. The base for the implementation was Mondlo Secondary School. Project participants were trained in oral history research methodology and assisted in the development of an implementation strategy. A partnership with the Lucas Meijer Museum was established because of the keen interest of the acting manager.

The SOHP organised a day-long outing to the Blood River Monument and Ncome Museum for learners to see how historical interpretations of the same event could be represented differently and how those processes are informed by what they learnt in the oral history training sessions with regard to selection and perspective in the historical production processes.

Results

A set of seven posters depicting the process of forced removals from Vryheid and surrounding areas to Mondlo was produced. These posters documented for the first time the forced removals that took place in 1963. BIS generated new historical knowledge and contributed to the democratisation of the historical archive of Vryheid and Mondlo. It contributed to the creation of historical awareness as evidenced at a display of the posters at a workshop attended by the youth in Vryheid.

Lessons learnt

- One of the key success factors has been the sustained interest and involvement of the Mondlo Secondary School management. The project participants were motivated by the school management throughout the entire process.
- In working with the youth, there should be a variety of activities and training processes that are interactive and fun.

◉ CASE STUDY 3:
Intergenerational teaching in Vryheid, Warrenton and Grahamstown

Music creates a picture of the past, passes on messages, tells stories and facilitates free expression. Music is a form of oral history and contains the culture, politics and economy of the people. In the past, indigenous instruments helped in transferring information and skills from the elders to the youth; in this way, values of acceptance, tolerance and understanding were promoted amongst the youth through the narratives behind the instruments. This deepened the youth's understanding and appreciation of their musical heritage. The very nature of South Africa's indigenous music traditions was closely tied to the sharing of land and resources. It was customary for people to share and exchange ideas, to borrow instruments from each other and to adapt the construction and playing techniques of the instrument. This sharing of information, skills, knowledge, ideas and even instruments happened between families, people in the same village and people from other villages. Its purpose was a means of showing

goodwill, friendship and *ubuntu* – the recognition of a common humanity – which are necessarily elements for community reconciliation.

Before radio was available during the apartheid era, music played an important role in passing time as a learning tool. Since schooling was not a priority for black people and was difficult to access, they relied on their peers and their elders to teach them. Peer learning meant that, as a young person, one was accountable to your peers and the group shared collective responsibility for each other's well-being. In addition to political platforms, South Africans also used music as one means to protest openly and spread their messages during apartheid.[36] Protest music contained hidden messages that only certain groups of people understood. Steve Biko stated that any suffering they experienced was made more real by song and rhythm and 'is responsible for the restoration of our faith in ourselves and offers a hope in the direction we are taking from here'.[37]

Throughout colonialism and apartheid, arts practised and produced by white people dominated in South Africa. In schools, Western art forms were taught at the expense of indigenous art forms. The music of the indigenous black groups was seen as primitive and ungodly, with no artistic excellence. They were not seen as an asset that was worth promoting through education or archiving. As a result of this, today – 22 years into democracy – Western arts continue to be the focus of documentation, archiving, promotion and celebration, thereby decreasing the diversity of artistic forms available for all South Africans. Learners know more about foreign music and stories than art produced in their own country of origin or within their own cultural heritage. Parents undervalue oral traditions, learning indigenous music and playing indigenous musical instruments. They rarely pass on messages through music, poetry, storytelling and indigenous games; as a result, this knowledge is at risk of being lost. Today, literature on indigenous music is also quite limited. Despite attempts by universities, such as the University of Venda for Science and Technology, to collect, document, present and promote indigenous art forms, there is still a pressing need for 'African universities and institutions to carry the flag for African civilisation'[38] in keeping these traditions alive. Moreover, South Africans rarely have an opportunity to practise these forms and local artists are often denied the opportunity to teach their art. As a result, the social capital that used to be created through the communal practice of music has diminished, thereby decreasing social cohesion on many levels.

Project description

The IJR identified indigenous musical instruments as a way of enabling young musicians from different walks of life to work with a music genre known to their ancestors, but not necessarily practised within their communities today. While both culturally salient and racially neutral, practising music and learning a new instrument were identified as commonalities that inspired all races and cultures. As a result, BIS introduced the idea of using music as a tool to unite. The interventions focused on drawing young musicians from across the racial and cultural divides to come together and discuss the social significance of various indigenous musical instruments. Through workshops, elders taught young learners how to make and play these instruments.[39] The process of making the instruments by learners from diverse

backgrounds and learning from experts sought to promote values of acceptance, tolerance and understanding through the narratives behind the instruments.

Although they share a common love for indigenous music, the backgrounds of the facilitators were very different. Most were elders who had been practising music for over 30 years. Of all the facilitators used throughout the five years, some had post-graduate degrees in music, while others came from cultural groups where indigenous music was embedded in their daily lives. BIS met with all of the facilitators who had never facilitated before to workshop their material with them. Some of these facilitators belong to music groups who usually perform with indigenous instruments but rarely get an opportunity to teach. For all of the facilitators, working with youth was a new experience.

In Grahamstown, an intergenerational dialogue was held, during which the elders shared their knowledge about the different art forms with the youth. Elders spoke about the importance of these art forms, what it meant to them to participate in these art forms as they were growing up and how they learnt different social skills through these arts. On the last day, the group was taken to the International Library of African Music (ILAM) at Rhodes University where they saw some of the instruments their grandmothers used to play.

The construction of the instruments served as an important learning experience for many. *Nyanga* pipes were made from cane growing in communities around the Western Cape, demonstrating the connection of music to the land. Two of the facilitators used recycled material to make *vuvuzelas*[40] and rattles. The *vuvuzelas* were made from plastic bottles and other scraps of material for decorative purposes. This introduced recycling as a new topic for the learners. In Vryheid, in search of a specific tree to make *ugubhu*[41] instruments, the facilitator, Brother Clement Sithole[42] of Inkamana Abbey, took participants on a tour of the park, where different indigenous trees grew, as a lesson about the use of plants for musical instruments. Brother Clement explained to the participants the importance of documenting indigenous knowledge and sharing it with future generations. Facilitators also walked the learners through pronunciation exercises, enabling learners to use the indigenous names of the instruments. Documentation included sharing the information and recording knowledge through audiovisual aids and oral history.

Throughout the five years of the project, each music facilitator had an opportunity to share with the learners not only the music or the instrument, but also their life stories; this helped all participants realise how their narratives link to the narratives of other groups. Brother Clement told a story of how he developed his skills as a bow player and how his skills were exploited, which shocked learners. A white Afrikaner male facilitator from the Free State surprised learners when he shared that, as a white man, he was able to make a living by playing indigenous music. In Grahamstown, youth were surprised to find a white man giving them the tour and telling them about 'their' music at ILAM. Some admitted that they did not even know that a library like this existed in their town. Some of the elders also expressed sadness that the youth today does not appreciate the knowledge that they have. Through hearing the personal stories of the facilitators, the learners were challenged in their thinking about the past.

Results

This BIS intervention helped revive the importance of indigenous knowledge at the community level. Immediate outcomes of the workshop included intergenerational learning, acknowledgement of the past, empowerment of each other, productive engagement with diversity, and documentation and preservation of cultural heritage. All the stakeholders in the interventions participated in the reconciliatory process.

Through activities, learners were able to learn, accept, understand, tolerate and relate to each other and, as a result, they were more open to each other; levels of trust improved over time, allowing close relationships to be formed. Initially, learners felt that communicating with others not in their circle of friends was a breach of loyalty. Throughout the project, however, learners formed new groups of friends as they became acquainted with each other. Belonging to a certain group of friends no longer excluded participation in other circles of friends. Unlike in the beginning, the learners lost any inhibitions of playing together. This helped the facilitators in pairing learners according to their natural abilities to play certain instruments.

Participants learnt that music is not bound by race, culture or class. People, by virtue of their passion for music, are attracted to the sounds and rhythms of each instrument. A turning point in the facilitation process was when learners and facilitators could draw on the similarities in cultural traditions. Often, the focus is on what makes us different from each other. However, the project enabled everyone to make links among common rites of passage (e.g. birth, coming of age, marriage and death). Facilitators connected all of these milestones to different indigenous musical instruments and songs. The learners learnt that, although rites are called by different names, they served the same purposes. Moreover, not all that is important in life is learnt from school and books. They learnt the value of indigenous knowledge that their elders had.

Facilitators also worked to build a culture of tolerance when dealing with language diversity – they encouraged learners to attempt to speak each other's language. Unlike the initial sessions in which learners had laughed at the names of the instruments, by the end learners could pronounce the names with pride. In this way, the learners showed respect for themselves and others, which, in turn, contributed to the working relationships.

The facilitators were also not initially accustomed to working with each other. This experience enabled the facilitators to develop workshop material that could be used after the project as part of a small business operation. An artist like Brother Clement rarely gets the opportunity to be a teacher [43] because of his lack of schooling. These interventions afforded local practitioners like him the opportunity to develop professionally. Pedagogically, facilitators expressed that they learnt how to teach about their instrument, demonstrate how to make and play each instrument and share about the origin of each instrument. Many did not even realise the ability of their instrument to serve as tools for reconciliation. As a result of this initiative, an indigenous musical knowledge system provided by the custodians and practitioners of this genre will become accessible to learners across the country. In this way, redress can become a reality as a part of South African heritage previously silenced during colonial and apartheid times is restored.

Finally, reconciliation was fostered not only amongst the youth and facilitators, but also amongst a generation of elders who had succumbed to the apartheid regime's effort to silence their cultural heritage over time. By working with the youth, the elders also gained respect and recognition in their communities and from the youth. Through this social interaction, values of *ubuntu* were firmly embedded in the engagement with the participants.

FIGURE 7.3: BIS project stimulates independent action among community members

In 2016, a number of people were doing things on their own because of participating in our IJR projects

Tracey had organised an interracial prayer for rain in town

Kurt from Lakeside was teaching DJ-ing in different schools in collaboration with Sizwe from Mondlo

Sizwe was working with Nquthu Municipality and the youth on an Arts and Culture project

There are more collaborations between the ambassadors in Vryheid: Tracey; Kurt; Ntokozo and Sizwe

Source: BIS

Lessons learnt

- Craft activities can inadvertently open the door for additional topics, such as respect for the environment, to take root in an authentic way among learners.
- Focusing on the common goal of making an instrument, people forget about their differences and concentrate on the goal at hand. As a result of this, more informal conversation happens between the participants.
- Some changes among participants only became visible after four years. The biggest changes were noticed among people who participated in more than one of the BIS projects.

◉ CASE STUDY 4:

Anger into action

Over the past five years, many young people have expressed anger and disgruntlement with the current state of affairs in South Africa through social protest action and challenging the status quo. A persistent, negative discourse has emerged suggesting that the level of anger among youth is negatively impacting efforts to bring about social cohesion. This narrative discourages youths and adults from engaging difficult,

but important, conversations: turning away from anger could inadvertently lead to turning away from insight. This is particularly the case when South Africans feel they might be at the receiving end of that anger. Anger, when directed at the very systems that maintain structures of power, inequality and oppression challenges the accepted, yet unjust designs of society. Some have argued that anger between peers generates change, not necessarily destruction.[44] The discomfort and sense of loss it often causes is not fatal but rather a sign of growth. As Audrey Lorde rightly puts it, these angers between us as individuals will not kill us if we can articulate them with precision and if we listen to the content of what is said with at least as much intensity as we defend ourselves against the manner of saying.[45]

This section explores the emergence of exclusive narratives in dialogues and workshop engagements with South African youth by way of two cases. The first case study looks at the ways in which the use of the *African Identities* films evokes emotive responses among youth and how it in turn allows for the emergence of exclusive narratives of belonging. The second case study explores exclusive narratives that emerge during in-group conversations, particularly among racially homogeneous group settings focusing mainly on the concept of 'whiteness'.

Project description

The *African Identities* documentaries produced annually by the Memory, Arts and Culture project are powerful tools for channelling anger into dialogue.[46] The films allow an easier discussion of issues that are difficult to talk about. An initial conversation on the themes emerging from the films invariably leads participants to relate it to their own experiences. The films therefore offer a common and often neutral point from which to launch into conversations where people have contesting views. Although these documentary series touch on a variety of themes, those that speak specifically to the intersection of race and identity are what resonated most strongly with the youth. The films and the ensuing conversation pushed them out of their comfort zone and they had to speak about difficult themes like race and prejudices.

At the 2015 Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project five-day workshop session in Tulbagh in the Western Cape, BIS led a dialogue among 30 participants of different races using *African Identities*. As a means of grounding the discussion, participants watched a documentary on the personal journey of a young Afrikaner and his quest for discovering who he is. This documentary sparked a dialogue on race relations, racial identity, economic justice, gender justice, perspective, memory and memorialisation.

At a point in the documentary, viewers see the young man speaking to a young black African woman and he asks her, 'Can I be African?'. When the discussion was opened to the larger group, some participants shared their thoughts. A black woman mentioned that white people cannot claim to be African. As much as this is up for debate, one white participant in the group found great difficulty coming to terms with this statement. This is what he said:

> Hearing this I broke. I wept. It was the same feeling I felt when my mom told me my father passed away. A part of me died. But her honesty also

brought me some healing though. Her anger and honesty, while painful, helped our dialogue to continue into a constructive building of our relationship although I did not agree with her. I could hear her heart and many other people's hearts in Africa. I could see her pain. *Youth participant, Tulbagh, April 2015*

In another case, an in-group dialogue on whiteness with young Afrikaners in 2014 at Stellenbosch was framed by two questions:

1. What does it mean to be white in South Africa?
2. How have you come to experience your whiteness?

These questions were designed to be inward-looking to focus on the individual experience of racial identity and the ways in which youth navigate ways of being in a post-apartheid society. This was deliberate, as the tone of the conversation was meant to be one of introspective sharing and learning. The aim of the dialogue was to explore the extent to which race mediates social interaction. The dialogue provided great insight into and a better understanding of the challenges faced by young Afrikaners post-democracy.

Despite the conversation focusing solely on Afrikaners, the dialogue was dominated by fears around economic redress and other socio-economic issues. There were quite a few young people who were very vocal about how forced integration often has the opposite effect and that the aim of promoting tolerance was a more reasonable expectation. Of the 30 participants, five voices were particularly strong in emphasising that a simple redistribution of wealth would be unfair. Some suggested that black people needed to 'work hard' and prove that they were 'capable' of shouldering the responsibility before redress is practised, suggesting that Afrikaners were already hard-working and that a work ethic was a prerequisite for reparations. Participants expressed diverse opinions regarding the responsibility that those in positions of relative privilege have toward those who are less privileged. One white male asked his peers:

Gaan ons as Afrikaners vat wat ons het en dit deel met die res van die land of gaan ons *assholes* wees en dit alles vir ons self hou? *(Are we as Afrikaners going to take what we have and share it with the rest of the country or are we going to be assholes and keep everything to ourselves?)*

The conversation was in part dominated by 'groupthink' and posturing. Many participants demonstrated that they had a one-sided understanding of history and spoke as representatives of their racial category, rather than as individuals. During the course of the dialogue, sentiments of nostalgia and pride were running high and many of the participants spoke with great pride about the rise of the Afrikaner people (*volk*).[47] One participant commented that there is something to be said about the tenacity, courage and determination of the Afrikaner *volk* who, despite experiencing extreme oppression from the British and countless wars, organised itself and mobilised

capital to become leaders in industry. The role of the Afrikaner in the South African narrative was portrayed as that of an underdog who was forced to behave in certain ways because of the psychological effects of having been previously oppressed. The participants' logic followed that the establishment and maintenance of the apartheid state was a 'natural' course of action for a people who had been oppressed during the Anglo-Boer War. Some disregarded historical facts that the Afrikaner *volk* depended upon and oppressed the majority of South African society in order to prosper. The level of cultural pride among some participants was a stark departure from the mainstream feelings of 'white guilt' expressed by many other white South Africans in the dominant narratives. For some Afrikaner youth, a positive Afrikaner identity is constructed on denial and misreading of large sections of history, instead emphasising the trauma of events like the Anglo-Boer War, underplaying the dehumanising effects of apartheid carried out by the Afrikaner National Party and its supporters, and diminishing the role that Afrikaner ancestors had in establishing and maintaining this system of oppression.

BIS facilitators recognised that these lines of argument were deeply flawed, yet indicative of the subjective nature of history and memory. While there was little self-awareness among some participants that the history that they knew was a matter of perspective, level of exposure and interpretation, there was also a deep need to engage with these misguided perceptions in order to change them. The line of thought of some participants implied that, based on the 'natural' quality of apartheid, the 'natural' course of action now would be for black South Africans to oppress Afrikaners – an ultimately futile form of punitive and vengeful 'justice'.

Explanations offered by participants speak to the collective impact and trauma of the experience of gross oppression on the psyche of the Afrikaner. It raises questions around the way in which national history is taught at schools and institutions of higher learning. Despite the history of the struggle, the process of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and the countless attempts at retelling the South African story during the 20 years of democracy, some young people continue to display a one-sided understanding of historical events.

There were feelings of frustration, anger and uncertainty among the Afrikaner youth present at the dialogue. These emotions seemed to stem from the uncertainty that many have come to feel with the transition from apartheid to democracy. There is tension between the historical obligations that are imposed upon young white South Africans who did not perpetrate apartheid (i.e. 'I wasn't there') and their autonomy as free agents who, for some South Africans, still represent forms of oppression. There was resistance to acknowledge what Afrikaner political elites did and what that group represents in the collective memory of South Africa. Acknowledging this would be not only to admit what has been done in the name of the Afrikaner, but also what needs to be done now to right the injustices.

One female participant challenged the group in its construction and thinking around what it means to be an Afrikaner. She asked them how one defines '*volk*' and questioned whether it even existed. She cautioned against painting an idyllic picture of the history and reminded her peers of the dark side of Afrikaner identity and history. When asked how to define an Afrikaner, she stated:

Almal praat so van die Afrikaner trots, maar wat van die arm blanke gemeenskap buite Pretoria? Niemand wil met hulle *associate* word nie weens armoede en tienerswangerskappe. Is hulle steeds Afrikaners? *(Everyone talks about this Afrikaner pride, but what about the poor-white community just outside Pretoria? No one wants to be associated with them because of the poverty and teenage pregnancy that is rife among the community. Are they still Afrikaners?)*

She mentioned that, despite the fact that race plays an important role in the ways in which we engage with one another in South Africa, issues like gender relations and class are equally important. These are issues that also need to be explored in order to gain a deeper understanding into the social workings of the country. This participant brought to light the intersectionality involved in discussions about race, challenged exclusivity and demonstrated to her peers the plurality of opinions that exist among young white South Africans.

Results

The *African Identities* films and in-group dialogues deeply impacted participants. Many participants indicated that through the films they have learnt about other cultures. More importantly, youth are beginning to show internalisation of insights into the 'other'. They made statements of understanding and learning about another race group other than themselves. By watching the films and engaging with the themes that emerged in a meaningful way, most participants also reflected on the fact that their own understanding of what it means to be an African was challenged and that they could explore this in greater depth. Some mentioned lessons about being around people that they did not know. Here are a few testimonials from several 2013 IJR Youth Camp participants from Paarl:

Understand that there are many levels of understanding what it is to be African. Many people are uncomfortable talking about race.

I learnt that white people should be seen as African too – quite a revelation since so many people think otherwise.

I have learnt that we might be different but we all want the same thing, which is CHANGE.

Today I learnt about how important it is to voice your opinions no matter how difficult or stressing it may be. Today I learnt about making friends, socialising and engaging on tough issues.

I have learned that we all have our history and that should not keep us back. We spoke and did activities and from that our groups had tasks and everything said. We are the future and we must make positive choices.

What is of significance is the candid way in which these young people talked about the social issues that affect them, their fears and anxieties and even their preconceived ideas and prejudice. This is not only evident in the workshop sessions convened with young people, but also in the broader discourse on youth discontent and the implications of this for processes of reconciliation and social cohesion.

Many said that the lack of participation from white participants was a result of the assumption that anything offered for free is for those who are less fortunate, given the lack of equal access to quality education. Participants expressed a desire for their attempts of reaching out to be acknowledged, however small or insignificant they might seem. There were also pleas for the group's need to refrain from gross generalisations.

Lessons learnt

- *African Identities* documentaries as a tool for dialogue are most effective when the audience is young and diverse. This allows for a multiplicity of voices and narratives within the dialogue, which in turn, enhances the quality and depth of the discussion.
- The dialogue session and the expression of exclusive narratives highlighted the need for a nuanced understanding of identity and the identity-formation process of both minority and majority identity categories. In efforts to promote reconciliation and the building of inclusive societies, it will be important to take into account the multiplicity of voices and narratives. Opinions on the topics were quite varied.
- It is vital to the success of the country that young white South Africans participate and share in the dialogue and nation-building process. A continued absence of white representation in conversations about the past has the very real potential to delegitimise the reconciliation project and further entrench stereotypical notions of the 'other'. This, in turn, has the potential to legitimise exclusive narratives. The presence of white people is also key to increasing their own exposure to the experience of black South Africans.
- The work of teaching history is not over. How can the IJR and related institutions assist white youth in coming to terms with the past that they come from in a way that inspires them to act to prevent the repetition of the past? This is a conversation that will become increasingly important for the IJR to monitor, particularly the transformation within the Afrikaner community. Stellenbosch University remains a useful site through which to monitor these processes, because it represents a microcosm of young Afrikaner sentiments.

◎ CASE STUDY 5:
Exploring gender identities in Vryheid, Grahamstown and Warrenton

In South Africa, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, and queer (LGBTIQ+) individuals are often excluded from many parts of society, even from gender justice

work. Such exclusion is often a result of prevailing opinions about sexual orientation that there are only two genders – male and female – and that one's biological sex should correspond to behaviours, attitudes, traits and actions widely seen as 'male' and 'female'. These views impact all sexes and are bolstered by institutions and ideologies that uphold heterosexual male dominance in society.

In many circumstances, men feel enormous pressure to conform to ideas of hyper-masculinity, characterised by the appearance of being macho, brave, controlling, aggressive and violent. Men feel pressure to be providers financially and not to show emotion, except for anger and 'bravado'. Women are expected to practise feminine behaviours that uphold this patriarchal system. Each of these categories is highly proscriptive of what is acceptable or allowed, thereby restricting the existence of males and females. Moreover, among these binary distinctions, there is little acceptance for LGBTIQ+ people.

Project description

In an attempt to challenge these dominant narratives, BIS began work on gender justice with a session on sex, gender, sexual orientation and sexual play by screening the *African Identities* season on the LGBTIQ+ community in the Northern Cape.[48] This was followed by dialogue and application of the 'Binaries and boxes (or not!)' tool.[49] These tools challenge exclusive gender narratives that prioritise male hetero-normative[50] cisgendered[51] identities, and empowered participants with knowledge to understand gender and identity. The goal was to create an inclusive gender narrative, inform them about their own gender identities and to equip participants with additional tools and skills to share in their own communities.

The 'Binaries and boxes (or not!)' tool highlights the dominance of the masculine identity and sheds light on the need to further explore issues of masculinity with different groups. The tool opens up the narrative to be inclusive of all genders and those who identify along different sexual orientations by breaking the assumption that gender is fixed and unchanging, that sexual orientation can only mean heterosexual and that human beings only have sex in one type of way.

In most of the groups with which BIS worked,[52] women tended to be more accepting of the LGBTIQ+ communities represented in the *African Identities* films and more open to the idea that there is a *spectrum* of gender identities.

In Vryheid, BIS screened the short film *A Girly Matrimony*[53] about a lesbian couple who were happily married. The film showed a typical scene of the two women living their life and telling their story. During the screening some participants expressed shock and embarrassment at the story by giggling and whispering. The content was certainly taboo for many participants. Following the film, BIS held a debrief session to reflect. Opinions differed starkly between those who self-identified as male and those who self-identified as female in the group. The women in the group seemed to be more accepting of lesbian relationships. One woman commented that she was envious of the loving relationship she witnessed in the film and said, 'I want to feel valued, too.' Another woman echoed this sentiment and alluded to the luxury of two women being themselves, free of scrutiny, saying, 'Life is good when you can change.' Many of the women were eager to learn more.

In Grahamstown, some female school learners talked about having explored their own identities. Some of the young women in the room explained that they had tried being lesbian. The women, in general, were more open to homosexuality and fluidity in sexual identity. Some of the girls shared that they had dated girls despite being persecuted for it:

> Being judged is hurtful but you get used to it. I remember when I cut my hair. When I go to Port Elizabeth I chill with my cousin's brothers. And when I changed my hair they called me a boy or a girl. But if you know how you feel it doesn't matter how they feel. Society will judge you no matter what; if you [are] straight, bi, lesbian or gay, it's a matter of getting used to it. *Participant, Grahamstown group, 2016*

One young woman explained how her mother prohibited her from dating girls and dressing 'like a boy'. There was a perception in the room among the women that dating a lesbian is safer than dating men. Female respondents from the 2016 Grahamstown group said:

> Girls know how they want to be treated by a male so they can understand each other more.

> I think it's nice to have a relationship with a lesbian because there's less cheating. There is less abuse when dating another female.

In Vryheid in 2016, many women felt that men and others are discriminatory toward homosexual people and felt that lesbian women were far easier to accept than homosexual men:

> People accept lesbians quicker … There is something about gay people that is more difficult to understand. When it comes to lesbians they are sweet and cute but with gays it's a bit too much.

> Maybe it's not [that] they accept it easier, people just don't mind it. My cousin is lesbian but the abuse they got from the community was a lot but she just carries on. Even some of the family discriminated against them.

In Vryheid in 2015, the men in the group displayed a different first reaction to the films; they appeared to be far less accepting of homosexuality and many expressed shock and dislike. For the young men in the room, homosexuality was far more taboo and threatening to their gender identity, compared with the young women who seemed to find being with the same sex a great alternative. Many men, while seemingly willing to be more tolerant at the start of the session, were still apprehensive. Male respondents said:

> I am comfortable with lesbians/two chicks because of their sexual acts. I

have pushed myself to be comfortable with them but with gay people … I haven't pushed myself. I don't even want to push myself that far.

This was interesting. I don't like what they are doing, I don't accept it but I have learnt today that I must accept them as they are – it's not their choice. I will accept them but I don't want them as my friends. They must stay far away from me.

Gays – no, I don't want to mix with gays. I can accept women but not men. I want to beat them up. They mustn't come near me.

Workshops in KwaZulu-Natal and the Northern Cape served as examples of how masculinity is linked to heterosexuality and Homophobia. Some men are homophobic and fear that homosexuality threatens their identity: 'homophobia is related to heightened levels of masculinity and may develop in men who feel threatened by individuals whom they perceive to have feminine characteristics (e.g. women, gay men).'[54] In other words, perceiving someone as having 'feminine' qualities is seen as reason to 'other' and distance oneself from that person. The conversations explored why some men were not willing to accept homosexuality. A few men from the Vryheid group (2016) commented:

We are judging them because we think they are going to make a move on us. We are so afraid of gay guys hitting on us. They are just like us. They have standards also. They don't just go for anyone or anything.

Society expects a more muscular type of a man to be manly so when they turn up gay … that disappoints.

Participants discussed different ways in which men display and perform their masculinities, what is perceived as 'right' and 'wrong' and how perceptions are changing. The conversation brought up issues of what a man is, what a 'strong' man is and how masculinity and sexual orientation are not always linked. Despite individual will among men to change, many highlighted the community-wide pressures for men to be violent as a means of survival. A young man in Kimberley described how there is a saying in Tswana that translates into 'a man must be like a sheep'; this makes reference to the idea that sheep do not cry when they are slaughtered. Some believed that, for men to be seen as men, they must keep their emotions inside and be viewed as not having emotions at all.

Results

'Binaries and boxes (or not!)', in conjunction with the films, gave participants the tools to transform exclusive narratives to inclusive ones, thereby challenging discrimination. Through these types of dialogues, the LGBTIQ+ community is immediately included in a broader discussion on gender justice and gender identity. 'Binaries and boxes' was an avenue to not only talk about LGBTIQ+ issues, but also issues affecting

heterosexual and cisgendered individuals. The tool brought to the surface gender conditioning and challenged individuals to look outside of the box.

When planning for the way forward, participants in Vryheid brainstormed some of the things they wish they could do for the LGBTIQ+ community, including:

- Forming LGBTIQ+ open group meetings;
- Programmes to raise awareness among adults and youth on issues affecting LGBTIQ+ people;
- Pressure on government to have more gender-inclusive spaces such as toilets and public swimming pools that do not just have male and female bathrooms;
- Access to medication for transgender people in the process of transitioning; and
- Gay-pride days at schools and television and radio shows to raise awareness.

Following the workshop, participants reflected on their experiences. One person commented:

> To be honest I was shocked when I watched the films. I really never liked gay people and I don't say I like them. When I watched the films it touched my heart, I felt sad seeing how people judge gay men. From now on I will respect gay and lesbian people and not judge them. *Participant, Vryheid group, 2105*

After a dialogue in Warrenton, one man commented:

> Yesterday I learnt about assumptions and about gender equality. Most guys jump to conclusions about women and it's not right. We have to go back. *Participant, Warrenton group, 2016*

Another participant stated:

> I have never really heard their stories and the pain that they go through, the suffering that the community puts them through. After watching the videos I have learned to be more aware, more compassionate and more accepting of them although when seeing them intimate it is still unbearable to watch but with time it can be something that I can accept and see as the norm. *Participant, Vryheid group, 2015*

Similarly, the responses regarding the impact of the 'Binaries and boxes' exercise were equally positive, with respondents commenting on how it helped them to clarify the differences between sex, gender, sexual orientation and sexual play. Many wrote that, initially, they thought these were the same thing.

In conclusion, participants were asked what they would do differently as an agent of change after learning about LGBTIQ+. Everyone who responded committed to sharing the knowledge, challenging discrimination and using their voice to bring about change. One powerful comment that summarises many of the others was:

> After I learn about LGBTI I am going to the youth of my community to teach them what I have learned at the workshop about LGBTI because there are so many gay and lesbian people in my community and people hate them and they call them with so many naughty and disgusting names and they make them feel so uncomfortable and I want to teach them that gay people are important, there is no need to discriminate against them – we need to support them and respect – it's their choice. *Participant, Vryheid group, 2015*

Lessons learnt

Interventions are well designed to focus on the exclusive narratives that emerge among the group, for example narratives that privilege a certain type of masculinity.

Adequate training on how to best share the tools and videos in the community and to train community leaders to take tools to their spheres of influence is necessary.

The more participants and facilitators talked about gender and sexuality, the easier it became for participants to open up about their experiences with gender identity and sexual orientation. Teaching them to learn the categories, then discard them, was a best practice, especially among youth.

Conclusion

Broadening exclusive narratives is an essential step towards reconciliation of many different groups in South African society. BIS sought out relevant topics and affected constituencies to ensure that debate and dialogue aided participants in the expansion of their understanding of the 'other'. Safe spaces were key to the success of interventions on all the issues that BIS addressed: dominance and misunderstanding of colonial and apartheid history, erasure of cultural heritage, lack of intergenerational and interracial cohesion, and discrimination against LGBTIQ+ people. This is a useful model to apply in contexts where certain topics are considered too personal, taboo or unspoken as a result of past or current abuses of power. Bringing such challenges to light in safe environments allows for healing to begin – healing of the hatred, ill will, prejudice or simply lack of awareness that people often feel and perpetuate as a result of long-standing conflict.

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4   Direct eye contact in certain African cultures is perceived as disrespectful. If an individual knew this social convention and still made direct eye contact, it would be a sign of disrespect.

This convention does not apply consistently across South Africa. In some contexts, it is appropriate to make eye contact.

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6   Ibid.

7   See definition of 'other' in Chapter 3, note 4.

8   See note on eye contact above.

9   Also referred to as the Second Anglo-Boer War.

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11 A mixed coloured and black area.

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31   'Voortrekker' refers to Afrikaner/Boer pioneers who left the Cape Province in 1838 (when slaves were freed) to travel to and settle in the interior eastern part of South Africa. Their subsequent clashes with Zulu people in the Vryheid area are well documented; however, the experiences of their Zulu opponents is the lesser known part of the history.

32   An encampment formed by a circle of wagons.

33   Lucas Meijer was the first and only president of the New Republic of Natalia, which was established by the Voortrekkers and shortly thereafter subsumed into the Transvaal.

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39   At each of the music workshops and dialogues, parameters or expectations around the space and what is in the space were set. Each workshop had guidelines during the intervention and opened with participants and facilitators sharing their expectations for the outcomes of the intervention. The working area was spacious and was set up the same way each time. Transport to and from communities, food, drinks and supplies were all provided by the IJR.

40   A plastic horn that became popular in South Africa during the World Cup in 2010.

41   A Zulu musical bow with a calabash as a resonator.

42   Brother Clement Sithole is internationally known as the maker and player of *ugubhu* and *umakhweyana* and for his work promoting Zulu music and dance with the youth around Vryheid.

43   Only sparingly does the University of KwaZulu-Natal call on Brother Clement as a part-time lecturer.

44   Lorde A (2007) *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* by Audre Lorde. Berkeley: Crossing Press.

45   Ibid.

46   See Table 2.6 in Chapter 2 for a list of the *African Identities* collections.

47   Among some of the Afrikaner community, the Anglo-Boer War has retained a strong foothold in the collective memory of the Afrikaner people and is central for many in the identity-formation process of the collective. The use of the Anglo-Boer War and the Afrikaans language in the Afrikaner nation-building agenda remains central to the construct of the Afrikaner identity. Despite the passing of nearly a century since the end of the Anglo-Boer War, young

Afrikaners who have no lived experience or memory of that time, continue to feel strongly about this moment in history.

48 IJR (2015) *African Identities: Shades of Belonging Season 5: LGBTI Community of Kimberley.* Cape Town: IJR.

49 Van Dyk D (2015) Binaries and boxes (or not!): Understand human sexuality: Understand life! Available at http://23.91.64.91/~msmgf/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/BinariesBoxes_slidedeck. pdf [accessed 2 December 2016].

50 Denoting or relating to a world view that promotes heterosexuality as the normal or preferred sexual orientation.

51 Denoting or relating to a person whose self-identity conforms with the gender that corresponds to their biological sex; not transgender.

52 'Binaries and boxes' has been done with the following groups: 60 young adults in Vryheid (KwaZulu-Natal) and Warrenton (Northern Cape); 12 high school learners in Grahamstown (Eastern Cape); 40 people from the Northern Cape LGBTIQ+ community; 20 Western Cape community leaders.

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POST-CONFLICT CO-CONSTRUCTED KNOWLEDGE

Cecyl Esau with Eleanor du Plooy and Kenneth Lukuko

The tasks confronting post-conflict societies are immense and varied. This chapter explores the need to construct new knowledge for and in post-conflict communities. This is premised on the assumption that individuals and groups are socialised into particular world views and belief systems that could have contributed to the initial conflict.

Political expression and engagement vary across and within designated racial, age and gendered categories of people. It is therefore imperative that new knowledge that will be aligned with the new democratic order is constructed. This line of work also assumes that many people have a limited awareness of how their world views about themselves, others and their contexts have been informed and shaped by the past and how it still continues to operate in the post-conflict context.

The discussion in this chapter attempts to show how to construct knowledge and frameworks that will enable communities to contribute consciously and deliberately to co-create a desired future. This chapter's main argument is that everyone uses and relies on different bodies of knowledge and belief systems in order to explain what happened in the past. In the context of South Africa, these bodies of knowledge and belief systems were heavily influenced by the racist ideologies and practices of colonialism and apartheid. Although many of these racist practices have been abolished, the racist ideologies still continue to inform the way people across and within designated groups relate and understand each other today. To contribute to the growth and realisation of post-apartheid towns and communities, new knowledge

that disrupts these racist ideologies must be constructed, propagated and internalised by community members from all sides of the conflict.

This chapter is structured into the following five sections:

- The first is a discussion of the nature of the political transition to understand the changing context and how the past impacts on the present;
- The second attempts to give an explanation of the political cultures within various designated groups;[1]
- The third engages in a discussion of how the prior knowledge, experiences and subjectivities of project leaders of the Building an Inclusive Society (BIS) Programme prepared them with regard to knowledge construction and information-sharing;
- The fourth deals with three case studies from the BIS Programme in which the issues of knowledge construction and information-sharing arise; and
- The final section is an examination of some of the constraints in the settings of the BIS intervention research sites.

The new South Africa

This section looks at the context of South Africa's political transition, which culminated in the adoption of the 1996 Constitution and Bill of Rights. The political cultures of various designated groups are explored. We conclude by looking briefly at one of the persistent features of South African towns and cities that predates democracy, namely residential separation, which impedes the social contract and learning from and about the other.

Background

In 1983, when then President Pieter Willem (PW) Botha introduced the tricameral parliamentary system that excluded the majority black population, it catalysed the creation of a coalition of anti-apartheid formations both locally and internationally. Two national political formations were launched: the National Front and the United Democratic Front (UDF).[2] These formations brought together myriad grassroots and other types of organisations and provided a clear national objective: the rejection of the divide-and-rule politics of the apartheid state and directing the political energies of those who opposed apartheid.

The intensity of the internal resistance to apartheid and international factors such as the declaration of apartheid as a crime against humanity, the imposition of economic sanctions and the adoption of the Harare Declaration[3] by the United Nations as a precondition for a negotiated settlement in South Africa, led to the momentous events of February 1990. Liberation movements were unbanned, political prisoners were released and exiles returned. Subsequently, a multiparty negotiation process culminated in a political settlement at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). This agreement paved the way for South Africa's first democratic elections

in 1994. Two years later, the national Parliament adopted the country's first democratic Constitution with a Bill of Rights.

The political transition was characterised by instability and uncertainty. It was punctuated by violence, killings, assassinations, the suspension of negotiations, and physical threats and intimidation of the negotiators at Kempton Park where CODESA was hosted.

If one accepts February 1990 as the date signalling the beginning of the political transition in South Africa, then slightly more than 22 years elapsed before the BIS intervention was initiated at the selected research sites.[4] During that time, there were specific conditions within which the political transitions started and unfolded, as well as a series of constraints.

One of the essential qualities of the South African transition is that it did not come about as the result of a revolution, but rather as a consequence of a negotiated settlement. Although the apartheid system could no longer continue as before, the opponents to apartheid were also constrained by the negotiation process. Adversaries had to work together to restructure South African society. In addition to the internal parties to the conflict, there were a number of international players pursuing and supporting a variety of local actors and, in line with those, opposing agendas. Those in power favoured reform rather than substantive transformation of South African society. Land ownership and the direction of the economy were not substantially overhauled. Nevertheless, the creation of an inclusive democratic system based on 'one person, one vote' with an accompanying Bill of Rights that normatively guaranteed equality before the law in a united, 'non-racial' state was a radical break with the colonial and apartheid past.

At the local level, those who benefited from colonialism and apartheid had to work with all residents to confront the racial hierarchy and its implications for constructing new towns and cities. Moreover, the local government had to serve the interests of all its inhabitants and participating parties had to compete to represent the electorate.

The Bantustans[5] of apartheid had each spawned their own civil service, which had to be incorporated into the democratic state. This presented one of the biggest challenges to the democratic state because it required a shift in institutional culture.

Racial identity-based politics

The colonial and apartheid systems categorised South Africans into different identity groups, which resulted in distinct lived experiences for those groups. The political ideas that various identity groups embraced informed and shaped their knowledge of self and others. To understand the different bodies of knowledge and approaches that contributed to the conflict prior to the democratic era, it is important to take note of these identity-based politics.

White communities

White people who were 21 years old and older participated in electoral party-based politics.[6,7,8] The dominant[9] political party since 1948 had been the National Party with the United Party and the Progressive Party in the opposition. The National Party

dominated all three spheres of national, provincial and local politics.

In addition to the formal party-political structures, the Afrikaner group also had a range of cultural, political and economic formations, including the highly secretive Broederbond. The latter functioned as a think tank and was reportedly also responsible for directing government policy and deployment of key personnel in strategic positions to ensure the extension and protection of Afrikaner interests. White society had a number of vibrant civil society organisations and institutions that disseminated the ideology and belief system of racial superiority. Grundlingh states: 'As a cultural political phenomenon, a specifically ethnic nationalism and narrowly defined Afrikaner nationalism undoubtedly left its mark on the twentieth-century South African history.'[10] He defines ethnic nationalism as the 'belief that a particular ethnic group is superior to or better than other groups'.

After 1994, the white political scene was reconstituted as the National Party disappeared. The Democratic Party became home to some of the National Party membership and opened its doors to coloured and black people. The most important post-1994 development on the white political scene was the demise of the National Party and the emergence of the Democratic Alliance, which incorporated members of the former Democratic Party and former National Party, positioning the party as liberal, multiracial and supportive of the free market.

Coloured communities

The political terrain in the coloured community[11,12,13] was divided between those who espoused conservative politics – people who accepted the racial political order through the Coloured Representative Council (CRC)[14] – and those who opposed the racial political order on various ideological grounds – like the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM)[15] and the Coloured People's Congress (CPC). The latter two organisations worked with ideologically like-minded formations among the black and Indian groups. The NEUM worked with the African Peoples Democratic Union of South Africa (APDUSA) and the CPC worked with the Congress Alliance led by the African National Congress (ANC).[16]

Civil society in coloured communities mainly consisted of faith-based organisations, a number of cultural organisations such as musical brass bands, sporting and recreational organisations, political organisations that participated in the CRC and management committee system, and a few trade union structures. Educators were members of professional bodies, like the Cape Professional Teachers' Association, which had been a moderate organisation since its inception.[17] In a number of sporting codes, there was a political division between those who supported the position of the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) of 'No normal sport in an abnormal society' and those who opposed it. Those who opposed SACOS enjoyed a measure of support from the government and the white sports structures.[18,19]

The Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) was the state church that provided the theological justification for apartheid. The coloured Dutch Reformed Mission Church was a daughter church that had ministers from the mother church in charge of their congregations. However, an increasing number of its theologians, from the mid-1970s, embraced black and liberation theology, which impacted the church's theological

understanding and informed the role of its ministers. Furthermore, its adoption of the Confession of Belhar[20] provided the basis to reconsider its relationship with the DRC.

The coloured community in the Western Cape bore the brunt of forced removals, which destroyed mixed communities and relocated people to the Cape Flats. The formation of the UDF and its 1983 launch in Mitchell's Plain, a predominantly coloured area on the Cape Flats, played a catalytic role in informing and shaping anti-apartheid resistance in the Western Cape, where the majority of South Africans who self-identified as coloured resided.

The apartheid government favoured coloured labourers in the Western Cape, confining black people to menial jobs.

Black communities

Black[21] communities both in rural and urban settings had experiences that differed from those of the coloured community under colonialism and apartheid. Civil society in the black community was similarly dominated by faith-based organisations and sporting clubs, with soccer being the main sport. These were flourishing cultural activities which expressed identity, pride and rootedness in Africa. In many black communities since the beginning of the 20th century, there has been a substantive trade union and political consciousness and organisation.

In the racially charged economy, they occupied the bottom rung with little or no social infrastructure, especially in urban areas. These dynamics changed only as the demand for cheap labour increased in the mining, agricultural and manufacturing sectors. Even then, capitalist production favoured male labour power. Black men lived in single-sex hostels at or near their places of work. In addition, black people were the only ones whose movements were controlled by the pass law system since the mineral revolution in the 1870s in South Africa.

Mining companies and especially the apartheid government developed and implemented policies restricting socialisation across ethnic and tribal identities as part of the divide-and-rule strategy by providing accommodation on the mines and in residential areas along those ethnic and tribal lines. These policies of ethnic and tribal division were buttressed by the Bantustan system in which each ethnic group was assigned an 'aboriginal place of residence' where black people could own land. These areas attained the highest form of development under apartheid because they were allowed independent self-governance. However, citizens of these 'independent states'[302] were deprived of their South African citizenship and their independence was not internationally recognised.

Resistance against the apartheid state started shortly after the National Party came to power in 1948 and developed and implemented its racist laws. The 1952 Defiance Campaign coincided with the tricentennial of the arrival of the Dutch settlers. In response, a number of political organisations embarked on a campaign in 1954 to ask South Africans what kind of laws they wanted as a response to the raft of apartheid laws enacted by the National Party. These responses were subsequently incorporated into a document, the Freedom Charter, which was adopted in 1955. The 1950s saw continuous mass action. In 1956, women marched from across the country to the seat of government in Pretoria to protest against the extension of pass laws to black women.

However, the new apartheid state arrested the mass mobilisation by criminalising it, banning organisations and individuals and curtailing freedom of expression and association. By the beginning of the mid-1960s, the apartheid state was firmly in control, political organisations were banned, and members of such organisations were driven into exile or imprisoned. People were fearful of the apartheid state and retreated.[23]

Spatial separation of residents

Residential and spatial separation predated the National Party coming to power in 1948. The first act of separation between colonists and indigenous people was the cultivation of a wild almond hedge[24] that served as a physical barrier between the local population and Dutch settlers. The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 established communal land ownership for black people in ethnic reserves. The enactment and implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950 left its imprint on virtually every inch of South African soil. The overall effect of these apartheid laws was one of physical and social separation of South Africans according to race and ethnicity, which severely limited social interaction and led to the stereotypical construction of the 'other'.

BIS approaches to knowledge co-creation

During the period of research, BIS designed interventions in a conscious and deliberate way, providing opportunities for project participants to become aware of and reflect on their political socialisation of self and the 'other'. The objective was to create a safe space for participants to transcend their conception of themselves and of others. In this way, the basis was laid for the construction of new understanding and knowledge for living together.

This section explores BIS's role as an intervener, the qualities of the BIS project participants and the co-construction of knowledge in the three case studies presented in this chapter:

1. The Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project (AKYLDP);
2. The Schools Oral History Project's (SOHP) reflective practices of autobio-graphical or community documentation; and
3. The Community Healing project's Siyakha Forum.

This section draws on structured interviews conducted with project field staff, all of whom were part of the team since mid-2012.

Selection of participants

In most cases, participants were selected by key collaborators and partnering organisations or were self-selected into the project. There was a variety of reasons why participants attended these engagements:

- An instruction from district officials or an educator;
- In response to an invitation to an organisation to provide participants;
- Recruitment via social media; or
- Previous experience with other BIS interventions.

In most instances, attendees of the initial engagement became project participants.

Nature of the interventions

A blend of methodologies was used to engage project participants. These were all based on the notion that knowledge does not reside in a single person, not even the BIS facilitator. The challenge was for the facilitator to create a safe learning environment in which every participant could engage with the processes of knowledge construction. In some instances, a dialogic approach (i.e. dialogues and conversations) was used in a variety of settings that allowed participants to share their understandings, listen to other viewpoints and engage with new ideas.

Skills training took place over a number of interventions, for example the documentation of community histories in the AKYLDP and the SOHP. These 'how-to' components of the intervention strategy provided immediate gratification, as participants could see and experience a pay-off for their efforts and time. The constructivist workshop approach that used a variety of exercises – such as small-group thinking, individual activities and feedback sessions – contributed to high levels of participation.

Age of BIS project participants

Project participants were drawn from between the ages of 16 and 70, depending on the kind of intervention; the bulk of the participants fell in the age cohort of 18 to 50. The selection of project participants was based on two qualities:

1. Who may have a lot of knowledge and insights from the past; and
2. Who needs to be equipped with additional skills and knowledge to undertake and contribute to conscious and deliberate construction of post-apartheid South Africa.

FIGURE 8.1: Age breakdown of participants at Lesego Old Age Home, Pampierstad

Legend:
- 60–64 years
- 65–69 years
- 70–74 years
- 75–79 years
- 80–84 years
- 85–89 years
- 90–94 years
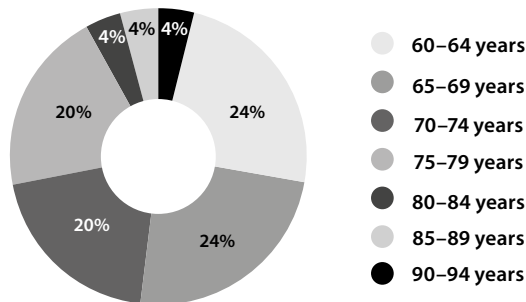
Source: BIS

FIGURE 8.2: **Age breakdown of Siyakha Forum participants**

Legend:
- 18–27 years, 0%
- 28–35 years
- 36–45 years
- 46–55 years
- 56–65 years
- 66–75 years
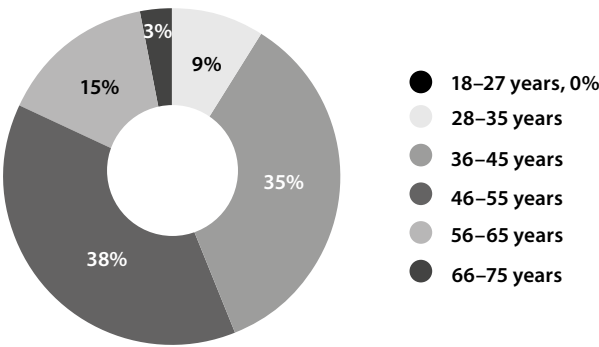
Source: BIS

Initially, the AKYLDP included 16-year-olds, but changed the age range to 18 to 35 to focus on a mix of tertiary, working and unemployed youth, while considering their relative levels of maturity and experience. Community Healing worked almost exclusively with adults aged 20 to 70. The SOHP is the only project that deliberately worked with both older and younger participants on account of its interventions.

Gender breakdown of BIS participants

All the project interventions had female and male project participants. The ratios varied according to the specific focus of the interventions. For example, the Memory, Arts and Culture Northern Cape project highlighted identity construction within the LGBTIQ+ community and selected transgendered persons. Similarly, the Gender Justice project had a deliberate gender-inclusive focus.

FIGURE 8.3: **Male vs female breakdown of AKYLDP participants**

Legend:
- Male
- Female
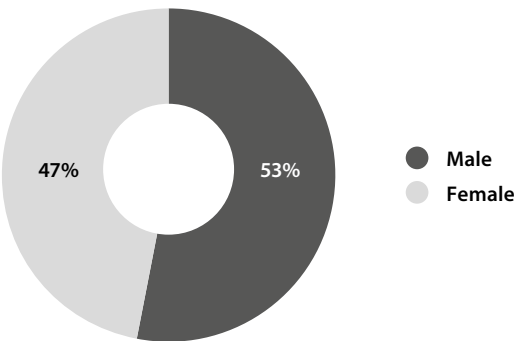
Source: BIS

FIGURE 8.4: **Male vs female breakdown of participants at Lesego Old Age Home,
Pampierstad**
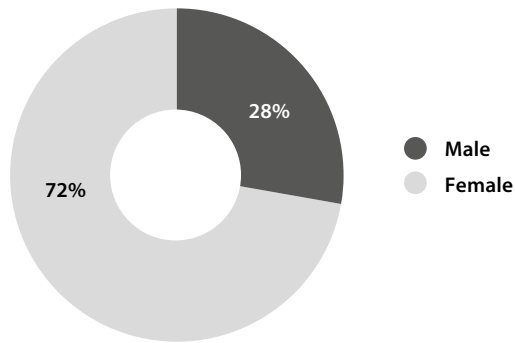
Source: BIS

FIGURE 8.5: **Male vs female breakdown of Siyakha Forum participants**
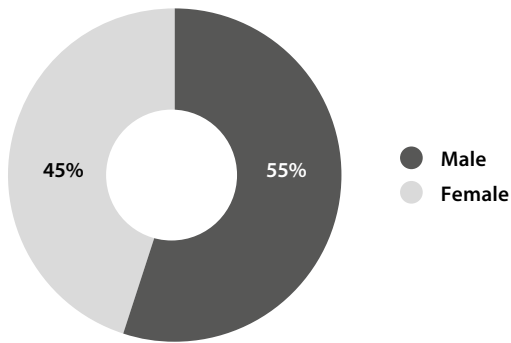
Source: BIS

Case studies

Three case studies are presented in this section:

1. The Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project (AKYLDP);
2. The Schools Oral History Project's (SOHP) reflective practices of autobiographical or community documentation; and
3. The Community Healing project's Siyakha Forum.

The case studies will be discussed in terms of:

- The issue or challenge the BIS intervention sought to address;
- Approaches and methodologies used in the implementation;
- The impact of the intervention; and
- Lessons learnt.

⦿ CASE STUDY 1:
Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project

Issue

Central to this project was the exploration of how young people understand the political transition and how they see their role in deepening democracy, as well as determining the different ways in which their engagement could contribute to the co-construction of new knowledge required to shape and provide content to the construction of post-apartheid South Africa.

Approach

Facilitating knowledge co-construction requires productive engagements on sensitive issues. This requires, amongst others, safe spaces, respectful conversation and a willingness to learn from others.[25] It was envisaged that the young people participating in the project would have a multiplier effect on their immediate environment to enhance the understanding and discussions about the political transition. In this way, gaps and opportunities could be identified and explored for knowledge co-construction.

In many formal and informal discussions, history was invoked, which presented an opportunity to highlight the need for the construction of new knowledge. Many of the participants were wary of the history taught to them in schools. Primary and secondary school education, in particular, were questioned. Participants often voiced that the history taught in South African schools today is the story of the ANC and that this story is a 'black story', devoid of the experiences of Indians, coloured people, foreign nationals and other previously disadvantaged groups.

Participants did not seem to be particularly well versed in the history of Africa or South Africa, with most of their claims coming from stories passed on to them. The history they painted was very clearly drawn in black and white, for example 'Africa is for Africans', referring specifically to black people. Some of the coloured participants (along with some of the white participants) were adamant that one's skin colour does not define one's identity and that the dichotomous discussion left no space for their history. They viewed their history as that of a mixed people. This discussion of history based purely on black and white lines also excluded participants who identified themselves as mixed race, not as coloured.

Besides the marginalised historical experiences of those previously classified coloured, participants felt there was a lack of cultural history. For example, some of the black men felt that their views on women and marriage were being disregarded in informal spaces. They felt that the way they were raised was based on years of cultural practice and that it was undermined at times. This, in turn, allowed for a deeper conversation around their understanding of gender and highlighted the multiple perspectives in the room. The ideologies around those practices were constantly challenged by various participants. It revealed how little people knew about their own cultures, practices and histories.

Impact

In reference to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)[26] and reconciliation

processes in South Africa, quite a few participants mentioned that the workshop was the first time they had been confronted with the TRC or at least learnt something more about it, and that it made them realise how painful the reconciliation process was. The participants seemed to think that the TRC had failed the country, but were unclear about the processes and the effects of the TRC. Many of the participants also claimed that they were only told about the commission at university. At present, the TRC is taught as part of the history curriculum, but history is not a compulsory subject in South Africa, unlike the case in many post-colonial countries.[27]

In the process of knowledge co-construction, it is critical to examine as many considerations on the identified area for deliberation. Here is an indication of how participants thought about reconciliation in South Africa. Views on reconciliation were multifaceted. Participants saw it as 'a process', 'difficult to define', 'still unfinished in South Africa', 'must continue', 'is not cheap or easy but painful and a transformation process', and 'costly'. Others mentioned that reconciliation 'is a healing process,' 'is to restore relationships and to look beyond each other's differences,' 'is more than apartheid or race-related,' 'is looking beyond differences and it goes hand in hand with justice'. Another viewed reconciliation as 'sometimes a matter of necessity, where sooner or later we will have to reconcile: however, the longer we leave it, the more we may have to reconcile at the end.' Others thought that reconciliation 'must be taught in schools, especially the TRC'. Many suggested: 'We may forgive but we don't forget.'

The AKYLDP intervention process contributed to developing knowledge and cross-group understanding, as evidenced by the following comments:

> I have become more aware now of the underlying consequences and feelings of many South Africans, especially regarding our country's history … I am also now more aware of the complexities in life, our past, our future. *22-year-old Stellenbosch University student*

> My political perspectives have been given depth as I have been exposed to other political views from different races. Also my perspective on other people's stories has gained weight. They are more important to me to gain knowledge to understand people's views. *Masters student in theology at Stellenbosch University, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) Youth Camp, 2015*

One participant articulated the personal impact of having been exposed to views that she was not usually exposed to:

> A personal shift inside of my mind took place because I started under-standing why people are who they are, from their heritage to their culture, and now I have a more holistic view of our society and individuals. I now see that only once you look at an entire situation, analyse and combine each part of an individual, that reconciliation can start. *25-year-old out-of-school youth from Mitchell's Plain, Western Cape, 2014*

Lessons learnt

Young people *want* to contribute to the co-construction of knowledge as part of building post-conflict South Africa with regard to issues of memory, history and identity in ways that are interesting and challenging. It was important that BIS provided young people with these platforms to encourage their personal development and afford them the opportunity to think of ways in which they can generate new knowledge for our post-conflict society and to bring about change within their communities and in South Africa as a whole. This intervention reinforced that young people who are confused about their history tend to distrust the new dispensation,[28] but have very few places where they feel comfortable to discuss such issues.

◎ CASE STUDY 2:
Community documentation in the Schools Oral History Project

In 2006, the Department of Basic Education (DBE) created a national oral history competition aimed at stimulating interest in local history.[29] Starting in 2014, an oral history or heritage assignment became compulsory for Grade 9 learners. Under this mandate, the SOHP trains school learners and community members in critical approaches to the past and guides them through the research process from start to finish to create their own oral histories as a form of self-empowerment.

Issue

Post-apartheid society needs *all* voices to construct a true representation of our past and history.

   Local, community and town histories in South Africa have by and large been about only one section of the citizens of the town – white citizens and sometimes the history of the DRC doubles up as a town history because of the close connection between the two. For example, Warrenton became a town in 1882. Its history was detailed in a theology dissertation about the DRC in the town 100 years later.[30] This kind of history is a construction of what happened in the past based on the perspective of a single historian or storyteller. This kind of story only gives us a partial view of what happened, because it is based on only a handful of sources of information. Whoever writes and tells the history of Warrenton, or any place, controls what generations in the future will learn about what happened there before.

   Furthermore, South Africa is becoming more and more democratic. Democracy is demanding the participation of many more people than before. Calls for 'nothing about us, without us' suggest that, in this process, everyone's history is important, not just the history of the few. One of today's challenges is to explore opportunities for town residents to develop new histories and to democratise and expand the local archive to include everyone's voices. New storytellers need to own the histories they tell. Everyone must see a part of themselves in that history.

Approach

To address this need, BIS trained learners in producing oral histories through a

variety of outputs, such as photo-narratives in De Doorns, posters in Vryheid and Worcester and a booklet in Windsorton. Participants[31] are interactively taught all the key components of an oral history project. A variety of processes are explored within formal educational curricula, as well as community-wide appreciation of multiple perspectives and voice that contribute to the cultivation of local historical consciousness through documentation.

Firstly, BIS encourages learners and community members to be co-producers of new historical knowledge. In other words, they no longer need to be only consumers of historical knowledge, but can also learn the tools of the trade to become budding historians. This approach relates to the Asset-Based Community Development a (ABCD) pproach that was shared with participants from Warrenton by the AKYLDP and Gender Justice and Reconciliation project.

Participants are introduced to the idea that history is a dynamic discipline and that it is best if conceived in the plural as *histories* rather than *history*. This creates space for critical engagement with the past, rather than a mere uncovering or recovering of what happened. In addition, it allows for contestation about various interpretations, which may well provide a textured and nuanced understanding.

Participants are then invited to engage with the notion that the historian (or whoever narrates past events) does so from their own perspective. At least three interrelated aspects are at play:[32]

1. Who is the narrator or historian?
2. What informs their interpretation of what is narrated?
3. Who is the intended audience?

This underscores the need for the identification and promotion of multiple perspectives on the past.

In line with the need for multiple perspectives is the creation of spaces for multiple voices to be heard about our pasts. The oral history methodology depends on researching and documenting contemporary events and lives.[33] A useful tool in the knowledge-construction process is the development of a timeline relevant to the oral history research project. Depending on the type of project, parallel time lines could be drawn inclusive of what might be considered to be relevant. In the Community Healing project, the 'River of Life'[34] was used to identify and chart significant past events in the life of a person or community. In the AKYLDP, the timeline has been used to depict historically significant events of South Africa's past to elicit a discussion on history and the ways it has shaped the present. By presenting young people with a physical timeline illustrated on a continuous roll of paper with images, words and colours, participants were not only visually stimulated, but they were also able to touch it, write on it and even walk all over it, depending on the placement of the timeline. In a very tactile and kinaesthetic way, participants were able to illustrate how an individual is able to exert influence through present action. The events on the time-line are subjectively selected by the facilitator, but care is taken to select events that will spark conversation and steer it toward the intended objectives of the workshop. The timeline allows participants to reflect on the different ways in which

historical events affect different people and are interpreted in various ways.

In an intergenerational workshop conducted by the AKYLDP in 2015, youth and parent generations were given different-coloured sticky notes on which to write a comment to paste next to an event on the timeline that resonated with them. This was particularly useful in visually representing the different ways in which these two generations engage with the past.

The training then invites participants to grapple with the question, 'How can one know what happened in the past?' This is an epistemological question referring to the kinds of sources that are known, available and accessible. In addition, sources need to be critically analysed and always be compared with as many other sources as possible. The SOHP emphasises the need to cross-check and critically evaluate all sources.

After having developed an understanding that many narratives can be constructed about our pasts, not only one master narrative,[35] participants then plan a practical oral history research project:

- Starting with a key research question;[36]
- Identifying and selecting potential interviewees;
- Compiling an interview guide;
- Role-playing;
- Pre-interviewing; and
- Doing the final interview.

The interview process presents many moments of insight in the life of the interviewee, opening a window on past circumstances and experiences. Participants time-travel into the past. The interaction between the interviewer(s) and the interviewee is an opportunity for them to get to know each other in a totally different way than before. For most interviewees, it was the first time they were asked to share their life story outside the family circle. They were excited to be interviewed about their lives, to contribute to the creation of knowledge and understanding about how things were in the past and how they have changed. There was usually a mix of different kinds of interviewees in terms of socio-economic, educational, occupational and cultural divides.

The post-interview reflection is a chance for learners and community members to examine their own experience and fulfils a curriculum requirement. While debriefing, the interviewer(s) would very often make a statement along these lines: 'I've known the interviewee for a long time but I never knew the things (s)he had done or experienced before; now I have a different understanding of the interviewee.' The interviewer also unpacks the content provided by the interviewee and the selection of specific incidents. Furthermore, the information obtained can then be assessed and compared with other existing sources. In many instances, new avenues for investigation are identified by the information supplied by the interviewee. Depending on the nature and scope of the oral history process, this could develop into a new line of oral history research.

Impact

The fact that there is historical knowledge in the popular memory of local people does not necessarily translate into valuing that knowledge or making it tangible. The extant, tangible heritage does not relate to contemporary events and people. Sites of memory and contemporary sites[37] should be visited on the same occasion to raise awareness of how the past could be viewed from multiple perspectives.

The SOHP contributes to the processes of knowledge construction in two ways: first, as a recorded voice document, and, second, as a catalogued and stored interview. The knowledge generates findings that can be displayed as part of an audiovisual presentation, a biographical sketch or a larger narrative of a selected event or process. Since 2012, the SOHP has published several outputs consisting of poster series, booklets with accompanying DVDs and one photo-narrative.[38-45] These outputs were produced in working with high school learners and community members. Outputs rely on the interview data and are usually packaged in terms of a selected theme that has been investigated.[46] BIS compares a list of pre-existing published sources on the selected theme to the documents created by participants, showing an increase in sources available. In addition, outputs are disseminated locally to libraries and schools and on the IJR website.

Participants complete evaluation forms before and after the oral history training in order to assess their level of understanding and knowledge of history, oral history, local history, the oral history process, research ethics, social cohesion and reconciliation. Here are some responses of workshop participants after the oral history training session in Pampierstad held on 7 October 2015 at the Pampierstad library:

> The experience was moving and emotional because you see more people learning [from] it; I'm talking about knowledge and wisdom.

> *What have you learnt from the training?*

> That oral history [is] excellent and enjoyable and it taught me a lot about how to do oral history research about a particular project.

> How to conduct an oral history interview and observe critically as well as to differentiate between the truth and a lie by just observing the body language and eye contact.

> Ancestors, parents and grandparents need to be respected.

> I have learnt a lot of things: respect for all and to know my background and [l]earnt not to judge [a person based on their skin colour].

> *What will you tell your family and friends happened at the workshop?*

> The workshop was inspiring and made me realise how important it is to know your history.

> ### *What should be done to make the workshop experience better?*
>
> Advertise more and include more people; make it a reoccurrence not [a] once-off lecture.

Lessons learnt

- Future interventions using multimedia should explore ways to increase wider participation, including group work and better upfront training with cameras and voice recorders. In Pampierstad, after an elementary introduction on how to take photographs with the view to tell stories, two project participants took most of the photographs. The same happened in Warrenton, where two other participants documented part of the history of the town.
- In order to sustain youth interest in the history-documentation processes, learning should be fun and stimulating. Facilitators should tap into the natural curiosity of young people to find out how the real world works and what their potential contributions could be in creating better communities.
- To ensure optimal learning and maintain enthusiasm, different types of learning formats (big-group discussions, small working groups and task teams to undertake specific duties) and application of acquired knowledge should be used. This was exemplified in the De Doorns photo-narrative project.
- The documentation process is but the first step to make visible those who have been absent in the local archive and whose experiences have not been acknowledged. This must be followed up with the widest possible dissemination in order to be meaningful; making the materials available to schools and libraries is a good place to start. However, conscious and deliberate action needs to be taken to explore and celebrate local histories annually across historical divides. The South African annual public holiday, Heritage Day, presents an ideal platform for every town to focus on and celebrate different aspects of the town or communities' past every year.

◉ CASE STUDY 3:
The Community Healing project's Siyakha Forum

Issue

In post-conflict societies, there is generally a willingness among women and men to volunteer their services to assist in the various processes of post-conflict reconstruction. They come from a variety of social, economic, political and cultural backgrounds and have knowledge, understanding and experience of their communities. They are important partners at grassroots community level, but do not necessarily have the same skills in generating new knowledge for building post-apartheid communities.

Approach

In order to capitalise on this willingness, the office of former Western Cape Premier Ebrahim Rasool developed a programme that came to be known as the Social

Transformation Programme (STP).[47] The STP focused on establishing local leadership forums in selected communities to unlock any process challenges in service delivery.

The IJR ran a series of workshops to capacitate a selection of representatives from each of these STP forums. Training focused on:

- Developing a common sense of understanding among people from different areas with varying social priorities;
- Multistakeholder dialogue;
- Fundraising and grant-seeking;
- Organisational development; and
- Creating support groups and social enterprises.

The total number of identified communities increased from 28 to about 35[48] by the time the training took place in 2009 and a *Community Healing Training Manual*[49] was produced. Using learner-assessment tools developed by the facilitators during the workshops, BIS selected and visited the community leaders in the year after the post-training support programme. Participants attested to keeping the training manual close as they continued their community work and said that it had helped to guide them in times of being tested in their work or life in the community.[50]

Following a number of ideas from the participants during this post-training phase, the project took these participants through a number of additional training programmes. These additional workshops were focused on facilitating healing of memories through support groups and social enterprise initiatives to respond to what they characterised as the context of poverty in which many of them continued to live. By 2011, each leader had planned to use their training to facilitate dialogues in their communities according to numerous themes.

This was followed with a course on multistakeholder dialoguing in 2012. After they had identified themes linked to the social fault lines that they wanted to address in their communities, and their communities had responded, they needed more skills to take a social dialogue process forward to develop a social platform to implement and structure their programmes.

On the back of this training, many played critical roles in leading their communities during the farming community strikes at the end of 2012 and during the negotiations or dialogues that attempted to bring agreement around a minimum wage between farm workers and farm owners in 2013. The idea of establishing a Healing Support subcommittee within their Siyakha Forum so they would be able to respond more organisationally to the challenges or fault lines in their communities was discussed.

Between 2014 and 2015, participants learnt organisational development, which included fundraising and proposal-writing, based on the IJR's own experience as a non-profit organisation.

In 2015, two of the participants, both the chairperson and organiser of their group, were selected, trained and qualified as National Qualifications Framework-accredited dialogue workshop facilitators in the BIS Programme's Ambassador Training Course.[51]

Impact

In addition to their ability to respond effectively to community crises in 2012 and 2013, the Siyakha Forum is now an officially registered non-profit organisation. Members have expressed the profound lasting impact of having social networks of peers from the training programme. In June 2016, the Siyakha Forum facilitated a 'Mandela Dialogue' with participants from a number of countries across the world, as well as the Cape Metro[52] community launch of the National Action Plan to Combat Racism, Xenophobia and Related Intolerances.

Lessons learnt

- Owing to the 'professional' context of the training, some participants tended to underestimate their own knowledge. Facilitators actively attempted to counter this dynamic. Participants discovered that they, in fact, knew much more than their educational levels or class position led society to assume about them. As such, the training process made it possible for them to validate their own normally suppressed knowledge and wisdoms about leadership. The role-play group work and exercises of the workshop and its manual[53] were also an effective platform to enable the kind of learning that draws out people's own prior knowledge about leadership in communities.
- Of all the exercises in the training course, the 'River of Life' and the session on memory and memorialisation seem to have made the greatest emotional impact on most participants. This was notwithstanding that participants also found the sessions dealing with more technical knowledge, such as community profiling and managing conflict, useful. This signals that, although community leaders are said to need capacitation for technical and management skills, the emotional impact of the past on them and the need to give space to address that are still very important.
- The power of building and maintaining networks is critical for the long-term sustenance of leadership that can make impact in communities. Leaders constantly seek moral support from other leaders, especially in order to face challenges that are not easy to overcome, as the group exercises tended to demonstrate.
- There are multiple dimensions to identity and from context to context; leaders can shed or elevate one dimension of identity over others in order to find significance in groups.
- There is a continuous need to complement the wisdom of elder leaders with the dynamism of younger leaders. Group-work exercises also demonstrated this in almost every workshop group.

Constraints in BIS intervention research sites

- Working with people who all have biases and prejudices that they are not personally aware of during a time of dramatic political and social change requires mature facilitation skills. These challenges were met by working as a team in the field.

- Not interacting with project participants in their mother tongue resulted in major losses for both the facilitator and participants in the quality of engagement, especially during discussion of sensitive topics such as the experiences of forced removals. Every effort should be made for BIS staff to speak the language of the community members.
- Through the dialogical approach, not only were project participants challenged to learn in a conscious and deliberate way, but BIS staff and facilitators were also confronted with their own biases and prejudices, for example when working with white, non-English mother-tongue speakers or with members of the LGBTIQ+ community.
- Whereas BIS prepared for the various interventions, community engagements cannot be planned for in full detail. South African society is experiencing a political transition that is felt acutely through local political dynamics and party tensions; changes in the political landscape cannot always be anticipated. Uncertainty is an integral characteristic of community-level work, which is exacerbated when the interveners do not reside in those communities. One suggested way to mitigate this is to extend the time for research visits prior to an intervention so that not all the time is spent in research contact spaces. This would allow interveners to better gather observations about the town and enhance their understanding of local life and the various dynamics that might have an impact on the intervention. This would help overcome the insider/outsider dichotomy.

Conclusion

Societal or community conflicts are the result of a range of different factors and circumstances, one of which is the beliefs that parties to the conflict have about each other. Those mindsets are such that they do not engender peaceful coexistence and productive social and political engagement between different groups, but rather contribute to tension and eventually societal or community conflict. Groups are socialised into belief systems that reinforce their internal integrity, enabling members to function as socially cohesive units and to observe group beliefs vis-à-vis non-group members.

Once an end to the hostilities has come about, it is incumbent on the parties to the conflict to explore in conscious and deliberate ways the cultivation of a new mindset that will contribute to the construction of a post-conflict society and community. This will entail, amongst others, the construction of new beliefs and knowledge about others, not only in terms of content, but also in terms of the processes to be engaged in with regard to the co-construction of such new knowledge.

Some of the factors that led to conflict in South Africa were racial discrimination and social and economic inequality. For those negative conditions to have come about in terms of legislation and policies, as well as the lived experiences of South Africans, required an ideological system to legitimise it, which, in turn, was resisted and fought against by various means.

The negotiated peace agreement, the first democratic elections held in 1994 and the adoption of the 1996 Constitution provided the framework within which South Africans could be socialised.

The BIS interventions discussed in this chapter point to the following:

- There is not necessarily an awareness of the beliefs prior to the conflict that contributed to it and hence there is a need for the construction of new knowledge for post-conflict South Africa.
- That post-conflict (re)construction of South Africa will require conscious and deliberate intragroup and intergroup interventions aimed at co-construction of knowledge consonant with the South African Constitution and Bill of Rights.
- All the age and gender cohorts involved in the BIS interventions have been able to make some contribution to the generation of new knowledge, irrespective of class and educational background. This was a result of the processes of facilitated learning and knowledge-construction. In addition, awareness and participation in these processes could enhance the agency of participants, for example the Ambassadors Forum in Warrenton.
- Multiple strategies implemented by interdisciplinary teams can greatly enhance the knowledge construction process. This approach yields even better results where the participant group remains the same during the course of the intervention, because it allows them to see a variety of interconnected opportunities for knowledge co-construction.

The projects initiated by BIS from 2012 to 2016 introduced participants to engagement in reflective practices in order to gain understanding and appreciation of South Africans' varied pasts. Moreover, these projects sought to explore the construction of new knowledge for post-conflict South Africa across the conventional divides. The cultivation of a deliberate and conscious self-reflection by individuals, groups and communities is critical in building democratic towns and cities that embrace the values enshrined in the South African Constitution.

ENDNOTES

1   This refers to the racial designations contained in the Population Registration Act of 1950, which was implemented soon after the National Party came to power.

2   Seekings J (2000) *The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, 1983–1991*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.

3   The Harare Declaration was adopted by the Organization of African Unity in August 1989 in Harare, Zimbabwe.

4   IJR (2012) *BIS Intervention Plan 2012–2016 in Warrenton-Hartswater corridor in the Northern Cape, Vryheid-Mondlo in KwaZulu-Natal, Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape*. Cape Town: IJR.

5   The 'Bantustans' or 'homelands' came about as a result of the territorial separation between white and black South Africans, assigning each black ethnic group to its designated Bantustan. In this way, the black majority was denied political rights outside their designated areas. The

first Bantustan that opted for independence was Transkei (1976), followed by Bophutatswana (1977). KwaZulu opted to remain a self-governing territory.

6   Van der Merwe C (2007) *White Power and the Rise and Fall of the National Party*. Cape Town: Zebra.

7   Wilkins I & Strydom H (1979) *The Super Afrikaners*. Cape Town: Jonathan Ball.

8   O'Meara D (1983) *Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1934–1948*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

9   Group dominance does not necessarily mean that all members of a particular identity group share the same outlook. A common mistake is to homogenise group action, activities and outlook, instead of making finer distinctions of the nuances among individuals in a group.

10   Grundlingh A (2009) *Turning Points in History: Book 4: Industrialisation, Rural Change and Nationalism*. Johannesburg: Department of Education, STE Publishers.

11   Hugo P (1978) *Quislings or Realists? A Documentary Study of 'Coloured' Politics in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

12   Venter AJ (1974) *Coloured: A Profile of Two Million South Africans*. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau.

13   Cloete NA (2016) *Action Kommandant: The Untold Story of the Revolutionary Freedom Fighter Ashley Kriel*. Available at http://actionkommandant.co.za [accessed 6 December 2016].

14   The CRC was an advisory body that could advise the national government on matters that affected the coloured community. Many members from this community regarded it as a body that was established as part of the government's divide-and-rule strategy in respect of the black majority. Notwithstanding its lack of substantive power, it enjoyed relatively more support outside of the metropolitan Cape Town area.

15   O'Malley, P (n.d.) *New Unity Movement (NUM).* Available at https://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv02424/04lv02730/05lv03188/06lv03213.htm [accessed 12 July 2016].

16   Lewis G (1987) *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African 'Coloured' Politics*. Cape Town: David Philip.

17   It was only in 1985 that a shift took place within the organisation when it adopted the Freedom Charter.

18   Lapchick RE (1976) Apartheid and the politics of sport. *Africa Report* 21(5): 37.

19   Reddy ES (n.d.) Sports and the liberation struggle: A tribute to Sam Ramsamy and others who fought apartheid sport. *South African History Online*. http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/tribute-sam-ramsamy-and-others-who-fought-apartheid-sport-es-reddy [accessed 7 August 2016].

20   The Confession of Belhar was adopted in 1986 by the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, rejecting the biblical justification for apartheid provided by the DRC.

21   Lodge T (1983) *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945*. London: Longman Publishing Group.

22   Transkei, Bophutatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

23   Karis T, Carter G & Gerhart G (eds) (1972) *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882–1990*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution.

24   Part of this hedge can still be seen in the Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens, Cape Town.

25   See Chapter 2 for detailed discussions.

26   Truth and Reconciliation Act of 1996.

27   The minister of Basic Education has appointed a panel to investigate the desirability of this.

28   The 'new dispensation' refers to the post-1994 political narrative.

29   The Nkosi Albert Luthuli Oral History Competition.

30   Van Wyk A (1982) 'n Kerkdorp op Grasbult: Die geskiedenis van die Ned. Geref. Kerk Warrenton, 1882–1982. Unpublished MTh dissertation, Stellenbosch University.

31   In the formal school context, project participants were mostly drawn from history learners from particular grades; in some cases, key community leaders identified participants. In the case of Windsorton, the learners were drawn from the Heritage Club at school, which has an open membership. In the case of Clanwilliam, Villiersdorp and Doringbaai, participants were identified by the Siyakha community healer. In the case of Warrenton and Pampierstad, they were identified by key local stakeholders. In Warrenton, community members also received training.

32   This is done by means of an exercise where three participants sitting in different positions must describe where a particular object is in relation to their position. Their responses are then unpacked, interrogated and applied.

33   Perks R & Thomson A (eds) (2006) *The Oral History Reader.* 2nd ed. Oxford: Routledge.

34   The 'River of Life' exercise is done as part of the training of community healers. Each participant is required to draw their own river of life, tracing its origin, charting its route over rapids, rocks, twists and turns.

35   Adichie CN (2009) The danger of a single story. *TED Talks.* Available at http://ed.ted.com/on/oQQimtYK [accessed 6 December 2016].

36   Examples of key research questions: 'What are the musical traditions of Worcester since the 1950s?', 'What was life like in Warrenton in the 1950s?', 'What is the history of Mondlo, Vryheid?'

37   Ncome Museum, opposite the Voortrekker Museum between Vryheid and Dundee, is a case in point. Those sites of memory deal with issues of representation of the past and the representations at the two sites could be said to be in dialogue by the promotion of multiple perspectives and voices narrating those past events. The proximity of the two presents a unique engagement and a concrete experience of how new knowledge can be constructed.

38   IJR (2013) *Forced Removals from Vryheid to Mondlo.* Cape Town: IJR.

39   IJR (2015) *Doringbaai: My Storie Voor dit Onder die Sand en See Verdwyn.* Cape Town: IJR.

40   IJR (2015) *Clanwilliam: My Storie, Voordat dit Onder die Sand Verdwyn.* Cape Town: IJR.

41   IJR (2015) *Villiersdorp: My Storie Voordat dit Onder die Sand Verdwyn.* Cape Town: IJR.

42   IJR (2015) *I Was, I Am, I Shall Excel: The Beginnings of My Story.* Cape Town: IJR.

43   IJR (2016) *The Musical Traditions of Worcester since 1950: A Preliminary Contribution.* Cape Town: IJR.

44   IJR (2016) *Warrenton: A Community History.* Cape Town: IJR.

45   IJR (2016) *Pampierstad: A Community History.* Cape Town: IJR.

46   For example, *Forced Removals from Vryheid to Mondlo, The Musical Traditions of Worcester since 1950.*

47   Term of office 2004–2009.

48   This means that BIS's work in the 35 areas was restricted to the training of identified members of the leadership forums.

49   IJR (2008) *Community Healing Participant's Training Manual.* Cape Town: IJR.

50   Boezak S & Ranchod S (eds) (2014) *Fertile Ground: A Mid-Term Reflection on the Work of the*

Building an Inclusive Society Programme of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. Cape Town: IJR.

51   The BIS Ambassador Course annually selects community leaders who show promise to deepen the impact of the projects they participate in and in return develop deeper knowledge in linkages with the broader work of the IJR, earning the title 'IJR Ambassador'.

52   The residential areas under the administration of the City of Cape Town.

53   IJR (2008) *Community Healing Participant's Training Manual.*

ENGAGING POLICY-MAKERS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

Lucretia Arendse with Kenneth Lukuko, Megan Roberts and Faranaaz Vraagom

Well-crafted and clear-eyed engagements with legislative and civil society stakeholders shape the impact the Building an Inclusive Society (BIS) Programme has on policy and policy-makers to drive positive social change. Our approach, using deep and evolving bodies of knowledge on social-transitional justice, reconciliation and methodologies to challenge prejudices within the self and the community, works to break down weaponised barriers left by colonialism and apartheid. We use evidenced-based knowledge based on lessons, models and practices from our work to engage and influence key decision-makers at the legislative, practitioner and influencer levels. BIS's work informs, advises and influences varied stakeholders on multilayered inter-vention methodologies, findings, challenges and learnings that promote inclusivity and equality.

With structural and social challenges in mind, this chapter reflects on three case studies in which BIS engaged with policy-makers as a means of building social cohesion at the legislative-institutional level. The framing for this reflection is South Africa's National Development Plan (NDP). Each case study is presented with a view to demonstrate the way in which civil society can be instrumental in contributing to NDP goals – at a policy-maker and practitioner level – through promoting social cohesion and social justice.

The National Development Plan

The NDP[1] is South Africa's blueprint for reducing poverty and inequality in the country by 2030 and involves the collaborative efforts of government, civil society, business and labour to guarantee prosperity and equity for all. The BIS mandate is not directly linked to the NDP, but there are overlapping ideas and values between the two. The NDP desires transformation in many sectors and its priorities are:

- Uniting all South Africans around a common programme to achieve prosperity and equity;
- Promoting active citizenry to strengthen development, democracy and accountability;
- Bringing about faster economic growth, higher investment and greater labour absorption;
- Focusing on key capabilities of people and the state;
- Building a capable and developmental state; and
- Encouraging strong leadership throughout society to work together to solve problems.

From the NDP, the National Planning Commission was formed in May 2010 by the Office of the President to 'rally the nation around a common set of objectives and priorities to drive development over the longer term'. The commission identified nine primary challenges for South Africa, of which three speak directly to BIS objectives:

1. The quality of school education for black people is poor;
2. Spatial divides hobble inclusive development; and
3. South Africa remains a divided society.

BIS contributes to the state's mandate of social cohesion by partnering with government and providing it with a needs analysis of communities by being facilitators of the process rather than advocacy role players. Our aim is to facilitate reconciliatory and social justice processes and inform national, provincial or local government on the implementation processes in communities.

Case studies

The case studies in this chapter describe the process of working with governmental departments, each with its own characteristics:

- Case study 1 is built on a long-standing relationship with the Department of Basic Education, a national state institution. The relationship was already established and the stakeholder requested assistance.
- Case study 2 is premised on the particular nature of dialogue process expertise within BIS, requested by the Western Cape Provincial Department of Agriculture.

- Case study 3 details BIS's experience in approaching the Grahamstown municipality in order to gain access to the community.

◎ CASE STUDY 1:
Partnering with the education sector

The BIS Education for Reconciliation (EfR) project believes that education is key to transformation in South Africa and engages with critical issues affecting the education system. It does so through engagement and partnership with various stakeholders, including national and provincial education officials, civil society organisations, educators, parents and learners. These stakeholders value education as a vehicle to promote social cohesion and inclusion. The engagements and dialogues work to develop learning and teaching materials that assist educators in dealing with various challenges encountered in an education system suffering the effects of a deeply unequal society. Schools are microcosms of our societies and reflect the values of those societies. Beliefs, norms and values that make harmful distinctions between people or groups teach and normalise discrimination against those people or groups. If discrimination is a common experience within school, then the education system is a vehicle for addressing these divisive beliefs.

This case study details how the EfR engaged with government and educators to reach the project's key objectives to inform policy and curricula on disrespect and discrimination using community intelligence, augmented an international resource using community intelligence, and informed the Department of Basic Education (DBE) about its employees' training and support needs.

Background

Protection from discrimination in South Africa is enshrined in section 9 of the South African Constitution,[2] which is founded on the value of equality. The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000[3] bolsters this protection. This Act protects citizens and foreign nationals in South Africa from discrimination by the state or public on the basis of race, language, culture, religion, sexual orientation, classism, HIV status or ethnicity. Section 21 of the Act also states that 'everyone has the right to freedom of movement; everyone has the right to leave the Republic; every citizen has the right to enter, to remain in and to reside anywhere in, the Republic', thus also protecting and accommodating foreign nationals in South Africa.

More than 20 years after South Africa's first democratically elected government, the country is still battling various forms of discrimination and prejudice. For example, in February 2015, a black learner at an agricultural boarding school in the Northern Cape was sexually assaulted in a racist attack by four white learners.[4] The perpetrators pleaded guilty and are awaiting sentencing. Xenophobic attacks against foreign nationals have punctuated the last 20 years in different provinces of South Africa[5] and have occurred as recently as April 2016, when locals looted shops owned by foreign nationals in Du Noon Township in Cape Town.[6] These are just two well-documented cases of discrimination, but there are many more instances reported in newspapers,

on social media and television. In 2014, 10 000 cases of racism were reported to the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC). The chairperson of the SAHRC noted in July 2014 that, within the 2013/14 financial year, 45% of complaints reported were race-related.

In January 2012, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) piloted an anti-discrimination, anti-violence strategy called *Teaching Respect for All*[7] in schools in five countries around the world. The aim was to provide educators with strategies to address and proactively engage with issues of discrimination and violence in schools. It is a comprehensive approach to addressing and incorporating anti-discrimination strategies for all stakeholders in Education. *Teaching Respect for All* promotes tolerance and respect for all people inclusive of gender, appearance, language, religion, sexual orientation, nationality, ethnicity and identity. It is based on a 'whole-school approach', providing all stakeholders in education with an implementation strategy. South Africa was not a pilot country, but, given its unique transition to democracy, its context was very relevant.

In 2012, UNESCO approached the DBE to determine the level of discrimination teachers are experiencing in South Africa. In order to ascertain this, the DBE approached the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) to assist.

The IJR's long-standing relationship with the DBE started in 2004 when the institute developed history resources for the department. South African history had always been taught from the perspective of white colonialists and apartheid supporters and beneficiaries. History was not inclusive and the perspectives of the oppressed or marginalised were not heard. The IJR developed resources for history classrooms – the *Turning Points in Transition and Turning Points in Human Rights* series – and helped to shape more inclusive historical narratives.[8,9] The series were developed over eight years and during this time the partnership with the DBE has grown into one of mutual trust and transparency. It was because of this legacy that the IJR was invited by the DBE to be part of the UNESCO initiative.[10]

Building relationships

In 2011, there was a change of leadership in the BIS Programme, which led to new ideas being pursued. The focus shifted to deepen the IJR's relationship with the DBE. The IJR was well known among those in the field of history and memory at the DBE, but BIS wanted to assist the DBE where it needed it and expand its focus beyond that of history through its EfR project. The BIS philosophy is to help strengthen the work of its partners and not necessarily to assert our own agenda.

The EfR's initial contact was slow as we navigated through familiar partners in the DBE. Through networking within the DBE, BIS was matched with a department that needed assistance, the Directorate of Early Childhood Development. With the prevalence of violence, racism and xenophobic attacks in our country, the directorate prioritised interventions that would encourage tolerance and respect amongst communities.

Building trust

The needs of our partners and stakeholders became the initial priorities to be

addressed by BIS. This was integral to creating trust and legitimacy between our institutions. It was evident to the DBE that we were serious about following through on this process and that we wanted to assist the department to build inclusive schools. The EfR held 12 workshops in all nine provinces of the country and produced a resource for educators, as well as a policy brief for the DBE. The amount of resources and effort BIS put into the project conveyed our reliability, credibility and passion for building inclusive societies.

Project process and implementation

An initial workshop was convened in 2012 with national and provincial officials from the DBE's Early Childhood Development, Inclusive Education and Social Cohesion directorates. The objective of the workshop was to compare DBE resources with the levels of discrimination and violence in South African schools to see how the curriculum was addressing these issues. This opened doors to collaborating nationally and provincially.

As experienced facilitators, BIS understood that a process should be driven by the people in the room. The participants direct the way forward, not the facilitators. BIS allowed the workshops to flow in a way that encouraged constructive engagement that would guide the way forward. One of the participants indicated that it would be difficult for him to teach about discrimination when he still felt hurt as a result of the oppression of apartheid. He said it would be important for educators to address these wounds in order to teach about discrimination in a way that would not perpetuate discrimination. Other officials agreed that they were 'wounded' souls who had to deal with the past and how it affected their lives. There was a need for a deeper conversation about being 'wounded' and about the structural wounds of the education system. The participants and facilitators decided to conduct a follow-up workshop to specifically address this need.

The information BIS obtained from the participants in these two workshops informed the intervention strategy: BIS had to assess whether others were dealing with some of the 'wounds' that these officials spoke of. Participants said that the wounds that Bantu Education[11] left caused them to feel that their level of education was inferior. They said that they could not be expected to teach what they had not been taught. Even their teacher training was substandard compared with that of other races. It was important for BIS to find out if these statements were true for other educators and to determine what support and training they would need to feel confident and competent to incorporate teaching such sensitive material. Furthermore, they said that multiple changes and insufficient curriculum training (e.g. Outcome Based Education and Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement) created systemic wounds that caused educators to feel demoralised, frustrated, stressed and hopeless.

Finding key people in the provinces to facilitate the process of convening workshops was a key challenge. Although officials saw the value of having the workshops and were very excited, they were not able to convene the workshops. The EfR hypothesised that, because these workshops were not part of their work plans for that year and at the time were not mandated by their head office, it was not prioritised.

In the first year (2014), BIS worked with those provinces where officials prioritised

addressing discrimination in their schools, with the hope of contacting conveners in the remaining provinces in 2015. This strategy proved to be effective in that all the provinces were eventually covered, especially when BIS formed a relationship with the Social Cohesion Directorate in 2015.

The EfR worked with the Inclusive Education Directorate from September 2013 to 2015, but its primary objective was to address the exclusion of learners with disabilities. Workshops were happening, but very slowly. BIS did not have provincial contacts for this directorate and even though officials in the provinces appreciated the concept of *Teaching Respect for All*, it was not prioritised.

In 2015, through a budding relationship with one of the provincial officials from the Free State, BIS realised that the project should be housed in the Social Cohesion Directorate (SCD). The official had been at the initial workshops with the DBE. The SCD's mandate was very similar to BIS's in that we both advocate for addressing discrimination in schools as a means to foster social cohesion amongst learners and staff. His passion and commitment to social cohesion paved the way for others in his province, national office and national team to be part of this intervention. He included the key concepts of *Teaching Respect for All* as part of his usual training with his district staff. Through this, he validated the efficacy of the project and value it would bring to the provinces. The door was open. His colleagues at the national office were now aware of this project and were listening. They were excited and they saw the synergies. In 2015, he was made the IJR Ambassador in the Free State and workshopped 240 teachers on *Teaching Respect for All* as part of their ongoing self-development.

Understanding the context of South African schools

Over a period of two years, BIS embarked on countrywide workshops, with each workshop averaging 40 to 50 educators. BIS engaged with 490 educators in all nine provinces in South Africa with unanimous endorsement of the workshop. These initial workshops' primary objective was not to impart skills, which would come in a second phase, but to create awareness around *Teaching Respect for All* and to hear the successes and challenges of our teachers. These sessions would, in turn, inform policy development. However, BIS implicitly managed to do some skills development. This also gave BIS some idea of the educational landscape of our country and how we could support educators.

The EfR had conversations with educators[12] in all the provinces to get an understanding of what forms of discrimination were occurring in their schools. This proved to be challenging initially, as the respective provincial education departments responsible for convening these workshops were difficult to locate within the broader provincial departments. In certain provinces, the official who attended the first workshop at the DBE convened the workshops for us. In the provinces where there were no representatives at the DBE workshops, it was much more challenging to locate an official who was willing to assist. BIS had to find officials who partnered on other projects, such as history workshops, to convene our workshops with their constituents.

Engaging with educators helped us to determine the context under which discrimination is taking place within the South African schools. BIS created a space in which educators could speak to one another about their daily challenges, which

set the tone for the rest of the workshop. It conveyed to the educators that someone was willing to listen, making them feel comfortable and acknowledged. BIS heard about educators' strengths, frustrations and shortcomings.

Evaluation

The information we obtained in our sessions was critical to educational development. Policy-makers have to be aware of our educators' struggles if education reform is to be successful. In the initial workshops, officials indicated that one of the systemic wounds of the post-1994 South African education system was the top-down approach to curriculum implementation, which included a three-day crash course training session and speedy implementation. This, they said, created a great deal of anxiety, but yet it was repeated time and time again. They were trying to find an education system that would benefit the masses and reduce inequality, but little to no ground-work was done. Curriculum frameworks changing with each successive education minister left educators frustrated.

Policy brief

The EfR wanted to try a different approach to the existing model and used a 'bottom-up' approach, which uses community intelligence to inform processes. BIS's findings culminated in *Lessons in Respect*,[13] a policy brief, and *Classrooms of Hope*,[14] a resource that educators can use to implement *Teaching Respect for All*. The policy brief was handed to the SCD of the DBE in December 2016.

The policy brief was developed to bridge the gap between those at grassroots level (educators) and policy-makers (government). It shows what resources educators in South Africa mobilise when dealing with discrimination, but also highlight the gaps in resources. The objectives of the policy brief were:

- To inform policy-makers of the barriers South African educators face with regard to social cohesion;
- To encourage educators to infuse *Teaching Respect for All* into their pedagogy; and
- To inform policy-makers of what additional skills and development educators would need to successfully incorporate *Teaching Respect for All* initiatives.

The policy brief outlines seven key recommendations for policy-makers and stake-holders; these were documented by educators in their evaluation of the workshops:

1. Teachers, principals, school governing body members and officials need multi-level training and support.
2. Educators want innovative training and support methodologies. Teachers' training should be fun, experiential and interactive.
3. Community involvement is imperative. Programmes should include training of parents, religious leaders and other community forums.
4. Schools should create a climate of respect for all. Schools should have a guiding document and culture of inclusivity and respect for all, with a clear anti-discrimination policy.

5. There should be a space for educators to talk about 'woundedness' or trauma and space for reflection.
6. Curriculum development, not reform, should be supported. Respect for All should take a whole-school approach, with textbooks including concepts like *Teaching Respect for All*. Training should take the challenges facing educators into account.
7. Schools should have skilled and motivated managers with an emphasis on strong leadership and management, combined with an excellent rapport with staff and a passion to see their schools free from discrimination.

In 2017, BIS will engage more rigorously with provincial and national government on the recommendations outlined in the policy brief. The IJR has dedicated the year to engaging government on barriers to social cohesion in communities and how communities can be transformed through policy, with education being fundamental to the process.

Evolution of the relationship between BIS and the DBE

Figure 9.1 shows how the relationship between BIS and the DBE has evolved since 2004. From 2004 to 2011, BIS primarily developed history resources for educators. From 2012 to 2015, BIS was leading the process of implementing *Teaching Respect for All* and consulting all provinces to determine the forms of discrimination within their respective contexts. The relationship with the SCD was solidified in April 2016 with a Memorandum of Agreement. It was agreed that BIS would train master trainers in all nine provinces on *Teaching Respect for All* by 2018, and that they would over time train all teachers in their districts. It will then be decided whether BIS will continue the partnership through a hands-on approach or whether it will exit and assist the department in a supportive role.

Key lessons and challenges

BIS identified five key lessons through this experience:

1. The relationship-forming stage is when one finds out whether the partnership is compatible and when trust and respect are built;
2. It is vital that both parties' objectives are the same when working with those who inform policy or curriculum changes; at the same time, it is important not to dictate one's own objectives at the start of the relationship;
3. Listen to the needs of the other party and see which skills or interventions could address their needs;
4. Work with those who want to work with you, are enthused and are bought-in to the concept; and
5. Bureaucracy causes processes to move slowly, so it is important to be patient.

BIS encountered challenges when other parties' mandates differed or their mandates were given priority. If mandates are misaligned, accessing constituents can be difficult.

FIGURE 9.1:   The changing relationship between BIS and the DBE
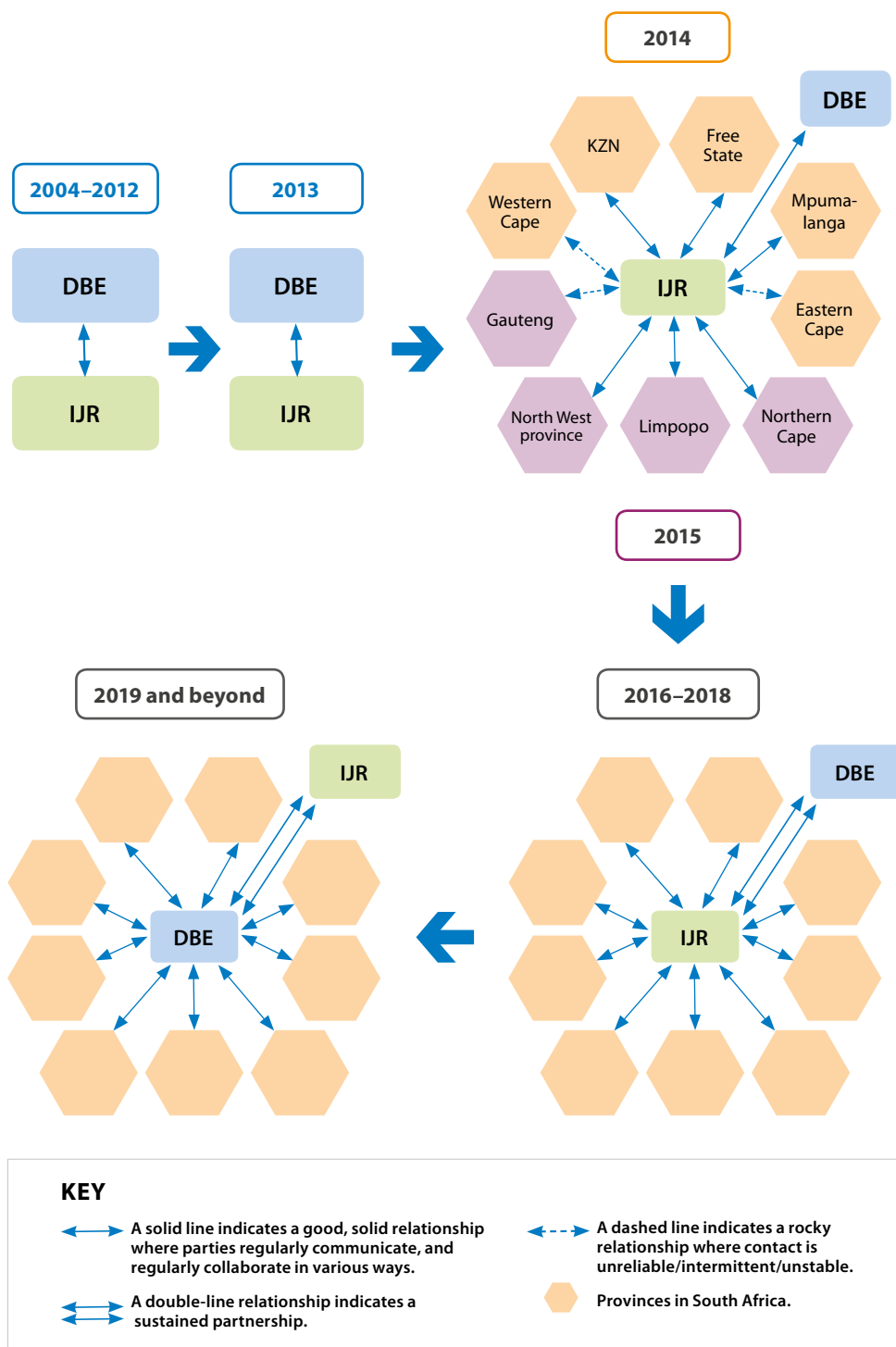
Source: BIS

One has to seek out those individuals and organisations that are like-minded to sustain the objectives of the project.

In cases where not everyone supports an intervention, it is important to continue the work. For example, the Western Cape has been a challenging environment for us – we are still trying to find a willing official to drive our process in the province. Refusing to be deterred, we decided to use a different approach: in 2016, BIS started working with History and Life Orientation curriculum specialists in the Western Cape to continue *Teaching Respect for All* workshops. These educators see the synergies between BIS's work and value how the EfR project augments their curricula. We learnt to be adaptable and flexible during the process.

⊙ CASE STUDY 2:
Dialogue in the agricultural sector

In 2012 and 2013, the Western Cape was rocked by unprecedented farm worker strikes in De Doorns and other farming areas, which exposed serious fault lines within this sector. Many of the initiatives undertaken by the Western Cape Department of Agriculture (WCDA) dealt with immediate concerns without adequately addressing the need for a long-term vision for the sector. In the wake of the protest action in De Doorns and other farming areas, the WCDA commissioned a report, *The Future of Agriculture and the Rural Economy*,[15] which recommended the institutionalisation of sustained social dialogue forums at provincial, regional and local levels.

In its quest to find an honest and competent broker, the WCDA approached the IJR to design a social dialogue platform that would make short-term gains and improvements towards achieving a long-term vision for a more cohesive and productive agricultural sector. Through this, the IJR had the opportunity to influence policies for a future vision for agriculture in the Western Cape and the country.

The objectives in engaging with the WCDA were twofold: to clarify both the potential and risks associated with dialogue as an instrument for achieving the vision of an inclusive and prosperous agricultural sector; and to comment on and make recommendations regarding the technical aspects and implementation process of a dialogue strategy in the province.

Background

The farm workers' strike and protest actions at the end of 2012 and the start of 2013 in De Doorns and other places in the Western Cape constituted a watershed moment for the agricultural sector and all its stakeholders. Never before had the frustration of farm workers and, perhaps more significantly, the rural poor been expressed in such consequential ways. It was a wake-up call for all concerned.

One significant response to these events was the report by the Future of Agriculture and the Rural Economy in the Western Cape (FARE) Panel. The panel was composed of prominent individuals representing a spectrum of opinions and interests. The report itself was the outcome of intense dialogue among panellists; their consensus was a major achievement. It contains a comprehensive and thorough analysis of the

agricultural sector of the Western Cape, its challenges and potential.[16] While no doubt a significant and authoritative document, the report was not received with equal enthusiasm by all social partners. Its consensus was not negotiated between the broad range of actors that would need to adopt the recommendations; it, therefore, points to the potential for consensus rather than representing that consensus.[17]

The FARE Report contains 120 recommendations. A central theme is that the implementation of these recommendations will require substantial dialogue involving all stakeholders. The current quality of stakeholder collaboration is far from optimal. The nature of the crisis that the agricultural sector is facing, in other words, requires substantially better collaboration between stakeholders at various levels. The central recommendation is to institutionalise dialogue structures at all levels of the sector to enhance the capacity for and quality of social dialogue and collaboration. The report states:

> Social dialogue is proposed as a way to assist in strengthening relations, developing partnerships, reducing tensions, preventing and resolving disputes, all of which will have a beneficial impact on the enhancement of productivity, economic efficiency and competitiveness.[18]

It is within this context that exploratory meetings between IJR members and the provincial WCDA took place. The relationship between the IJR and WCDA initially developed through a pre-existing professional relationship between an IJR member and the head of department at the WCDA. These exploratory meetings led the WCDA to commission the IJR to compile a report on dialogue in the agricultural sector. The questions were whether dialogue was indeed the glue that would enable better collaboration and whether stakeholders had an appetite for any sort of dialogue platform. Dialogue is not a cure for all ills and all circumstances and requires specific preconditions for its success.

Project processes

The team from the IJR, which consisted of a project manager, a research assistant and two consultants, went about addressing these questions by focusing on three areas:

- Firstly, the objective was to determine the best practices for dialogue as identified on the basis of global experiences, which involved a review of relevant literature.
- Secondly, the team had to develop sufficient insight into the nature of the challenges faced by the agricultural sector in the Western Cape. To this end, interviews were conducted with prominent experts, as well as a review of relevant literature.
- Thirdly, the team had to assess the need for and potential of dialogue in the current context. To this end, the team had interviews with representatives of various stakeholders at provincial, district and local level. Interviews were exploratory and the team paid attention to what the interviewee deemed important to a reimagined sector. The discussions gave the team insights into the complexity of relationships and the interlinkages of stakeholders in the sector.

The final recommendations were formulated in the light of the findings of these endeavours, but were also informed by the professional experience of the team.

Recommendations

Based on the analysis, the team put forward a social dialogue plan,[19] which recommended the constitution of a panel of community leaders to assume responsibility for mandating and monitoring dialogue processes within the sector at local level. The panel will be appointed through a process of consultation and with the objective of inclusivity. Panel members will be asked to serve on a voluntary basis and will be tasked to:

- Build confidence in their role among stakeholders;
- Act as an early-warning mechanism and prioritise areas of dialogue in the light of their assessment of the situation;
- Authorise dialogue processes (always in consultation with social partners) that may include processes of shared knowledge creation;
- Commission mediation in the case of conflicts that have a debilitating impact on social cohesion, including requests in this respect from the districts;
- Provide advice on procedural difficulties as necessary;
- Provide oversight and advice to local-level processes; and
- Liaise with other dialogue initiatives in the province to enhance synergy.

The report also recommended the appointment of an existing civil society organisation to act as a service provider and secretariat for the panel. Its tasks will include:

- Providing logistical and administrative services for the panel;
- Compiling a roster of able facilitators and mediators and managing their deployment as and when necessary; and
- Focusing on the capacity-building of district panels.

These recommendations were presented to officials at the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries and later at the department's annual agriculture stakeholder meeting, as well as to the chief financial officer and the head of department. Following this initial vetting, it was presented to the provincial cabinet, the provincial treasury and the bid adjudication committee. These meetings presented the social dialogue plan and approach put forward by the IJR to meet the needs of the WCDA, and, in so doing, conveyed to the department a compelling case that the IJR was best positioned in terms of research, skills, expertise and experience to implement this intervention as project broker.

Building relationships

The process and results of a successful partnership between the IJR and the WCDA were dependent on several key elements.

The IJR was a trusted partner to the WCDA, as it is not politically aligned in any way and does not push a political agenda in its work. The department therefore views

the IJR as an impartial, independent party not motivated by political interests or economic gain, as shown by our track record of conducting meaningful, successful and inclusive dialogue and mediation initiatives. The inclusive nature of the IJR and the process demonstrated to multiple stakeholders that they can trust whoever implements the dialogue plan.

The IJR also demonstrated its competency in its ability to deliver, on time, a plan that was intensively researched, inclusive in its consultation process, well written and well conceived. Further, the IJR is well resourced and able to handle the scale of work required to plan and execute the project with proficiency.

A letter by a department representative to the provincial cabinet that substantiates the brokerage of the IJR on the project illustrates this trust.[20] The following is an excerpt from the letter:

> Considering the solid groundwork that has already been done, it would be imprudent for the WCDA to put its resources into reinventing the wheel; it simply needs to hire an institution that already knows how to make the model and system work. IJR perfectly fits our objectives due to the following facts:
>
> a) In Africa, IJR is the only institution at our doorstep with a record of accomplishments with respect to fostering dialogue, peace, reconciliation and reconstruction of inclusive societies on the Continent.
>
> b) In South Africa, it succeeded in bringing together community arch-rivals to acknowledge and confront enduring legacies of injustice and marginalisation in the post-colonial and post-apartheid state.
>
> c) In the Western Cape, this very institution unpacked the FARE report to produce the model for 'Reimagining the Future of Agriculture in the Western Cape'.
>
> d) At a local level, IJR researchers enlisted to develop the FARE model have extensive background and expertise in the 24 municipalities that we are targeting to pilot the model (study focus areas).
>
> It is for these reasons that WCDA should not squander its efforts on trying to reinvent the wheel, but appoint IJR that already understands how to make the system work in our beleaguered communities.[21]

The working relationship between the IJR and the WCDA is underpinned by professionalism and mutual respect. Through the quality of work produced by the IJR, the organisation has become a trusted partner and service provider to the department for the pilot social dialogue project for the next three years. The WCDA also substantiated the use of to use the IJR as the executing partner because of the recognition of the importance of the work being done by an organisation that expressed an interest in its success.

Where we are now

The IJR has since been offered the opportunity to implement the dialogue plan proposed in 2015. The plan has been adjusted somewhat through consultations with the WCDA and insights gained from the field; the first pilot of the project was initiated in the Cape Winelands District in the second half of 2016.

Key lessons and challenges

BIS is still at a very early stage of the project, which means that there will be an opportunity later on to reflect further on the challenges and lessons learnt. However, one of the challenges encountered during the initial stages of this project was the connection to the WCDA. Although the IJR is an independent organisation, the fact that the project is being funded by the local government could influence the various stakeholders' perceptions of the IJR and the project, especially in a politicised space such as agriculture in South Africa. BIS therefore needs to continue to display integrity and independence in the way it executes its interventions and conducts its activities. BIS will do this through being inclusive in its consultations, being open and honest and reliable in its deliverables, as trust is sometimes only gained when things are done.

◎ CASE STUDY 3:
Partnering with the Grahamstown municipality

This case study differs from the first two, as in this case, BIS approached the local government for assistance with an intervention strategy. Its key objectives were to:

- Build relationships with the municipality;
- Gain access to community structures that would facilitate social change;
- Ensure the impact of BIS interventions;
- Strengthen relationships with and between municipalities and communities; and
- Ensure sustainability of the work after the initial intervention is complete.

Municipalities are interlocutors with the community and have records of all organisations which would be part of the local structures of that community. Based on the objectives of the NDP, local government/municipalities must strive, within their financial and administrative capacity, to achieve the following objectives:

- To provide democratic and accountable government for local communities;
- To ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner;
- To promote social and economic development;
- To promote a safe and healthy environment; and
- To encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government.

BIS chose to work with municipalities because we would have a better understanding of the municipality's policies and how to engage with them, so we could structure our

interventions in a way that would best inform such policies. We thought that if we were to develop a clearly defined working relationship or model for social partnership between our participating communities' dialogue interventions and their respective municipalities' programmes for enhancing community participation (in their own social-development programmes), the example could be helpful to both municipalities and communities. It would help inform municipalities on how best to improve their own policies for community engagement or partnership.

Background

Grahamstown was established in 1812 as a frontier town for the British as part of their strategy of infiltration of the South African hinterland. It is a site of immense historical significance because some of the first frontier wars for which the Eastern Cape is known took place there. The history of Grahamstown is one in which the protagonists came from the usual conflictual or divided racial groups in South Africa (i.e. 'black and local/African' vs 'white and settler/European'). The town is an example of historical social divisions that seem to survive long after the end of apartheid and colonialism.

The promotion and practice of community dialogue is at the core of Community Healing and other BIS projects. Community dialogue often begins with a reflection on the community's history; the longer the history in terms of years traversed, the deeper the reflection and the dimensions to the story. Given that Grahamstown is one of the oldest residential areas in the country, one could assume that any dialogue on its history would contain many more dimensions of the history of South Africa than younger communities in the country. In other words, once its story is narrated, many other communities in South Africa would very likely find aspects of their own history in it, as outlined in Chapter 3.

Grahamstown is also the location of Rhodes University, as well as the annual National Arts Festival, which promotes the use of the arts as a way of fostering understanding of different cultures in South Africa and the world.[22]

Building relationships

BIS saw Grahamstown as the ideal town to learn from because of the history of 'wars of dispossession' that caused historical divisions, and how it subsequently evolved into the 'City of Saints' through its social development. BIS chose Makana municipality in Grahamstown as its initial point of contact because it is centrally located in the Eastern Cape, providing easy access to Grahamstown and its surrounding towns and communities. The municipality interfaces with all citizens in its area of governance, so it was one of the central spaces to get contacts to the communities.

Upon initial contact, BIS sought an official or department that liaises with community dialogue initiatives. BIS was directed to the Special Projects Unit officer, with whom we discussed the nature and purpose of our project. BIS was made aware that the Special Projects Unit is a department found in each municipality, which interfaces or seeks to generate better understanding between communities and the municipality for the delivery of services, such as water, housing, electricity, refuse removal, and so on. Given the often reported incidences of violent conflict between municipalities and communities based on discontent about service delivery, it seemed

that this unit could prove very useful for those seeking to deepen capacity for dialogue in communities.

From the engagement with the Special Projects Unit officer, we discussed other role players within that municipality and he introduced us to the municipality's Social Cohesion Desk official. The official then introduced us to the councillor who served as the head of the Social Cohesion Unit. The subject of social dialogue and how the past impacts on it was a subject about which the councillor proved to be very keen and knowledgeable. The councillor gave a very comprehensive account of the historical dimensions to social trust in the present community.

The conversation led to BIS partnering with the municipality in implementing some of the activities in the programme called 'Reflect and Imagine' to mark the bicentennial of Grahamstown in 2012. The bicentennial and issues around how best to mark this milestone had apparently unearthed different views in the community. There were separate narratives of the history of the town; some of its inhabitants hold the view that the social divides of 200 years ago still largely exist today. This confirmed our desktop research that we were likely to find different opinions about Grahamstown's past.

After partnering on the 'Reflect and Imagine' programme with history learners from local schools and the local Albany Museum, the IJR contributed to the programme's final report sent to the municipality. The IJR also took up a supportive role in the municipality's community oral history fieldworkers' programme, known as the Busy Bees. The Busy Bees were a group of four young historians from the community who were employed by the municipality to deepen the project's footprint in the social networks of the community. The Busy Bees became the implementing partners for the Community Healing project's activities and vision in the community. They helped develop a cohort of youths and learners from local schools enrolled in the municipality's 200-year programme to deepen its work in the community. BIS also worked with other organisations in the community such as the Albany Museum, the Makana 200-year project team and the church ministers' fraternal dialogue.

Relationship analysis

Figure 9.2 illustrates the relationships and involvement of leading role players from the Grahamstown Community Healing process and its communities. The diagram shows that the Makana Special Projects Unit helped to define the interrelationships and networks that existed and were eventually used for dialogue in the community. It also shows how BIS liaised with people in these networks and conducted conversations with many. Not all were willing and able to attend the events. In such cases, a number of contacts on the list managed to refer others in the communities.

The Busy Bees and the municipal councillor responsible for the Social Cohesion Unit remained the key links with the municipality. This meant that, although the process attempted to work closely with the municipality, we did not need to meet directly with office-bound officials. Indeed, it had emerged in the consultation stage with community stakeholders that the municipality did not have the trust of some of the key stakeholders in the community. The danger of this was that, if the BIS

FIGURE 9.2: Sociogram for Grahamstown, 2015
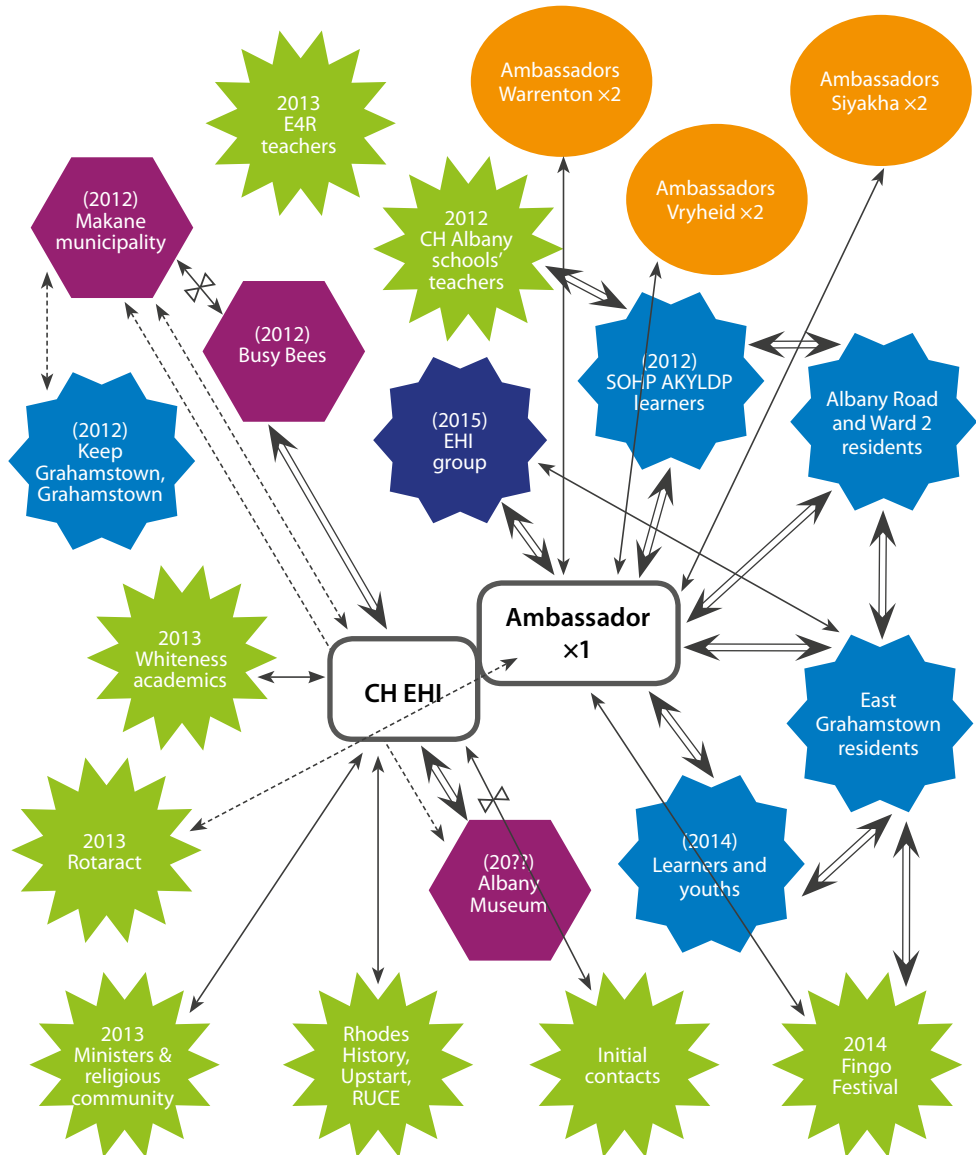
KEY

A solid line indicates a good, solid relationship where parties regularly communicate, and regularly collaborate in various ways.

A double-line relationship indicates a sustained partnership.

A dashed line indicates a rocky relationship where contact is unreliable/intermittent/unstable.

A line with a double dash indicates a broken relationship with little to no trust or contact.

A line with an hourglass indicates there is no relationship yet but there is a need/willingness/potential for a future working relationship.

Source: BIS

intervention were to be seen as being determined by the municipality, the entire intervention could be tainted and it would be difficult or impossible to rebuild trust with those stakeholders. Amongst these were social formations that played a pivotal role in the community, although within different interest groups, such as Unemployed People's Movement and Rhodes University.[23,24] A key issue was the social crisis that emerged when basic water services were not provided by the municipality over a period of months. The municipality was eventually placed under provincial government administration in 2014 as a result of this crisis.

With the aim to continue focusing resources and energy on social attitudes and relationship-building, the BIS intervention in Grahamstown had steered away from direct involvement in the disputes between role players on this issue. Instead, the intervention continued to support the generation of a social programme to modestly attempt to deepen and encourage trust-building across various social groups. To deepen the impact of this, by 2015, a social-research project was conducted in all sections of the community on social-cohesion indicators. The feedback went back to the community in 2016 through the project participants, who would then interrogate the findings with stakeholders and the municipality, amongst others.

The way forward

In 2017, BIS will visit each of the municipalities in which we have worked to share our experiences, lessons learnt and recommendations, with the hope that they will sustain the work that BIS has started. It will be an opportunity for the municipality to get to know the community members who participated and were instrumental in the implementation of community interventions. We hope that the introduction of the stakeholders to each other will lead to sustained work in those communities.

Key lessons and challenges

In summary, important learnings could be drawn from the relationship with the municipality:

- Consulting with the municipality produced networks that proved useful.[25] These networks remain useful and can further increase potential for collaboration. However, after the municipality was put under administration because of the water crisis and even earlier, when some of the community role players expressed mistrust of the municipality and the university, BIS felt that it was best to work more independently of these two structures.
- Given the often acrimonious relationship between municipalities and their local communities, it is wiser not to build the entire intervention on the goodwill of the municipality in case that negatively affects the intervention's integrity.
- The process yielded valuable learnings for the BIS model on working with municipalities, because the people involved and the relationships established displayed enthusiasm to impact positively on our work beyond just that community.
- In hindsight, BIS would not do much differently, except for perhaps deepening

the level of engagement and commitment from community-dialogue participants earlier on in the intervention. This would have assisted them in developing the future direction of the work with their municipality long before the project makes its exit from the community.

Conclusion

The case studies provide key lessons, methodologies and practical considerations for other civil society members and practitioners who want to maximise engagement with policy-makers. As some of the case studies showed, the process will not always be smooth and one will encounter various obstacles, but perseverance and a willingness to adapt to the situation can lead to the desired outcome.

There are four elements that BIS considers critical to informing the policy formation process and which are overarching in all three case studies:

1. Building relationships;
2. Maximising trust;
3. Context always matters; and
4. Learning from challenges.

We discuss them in more detail below.

Building relationships

It is important to build a relationship with different levels of government to understand how you can assist them or, in the case of the Grahamstown municipality, who has knowledge and information about community stakeholders that could assist with project implementation plans.

Building relationships requires time and commitment from both parties. It is in this stage that the parties share goals and values and speak about the desired outcome. It is also in this phase that parties develop a plan of action for the implementation of the project.

Maximising trust

Trust is a vital component of partnerships. The IJR has a reputation as a leading organisation in the field of reconciliation, as well as for being a professional, apolitical organisation that strives to be fair and democratic in its processes. BIS endeavoured to uphold these values through transparency and inclusivity in its relationships and intervention processes. BIS has also proven its commitment to the projects by financially funding the DBE and Grahamstown workshops, proving that our commitment can be trusted. Trust is the 'glue' that will carry the process to completion; it is also the catalyst to giving honest feedback.

Context always matters

Understanding the context of the communities in which one works is paramount to giving honest, accurate feedback to inform the policy process. Inclusive conversations with those experiencing the challenges must be held, whether in interviews, workshops or surveys. It is only through hearing the different perspectives, experiences and needs of communities in the places and spaces relevant to those communities that accuracy in reporting to government departments can be offered.

Learning from challenges

BIS has experienced challenges and learnt key lessons in dealing with these three communities.

- One cannot go into a partnership with one's own agenda, but should rather listen to the needs of partners and the community you wish to serve. This will determine the intervention process that needs to be followed.
- Ensure that your own and the partners' objectives are the same, that both parties have the same desired outcome and that the process to achieve that outcome is clear and communicated constantly.
- Working with bureaucratic organisations is a challenge in itself and requires patience and understanding of the dynamics within these organisations. As an example, when working with the DBE, BIS's eagerness to start work in the provinces was limited by protocols that needed to be adhered to and directives that had to come from the national department for interventions to take place. But, in the same system, there are champions who are eager to capitalise on new teachings and learnings and who find ways to proceed with interventions; these champions are the people who should be leveraged for success. This is the model that BIS has used to generate winning outcomes.
- It is vital to know when to engage and when to withdraw. In the case of Grahamstown municipality, BIS had to distance itself from the municipality and the university to protect its reputation and the intervention process, because community role players expressed potential mistrust of the two organisations.
- Relationships change over time as key role players leave. This presents challenges to the sustainability of the project and for this reason it is critical to forge new relationships.

In 2017, BIS will engage with all levels of government on our findings, learnings, challenges and recommendations on catalysts and barriers to social cohesion and equality in our communities.

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11 A standard of education during apartheid that was purposefully inferior to that of coloured, Indian and white South Africans.

12 Educators include teachers, principals, school governing body members, circuit managers and officials.

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AN EMERGING BIS MODEL FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

Stanley Henkeman and Lindsey Doyle

The Building an Inclusive Society (BIS) Programme has consistently worked with communities, interest groups and institutions from 2012 to 2016 to facilitate transformative processes and interventions aimed at bridging the social, economic and political divides that persist after South Africa's political transition. Through seven projects that tackle some of South Africa's most pressing social challenges, BIS has observed the myriad ways in which various constituencies become more inclusive as a result of dialogical processes, workshops and community-driven interventions.

This chapter highlights the changes resulting from sustained and targeted engagement on social cohesion. Catalysing and witnessing these changes places BIS in a position to make a modest, yet important, case for an emerging social-change model[1] on how to create cohesive post-conflict communities. BIS's experiences also yield findings on how to approach reconciliation between and among historically dominant and historically marginalised social groups following centuries of colonial and apartheid systemic violence, including the underlying assumptions, risks and necessary conditions for success.

Context

In the context of a political transition that resulted from a negotiated settlement, BIS has identified that the pathways for reaching a point of reconciliation are different for members of the historically dominant and marginalised communities as a result of their past experiences. Historical dominance enshrines self-perceptions about one's

own value and worth relative to another group. As such, the capacity to work toward reconciliation depends on the group's perception of its level of power *relative to* that of the group it is encountering.

In this context, BIS's approach of working with communities uses two different types of contact – *intragroup* contact and *intergroup* contact. *Intragroup* refers to interactions between members of the same racial, ethnic, gender, linguistic or religious category that is perceived as most salient. In contrast, *intergroup* refers to interactions between members of those various identity categories, again based on how delineations have been made historically salient.[2] These two types of contact are necessitated by the reality that historically marginalised and dominant groups are not inevitably motivated to enter into collective community work by the same arguments and influences. Following a conflict, intragroup dialogue is often all that can be managed, given the 'woundedness' and lack of social cohesion between, and often also within, historically opposing groups.

Key shifts

BIS has identified five key shifts emerging as a result of the programme's interventions:

- Shift 1: Historically dominant, self-sufficient groups get involved and stay engaged in social change;
- Shift 2: Historically marginalised groups increase their sense of agency;
- Shift 3: Exclusive narratives of history and the present day are changed to inclusive narratives;
- Shift 4: Community members emerge as leaders and act independently to continue the social-cohesion agenda; and
- Shift 5: Practitioners increase awareness of their own positionality and generate a 'spillover' effect in their operating environment.

Lessons from these shifts serve as contributions to the growing body of knowledge about post-conflict contact theory. The discussion of each shift is accompanied by a process-tracing diagram that shows how the shift may have taken place. These pathways for change can be applied in other contexts with similar underlying assumptions.

⚙ SHIFT 1:
Historically dominant, self-sufficient groups get involved and stay engaged in social change

In its intergroup dialogues, workshops and interventions, BIS has consistently grappled with how to initiate contact with members of the historically dominant communities and maintain their involvement in dialogue and reconciliation work. BIS's primary focus was on integrating all races, including the white South African

community, into its work. When BIS embarked on its five-year intervention plan in 2012, it planned to work with entire communities that included people of all racial categories, especially in smaller towns, where it was assumed that economic inter-dependence between racial categories was more evident than in cities. BIS encountered several challenges to engaging in this way and now recognises that engaging with the white South African community on reconciliation may require a different and more nuanced approach.

In several of the communities in which BIS worked, team members noticed a trend in which white participants and 'gatekeepers' to various civil society circles were initially very interested in participating in BIS's work, but that their interest waned when BIS sought to bring white people into equal dialogue with their black, coloured and Indian counterparts. By building a relationship with these white community leaders, BIS was able to negotiate access to other, mainly white, participants. However, interventions that attempted to bring different segments of the community together did not necessarily fundamentally change the nature of the relationships between black, white, coloured and Indian members of the communities.

While some members of the white community were exposed to economically marginalised and underserved communities, it seemed as if others were still viewing their counterparts as in need of charity, rather than as equal members of their community upon whom they depended for their own well-being. Moreover, it seemed as if some people's political affiliations with parties that supported non-racialism did not necessarily correlate with individuals' willingness to get involved in local-level anti-racism work. In other communities, BIS observed that the members of the white community were active within civil society, but did not engage in efforts toward racial integration. Most jarring was that some white participants questioned why they 'had' to integrate and share, expressed disinterest or reacted by saying that they were the 'victim' who was being 'dominated'. It was discouraging for BIS members to hear that some potential participants did not see the ways in which they benefitted from their privileged position in South Africa, further perpetuating the power imbalance between racial categories and inhibiting reconciliation.

In contrast to these observations, BIS has also had some key successes in engaging with the white South African community for reconciliation. Anecdotal evidence of the shift from non-engagement to engagement can be drawn from many of BIS's inter-ventions, as documented in earlier chapters. BIS's observations in a few communities debunked long-standing assumptions about which groups were more open to inter-racial interaction.

One of the dominant perceptions in apartheid South Africa was that English-speaking white people were more inclined to support racial integration than their Afrikaans-speaking counterparts.[3,4] The initial expectation was that those communities with a strong British history and prevalence of English-speakers would yield better results for BIS's work with the dominant white community; however, BIS noticed that, in one community, white Afrikaans-speakers seemed to be more inclined to integrate with black people than white English-speakers.

In this particular community, the real breakthrough in racial integration came in 2014 as a result of an ambitious project to document the experiences of different

generations of four racial groups over 20 years of democracy through the BIS *African Identities* film series.[5] For some white participants and their families, it was the first time that they invited black people – members of the film crew – into their homes as equals. The launch of the documentaries brought white, black, Indian and coloured into one space for a common purpose.

While the content reflected very different experiences, the documentaries allowed ordinary people from Vryheid to hear and acknowledge one another's stories. Three members of each of the four racial and ethnic groups – black, white, Indian and coloured – came together in dialogue to share their experiences after 20 years of democracy.

Black people spoke of the political, economic, social and cultural oppression they experienced during apartheid. The black community was excited when a coloured participant revealed she could speak fluent isiZulu, as they saw the nuances of how culture and language can be learnt and shared and, in so doing, respected. Indian people spoke of how their elders had been banned during apartheid, yet democracy has reversed the ban. White people expressed frustration with the lack of outlets to express their disenchantment with the new South Africa. Like never before, this opened a door for white people to be increasingly involved in BIS's justice and reconciliation work and challenged everyone's ideas of what it means to be 'marginalised'.

Following this intervention, BIS identified white, black and coloured Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) Ambassadors from Vryheid to help carry forward this work. This shift can be verified in the graph in Figure 10.1, which shows the increase in racial diversity among participants in one community from 2012 to 2015. The *African Identities* series proved to be catalytic, as people in the town started humanising one another as a result of being exposed to their concerns, fears, aspirations and anger.

FIGURE 10.1:   Increase in racial diversity among participants in Vryheid, 20122015
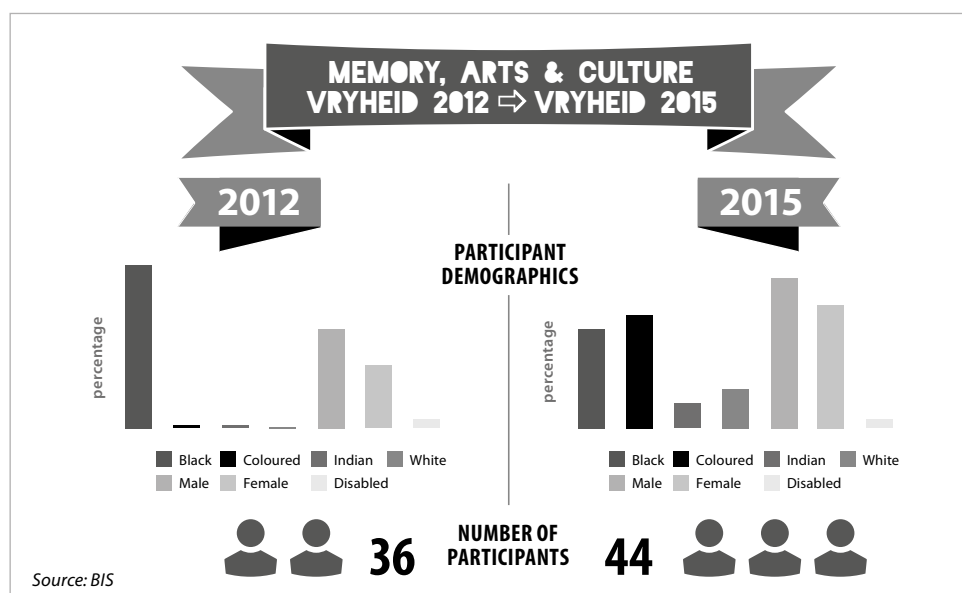
In another similar intervention, unlikely participants, such as young unemployed black men and retired white women and men came together in dialogue around the craft of crocheting. Having a tactile activity to engage in while speaking made participants feel more comfortable. Notable changes in attitudes emerged and relationships became more relaxed between participants of different backgrounds.

In other communities, BIS witnessed examples of white participants challenging the very power structures from which they had benefitted. Some white participants expressed ambivalence or even antagonism toward high-level white political leaders, suggesting that political affiliation may not necessarily fall along stark racial lines. In one Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project (AKYLDP) youth camp (2014 group), when challenged by a black peer about the reticence of the white community to get involved in justice and reconciliation, one white participant stated, 'I understand them, but *I am here*', suggesting that her voice as a representative of the white community mattered despite the Sisyphean task facing them. This was a pivotal moment for the group in understanding the challenges and possibilities of overcoming racism in South Africa. Another BIS intervention with schools in Welkom (Free State) noticed a significant increase in the number and level of involvement of white participants from 2012 to 2016. As a result, the schools were able to shift toward a policy of non-racialism that was well supported and executed.

There are also other areas in which dominance can be exercised or experienced, such as the cultural, economic, linguistic or educational dimensions. Many of the same challenges and opportunities that arise in intergroup contact among different races are also apparent in groups with other types of dominance. As one example, Memory, Arts and Culture (MAC) music and dance concerts brought together two previously disparate groups – the black and coloured communities – to celebrate marginalised voices. The groups performed Tswana dances from the black community and spiritual, hip-hop and modern dances from the coloured community. While few white residents participated, these two groups viewed each other as the dominant group, thereby making it easier to bring them together, suggesting a possible pattern regarding reconciliation (see Figure 10.2).

FIGURE 10.2: **Possible relationship between the ease of post-conflict contact for practitioners and participants based on the relative perceived power of self among the groups involved**

		RELATIVE POWER AMONG GROUPS	
		Symmetrical perceptions of self *(Inferior–Inferior or Dominant-Dominant)*	**Asymmetrical perceptions of self** *(Inferior–Dominant)*
RELATIVE EASE OF CONTACT	Easier ↑ ↓ More difficult	✓	
			✓

Source: BIS

In Vryheid, BIS initially focused almost exclusively on the Zulu-speaking majority for the MAC programme that involved traditional music. A few members of the white community joined but remained on the sidelines, as their racial group was a very small portion of the total population. As relationships progressed over time, members of the white community eventually had the chance to teach their black counterparts music from the Afrikaans tradition. This was an important moment that showed respect for white Afrikaans culture in a safe environment and made the statement that both black and white people were equal members of the cultural community.

Through the AKYLDP, youth not only get to engage with each other as representatives of different groups, but also have contact across ages through intergenerational dialogue. While youths and parents had very distinct views on apartheid and its aftermath, parents tended to hold more relative power than their children. Dialogues between youth and their parents revealed to all involved that these young people were not useless, but socially and politically conscious and emerging thought-leaders for their generation. Conversely, by watching and discussing videos about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), the youth realised how their ancestors had struggled, leading to some profound shifts in attitudes on racism. BIS supported intergenerational engagement to break down barriers and increase mutual respect.

While cisgender male heterosexuality is not taken up extensively here as a dominant group, similar results of positive contact were seen when groups of cisgender men came together in dialogue with historically marginalised cisgender women and LGBTIQ+ women and men. These successes are important examples of how members of the historically dominant group can get involved and stay involved in reconciliation work.

Anecdotally, BIS has noted a pattern: groups that believe that they are *as inferior as* or *as dominant as* their counterparts tend to engage more easily in dialogue and reconciliation than when one group self-identifies as inferior and the other as superior. As this is a hypothesis based on BIS's narrow operating environment, more analysis would have to be done to determine how widespread this trend is, if at all. Figure 10.2 illustrates a simplified version of this relationship.

While these anecdotal observations of both the challenges and opportunities for engagement are insufficient to generalise across the entire country, they clearly suggest the need to explore the diverse motivations behind the white community's involvement in reconciliation and social cohesion, as well as the conditions necessary for positive interrace interaction. Our hypothesis of how these changes occur is outlined in Figure 10.3.

Assumptions

Successful intergroup contact for the purpose of reconciliation is underpinned by several assumptions about the state in which participants enter into dialogue:[6]

- Group dialogue is a culturally acceptable form of social interaction in South Africa;
- Participants have a certain level of economic development in order to sustain themselves prior to the dialogue;
- Groups are opposing and unequal as a result of historical and current marginalisation; and

FIGURE 10.3: **Process tracing for Shift 1, showing how historically dominant groups become involved and stay engaged in social change through intergroup contact**

All participants make an active effort to overcome spatial segregation that continues to persist in order to meet the other group.

All participants are exposed to individuals that they believe to be different from them, based on socially constructed categories of race, class, sex, age, religion, etc.

All participants increase awareness of their own biases and prejudices against members of the group they believe to be different from them, as well as the ways in which they are wounded.

Historically dominant groups

Historically marginalised groups

Participants increase their own understanding of people of the marginalised group.
Participants view the behaviour of the historically marginalised group as normal and similar in some way to their own.

Participants, regardless of their own behaviour, acknowledge wrongdoing against members of the other group as a result of prejudice.

Participants denounce harmful behaviour toward members of the other group.

Participants acknowledge aspects of their own behaviour that follows this pattern of dominance. Participants empathise with the marginalised individuals.

Participants vow not to engage in harmful behaviour against the other group in the future.

Participants promise to speak up against other people exhibiting this harmful behaviour in their own community, or suggest ways to change their own behaviour to limit this dominance.

Participants prevent and respond to discrimination or prejudicial behaviour in their surroundings.

Participants overcome the influence of strong voices in their own community who are not in favour of intergroup contact. Sideline spoilers.

Participants increase their understanding of the impact of their own experiences on themselves in relation to the other and become aware of the impact of the past.

Participants feel as though their experiences have been acknowledged by the other group.

Participants take personal and collective responsibility to connect with and co-create with the historically dominant group.

Participants trust that the information that they shared will be acted upon by the dominant group.

Participants feel an increased sense of self-efficacy to take control of challenging situations in their own lives.

Participants have more positive intergroup encounters with members whom they previously perceived to be different (consensual validation).

Participants view themselves as equal in importance to the dominant group.

Participants increase their trust in the group they previously perceived to be different.

Participants influence their immediate social networks based on what they learnt.

Source: BIS

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- Members of the groups enter into dialogue with fear and anxiety about 'future intergroup encounters'.

Risks

There are also risks involved in engaging in intergroup contact work, and elements of the operating space that are outside of BIS's control may still affect the degree of impact:

- Racist, homophobic, sexist, ageist, classist or religiously intolerant actions committed by people not engaged by BIS may continue to confirm the observed pattern of negative intergroup encounters among BIS participants, thereby rendering BIS's work ineffectual.
- There is a risk that former BIS participants do not follow through on verbal commitments made during workshops or dialogues because they are under social pressure from their groups to conform to intragroup norms. Former participants may lack a network to support them in their commitments to anti-racism.

Conditions for success

Given that institutionalised white privilege[7] and its consequences for all racial categories still pose major challenges to reconciliation work, there are a number of conditions that we believe are important in attracting historically dominant groups to integration work:

- BIS projects have always been premised on voluntary participation. This suggests that, for white participants to enter the group, they must feel safe to do so. If they sense safety, they will be more able to listen and have empathy for others.
- Testimonies and word-of-mouth messages from white participants in previous BIS work serve as assets for assisting BIS in increasing participation of the white community. They can recommend that their peers also participate.
- Another possible incentive for involvement is credible signalling. Being seen as 'racist' in South Africa is socially stigmatised, so, if white people are seen to be involved in interracial processes, it may provide a credible signal to others that they are not racist.
- BIS interventions also found that, as contact theory predicts, long periods of contact between marginalised and dominant groups are needed to begin to break down stereotypes.

Unanswered questions

Even with a high-level negotiated settlement, historically dominant group members do not necessarily have to give up power. There is a gap in research about how to best achieve sustained participation of the historically dominant group in *long-term* reconciliation work.

Why do certain members of historically dominant groups get involved in community initiatives and others do not?

BIS hypothesises that there may have to be a material incentive that aligns with their self-interests (especially in institutional structures) before they will become involved in large numbers. If the parties understand that they are interdependent, then they will change. A second hypothesis is that members of the historically dominant group need key role models from their own community who create a demonstration effect on the broader group. More research and analysis needs to be done around the dynamics of the historically dominant group, including the role that language and history play in post-conflict identity formation, what white civil society is comprised of and how it can be leveraged to support reconciliation.

What is the motivation of dominant groups to get involved in reconciliation work?

One hypothesis is that certain narratives within the white community dissuade their participation in reconciliation. This hypothesis needs to be investigated and, if shown to be true, BIS must ask how these narratives are constructed and how they can be deconstructed to pave the way for further social integration.

BIS's experiences also raise questions for practitioners based on their own positionality. BIS practitioners of all races are challenged in planning interracial dialogues, but in different ways:

> On a practical level, in what ways can interveners who were part of the historically marginalised group and the dominant group constructively engage with dominant counterparts to encourage their participation in productive dialogical activities?

> Is it possible for practitioners to bridge very entrenched divides between racial categories in areas where racism and white privilege are common?

> How can mediums such as films, arts and other creative material be further applied to stimulate dialogue around very challenging topics?

⚙ SHIFT 2:
Historically marginalised groups increase their sense of agency

BIS has noticed that certain groups tend to need support to begin to speak confidently on a more equal footing with more dominant counterparts, given centuries of inequality. BIS has witnessed the shift of marginalised groups from a place of self-degradation to self-confidence as the first step toward meeting dominant groups in dialogue and reconciliation. Our hypothesis of how these changes occur is outlined in Figure 10.4.

In one community in 2012, BIS noticed that, when groups of white English-speaking participants entered into dialogue with people whose first language was not English, the conversation would immediately be dominated by the fluent English speakers. This motivated BIS to split the groups into two separate intragroup dialogues.

BIS first worked with the group which did not speak English as fluently and engaged them in their native language. Black participants were able to speak passionately and articulately in their first language about issues that were directly affecting them. This contributed to an increased sense of agency, as participants could more confidently express themselves without concern for proper syntax in English as their second or third language. Although we were never able to bring these two groups together as a result of the hesitance of the groups involved, BIS did form a group of black participants that included members from the Zulu- and Tswana-speaking groups. We used translators to prevent misunderstandings and to create a balance of power between the various linguistic groups.

BIS concluded that the black community did not seem 'ready' to engage with the historically dominant group, given the sensitivity of the topics at hand. Moreover, the group of white academics that BIS engaged with appeared to prefer to meet and work on issues of racism separately from their black counterparts. This was not a dynamic that BIS could quickly overcome.

BIS's Grahamstown intervention is an example of how youth, when supported in their own growth paths, can amaze and inspire others, thereby debunking ageism. In Grahamstown, the MAC programme put together a traditional music and dance performance of school children that was showcased to the elders of the community. The performance increased the self-esteem of the youth and impressed elders who held negative views of the youth. The programme also engaged Xhosa and coloured people in music workshops that touched on issues of xenophobia. Participants embodied messages of social justice for foreign nationals facing the threat of hate crimes.

The *African Identities* documentaries that depict stories from the LGBTIQ+ communities were critical for supporting the esteem of the storytellers, as well as others from the LGBTIQ+ community that saw their way of life validated in film.

In training with Siyakha community leaders, using the 'River of Life' exercise created a series of new partnerships that demonstrated a new sense of agency and self-possession, which the group had not hitherto witnessed.

In Warrenton, as in other places, many people held negative views of teenage women who had children. BIS worked with youth, including single mothers, using the Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) approach to increase their own sense of self-worth and to change community perceptions about them. In particular, a 'fish bowl' exercise, during which the young women spoke uninterruptedly while young men listened, was pivotal in changing highly gendered perspectives on teen pregnancy, motherhood and gender-based violence. Positive changes in the speech among the men were immediately noticeable. This dialogue resulted in the creation of a small group of youth entrepreneurs comprising some of the teen mothers and young men. Several of the youth have attributed their current employment to this ABCD session. This experience is consistent with existing literature on how reconciliation is possible if survivors of oppression are able to find their 'voice' and are actively *listened to* by their community.[8] In other applications of the ABCD approach, BIS began to notice how community members, rather than complain about inadequacies of services or goods in their community, would begin to act themselves to try to improve them. Residents no longer saw more money as the solution to any problem they encountered.

Assumptions

Supporting marginalised groups through BIS's intragroup work assumed the following:

- The group members self-identify as being similar to other members of the group based on their experience of historical and current marginalisation;
- There is a high level of violence against this group as a result of their race, sex, sexual orientation or other socially constructed classification;
- Some members of each community are either not interested or will actively work against the eventual goal of intergroup contact;
- There is a lack of community-level capacity and state-level support to address this violence;
- Group dialogue is a culturally acceptable form of social interaction in South Africa;
- Participants may or may not have prior experience of engaging with the topics of discussion; and
- Social connection among groups of people feeling the same level of marginalisation spurs action.

Risks

Intragroup dialogue runs the risk of inadvertently reinforcing negative views of the 'other' group. This can happen collectively or under the influence of key 'spoilers' who actively resist intergroup contact and only want to promote in-group conversations, thereby running counter to the reconciliation agenda. Attitudes are hardened and members of the group become less motivated to communicate with members of the dominant group.

Moreover, intragroup reflections on past injustices may cause some people to use the pursuit of identity as a means of *exclusion* to bar others from the conversation and co-creation of the future.

In attempts to find one's own group identity, there is a risk that the group develops a sense of superiority and views intergroup contact as a process that 'taints' their group. This has the potential to further entrench spatial and social segregation. In considering how intragroup dialogue can contribute to reconciliation, practitioners must be wary of any efforts by in-groups, whether historically dominant or historically marginalised, to bypass the challenging discussions of how true respect for diversity works in practice.

Unanswered questions

Because the goal of intragroup work in a post-conflict society is to eventually draw the groups together, there are unanswered questions around how exactly to make this leap:

- Is improving the chances of positive intergroup contact a function of time spent as separate groups?
- Did the shortcomings that BIS noticed stem from the fact that the group did not have enough time together?
- What aspects of continued spatial apartheid and structural violence continue to

FIGURE 10.4: Process tracing for Shift 2, showing how historically marginalised groups increase their sense of agency through intragroup contact


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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│        Historically marginalised groups       │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                       │
                       ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  Participants are exposed to individuals who   │
│  have been targeted or have witnessed the      │
│  targeting of individuals based on their race, │
│  sex, sexual orientation or other socially     │
│  constructed classification.                   │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                       │
                       ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  Participants increase knowledge of the        │
│  prevalence of this kind of violence in their  │
│  own community.                                │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                       │
                       ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  Participants grieve these experiences and     │
│  support each other.                           │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                       │
                       ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  Participants feel an increased sense of       │
│  self-efficacy to take control of challenging  │
│  situations in their own lives.                │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                       │
                       ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  Participants unite to take action to address  │
│  the common challenges facing the group.       │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
            │                         │
            ▼                         ▼
┌──────────────────────┐  ┌──────────────────────┐
│ Some participants     │  │ Participants influence │
│ create gainful        │  │ their immediate social │
│ employment            │  │ networks based on what │
│ opportunities as a    │  │ they have learnt.      │
│ result of their work  │  │                        │
│ in their own          │  │                        │
│ community.            │  │                        │
└──────────────────────┘  └──────────────────────┘
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Source: BIS

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inhibit intergroup contact?
- What other means are available for bringing the separate groups together?
- Even if intergroup contact is successful, is there still a need for intragroup work?
- Is intragroup work sustainable?

This brings the conversation to the following questions:

- How can practitioners assist certain sections of the population that have been marginalised without alienating others?
- How can practitioners focus on the particular in order to assist with the whole?

The current theory is that, once the separate groups can articulate their own voices with confidence, they will be more powerful and better able to engage productively with reconciliation. One argument is that intragroup work is not exclusionary, but rather preparatory for the larger task of managing many constituencies in one space; however, in practice, investments in one group over another may be viewed as imbalanced. This concept should be further interrogated.

⚙ SHIFT 3:
Exclusive narratives of history and the present day are changed to inclusive narratives

While it is still very much a work in progress, BIS has witnessed some substantial changes in how participants talk about themselves and members of previously disparate groups of people. In the past, even within seemingly homogeneous racial or ethnic categories, there was a history of exclusivity that pervaded all types of social interactions. People tended to focus on what made them different – and therefore incompatible – rather than celebrating their diversity and valuing themselves in relation to others. People often invoked overarching hegemonic narratives[9] of colonialism and apartheid or stereotypes in order to both purposefully and implicitly exclude others. BIS worked to foster changes in both the oral and written stories about various groups with the goal of shifting intergroup attitudes and behaviours.

An important part of creating an inclusive narrative is listening. In order to get the full picture, individuals must internalise the stories given by other people, immediately challenging what they thought they knew about their own group or geographic area. Furthermore, the ability to listen implies willingness and care for the other – the first step to a more honest and true diversity. The exchange of stories therefore changes the way in which people engage with information and each other.

A key example of this shift comes from the implementation of the Everyday Healing Indicators initiative – a participatory action-research project that invites community members to determine what 'being healed' from past wounds means to them and to take responsibility for making it happen. Diverse community members had the chance to share their different views on the same indicator that revealed information about their own community. By disaggregating the data by sex, race and other

categories, participants concretely learnt about the diversity of their community, thereby debunking preconceived notions about their 'group'. Preconceived notions about differing from the 'other' group are also challenged as evidence emerges that there are shared views within that group and one's own group. The survey process also piqued the curiosity of community members, making some of them feel that their voice mattered.

Moreover, when it is not an external entity imposing their view of the 'problem' and the 'solution' without consultation, but residents themselves taking credit for the community's strengths and responsibility for changing its weaknesses, the entire outcome becomes much more sustainable. This community- and data-driven approach to reconciliation is ground-breaking and may serve as a viable alternative to formal academic- or state-led processes of reconciliation.

An example of how participants successfully expanded a previously exclusive historical record comes from the BIS Schools Oral History Project (SOHP) in Vryheid. The project focused on forced removals and produced a series of posters depicting this aspect of the history of the community (Figure 10.5), which had previously been under-represented or even completely invisible. This helped to create new knowledge, thereby empowering both marginalised youths and elders. BIS hosted a public launch of the posters, which garnered a great deal of attention from the community. This attention helped elevate the esteem of those involved and also jump-started an intergenerational conversation between youth and elders about their history. In 2016, the poster series was used as a learning aid in a workshop with youth from Vryheid. This gave them the opportunity to reflect on the causes and effects of the forced removals, to discuss the linkages between the past and the present and to be proud of how their ancestors survived very difficult times. It became a source of strength for many, because it made a clear statement to the community's marginalised people that their lives *matter*.

Also in Vryheid, an exchange of personal stories of 20 years of democracy captured on video helped to show a broad range of experiences. Similarly, films about people who survived the recent xenophobic crises revealed the same story of 'woundedness' among African foreign nationals that is often used to describe how the black, coloured and Indian communities of South Africa feel. This created a sense of empathy for foreign nationals that had not been seen before.

The Ashley Kriel Youth Development Programme (AKYLDP) also generated a shift from exclusion to inclusion among youth. Youth camps began with young people telling their personal stories to each other, which immediately humanised each participant to the other. This paved the way for the youth to nuance their own discussion of broader social challenges. A reunion that brought together three seasons of youth camps revealed that the youth had made immense progress in influencing others with their new-found voices. Youths were able to unite to say that 'we're in this together' regardless of colour, sexuality, gender, language, race, religion or any other distinction. The publication *Mapping the Past, Plotting the Future* shows this distinct progression.[10]

Assumptions
In its work on creating inclusive narratives, BIS made the following assumptions:

FIGURE 10.5: Poster from Schools Oral History Project (SOHP) in Vryheid

Key legislation passed after the Act of Union in 1910

1913: Natives Land Act
1910
1923: Natives (Urban Areas) Act
1927: Black Administration Act
1932: Native Service Contracts Act
1932: Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure (Amendment) Act
1934: Slums Act
1936: Native Trust and Land Act
1946: Asiatic Land Tenure & Indian Representation Act

Laws effecting residential apartheid after 1948
1949: Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act
1950
1950: Group Areas Act
1950: Population Registration Act
1950: Immorality Act
1951: Bantu Authorities Act
1951: Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act
1952: Native Urban Areas Amendment Act
1952: Pass Laws Amendment Act
1953: Bantu Education Act
1954: Native Resettlement Act
1954: Native Urban Consolidation Act
1955: Group Areas Development Act
1959: Bantu Investment Corporation Act
1959: Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act
1960
1961: Coloured Persons Communal Reserves Act
1961: Preservation of Coloured Areas Act
1965: Bantu Homeland Development Corporation Act
1970
1970: Bantu Homelands Citizens Act
1973: Aliens Control Act
1978: Blacks (Urban Areas) Amendment Act

In **1963, Mondlo Township near Vryheid in KwaZulu-Natal** was established as an exclusively African settlement through a process of forced removals. Sanctioned by the **Group Areas Act of 1950** and other apartheid laws, black residents, many of whom had **freehold title** to their land and residences, were forcibly removed from the so-called **'black spots'** of **KwaBhanya (Besterspruit), Kingsley,** the **Khambule mission,** as well as **farms** surrounding Vryheid. They were taken to an undeveloped site near the **Mondlo mountain,** approximately 28 kilometres outside Vryheid within the boundaries of the KwaZulu homeland, and left to establish a new community.

From the start, the government invested **little in infrastructure** and the people had to struggle with **inadequate housing, sanitation and water supply** and the absence of normal community amenities such as **medical and recreational facilities,** affordable **transport and policing**. In addition, there were few work or business opportunities in Mondlo for many years and many residents were forced into the **migrant labour** system. Political strife from the 1980s further limited the development of Mondlo.

Background of Forced Removals and Apartheid in Vryheid When the **National Party** under the leadership of **DF Malan** came into power in **1948**, racism was already institutionalized in South Africa. The 'whites only' parliament enacted a series of racially discriminatory laws to enforce **'separate development'** that negatively affected the 'non-white' population. In **1950** Parliament passed the notorious **Group Areas Act,** which meant to force the South African population to live in separate residential areas according to their racial classification (**whites, African, Indians and Coloureds**). Africans were also intended to reside separately according to cultural or tribal designation in specified **tribal reserves,** e.g. the amaZulu to KwaZulu, amaXhosa

and amaMpondo to Transkei and Ciskei and amaSwazi to KwaNgwane. By **1970**, the grand apartheid plan was for these reserves to become **'independent' black states,** from which the influx of any black people required to work in 'white' South Africa would be strictly controlled and regulated.

Today, Mondlo faces a serious **backlog in infrastructure** development. Even after almost twenty years of democracy and limited restitution through the finalization of land claims, the lack of opportunity and investment has led to high levels of **crime** and general **poverty.** The causes of all these problems can be directly traced to the destruction and forced removal of stable communities and the failures of apartheid social engineering.

Forced Removals: Mondlo Township
(eMondlo=mountain)

1963

Source: BIS

- Members of the groups enter into dialogue with limited knowledge of the history of South Africa and the African continent, but with rich information about the history of their own communities.
- Past conflict depended upon narratives constructed about the oppressors, the oppressed and their surroundings.
- The status quo favours the historically dominant group and any attempts to shift the narrative may be met with fear about cultural disempowerment. Such groups understand narratives as zero-sum; some believe that, 'if the historically marginalised group wins, then I lose'. The concept of 'equality' of cultural representation is used as a means of silencing calls for social justice.
- There are limited sources explaining history from the perspective of marginalised communities.
- Participants undervalue their own knowledge, causing them to disregard the knowledge of others. No one person knows all.
- Single stories of dominant groups only teach one aspect of the experience of the past and are often used to subordinate other groups.

Risks

There is the risk that few community members internalise the new information created by BIS participants. In other words, the process of new information-creation is not repeated once BIS stops engaging.

There is also a risk that focusing on stories of marginalised communities causes participants and their networks to believe that their stories are superior to those that have been historically dominant. As a result, participants do not internalise the inter-connectedness of their own history with that of other racial categories in South Africa.

Conditions for success

Any intervention seeking to expand narratives must shift its emphasis from written history to oral history. Because written history often favours the most privileged groups in society, a focus on verbal storytelling and documentation becomes key to bringing marginal voices into the centre. Our hypothesis of how these changes occur is outlined in Figure 10.6.

While beginning this kind of story-telling sometimes requires starting in intragroup settings, expanding narratives also requires intergroup contact – this is not an agenda that can be accomplished solely through intragroup dialogue. Dissemination of the outputs must occur in the very same communities from which the stories came. Dissemination should cast a wider net than the participants themselves; this can serve an important integration function and can also jump-start dialogues.
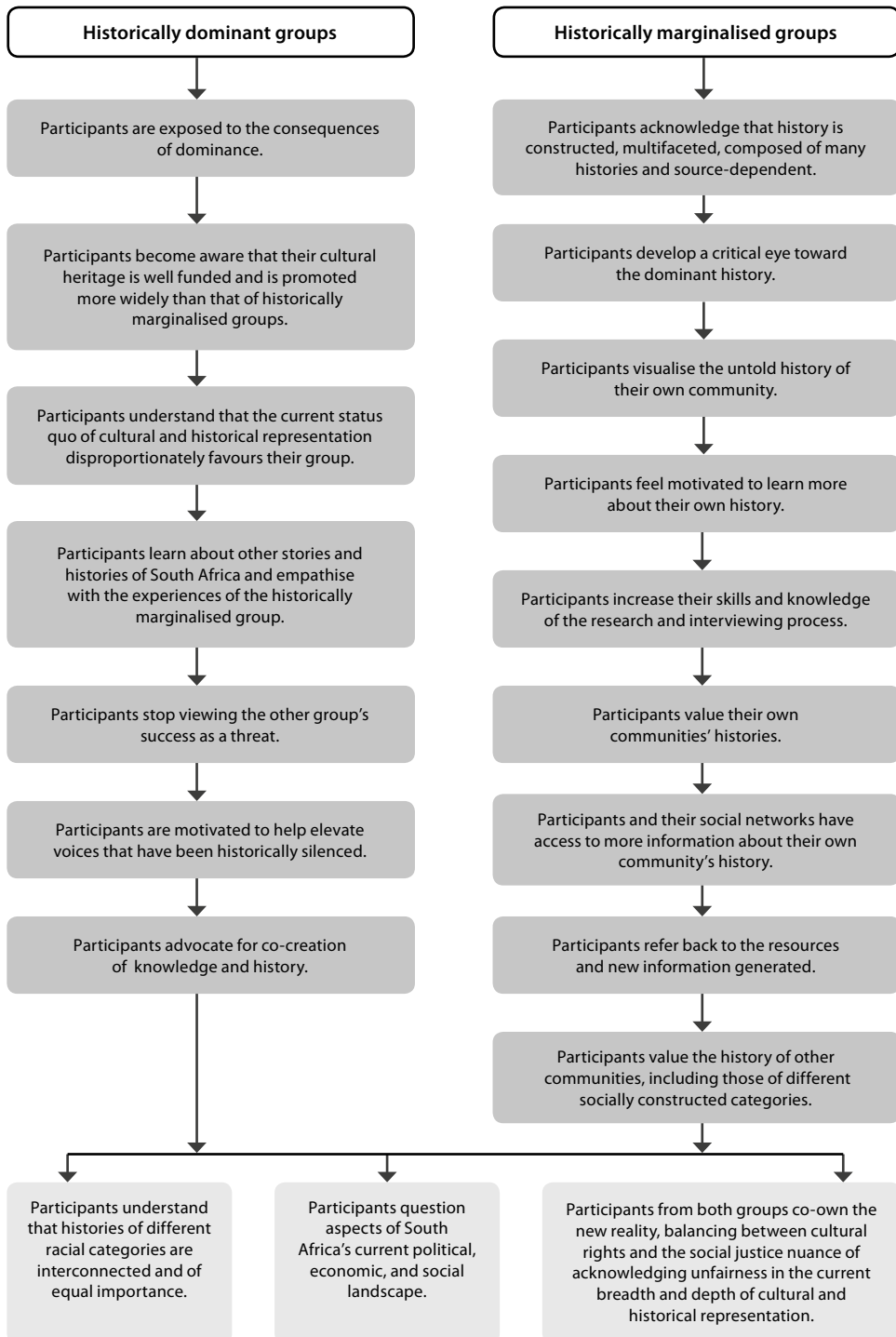
⚙ SHIFT 4:

Community members emerge as leaders and act independently to continue the social-cohesion agenda

The first three shifts that BIS helped to jump-start at the community level are more

FIGURE 10.6: **Process tracing for Shift 3, showing how exclusive narratives of history and the present day are expanded to become inclusive narratives**

Historically dominant groups	Historically marginalised groups
Participants are exposed to the consequences of dominance.	Participants acknowledge that history is constructed, multifaceted, composed of many histories and source-dependent.
Participants become aware that their cultural heritage is well funded and is promoted more widely than that of historically marginalised groups.	Participants develop a critical eye toward the dominant history.
Participants understand that the current status quo of cultural and historical representation disproportionately favours their group.	Participants visualise the untold history of their own community.
Participants learn about other stories and histories of South Africa and empathise with the experiences of the historically marginalised group.	Participants feel motivated to learn more about their own history.
Participants stop viewing the other group's success as a threat.	Participants increase their skills and knowledge of the research and interviewing process.
Participants are motivated to help elevate voices that have been historically silenced.	Participants value their own communities' histories.
Participants advocate for co-creation of knowledge and history.	Participants and their social networks have access to more information about their own community's history.
	Participants refer back to the resources and new information generated.
	Participants value the history of other communities, including those of different socially constructed categories.

Participants understand that histories of different racial categories are interconnected and of equal importance.

Participants question aspects of South Africa's current political, economic, and social landscape.

Participants from both groups co-own the new reality, balancing between cultural rights and the social justice nuance of acknowledging unfairness in the current breadth and depth of cultural and historical representation.

Source: BIS

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than isolated changes. As previously disparate groups came into contact with each other, historically marginalised groups increased their agency, narratives were expanded to be more inclusive, and leaders emerged from the community. BIS cultivated both pre-existing and new community leadership through its Ambassador programme, a focus on certain interest groups and individual consultation. This fourth shift shows how dialogical processes have the capacity to invite leadership and generate leaders – community change-makers – who are able to carry the work forward without help from BIS. Our hypothesis of how these changes occur is outlined in Figure 10.7. While BIS is still in the process of determining the best sustainability strategy, it is without a doubt that home-grown community leadership will be a key pillar in seeing that social-cohesion efforts really take root.

BIS has seen many examples of budding community leadership as a result of dialogue and workshop processes:

- The self-led women's Warrenton Forum is led by a woman who has started her own non-profit organisation as a result;
- Also in Warrenton, another community leader has taken it upon himself to have one-on-one conversations with his neighbours and to document his observations both at home and at work;
- The Siyakha community leaders have also formed their own non-profit organisation to continue the work they began; and
- In the AKYLDP, one participant has consistently created his own 'safe space' for his community members to meet and talk about challenging issues, particularly around gender-based violence.

The 21 IJR Ambassadors are also testaments to this dialogue-to-action leap. Several of them run their own non-profit organisations and/or support BIS programming in their own communities.
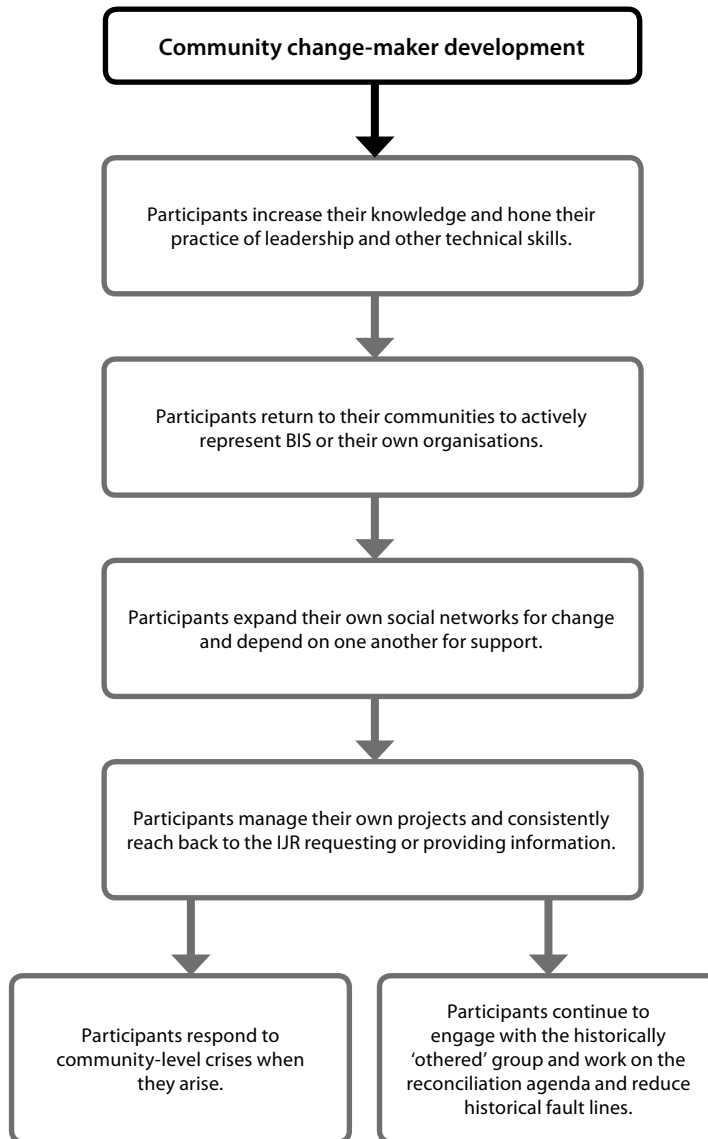
Assumptions
BIS's work in the area of leadership assumed the following:

- Groups include promising community leaders in either rural or urban areas who have had previous contact with BIS;
- Youth and budding community leaders are searching for ways to contribute and apply themselves to current challenges, yet do not receive the support (moral, financial or professional development) they need to do so; and
- Participants are chosen based on the degree to which they exhibit leadership qualities that can be stimulated, such as frustration with the status quo, organisation, charisma, lack of outlets for self-application, drive and community reputation as a change-maker.

Risks
There is always a risk that BIS would invest in individuals in terms of training and

FIGURE 10.7: Process tracing for Shift 4, showing how community members emerge as leaders and act independently to continue the social cohesion agenda

Community change-maker development

Participants increase their knowledge and hone their practice of leadership and other technical skills.

Participants return to their communities to actively represent BIS or their own organisations.

Participants expand their own social networks for change and depend on one another for support.

Participants manage their own projects and consistently reach back to the IJR requesting or providing information.

Participants respond to community-level crises when they arise.

Participants continue to engage with the historically 'othered' group and work on the reconciliation agenda and reduce historical fault lines.

Source: BIS

resources and yet they become inactive; while this has not been common, it is still a risk to be aware of in the future.

Conditions for success

Leadership development seemed to work best when BIS had developed a working relationship with the individual prior to asking them to take on additional responsibility. They must be seen as credible, trustworthy members of their community and to be serving the community directly.

Unanswered questions

BIS work with community leaders has raised some questions that are also relevant to other practitioners working in the area of social cohesion and reconciliation:

- How do practitioners know when a dialogue and other interventions have reached sustainability?
- What does sustainability look like in practice?
- What are the signs that an intervener should continue to nurture the leadership and intervention process it has generated, or 'exit' in order to place resources elsewhere?

⚙ SHIFT 5:

Practitioners increase awareness of their own positionality and generate a spillover effect in their operating environment

Apart from the impact of BIS work on communities themselves, BIS practitioners have experienced changes in their own perceptions of self and other, as well as in their attitudes and behaviours. Moreover, as BIS staff interact with service providers in the planning and implementation of workshops, dialogues and other community-based activities, their behaviour teaches by example what respect for others means in practice. BIS has noticed on several occasions that service providers begin to act differently toward others once they have come into contact with BIS staff.

This first micro-shift of the practitioner's own perceptions is essential to reconciliation work in which the practitioner is experiencing the same challenges as their group, as well as attempting to make a positive impact on it. Prior to engagement in the target community, practitioners are inadvertently challenged to become aware of their own personal biases and conscious and unconscious woundedness in areas of racism, sexism, ageism, classism, religious intolerance or other bias. During engagement, they are confronted with stories of people who are different from them. BIS staff have grown to recognise how the community's *perception* of their identities may impact the level of effectiveness. The work involves actively attempting to understand personal biases, as well as countering or challenging external perceptions. The evidence of this introspective work comes through in staff's quotidian interactions in communities in ways that were not planned by the programmes, thereby generating a 'spillover' effect.

Unanswered questions

- Given that this shift is unintentional, how sustainable are the changes that BIS saw in service providers?
- Is BIS's presence alone enough to shift certain people's attitudes?

The BIS social-change model

The engine behind these five key shifts is the constant building of trustful relationships with people who are attached to the community. Through these relationships, BIS is constantly learning about the context. The height of BIS's involvement is the facilitation of change. BIS does not purport to *lead* change, but rather to *guide others* in the transformation of their own communities. Finally, BIS decreases its involvement to create space for the community to own and continue the work.

Assumptions

Because social change does not happen in a vacuum, BIS takes into account three assumptions about the context of South Africa that must hold in order for the social-change model to be successful:

- The first assumption is that political stability will continue as is. South Africa will continue to have a democratically elected government and a healthy political opposition.
- In addition to political stability, BIS assumes that the rule of law will continue to hold as the judicial sector upholds and helps to enforce the legislation created by the government.
- The third assumption is that the government and civil society organisations other than the IJR are working to increase equality among South Africa's economically stratified population. Although not one of the IJR's areas of work, economic development that allows for livelihoods must occur in tandem with social change, as economic inequality is a hold-over from colonialism and apartheid and thus a main driver of social division.

The emerging model

Given these assumptions, the emerging BIS social-change model (Figure 10.8) is not a panacea for all change in South African society; instead, it is a proposition for how historically and currently divided demographics can increasingly explore space for collaborative ways of working together for the public good.

The five shifts we have described have generally resulted in several key outcomes:

- Involvement of dominant groups;
- Increased agency for marginal groups;

FIGURE 10.8: Building blocks of the BIS theory of change

Source: BIS
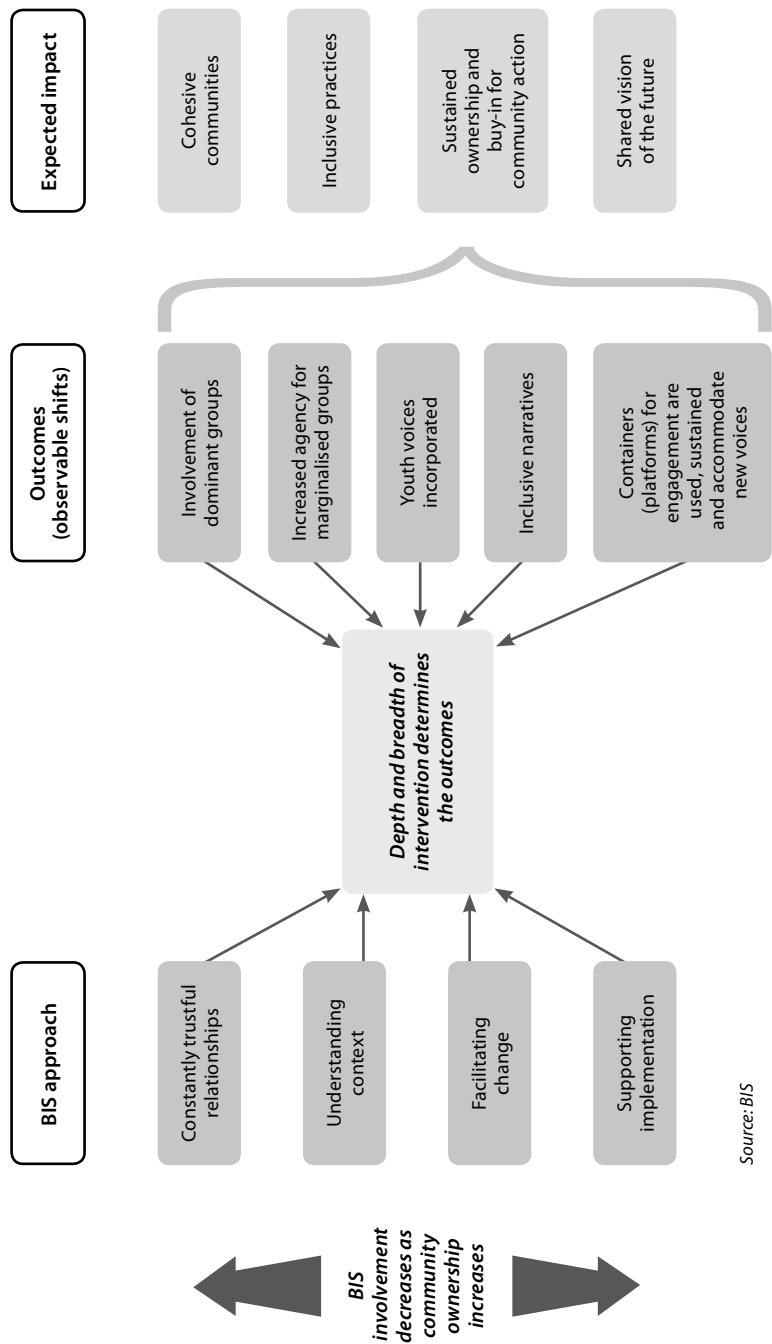
- Inclusive narratives;
- Community leadership; and
- Spill-over effects.

In the longer term, expected impacts of these interventions include:

- Cohesive communities;
- Inclusive practices;
- Sustained ownership and buy-in for community action; and
- A shared vision of the future.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the five key shifts that BIS has observed – historically dominant, self-sufficient groups starting to get involved in social change; historically marginalised groups increasing their sense of agency; exclusive narratives of history and the present day changing to inclusive narratives; community members emerging as leaders and acting independently to continue the social-cohesion agenda; and practitioners increasing their awareness of their own positionality – have been the result of the emerging social change model and BIS's long-term approach. In the next chapter we summarise the lessons we have learnt from this process to help illuminate the way forward.

ENDNOTES

1   The social change model is defined as the building blocks of the BIS theory of change that could be replicated by other organisations, given similar socio-economic and political conditions. While BIS does not support transplanting theories of change as is, this model does provide a structure for a successful intervention in a democratic, post-conflict environment that is struggling with intergenerational, race, gender and socio-economic challenges.

2   See theories on horizontal inequality for more information.

3   Scholars have noted that the English-speaking community has largely escaped the brunt of criticism for the white supremacy that holds sway over South Africa, despite the fact that 1948 apartheid formalised a set of racial laws that were driven by English imperialism in the early 20th century.

4   Dowden R (1994) Apartheid: Made in Britain: Richard Dowden explains how Churchill, Rhodes and Smuts caused black South Africans to lose their rights. *Independent*, 17 April 1994. Available at http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/apartheid-made-in-britain-richard-dowden-explains-how-churchill-rhodes-and-smuts-caused-black-south-1370856.html [accessed 7 November 2016].

5   IJR (2014) *African Identities: Shades of Belonging Season 4: Twenty Years of Democracy: Through the Eyes of Three Generational Groups*. Cape Town: IJR.

6   Hewstone M & Swart H (2011) Fifty odd years of intergroup contact: From hypothesis to integrated theory. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 50: 374–386.

7   From colonialism to apartheid, generations of white South Africans benefitted from governance systems that practised white supremacy. The end of apartheid transferred political power to the black majority, but did not wholly challenge the economic and social dominance of white South Africans. Absent dialogue and harmful stereotypical views exacerbate this black/white divide and the cycle of stereotypical perceptions continues.

8   Guthrey H (2016) Local norms and truth telling: Examining incompatibilities within truth commissions of Solomon Islands and Timor-Leste. *The Contemporary Pacific* 28(1): 1–29.

9   See Chapter 7 for details on the BIS definitions of narratives.

10   Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project (2015) *Mapping the Past, Plotting the Future*. Cape Town: IJR. Available at http://ijr.org.za/publications/pdfs/mapping.pdf [accessed 8 November 2016].

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUSION

Megan Robertson, Lindsey Doyle and Eleanor du Plooy

From 2012 to 2016, the Building an Inclusive Society (BIS) Programme of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) worked with communities, interest groups and institutions to facilitate transformative processes and interventions in order to bridge the social, economic and political divides that continue to persist in a post-conflict South Africa.

Through its projects, BIS has employed approaches that bridge divides and uplift groups and communities. BIS projects enabled participants to engage in reflective practices to gain a deeper understanding and appreciation of South Africans' varied pasts. Moreover, these projects sought to facilitate the co-construction of new knowledge, skills and processes for post-conflict South Africa across divides of race, class, age and gender. Cultivating a deliberate and conscious self-reflection and empowerment skill set with individuals, groups and communities is critical in building democratic towns and cities that embrace the values enshrined in the South African Constitution. Based on the various shifts we have witnessed over the past five years, BIS has contributed to a social change model for creating cohesive post-conflict communities.

Our engagements, workshops, dialogues and interventions have taught us the key lessons that we share in this chapter. We also identify questions and gaps that we believe are critical to deepening social-justice work and make key recommendations for strategic role players in South African society to make building social cohesion and transitional justice everyone's work.

Key lessons

Through the seven BIS projects, we have learnt about the living realities in both rural

and urban South Africa, as well as how dialogues, workshops and interventions can best be applied in these contexts. This section presents seven lessons learnt from BIS's community-level reconciliation and social-cohesion work:

1. Reconciliation and justice are long-term processes;
2. Targeted, long-term work is key to sustainable change;
3. Building trust and relationships should be priorities;
4. Bottom-up approaches to reconciliation are effective;
5. Power relations shape dialogical interventions;
6. Linking communities and governance structures is important in the process of systems-level change; and
7. Large-scale reconciliation work will likely remain limited in the absence of processes of economic justice and empowerment.

Given the frequency and nature of local-level conflicts at the time of publication, this new knowledge is highly relevant for practitioners wanting to engage in reconciliation and justice work, as well as in discussions among policy-makers about how government works with civil society to help meet basic local needs.

LESSON 1:
Reconciliation and justice are long-term processes

Reconciliation and justice are *processes*, not a single moment in time. It takes courage and commitment and, most of all, a longitudinal mindset to engage with deeply entrenched values and ideologies. Within that framework, reconciliation and justice should not be viewed as a benchmark imposed upon historically marginalised groups that have not yet built up their own group's self-confidence. Nor should it be imposed on historically dominant groups that are unaware of how their group contributed to that marginalisation. Rather, reconciliation and justice work involves psychosocial and emotional heavy-lifting, such as increasing marginalised groups' internal agency to overcome long-standing feelings of inferiority that make interaction with historically dominant groups challenging.

With agency comes the willingness to see and listen to the 'other' and the desire to work toward collective action. Because reconciliation and justice work is also about undoing entrenched superiority, processes that engage these topics must overcome resistance from many angles to engage with the historically dominant groups. Historically dominant groups tend not to want to engage in dialogue, especially if they view it as an engagement in which they will gain little and where they may feel attacked, risk losing social standing or are confronted with feelings of shame or anger.[1] In intergroup processes, if a dominant group perceives a threat, it is likely to further exert its dominance, thereby perpetuating the relative power relations rather than transforming them – or it will exit the conversation.

One of the major challenges emerging from reconciliation work is finding or creating a motivation, an impetus, especially for historically dominant group members, to

want to engage in reconciliation and social-cohesion processes. BIS's experience shows that it is not productive to aggressively pursue people who decide to leave the process, especially when the action is driven by a feeling of superiority. This points to the need to continue working to understand the motivations of dominant groups to engage, especially around the meaning of 'whiteness' in South Africa.

In keeping with the idea of reconciliation and justice as processes, alternative approaches are to proceed with those who are willing to engage in intergroup dialogue and make efforts to pique the attention of those who self-select out, or to shift to an intragroup dialogue instead. In doing so, it is most productive to focus on positive intergroup interactions. Contact theory predicts – and BIS's experiences reinforce – that positive intergroup contact is capable of reducing intergroup prejudice and improving relations. This is especially salient in South African society, given apartheid legacies that continue to inform the mental framework of many South Africans and limit intergroup contact. These findings provide further nuance to contact theory in the context of a post-conflict environment.

📖 LESSON 2:
Targeted, long-term work is key to sustainable change

To ensure deep and continued social change, reconciliation interventions have to be sustained over a period of at least three to five years. Longitudinal intergroup social-cohesion work must be geographically focused and targeted to shape positive changes.

Working with certain groups or within certain areas on a long-term basis has proved one of the most advantageous aspects of BIS's work. Long-term work with a specific group and community has been shown to result in more positive intergroup contact, prejudice reduction, attitudinal shifts towards the 'other' and an increased ability to create community-led processes. A longer project life cycle also allows for practitioners to implement, evaluate, improve and reimplement according to the shifting needs of the context and participants as the process matures.

This has important implications for donors and their decisions about funding cycles. If sustainable and community-led change is the goal in post-conflict societies, our experience suggests that funders and other partners need to invest in the *depth* of the work to transform certain areas, rather than the *breadth*. Systems-level change in this area seems most achievable when addressing the challenges in communities on a deeper level, rather than spreading funding too thinly. Moreover, donors should funnel investments into existing forums in communities or, where they do not exist, help create such sustainable structures.

📖 LESSON 3:
Building trust and relationships should be priorities

Relationships built on trust are the currency of community engagement. Over the years, BIS has worked to foster meaningful relationships with participants, government

departments, other non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based groups. This has allowed BIS to engage in richer processes and deeper dialogues and has ensured inclusive, principled, sustained initiatives that led to significant shifts in the thinking, attitudes and behaviours of those stakeholders.

BIS worked to build trust vertically with middle and high levels of government, as well as horizontally to foster trust *between* NGOs, communities and organisations at the community level. As new relationships were built and existing relationships grew stronger, we were able to work faster and more effectively in initiating and sustaining processes. We found that it was easier to build trust with individuals whose personal well-being was inextricably linked to community well-being than it was to build trust with people who had personal interests that diverged from the interests of the community. When individuals' interests are self-serving rather than aligned with those of the community, it is often reflected in their lack of commitment to remain part of community-led processes of reconciliation. This speaks to the need to decipher the integrity and service orientation of potential stakeholders at all levels as part of one's assessment prior to and during an intervention.

Building trust and relationships is key to creating safe spaces for talking and discussion, especially when considering power relations in the world at large vis-à-vis marginalised groups. BIS's approach is to create spaces where the marginalised feel safe, where their voices are given airtime and are amplified, and where they are heard and listened to. It creates a space in sharp contrast to their everyday experience, where societal and intersectional barriers work to minimise their concerns and thoughts.

Relationship-building between team members was also an important part of BIS initiatives. BIS's seven projects increasingly worked together throughout the BIS life cycle. Being able to work as a team has meant that partners and participants have benefited from a multidisciplinary and more holistic approach to justice and reconciliation work. It also afforded the team an opportunity to nurture the practice of reflective learning. Facilitating meaningful external relationships means that time, energy and resources need to be devoted to internal BIS team-building and trust-building.

Part of building trust within the BIS team is about sharing and dialoguing with each other as facilitators around what works in different communities. The team shared assumptions around contexts and, perhaps more critically, reflected on how facilitation plays out. As an example, BIS facilitators have found that, even though it is slightly easier to engage and build trust with people who seem to be similar to the facilitator, it still takes time to build deep and abiding trust and more so when there are additional intersections of identity at play. Moreover, facilitators have recognised that, in order to begin to connect with participants, they must be able to share personal truths or narratives and be vulnerable in front of participants. In this internal exchange of lessons, BIS has learnt valuable lessons on how to trust each other as facilitators.

Another key lesson within the framework of trust and facilitation is the extent to which a facilitator holds power when working with a group. Being conscious of and engaging ethically with this power dynamic is a challenge that all BIS facilitators have grappled with. The capacity to change a dynamic for the better using one's own

positional power comes with the risk of unintentionally doing harm. Being deliberate about how to properly influence a dialogue is a skill that BIS facilitators continue to develop. Flexibility in approach and the ability to manage ever-changing circumstances are keys to effective facilitation. Conscientious facilitation, which takes into account these aspects, increases participants' and partners' trust in the process of reconciliation and also communicates the very values and principles that make reconciliation and justice work possible.

📖 LESSON 4:
Bottom-up approaches to reconciliation are effective

A strength of BIS's interventions over the five years of work has been the use of inclusive, participatory methods of engagement, which allow for the co-construction of knowledge and processes. BIS values and validates in real and meaningful ways the importance of local and geographical context and knowledge.

BIS did not impose preconceived ideas of how an engagement should unfold, but rather prioritised relationships. Basic desk research on a target community or constituency was used to inform BIS only to the extent necessary to engage in productive conversations, not to build the entire engagement independently from the community. BIS's first priority was to build relationships, especially with 'gatekeepers' or valuable connectors who had deep networks in the community. In BIS's experience, these people sometimes remain the same, change or become replaced by new contacts. However, regardless of who these people were throughout the relationship-building process, BIS members remained attentive to absorb information about the context. BIS actively listened to the key themes and issues that arose from a particular group in order to support them in determining what the best course of action would be. In particular, BIS listened for current local understandings and practices of dialogue and watched for indications of the precise nature of discrimination and conflict in an area, as peace-building efforts are both determined by and resultant from the past and the present. Building meaningful social ties with the community and learning about their reality created a positive feedback loop.

BIS therefore did not subscribe to a top-down, autocratic approach of engaging with community members or other civil society organisations. Rather, participants and partners were engaged as experts on their own lives and communities. They were given platforms to:

- Co-construct ways of engaging with people from their community who were perceived as different from them;
- Develop new understandings of their historical and present contexts; and
- Design new, creative and feasible ways of pursuing the work of justice and reconciliation alongside BIS.

This approach generated local ownership of new initiatives and enhanced existing initiatives that participants would then seek out themselves. This truly community-

led approach to dialogue is a vast departure from the dominant international development paradigm, which often prioritises preconceived plans based on externally generated knowledge.

In essence, BIS learnt to 'lead from behind' – to let the individuals in the community teach us, then together co-create solutions as facilitators of a process that *they* owned.

📖 LESSON 5:

Power relations shape dialogical interventions

Inclusive multistakeholder dialogue, inclusive consultation with stakeholders and creating safe spaces (especially for marginalised groups) are integral parts of restoring relative power in communities and creating more inclusive societies. In some instances, BIS also sought out relevant topics through engagement with participants and affected constituencies to ensure that debate and dialogue aided participants in the expansion of their understanding of the 'other'.

This is a useful model to apply in contexts where certain topics are considered too personal, taboo or unspoken as a result of past or current abuses of power. Bringing such challenges to light in safe environments allows for healing to begin – healing of the hatred, ill will, prejudice or simply lack of awareness that people often feel and perpetuate as a result of long-standing conflict. In this way, BIS helped participants create new, unexplored narratives and insights on difficult topics in ways that would not usually occur in everyday interactions.

If a platform or process is truly inclusive at the community level, it will draw a range of actors who have differing foci, but who all want to be a part of the discussion. This increased demand for entry into dialogue circles can be leveraged to show higher-level government officials that this group is representative, on-demand and relevant. This can increase the level of influence of the group in the eyes of policy-makers. Moreover, inviting new players to take a critical look at their own communities can have the follow-on effect of motivating people to find creative ways to meet their own needs without outside help. Participatory action research, for example, which puts community members in the driver's seat of data collection and analysis, fundamentally changes the relationship between people and service-delivery systems in post-conflict environments.

📖 LESSON 6:

Linking communities and governance structures is important in the process of systems-level change

Local government has a critical role to play in the development of post-apartheid towns and their interrelationships. Local ward-level government officials are closest to the needs of the people, yet, paradoxically, they are the most under-equipped in terms of resources and policy influence compared with any other level of South African government. As a result, grievances about service delivery at the local level

are not adequately represented at urban subcouncil and metropolitan levels or rural town council and district levels. In a context where local governments are mandated to drive local economic development and meet the infrastructure needs of their constituencies, services are not delivered and trust in politics breaks down.

While many mid-level policy-makers are sincere in their desire to support local-level needs, they face fierce political competition for getting those needs heard at levels where distribution is authorised. Local citizens have not been sensitised to these very real constraints, thereby unrealistically heightening expectations. Moreover, part of the challenge is the information gap between higher levels of governance and local-level realities. These two levels of governance face unresolved challenges that limit local- to high-level cooperation. It is important for local-level civil society actors to consider ways of creating dialogue spaces that facilitate knowledge-sharing and creation.

Within the policy–governance sphere it is important to recognise the value of systemic influence for greater social cohesion. BIS has learnt that, at a national level, it is necessary to start pushing for systemic shifts that speak to local-level realities, especially with the departments of Arts and Culture, Basic Education and Justice. Besides increasing the chances of influencing macro-shifts via national policy, there is an inherent opportunity to deal more deeply with the structural underpinnings that still mar the development of a post-conflict, post-apartheid South Africa.

📖 LESSON 7:

Large-scale reconciliation work will likely remain limited in the absence of processes of economic justice and empowerment

At the local level, improved social cohesion does contribute to small wins in the development of economic livelihoods at the *community* level. BIS has learnt that an increase in trust and social cohesion can have positive implications for economic livelihoods, in part because communities begin to take personal responsibility for filling the gaps that government and business do not work on. This initial evidence suggests that social dialogues and cohesion-building are central and not peripheral to the economic prosperity agenda.

While social interventions such as targeted longitudinal intergroup work for reconciliation may help reduce prejudice and promote reconciliation, their impact on a larger scale may be limited unless there is a significant change in the socio-economic condition of the majority of South Africans. Some level of economic development must precede attempts at *large-scale* justice and reconciliation work, as national-level social cohesion has been shown to be positively correlated with gross domestic product per capita.[2]

At the participant level, satisfying unfilled basic needs such as food, water and housing takes priority among participants, understandably causing some to ignore calls for social change. The lack of economic development makes reconciliation, reconstruction and transitional-justice work very difficult. Without due consideration of the material prospects of citizens and without real attempts at enhancing those

prospects, any social interventions are at risk of being perceived as disingenuous. This is not only a crucial lesson for BIS and the IJR more broadly, but also a serious consideration for policy-makers.

Unanswered questions and gaps in research and practice

In addition to these lessons, the work of the IJR in communities has yielded some important questions that organisations and individuals working in the social change arena should consider, especially in contexts following a major negotiated settlement to a conflict and a political transition. These questions fall under the following categories and are discussed in more detail below:

- Self-motivation to participate in social-cohesion dialogue;
- Dialogue about white identity and privilege;
- Positionality;
- Connecting the local to the national;
- Intersections of gender and race;
- Bridging the rural/urban divide;
- Sustainability;
- The role of post-apartheid local governance; and
- Systems-level change.

Self-motivation to participate in social-cohesion dialogue

As mentioned in Chapter 10, one of the key remaining issues is how those from dominant groups who benefit from socio-economic privileges become engaged in conversations with the marginalised, whether that privilege is derived from racial, gender, class or other delineations:

- Why do certain members of historically dominant groups get involved in community initiatives for social cohesion and others do not?

Dialogue about white identity and privilege

While questions of internalised oppression became important in creating agency for marginalised groups, it may be the case that issues of internalised dominance need to be teased out to create the necessary motivators to build social cohesion from the dominant parts of society. This hypothesis prompts the following questions:

- Would a larger discussion about 'whiteness' in the South African context support the reconciliation agenda?
- How feasible is this discussion in the current sociopolitical climate?
- What would the impetus for examining 'whiteness' among white South Africans be?

- How can institutions like the IJR begin to make conscious the meaning of 'whiteness' as an identity, rather than as a means of implicit dominance?
- More importantly, how is this done in a way that does not reify 'whiteness' as harmful?

The meaning and construction of positive, socially aware, pro-justice white identity need to be made visible in order to normalise the practice of political dissent among white South Africans.

Positionality

On a practical level, in what ways can interveners who were part of the historically marginalised group constructively engage with dominant counterparts to encourage their participation in dialogical activities?

Connecting the local to the national

- How have other post-conflict countries initiated and sustained national dialogues and social change processes that actively work with civil society?
- How have other countries engaged in national dialogue?
- What pitfalls and opportunities have they encountered in this process?

Intersections of gender and race

Amidst the rapid changes that the world has seen with respect to the treatment of gender identity, especially as it intersects with race and other constructs, it is important to further explore what 'intersectionality' means in an African context. This is particularly important for understanding grassroots expressions emerging from dialogical interventions:

- How can intersectionality be used to frame questions about masculinity in South African communities?
- How does intersectionality and African feminism as concepts help us build social cohesion, especially around masculinity?
- How can so-called 'fragile masculinities' be reconstructed in a way that does not contribute to violence?

Bridging the rural/urban divide

- What are additional ways in which facilitators, who are mostly from urban spaces, can responsibly enter rural communities to do social-cohesion and dialogue work in a country with a large rural/urban divide?
- What additional considerations, aside from the need to support local-level leaders, are important?

- As South Africa's population continues to shift from rural to urban and peri-urban areas, how should ties be maintained to rural communities?

Sustainability

- How do practitioners know when a dialogue and other interventions have reached sustainability?
- What does sustainability look like in practice?
- What are the signs that interveners should continue to nurture the intervention process they have generated, or 'exit' in order to place resources elsewhere?

The role of post-apartheid local governance

Local communities, post-apartheid, have not yet been transformed:

- What is local government currently doing to foster and sustain reconstruction?
- What is the role of local government in promoting social cohesion?

There is a need for conscious and deliberate initiatives at the most direct interface between government and people – local councils and councillors – to drive the agenda for post-conflict reconstruction:

- How can local government both meet the expectations and uphold the dignity of those who have been, and continue to be, oppressed while including the dominant groups that continue to reap benefits from structural and social capital?

Out of these challenges, more work, both theoretical and practical, is required to further shape a new local compact.

Systems-level change

- How can stakeholders create systemic change for social cohesion?

This subject is aligned with the preceding point on local government. Discrete benefits in bounded locales generate positive social impact for individuals and communities; however, there is a need for larger-scale change.

- How can the IJR and its partners change seemingly inflexible barriers standing in the way of social cohesion?
- How can we convince state decision-makers that social cohesion is a strategic imperative, not just a temporary special interest?

Amongst South Africa's fragmented narratives and divided histories, social cohesion should instead be leveraged to drive positive wealth distribution, and vice versa.

Recommendations

BIS's deep engagement, innovative approaches and sustained dialogues have given us a wealth of data, knowledge and insight on how to continue the vital work of building social cohesion through justice and reconciliation. BIS's emerging social change model is an exciting development that we hope to test with greater vigour. With collaboration in mind, BIS identified a number of recommendations for a variety of sectors that play a part in influencing social cohesion. BIS puts forward these recommendations for each sector as starting points for continuing the conversation. BIS hopes to engage with each sector to also hear what their recommendations would be for our work at the IJR.

Civil society organisations and practitioners

- **Enter community spaces speaking the local language or make concrete efforts to learn it**. Not understanding the language is a barrier to dialogue and conveying meaning and intent. Dialogical interventions in which facilitators speak more than two languages are essential, not just sufficient. If that is not possible, use translators to not only facilitate the conversation but also to get a handle on the thematic undercurrents. Notwithstanding the challenges of working with translators when discussing sensitive subjects, dialogue facilitators operating in South Africa's diverse and multicultural landscape must work toward more linguistic fluency.
- **Facilitate processes and mechanisms to make it possible for communities to take the work forward** *on their own*. It is crucial that conversations and dialogues continue post-intervention so that communities, no matter how divided, can find each other. It is also important that they do so independently of any practitioner's guiding hand. Interventions should therefore have post-engagement sustainability plans built in, as well as partnership with the communities so that bridge-building continues and, more importantly, is owned by the communities in their spaces.

Donors

- **Structure funding around a long-term view to create the possibility for long-term, deep engagement** and creating sustainable processes. Donors do much to make our work possible. Indeed, without their commitment, passion and funding, much of our work would not be possible. However, donors should sustain civil society's ability to build social cohesion and influence government by adopting longer-term funding structures. Meaningful, real change takes time.
- **Take a consortium-based approach to funding** whereby larger, more established civil society organisations can fulfil governance and compliance requirements on behalf of community-based organisations to capacitate the latter, especially as they occupy spaces at a more direct interface and location in communities.

In this way, a network of influence is lifted to make impact, not just single or discrete nodes.

- **Invest in dialogue structures** *within* **communities and through community-based organisations** that allow them to speak among themselves. Help connect these structures to the provincial and national-level dialogue.

Community-level civil society

- **Seek opportunities to work more collaboratively with civil society organisations to achieve holistic outcomes.** By partnering or engaging in joint initiatives, geographical footprints are increased. More than that, different approaches and findings are shared and so platforms are created to learn and improve, for the benefit of organisational learning and, more importantly, community upliftment through social cohesion.
- **Engage in dialogical approaches at the local level to address common challenges** to open up spaces for community voices to be heard and amplified. Increase accountability for community leaders to their 'constituents'.
- **Strengthen, through collaboration and partnership, community capacities to hold government and other service-delivery agencies to account.** The IJR includes itself in this recommendation.
- **Build community capacity to ensure constructive and creative responses to challenges faced by communities.** This includes strengthening advocacy to increase municipality investment in community dialogue and local economic growth initiatives.

Local and provincial policy-makers and government

- **Create stronger accountability measures for local government officials** to report back to constituents, especially around infrastructure development, job creation and dialogical engagement.
- **Communicate consistently with constituents, engage them in genuine consultation and respond to their needs proactively and with authenticity.** Constituents expect to be treated as partners with which government works, not people that government 'does things for'. In line with this, constituents do not expect miracles and know and respect that challenges are vast and plentiful. To this end, government should clearly articulate what is and is not feasible or probable and do so with honesty.
- **Use dialogical engagements to generate ideas and innovations** on how local government together with citizens can co-create solutions for mutual benefit.

High-level policy-makers and national government

- **Uphold the rule of law** through structures and respect for institutions, act as role models and create an environment for inclusive growth.

Businesses and corporations

- **Be more proactive in the way that business engages with communities beyond corporate social responsibility.** Do not outsource community engagement, but rather make it part of the work of employees and executives. It would be useful for corporates to engage with social cohesion and dialogical processes as mechanisms that align with their strategic interests, so avoiding the perceptions that any such efforts are public relations or marketing exercises only.
- **Make a clear decision about how business will work with unions.** Ensure that these relationships are transparent.
- **Create profit-sharing opportunities for workers in addition to fair remuneration**, especially across race and gender distinctions.
- **View business contribution as part of the broader initiative of restitution**, as corporations and businesses gained from the policies of apartheid. Corporate South Africa, through various bodies, should consider a joint action or initiative to make positive contributions around the issue of redress.

Media outlets

- **Engage in socially responsible journalism that builds a social compact**, rather than alienating people from each other by being alarmist, particularly when speaking about reconciliation in a transitioning state. Media and journalists should strive to speak to a diversity and plurality of audiences, not a narrow conception of a hypothetical media consumer. Further, the media should utilise existing mechanisms such as the South African National Editors' Forum[3] to incentivise media as a common good.
- **Increase accountability measures for the media sector and among the public.** Explore with civil society, government and academia to create mechanisms to see how their work contributes to a socially cohesive country while still holding to journalistic ideals of the fourth estate in any society.
- **Include background stories on the headlines to provide the public with more context about the realities.** Take care in constructing headlines so they do not mislead the public, especially on contentious issues.

Concluding remarks

More than a record of activities since 2012, this book connects practical examples of reconciliation and justice work in South Africa with theory, analysis and deep reflection. In this publication, the BIS team has reflected and analysed the processes, methods, tools and topics used in our work. We have mapped out the challenges we have encountered and the lessons we have learnt. This publication should add to the existing body of knowledge on how to work toward long-term, post-conflict, community-level reconciliation following state-led violence and segregation, and how to create a sense of justice among constituencies that have been wronged for centuries.

We trust this account will be useful to other individuals, groups and institutions wanting to embark on similar interventions.

ENDNOTES

1   Indeed, one of the privileges of belonging to a dominant group is that it is difficult to see that their own inherent access brings power and resources that are not available to all. It is a privilege not to have to think about race. For those not part of a dominant group, the lack of privilege makes race, gender and other intersections acutely visible.

2   Foa R (2011) *The Economic Rationale for Social Cohesion: The Cross-Country Evidence.* Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). https://www.oecd.org/development/pgd/46908575.pdf [accessed 21 November 2016].

3   The South African National Editors' Forum is a non-profit organisation that works to uphold freedom of expression and journalistic ethics.

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Amsterdam, Jacobus 'Japie'
Andersen, Delicia
Andrews, Patrick
Appenah, Joanne
April, Abraham
April, Catharina
April, Lynn
April, Rosettha

Aqcuisto, Danilio
Arendse, Marconique
Arendse, S
Arnold, Chantal
Arries, Jermaine
Asara, Lewo
Ashwell
Balie, Lorna Yolande
Banda, Comfort
Bangani, Andiswa
Bantam, Aletta
Bantam, Simon
Barends, Jannetta Katriena
Barrow, Bradley
Basson, Gosalamang
Basson, Kedibone
Bengu, N
Benjamin, Patsy
Bernardo, Carla Joy
Bester, Nathan
Beukes, Babara-Ann
Beukes, Ricardo
Billie, Sinawe
Bloem, Elma
Bloem, Meisie
Bloem, Thapelo
Bobe, Jeanette

Bok, Augus
Bok, Gladwin
Bokveld, Bontle
Bondwane
Booi, Siphosethu
Booi, Vuyo
Boois, Sandra
Booysen, Annie
Booysen, Nandio 'Pk'
Booysen, Vionaver
Botes, C
Bothma, Jessica
Bowane, Kgomotso
Brakfesi, Asemhle
Boysen, Elain
Bradley, Rowan Mcdonald
Brand, M
Breytenbach, Wynand Marc
Britten, Elizabeth
Brittian, Sylvester
Brooks, Yadah
Broughton, Caerie Lea
Brouwer, Petrus
Brown, Floris
Brown, John
Browne, D
Budaza, Bulelwa

Buffel, Tuelo
Bulane, Reamorata
Buqwana, Sandile
Buthelezi, Ayanda
Buthelezi, Dumisani
Buthelezi, Nombulelo
Buthelezi, Ntombi
Buthelezi, Sbongiseni
Buthelezi, Sibusiso
Buthelezi, Siphesihle
Buthelezi, Snethemba
Buthelezi, Themba
Buthelezi, Zanele
Buwa, Melumzi
Cabbage, Elizabeth
Capito, D
Carelse, Andrea
Carelse, Brandon
Carelse, Yaseen
Cecchi, Willem
Chwethiso, Songezwa
Cleophas, Guswill
Cloete, Eliab
Coetzee, Christine
Coetzee, Regina
Cona, Pumelelo Ernest
Cross, Tebogo
Cupido, Courtney Cheri
Cupido, Magadeleena
Daames, Bettie
Daames, Lanzo
Daames, Rudolph 'Rudie'
Damane, George
Damon, Thaakier
Daniels, Audrey
Daniels, Jenade
Daniels, Josh
Danze, Audrey
Danzer, Michelle
Davani, Sivuyile
Davids, Natalie Unity
Davies, Etiene
Davis, Reney
De Bruyn, Jenna Alexa
De Wee, Lena

De Wet, Margaret
Dennis, Elizabeth
Diko, Mahlalatu Eric
Dimbaza, Lungiswa
Dingiswayo, L
Diniso, Elizabeth
Dithobolo, Noval
Dladla, Z
Dlamini, Andile
Dlukulu, Ben
Dolan, Louisa
Domberg, Dina
Don, Dina
Du Plessis, Samuel
Du Plooy, Allister
Dukashe, Zodidi
Duma, Luleka Lucia
Dumezweni, Athenkosi
Du-Preez, Thato
Dwarika, Marilyn
Dyer, Pearl
Dyer, Peter
Elias, Owen
Esbie, Tshiamo
Evans, Mercy
Faku, Nomathamsanqa
Fakude, Sthabiso
Farmer, Ansherline
Faroa, Denise
Fatyi, Phumlani
Faxi, Bongiwe
Ferlander, Amelia
Ferndale, Christiaan
Fischer, Archie
Fisher, Mpho
Fortuin, Anna
Fortuin, Grayton Skylar
Fortuin, Grietjie
Fortuin, Stan
Fransman, Anna
Fredericks, Dewey
Fredericks, Kate
Fredericks, Rosiena
Gaapare, Beldad
Gabots, Angelo

Gabots, Joey
Gabriel, Willem
Gagu, L
Ganakgomo, Mosadiwapula
Gantshi, Jessica Atenkosi
Gaopalangwe, Michael
Gaoratwe, Reuben
Gapare, Melita
Gaseitsiwe, Kenalemang
Gcagciso, Noxolo
Gcotane, Gxagxa
George, Daniel
George, Phillip
Gildenhuys, Kabelo
Goba, Linda
Gobo, Lulu
Gopane, Otlotleng
Gotyi, Lindokuhle
Govender, Kubeshini
Greeff, Grant Dewalt
Greeff, Sheldon
Green, Shadley
Grewar, Francois
Grobler, Pieter
Groenewald, John
Guga, Sibongile
Gumbi, Sanelisiwe
Gwelele, M
Gwiji, Nasiphi
Hadebe, Ntobeko
Hadebe, Phiwayinkosi
Hani, Allistair
Hanise, Bongani
Harker, Tracey
Hartbees, Thabang
Haynes, Charne
Headger, M
Heins, Maria
Hendricks, Glyssan
Hendricks, Mechael
Hendricks, Rifquah
Hendriks, Andries
Hendriks, Maria
Herring, Victoria Zeta
Hichens, Jessica

Hlatshwayo, Celani
Hlatshwayo, Zithulele
Hleli, Zamile
Hlophe, Senzo
Hopshire, A
Horne, Peter
Hufke, Minah
Hughes, Charles
Ikaneng, Shadrack
Isaac, Lameez
Isaacs, Sonia
Ismail, Nabeela
Issel, Billy
Jaars, Amourelle
Jacobs, Abduragmaan
Jacobs, Ashley Taswald
Jacobs, Ipeleng
Jacobs, J
Jacobs, Lettie
Jacobs, Maria
Jaffer, D
Jafta, Jo-Ann
Jansen, Louis
Jantjies, Luther Paebo
January, A
January, Margo
Jass, Corinne
Jass, Crystal
Jattiem, Nabeelah
Jeleseng, Rachel
Jiyane, Mfanafuthi
Jiyane, Zamani
Johannes, Stanley
Johnson, Gilda
Johnson, Raeza
Johnson, Tebogo
Jonas, Nosisa
Josephs, Stephanus (Fanie)
Julander, Henclio Justin
    Duran
Kabwe, Mikhail
Kagwa, Faye Kabali-
Kaitshane, Kagisho Aubrey
Kale, Koketso
Kantsi, Kaobaka

Keboekwe, Letlhogonolo
Kesholohetse, Aobakwe
Kester, Nathaniel
Kgabi, Roxy 'Goodwin'
Kgosi, K
Kgosiencho, Sanna
Khanyile, Ayanda
Khechane, Joyce Dikeledi
Khetane, Buyisile
Khethane, Nzimeni
Khethiwe, Khumalo
Khlaki, Botle
Khoai, Thusanag
Khonto, Thandolokhe
Khumalo, C
Khumalo, Khethiwe
Khumalo, Sibusiso
Khumalo, Sizakele
Khumalo, Sthembiso
Khumalo, Thabani
King, Gina
Klaas, Lungile
Klaas, Lungiswa
Klaasen, David
Klaasen, Zhanhildo Michelle
Knight, Mazinne
Koetetse, Boipelo
Konampi, Lesego
Koote, Kagisho David
Kordom, Juliana
Kosite, Lesego
Kriel, Melanie
Krigga, G
Kruger, Justine
Kube, Y
Kula, Ivan
Kumalo, C
Kunene, Orthalia
Kutliso Daniels High, Grade 9
    Classes of 2013, 2014, 2015
Kutukwa, Tonderai
Lai Lan, Janine
Lambrechts, Shannon
Langa, Priscilla
Lawrence, Michaela

Lawrence, Nolizia
Le Roux, Ms
Lebeko, Thabiso
Leboke, Thato
Lebona, Kutlwano
Lebona, Phomolo
Leiby, Patrick
Lemarqu, Kurtlee
Lephoi, Gomolemo
Leta, Abongile
Letebele, Leratong
Letolo, Tsepo
Letsholo, Elsie Motlalepula
Letsie, Tsholofelo
Links, Patricia
Loare, R
Locke, Gavin
Locke, Tyrone
Londiwe, Mkhonza
Lutshaba, Sifiso
Maanna, Louisa
Mabaso, Phumelele
Mabaso, Zama
Mabe, Masopa
Mabena, Bongiwe
Mabogola, Bonolo
Mabote, David
Mabote, Nomahlubi
Mabusela, Thozama
Macatha, Amanda
Madela, Sphamandla
Madepe, Esther
Madi, M
Madida, VS
Madide, B
Madinda, Nosiphokazi
Madinda, Xolile
Madlolo, Abongile
Madlolo, Daliwonga
Madyosi, Rev.
Magubane, Skhumbuzo
Magwagwa, Kagisano
Magweze, Virginia
Mahaba, Cebisile
Mahale, Theordore

Mahama, Thapelo
Mahapa, Eunice
Mahkati, Zintle
Mahlaba, A
Mahlaba, Cebisile
Mahlambi, Sqiniseko
Mahlangu, Hillary
Majahe, Tumelo
Majola, Refilwe
Makanda, Nolitha
Makasi, Sandile
Makendlana, Nataniel
Makhele, Nomonde
Makhoba, M
Makhobekhobe, Keseabetswe
Makhubu, Simphiwe
Makinana, Nompumelelo
Makinana, Nompumezo
Makinana, Thembelani
Makinana, Vuyokazi
Makwati, Tebogo
Malangeni, S
Malatlheg, S
Malgas, Akhona
Malgas, Eva
Malgas, Kagisho
Malgas, Lebogang
Malgas, Seolebaleng
Malinga, L
Mamabola, M
Manchayane, Walter
Mandende, Hakundwi
Mandjies, Fransiena
Mangcole, Athule
Manisi, Zandile
Maniza, Kagisho KG
Mannah, Shermain
Manyathi, Sanele
Maphanga, NA
Mapila, Mbulelo
Maqhula, Anele
Marais, Wilfred
Maranga-Tshivhise, Mutsharini

Martin, Jacques
Martin, Ronald
Marumo, Sifiso
Mary Waters High, Grade 9
   Classes of 2013, 2014, 2015
Mase, Gomosetsang
Masetla, Pedro
Mashego, Mash
Mashinini, Qiniso
Mashishi, Phumzile
Masoka, Sandilo
Masondo, Bj
Masondo, Sizwe
Masondo, Thokozani
Masondo, Thulasizwe
Matabele, Semakaleng Eva
Matheus, Johannes
Mathews, Aloma
Mathews, Shaun
Mathumba, W
Mathysen
Matilane, Anelisa
Matsaneng, RJ
Matsha, Lerato
Matshele, Victoria
Matshotyana, Athabile
Matshotyana, Noluvuyo
Matsoso, Portia
Matthews, Sophia
Matyisini, Luvuyo
Mavuso, Lindiwe
Mavuso, Nkosikhona
May, Lena
Mayisela, Zinhle
Mazibuko, Amanda
Mazibuko, Seb
Mazibuko, Zoleka
Mazomba, Lukhanyo
Mbane, Zukiswa
Mbatha, Lulama
Mbatha, Lungile
Mbatha, M
Mbatha, Nombeko
Mbatha, Sindi
Mbatha, Sphesihle

Mbatha, Sthembile
Mbatha, Thandekile
Mbayisha, Siphenathi
Mbeju, Akhona
Mbeketsi, Keitumetse
Mbethe, B
Mbombo, Snalo
Mbotho, Bonga
Mbothwe, Mandla
Mbuli, Sethu
Mcdonald, Rowan
Mcekane (Bishop)
Mchunu, Londiwe
Mchunu, Nokukhanya
Mchunu, T
Mckenna, Steven
Mdlalose, I
Mdlalose, M
Mdlalose, Nompumelelo
Mdlalose, Nonkululeko
Mdlalose, R
Mdlalose, S
Mdletshe, Thandazile
Mdluwa, Monwabisi Aubrey
Mehlumba, Xabiso
Mema, Vinolia
Mene, Jongikhaya
Meqiti, Veronica
Meyson, Rugaiyah
Mfundisi, Andersen
Mfusi, Celimpilo
Mgabhi, Sfiso
Mgabhi, Siphephelo
Mgabhi, Xolani
Mgiba, Johannes
Mhlokazi, Mvelo
Mhlongo, Muziwakhe
Michelin, Rosa
Might, Kelebogile
Mini, Michael
Minnies, Megan
Mkalali, Nombulelo
Mkhabla, J
Mkhise, S
Mkhonza, Fikile

Mkhonza, Londiwe
Mkhonza, Sindisiwe
Mkhonza, Sonto
Mkhwanazi, Celani
Mkhwanazi, Lawrence
Mkhwanazi, N
Mkwihika, M
Mlaba, Lindokuhle
Mlindile, Mandla
Mlungiseli, Mbali
Mmolotsi, Mojake Josiah
Mncube, Ayanda
Mncube, Siphiwe
Mngcambe, Anam
Mnguni, Pinkie
Mnguni, Zamani
Mntambo, Bonga
Mntambo, Nelly
Mntambo, Nhlanhla
Mntambo, TB
Mnyandu, J
Mnyatheli, Zikhona
Mnyonyo, Zuko
Mochoane, Raymond
Mocumi, Nicolene
Mocumie, Maria
Modikare, Kelebogile
Modirapula, Anastacia
Modise, Cinderella
Modise, Elsie
Modise, Kelebogile
Modise, Magdalene
Modise, Tshepo
Modupe, Bontle
Moeketsi, Bonolo
Moeketsi, Keitumetse
Moeng, Bokanyo
Moeng, Michael
Moeti, Susan
Moeto, Patricia
Mofokeng, G
Mofolo, Raymond
Mogogotho, Rebecca
Mogong, T
Mohanyehanye, Moiponi

Mohibidu, Tshwaro
Moilwe, Alfred
Mokgalagadi, Lebogang
Mokgama, Kelebogile
Mokgele, Evaron
Mokgweetsi, Olalenna
Mokubung, Thabang
Mokwa, Gotsetsemang
Mokwa, Jacqueline
Moleko, Rosy
Molelekwa, Mathosa 'Moses'
Moleshe, Kwesy
Molo, Basiame
Molotsi, S
Monakali, Christina
Moncho, Cordelia
Monchonyana, Pule
Monogeng, Kelebogile
Moodley, Catherine
Moodley, Nicolene
Moolman, Tracey- Anne
Moore, Christopher
Morokwane, Diketso
Morris, Jadé
Moruthinyane, Keitumetsie
Moseki, Mabel
Moseki, Thabang
Moses, Disang
Moshishi, M
Moshoeshoe, Olebogeng
Moshoete, Refilwe
Mosimaewakgomo, Neo
Moss, Zamikhaya
Mothale, Maggie
Mothapo, Tshegofatso Tracy
Motheo, Bonolo
Mothetse, Moeketsi
Mothibi, Irene
Mothibi, Itumeleng
Mothibi, Kedibone
Mothibi, Tumelo
Mothome, Calphenia
Mothonyana, Jerry
Mothupi, Mmereki
Motihale, Sikwa Simon

Motlapele, Nthabiseng
Motlhabinyane, Anna
Motlhule, Boitshoko
Motogelong, Maletsatsi
Motsage, George
Motsepe, Athenkosi
Motshabi, Akanyang
Motshabi, Motshidisi
Motsopo, Goodwill
Motube, Keitsing Elizabeth
Mountain, Mbulelo John
Mouton, Willem
Moyikwa, Nosiphokazi
Mpande, Gcobisa
Mpepo, Wiseman
Mphahlele, Jessica
Mpitso, Elfrida
Mpitso, Vuyani
Msezane, Thembelihle
Msimango, P
Msimango, Philisiwe
Mtambo, Bonga
Mthembu, Xolani
Mthethwa, Ayanda
Mthethwa, George
Mthethwa, Kelly
Mthethwa, Siphiwe
Mtimkulu, Anam
Mtshali, Nelisa Slender
Mtshali, Ntombifuthi
Mtshixa, Sikelelwa
Mudaniri, T
Murray, Gordon
Musa, Beauty
Mutagula, Thandi
Muthumba, Andiswa
Myeni, Mandla
Myoli, Nwabisa
Mzamo, T
Mzileni, Mveliso
Mzongwana, Siphosihle
Mzwa, MR
Nahimana, Sosthene
Naidoo, Bradley
Nait-Saidi, Ronesia

Nakedi, Pelonomi

Nampuka, Mandisi

Nandise, Ayanda

Nandise, Kelebogile

Nandle, Hilda

Nathaniel Nyaluza High, Grade 9 Classes of 2013, 2014, 2015

Nazier, Zain

Ncube, L

Ndaba, Z

Ndamase, Thobeka

Ndebele, Mvananda

Ndiki, Mvulakazi

Ndlebe, Andiphe

Ndlovu, Thandeka

Ndlovu, Tshepiso

Ndwandwe, Portia

Ndzeki, Esethu

Nel, Amore

Nel, Charnelle

Nel, Turswin

Newman, Sylvia

Ngake, Aaron

Ngandi, Nobahle

Ngcayisa, Lebogang

Ngema, Ayanda

Ngema, DH

Ngema, Nobuhle

Ngemenya, V

Ngonyama, Asanda

Ngundana, Xolani

Nguseni, Sinehlanhla

Ngwevu, Nomtem Sarah

Nhlengethwa, Simphiwe

Njozela, Lindokuhle

Nkala, Sa

Nkhabu, Poleliso

Nkosi, Dm

Nkosi, MT

Nkosi, Nontobeko

Nkosi, Sifiso

Nkunkuma, Malibongwe

Nkwanyana, Grace

Nkwanyana, Nokwanda

Noels, Natalie

Nokwe, E

Nombulelo SSS, Grade 9 Classes of 2013, 2014, 2015

Nomthsongwana, Noluthando

Nondikane, V

Nontshinga, Funeka Violet

Nqangeni, P

Nsibande, T

Ntengento, Thulisa

Nthutang, Thabo

Ntombela, Lethiwe

Ntombela, Tulani

Ntshakane, Minah

Ntshalintshali, Ntokozo

Ntshingila, Sanele

Ntsika High, Grade 9 Classes of 2013, 2014, 2015

Ntsomi, Charles

Ntswahlana, Zizipho

Nxele, Mthokozisi

Nxumalo, Scelo

Nyeka, Maxhosa

Nyoka, Philile

Nzuza, Nkazimulo

Odendaal, Pieter

Odendaal, Rehana Thembeka

Oewies, Maria

Olifant, Boitumelo

Olifant, Lizzy

Olifant, Lydia Keikantsemang

Olifant, Simon

Oliphant, Marcello

Oliphant, Thembalethu

Ontong, Mario

Opara, Ljeoma Chidi

Osman, Sunil

Otsheleng, Theophilus

Paballo, Chauke

Pakwe, Dan

Pampier, Letlhogonolo

Patiwe, Eunice

Peace, Angie

Persent, Bradwin Ashley

Peters, Nicolette

Peters, Tommy

Peterson, Evelyne

Petrus, Elizabeth

Petrus, Boitshoko

Phakade, Lwazi

Phakathi, N

Phanya, Siphumeze,

Phasha, Archi

Phathanyane, Motlalepule

Phillimon, Bennet

Phillips, Natasha

Phillips, Tracey

Phiri, N

Phologolo, Kagisho

Phonogolo, Kaigho

Pienaar, Abel

Pienaar, Kedebone

Pienaar, Marcia

Piet, Boitshepo

Pieters, P

Pieterse, D

Pietersen, Jackson

Pillay, Dennis

Pillay, John

Pitoyi, Siphosethu

Plaatjies, Astrolita

Platjie, Portia

Plesier, Maria

Pretorius, Tebogo

Qiki, Siyabonga

Qunta, Nombedesho

Raadt, Elton

Radebe, Zamahlubi

Raisenberg, M

Rakgwale, Segofatstsang

Ralo, Babalwa

Retief, Francois

Reynecke, Natasha

Reynecke, Nellie

Rhanana, Athini

Rhayi, Sandisiwe

Rhenoster, Vernon

Riet, Aobakwe

Riet, E

Riet, Tlhalefang

Riley, Reneé

Robinson, Marion

Robson, Kurt

Roes, Ruth

Rooibaadjie, Rieta

Rozanne, Olifant

Ryneveld, Rowaan

Sakata, Luyanda

Sala, Sewonieha

Sale, Tshepiso

Sallie, Nakiita

Same, Ayanda

Samuels, Marie-Louise

Sangweni, B

Sangweni, Gugu

Sangweni, Thulani

Santana, Monica

Sass, Theodore

Saul, Pulane

Sauls, Heinrich

Schöfman, Kirsten

Sebaile, Agiseng

Sebale, Mesinki

Seboletswe, Katlego

Seekoei, Nellie

Seekoei, Tshepiso Lucky

Segopisho, Boikobo

Sekgweleo, Boitumelo

Seleke, Lefa

Seleke,Keitumetse

Senatle, Tshepo Joseph

Senkwetse, Innocentia

Senonehi, Lucky

Senonohi, Vincent

Senzo, Buthelezi

September, 'Boy'

September, Sophia

Serei, Doreen

Serume, Eugene

Sesing, Johannes

Sesing, Sebooiwa Katiba

Sethlabi, Katlego

Setlhabi, Betty

Setlhabi, Lerato

Setlhabi, Quinton

Setlhabi, Thato

Setlhabi, Thomas

Sfiso, Mr

Shaista, Shamod

Shasha, Andisiwe

Shomoleile, Baleseng Abel

Shoyisa, A

Shoyisa, Ncamisile

Shwampa, Bulelani

Sia, Sané

Sibabalwe, Mabele

Sibanda, Nonhlanhla

Sibinda, Grace

Sibisi, Mp

Sibisi, Nkululeko

Sibiya, Andile

Sibiya, Lindokuhle

Sibiya, Mbalenhle

Sibiya, Msawenkosi

Sibiya, Nomagcina

Sibulwana, Siyavuya,

Sihele, Nomahlubi

Sijila, Tami

Sikenaris, Levern

Sikhakhane, Wendy

Siko, N

Simelane, Mmn

Simelane, Nonkululeko

Simelane, T

Simon, Maggie

Simoni, Lwandile

Simpson, Chad

Sinqe, Avela

Sinyongo, Thabo

Mokhari, Sylvia

Siswana, Sihle

Sithebe, Michael

Sithole, Andile

Sithole, Brother Clement

Sithole, Londiwe

Sithole, Siphiwokuhle

Siyaya, Menzi

Skhakhane, Sicelo

Skhakhane, W

Skoryk, Natasha

Skosana, Rosaline

Skotoyi, Thabo

Sleseng, Rachel

Smile, Kabelo

Smith, Corelin

Smith, Dianna

Smous, Ben

Smous, Mmatsi

Snugela, Shannon

Soetmelk, Cyrilene

Soetmelk, Lionel

Soetwater, Mohamed

Sofisa, Khayalethu

Sololo, Lufefe

Solomon, Joseph

Solomon, Megan

Solomon, Romero

Solomons, Curtley

Solomons, Deon

Somdaka, Lindokuhle

Sompontsha, T

Speelman, Alfonso

Speelman, Fizana

Speelman, Martha

Speelman, Sylvia

Spring, Caitlin

Springbok, Michelle

Spruy, Kashiefa

Stainbank, Y

Stefaans, Nkagisang

Stemmet, Robin-Lee

Stevens, Fransiena

Steyn, Cathy

Sthole, B

Stofberg, Abeda

Stokwe, Pamela

Stuurman, 'Tossie' Thozamile

Stuurman, Kelebogile

Sunduza, Tumo

Swanepoel, Philip

Swartz, Austin

Swartz, Christopher

Swartz, Elizabeth

Swartz, Fortuin
Swartz, Kieron Clifton Thomas
Swartz, Stanley
Swartzmountain, Ezanda
Syster, Magrieta
Tamboer, Willeme
Tani, N
Tata, Mabhuti
Tau, Palesa
Te Mrwetyana High, Grade 9
   Classes of 2013, 2014, 2015
Teisho, Lebogang
Teledimo, Abigail
Temba, Paulicia
Themba, Tumelo
Theys, Jeanette
Theys, Katriena
Theys, Meshack
Theys, Shadrach
Theys, Shamilla
Thintane, Matshepo
Thobile, Khumalo
Thomas, Angelique Candice
Thompson, Brigitte
Thwala, Sindi
Tikise, Sive
Tintinger, Mr
Titus, Audrey
Titus, Irma
Tlhole, Kehilwe
Tlhole, Peter
Tobin, Tyla Leigh
Tom, Ida
Tonkin, Caitlin
Tsame, Dineo
Tshabalala, Nombiyebongo
Tshosebe, Kelebogile
Tsiane, Abele
Tulwana, Thabo
Tyelbooi, Siphosethu
Tyeni, Lindiwe
Tyhaliti, Thulani
Van der Riet, Louis
Van Lodevyk, Trevel

Van Niekerk, Hirchell
Van Royen, Rhowen
Van Wyk, Johnny
Van Wyk, Raymond
Van Zyl, Stefani
Vethani, Vuyani
Vezi, Siyabonga
Victor, Rosaline
Vilakazi, Jabulani
Visser, Derryn Lee
Vos, Piet
Waldeck, Yulene
Wece, Nosiphiwo
Wessels, Andrea
White, Sipho
Wilcox, Nicole
Willemse, Mike
Williams, James
Williams, Quanith
Wilson, Montell
Wilson, Stanley
Witpens, Lindiswa
Wood, Zena
Xaba, Sphamandla
Xapa, Thobekani
Xulu, S
Yabo, Andile
Yame, Sinethemba
Yamu, Thandokazi
Yawa, Zodwa
Young, Fagmieda
Zamisa, Bonga Zamisa
Zanele, Zondos
Zicina, Sibulele
Zikhali, Sakhile
Zililoi, Thandi
Zondani, Vuyani
Zondo, Mnotho
Zondo, Nokwanda
Zondo, Zanele
Zulu, Bongiwe
Zulu, L
Zulu, Sandile
Zulu, Thalente
Zulu, W

Zulu, Zakhona
Zulube, Sebenzile
Zuma, Thulani
Zungu, Nomathemba Nomsa
Zwane, Bongiwe
Zwane, Nkosinathi

In memoriam

Clayton Ambrose, Ben Dlukulu, Ronald Mahapi, Pitsini Macozoma, Helena Malgas, Cecil Manona, D Nene, Florence Njobe, Galiema Snyman, Lulamile Xesi, Lindani Zwane.

Contributors

Lucretia Arendse is the project officer for the Education for Reconciliation project. She is passionate about using education to facilitate discussions about inclusion, respect and countering discrimination. She holds a diploma in business management, has 17 years of experience in the financial services industry and seven years in the non-governmental sector. She volunteers with the Reach for a Dream Foundation and has a passion for bringing joy to sick children. She also longs to see the South African nation healed from the wounds of its past.

Lindsey Doyle is a visiting Rotary Peace Fellow at the IJR from Uppsala University's Department of Peace and Conflict Research. Prior to her involvement with the IJR, she worked at the United States State Department and in non-profit organisations focused on violence prevention and conflict management.

Eleanor du Plooy is the project leader of the Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project. She attended Stellenbosch University where she obtained a master's degree in social anthropology. She values the importance of dialogue and recognises the need to engage in meaningful exchanges in order to deepen our understanding of ourselves and others.

Leila Emdon is the project leader of the Gender Justice and Reconciliation project at the IJR and holds a master's degree in historical studies from the University of Cape Town, specialising in gender, land and livelihoods in rural South Africa during the colonial and apartheid era.

Cecyl Esau works as an oral historian at the IJR, exploring the use of oral history as a tool for humanising and democratising of the local archive in contributing to the reconfiguration of post-apartheid towns.

Ayesha Fakie joined the BIS team as programme head in 2016. She has developed her skills in leadership, programme management, monitoring and evaluation, strategy,

fundraising and stakeholder management over her 16-year career in higher education, both public and private. She holds a master's degree in organisational psychology and has published academic papers on systemic education issues in South Africa. She is passionate about examining the sometimes unconscious privileges we bring as a way to build bridges and deepen understanding of lived experiences across societal intersections.

Stanley Henkeman is the executive director of the IJR in Cape Town. He is the former head of department for the BIS Programme. He previously worked as a teacher, lecturer and manager. Stanley has extensive experience in facilitating learning and is a skilled mediator, public speaker and facilitator. He is equally comfortable and effective with grassroots and sophisticated audiences. He holds a master's degree and is currently the chair of the South African Transplant Sports Association. He also represented South Africa as an athlete at four World Transplant Games.

Kenneth Lukuko is the senior project leader for the BIS Community Healing project. His interest in the IJR started in 2004 as a participant in the Community Healing project. He became a project leader in 2006, going on to deepen the project's impact in communities across the country and the continent in subsequent years. He studied architecture and the social sciences at the then Peninsula Technikon and University of Cape Town, respectively, and represents the IJR in civil society, government and media platforms on the broad subject of social cohesion and transitional justice.

Nosindiso Mtimkulu has worked closely with different levels of management, in different genres of the arts and with people from different backgrounds in South Africa for the past ten years. She is an artist and a cultural activist who believes that arts and culture have important roles to play in our society. She is passionate about promoting the potential that arts and culture have to bring people together and realises this through working with youth in different communities. Nosindiso also has vast experience in research, authoring, teaching and performance. She lectured at the University of Cape Town College of Music at undergraduate level for some years and has co-authored a series of books on arts and culture (learners' and teachers' guides), as well as a number of articles and research reports.

Megan Robertson is the project leader for Social Dialogue for Agriculture at the IJR. Her work at the IJR speaks to her interest in practically addressing issues of transformation and cohesion in a post-apartheid South Africa. Megan completed her master's degree at Stellenbosch University in 2014, which focused on issues of transformation in higher education student residences. In addition to her work, Megan has a passion for youth work, a love for dancing and has performed in plays such as *Romeo and Juliet* and *Moulin Rouge* at the Artscape Theatre in Cape Town.

Faranaaz Vraagom is the incumbent BIS intern. She attended the University of Cape Town and majored in social anthropology and psychology. Her research interests are gender-based violence and marginalised groups, such as the LGBTI community.

Through focusing on these groups she is not only attempting to make visible the challenges these individuals are faced with, but also bring forward the agency they possess to reimagine alternative futures for themselves.

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For a country that rightly prides itself on achieving a non-violent end to decades of racial oppression and centuries of colonialism, South Africa has seen remarkably little deliberate reconciliation programming, especially in communities where citizens are having to learn to live together.

The Building an Inclusive Society (BIS) Programme at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) works to acknowledge, confront and engage enduring colonial and apartheid legacies that continue to marginalise, wound and cause injustice. Using innovative and creative methodologies, BIS works to overcome these barriers through meaningful and deliberate initiatives to foster and then sustain reconciliation and reconstruction within and between individuals and communities. BIS acknowledges that this work is challenging and therefore requires a deliberate, thoughtful and conscious approach in attempts to make positive societal transformation and reconciliation possible and sustainable.

This publication chronicles one of the few attempts to turn reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa into a lived reality. It not only merits thoughtful reading, but also careful consideration in policy formation and public debates.

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